

**AN APPROACH TO THE URBAN HISTORY
OF EARLY VICTORIAN GRAHAMSTOWN 1832-53
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE
INTERIORS AND MATERIAL CULTURE
OF DOMESTIC DWELLINGS**

THESIS

Submitted in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
of Rhodes University

by

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Volume I

The writer wishes to express her gratitude to the
Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust
whose Scholarship for
1820 Settler and Eastern Cape History
has made this work possible.

March 1987

For my Family

Immediate and Extended

In Appreciation of their Support and Encouragement

While I Sought to Glimpse the Shapes

in Grahamstown's Urban Past

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Plate 12b

Fotonik Studio, 20 Bathurst Street, Grahamstown 6140

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Ashmolean Museum, Dept of Western Art, Oxford OX1 2PH, UK

Plate 27

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Plate 31a & 32c

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Figure 1

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ABBREVIATIONS AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

GTJ	<u>Graham's Town Journal</u>
CFT	<u>Cape Frontier Times</u>
<u>Cape Almanac</u>	Abbreviated title given by archivists and historians to the <u>Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register</u> under its varied titles
CO	Records of the <u>Colonial Office</u> , Cape Archives
LG	Records of the <u>Lieutenant Governor</u> , Cape Archives
MOIB	Records of the <u>Master Of the Insolvency Branch</u> , Cape Archives
MOOC	Records of the <u>Master Of the Orphan Chamber</u> , Cape Archives
Rev.	Review
c	Column (e.g. 1c2 = p. 1, column 2)

The parenthetical references within the text of the thesis and the bibliographic style are in conformity with the conventions governing the written presentation of research recommended in the MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers (1984).

**AN APPROACH TO THE URBAN HISTORY OF EARLY VICTORIAN GRAHAMSTOWN
1832-53, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE INTERIORS AND MATERIAL
CULTURE OF DOMESTIC DWELLINGS.**

Abstract

This study is a venture in urban history in that although housing has been the subject of a number of recent studies, little attempt has been made within the British urban history framework to give serious study to what lies behind the architectural facade, the material domestic culture of an urban community. An important objective of this study is to examine the material culture of domestic dwellings in early Victorian Grahamstown, also referring to other parts of the Cape Colony. Where possible these facts are related to the occupants of the dwellings.

No community, urban or rural, can be divorced from the influences which lie beyond its immediate locality in region or metropol. As a preliminary to this study the urban background of industrial Britain is examined, as are English and Dutch cultural influences on the interiors of Cape homes in general. The occupational stratification and spatial structure of early Victorian Grahamstown are then explored, leading into a discussion of the material domestic culture of the interiors of Grahamstown dwellings.

In the final analysis, this study is an attempt to uncover the character of early Victorian Grahamstown and its possible implications for English cultural influences at the Cape. In so doing, not only what constitutes the domestic material culture of Grahamstown is established, but beyond that, a comparison made

with domestic material cultural developments in another colonial, though not frontier, settlement with roots in Georgian and Victorian England, namely Australia.

INTRODUCTION

Urban History: A Brief Historiography

Urban history, apart perhaps from Lewis Mumford's classic Culture of Cities (1938) and Asa Briggs' seminal volumes on the History of Birmingham (1952) and Victorian Cities (1963), did not become a recognized field of historical scholarship until the late 1960s when the proceedings of the first conference on urban history, held at Leicester University under the dynamic and visionary leadership of Jim Dyos, were published as The Study of Urban History (1968).

Asa Briggs, now Lord Briggs of Lewes, Provost of Worcester College Oxford, and Chancellor of the Open University, was the first British historian to make the city itself an object of serious historical enquiry. H.J. (Jim) Dyos, holder of the first chair of Urban History in Britain at Leicester University from 1973 to 1978, is regarded by many British urban historians as the doyen of British urban history. It was his pioneering efforts in the 1960s and 1970s which established urban history as a field distinct from economic or social history. David Cannadine, a close colleague of Dyos, brings together the scholarship and vigorous approach of these two very different, outstanding modern historians, and sees urban history in Britain as "the offspring begotten from the union of Briggs's writing and

Dyos' entrepreneurship" (1982b, 215-16).¹

In 1973, in his inaugural lecture, "Urbanity and Suburbanity," Dyos emphasised that urban history "is a field of knowledge, not a single discipline in the accepted sense but a field in which many disciplines converge, or are at any rate drawn upon" (rpt. 1982, 31). He insisted that the study of nineteenth century cities was an essential part of modern social and economic history because the development of cities was intimately related to the structure of society and its economic development. He was concerned to develop methods by which it was possible to show how the scale of urban development affected the quality of life in the city, but was not rigorous in insisting on any one methodology. He explored the difficulties in relating studies of urban structures to contemporary perceptions of the vast changes brought about through the establishment of concentrations of people and structures, with their complex interactions in an industrial milieu previously unknown to society. Dyos' greatest concern seems to have been to provide a perspective on the present predicaments of urbanization through a study of its past which evoked life as it was then lived. In order to do this he chose to study London in depth, rather than one of the provincial cities, seeing the

¹ David Cannadine is a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he is Lecturer and Director of Studies in History. He is joint editor with David Reeder of Exploring the Urban Past: Essays in Urban History by H.J. Dyos (1982). He contributed a sensitive conclusion to that volume on the 'Dyos Phenomenon' and the future of urban history in Britain in the post-Dyos years. It is a theme to which he returns in a perceptive assessment of the origins and state of urban history in the 1980s published in Encounter in 1983.

position of the metropol as "the generator, the great influencer of tastes and values, images and opinions" (1982, xiv-xv).

The choice of a specific city as the subject of legitimate historical enquiry was seen by Dyos as crucial to the study of urban history. He believed that it is only when such investigations are locked in to a particular place and time that the urban historian can then relate them to the wider issues and give valid explanations of urban change. The study of cities in their totality lay at the heart of Dyos' concept of urban history, as he believed that it was only through this that the urban historian would be able to understand and appreciate the links between the urban fabric and the kind of life that was actually lived in it.²

One senses in Dyos' commitment to the city in its totality, echoes of the Annalistes mentalité, something in fact of Fernand Braudel's commitment to histoire totale,³ set out in his inimitable La Méditerranée (1949).⁴ Both historians were attempting to discover the historical character of their field of study: Dyos, that of London, his "dear, damned, distracting

² "The crucial thing", Dyos wrote to Cannadine, is that urban historians "must go on addressing the total phenomenon of the city as directly as they can" 24 Jan. 1977. Quoted in Cannadine 1982b, 208, 256n. See also Cannadine's discussion 212.

³ For discussion on Braudel and histoire totale, see Hexter 1979, 133-34.

⁴ La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II. Originally presented as a dissertation for the degree of Docteur ès Lettres at the Sorbonne, Paris, a revised edition of La Méditerranée, in two volumes, was published in London by Collins in 1972-73.

town"⁵ and Braudel, the Mediterranean, of which in the preface to his first edition he writes, "I have loved the Mediterranean with passion" (1: 17). Their methodological approaches were different, and there there is major divergence. If, however, one recalls that urban history is a field, not a single discipline, in both the Annalistes mentalité and what Cannadine has termed the 'Dyos phenomenon', one can trace an approach to historical enquiry which brings closer the possibility of quantifying those elusive qualities which make up the character of a city or region.

In the United States, in the late 1960s and 1970s, parallel to the development of urban history in Britain, the New Urban History was influenced (unlike Dyos) by the methodology of the Annalistes, who tended to be quantitative historians. Dedicated to what Cannadine calls "the cult of quantification and census analysis" (1982b, 219) the New Urban Historians see commitment to a specific methodology as of prime importance, and the city studied as incidental. To Dyos this approach does not allow for the individual's experience of the city, and gives little scope for the elucidation of its culture (1982, 34). Both aspects were to him essential components of urban history.

In 1978 the unexpected death of Jim Dyos prevented him from completing his magnum opus on London which would hopefully have demonstrated what he asserted theoretically. His influence and

⁵ A quotation from Alexander Pope used by Dyos as the title of a review article in British Book News 1976, but quoted since in various contexts as expressive of his deep personal commitment to London.

direction of the burgeoning field of British urban history has, however, not been without its critics. This may be regarded as a healthy sign, for where there is controversy among specialists the research field is an active one. In the field of British urban history the deepest area of criticism is at grass roots level, the definition of urban history itself. What distinguishes it from local history? At what point does it move from social or economic history into urban history? Does the Dyos approach in fact defy analysis in that it asks questions which may not be able to be answered?

David Cannadine, in his evaluation of the 'Dyos phenomenon', concluded that urban history in the Dyos mould intellectually stands for very little (1982b, 207). He attributes this to Dyos' wide ranging, tolerant approach which deliberately did not focus on a specific methodology or ideological stand-point, but was a commitment to the city itself. Cannadine sees this as a fundamental weakness, and shows that some historians see the Dyos approach as a glorified form of local history, or as "no more than a bandwagon, a spurious exercise in interdisciplinarian sin, falsely claiming credit for work that would have been done in any case under more traditional labels" (1983, 47). Asa Briggs and other historians have seen Dyos' approach as too narrow in that urbanization has to be contextualised in broader, yet related, issues, and it is significant that after the publication of his Victorian Cities, Briggs has returned to the wider field of social history although retaining a lively interest in urban

history.

The deepest problem faced by urban historians in the post-Dyos decade is in fact contiguous with the decline of the city. Thatcherism and Reaganomics, as David Cannadine has pointed out, with their strict emphasis on free enterprise which insists that businesses must stand or fall by their own level of performance, are contributing to death in the city centre as central business districts experience the collapse of once flourishing entrepreneurial establishments (1983, 46). In what is becoming a post-urban world, where the emphasis is moving away from the city centre as the economic base shifts to decentralised localities, historians working in this field are getting a foredoomed feeling. What future is there for urban history when the heart of the subject matter, the city, is dying?

The H.J. Dyos Memorial Conference held in 1980 was an important occasion, giving the opportunity of assessing the direction and purpose of urban history in the early years of the decade. It showed that despite the criticism of the Dyos tradition (and, we might add, death in the city), urban history is very much alive. Anthony Sutcliffe, Chairman of the Urban History Group formed by Dyos as an offshoot of the Economic History Society, is joint editor with Derek Fraser (General Editor of the series Themes in Urban History commenced by Dyos) of a collection of essays deriving from the Memorial Conference entitled The Pursuit of Urban History (1983). In his reflections on the conference, Sutcliffe comments that although no theoretical framework exists for urban history (a matter of real

concern and searching questioning), thematic studies of cities and their influence on the broader historical process offer the greatest scope for understanding the urban phenomenon and so are a secure area in the future of a problematic field (1984, esp. 136 and 141). Elsewhere Sutcliffe also foresees a possible continuation of the 'Dyos phenomenon' with the growth of "the idea of an all-embracing culture which has begun to take over from class consciousness and class conflict as the fil rouge of social history debates" (1983, 49). The Victorian city, he points out, is the epitome of a dominant cultural system. Back to Dyos?

Urban history, although an insecure structure in the 1980s, remains an eclectic field which has, for over two decades, embraced a wide variety of disciplines. Economic and social historians, urban geographers, cultural historians, labour historians, architectural historians and sociologists, all are part of the colourful kaleidoscope of urban history in the Jim Dyos tradition. Despite the questions which relate to contemporary urban history, ongoing studies of Victorian cities as envisioned by Dyos continue. It is in this spirit that the relationship between the occupants of an early Victorian town and their material domestic culture is explored and presented in this study as a venture in urban history.

Material Culture Studies

Material culture, the study of man made artefacts, includes "the things people make from the physical world -- farm tools, ceramics, houses, furniture, toys, buttons, roads, cities" (Ferguson 1977, 8). As such, its interdisciplinary nature lends itself to study within the urban history framework. Material culture studies in Britain are only now moving onto a theoretical base. Dr Susan Pearce (1986a & b), Senior Lecturer in the Department of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, is in the forefront of the move to assist museologists in Britain to develop the discipline of material culture studies. To promote this, the Department of Museum Studies is holding a conference, "Museum Studies in Material Culture", in March 1987, the proceedings of which will be published as a volume with the conference title.

America has taken the lead in material culturist research. Dr. Thomas J. Schlereth, Professor of American Studies and Director of Graduate Studies in American Studies at the University of Notre Dame, is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum in Delaware. He is working on a study of the intellectual history of the Material Culture Studies movement in America between 1876 and 1976. A preliminary chapter on this subject forms the introduction to Material Culture Studies in America (1982) of which he is compiler and editor.

There are a number of different research trends in the

material culture field in America. In the 1980s, as in urban history, the American material culture movement is characterized by an increasing eclecticism (Schlereth 1982, 72). Schlereth, in the Dyos tradition, welcomes this diversity. Of the various approaches to material culture studies, three are relevant to this study, those of the cultural, social, and most recently, urban historians.

There are two schools within the American cultural history tradition. Cultural historians with a 'static reconstructionist' approach consider the historian's fundamental responsibility to be the documentation, interpretation and communication of a total sense of the past (Schlereth 46-47), and have tended to concentrate on the reconstruction of pre-industrial craft villages or rural agricultural communities. The other school of 'process reconstructionists' are archeologists who are asking socio-economic questions of the material culture data, and looking for evidence of cultural change rather than cultural homogeneity as do the static reconstructionists. Recent scholarship from the process reconstructionists' new conceptual and methodological framework includes a pioneering work by Deetz (1977) who draws on census records, probate inventories and other documentary evidence to supplement his archeological findings.

A logical extension of the Annales school methodology is its relevance not only to social and urban history, but also to material culture studies, and this has come through a coalition of social and urban history interests (Schlereth 69). From the late 1960s the American New Urban historians were using quantitative data wherever possible to obtain the most

representative research results, as they were increasingly skeptical of literary élite (and so unrepresentative) historical sources (Schlereth 68). British social historians, under the influence of E.P. Thompson, were viewing history through the more representative masses. To certain American material culturists, "long accustomed to working with nonliterary sources -- tools, furniture, structures, and archeological shards -- those basic canons of the acclaimed 'new' social history only reinforced their own methodological perspective" (Schlereth 68-69). A popular culture movement has also emerged to focus on vernacular and mass produced artefacts as opposed to the élite objects which have for so long been the subject of certain material culture studies (Schlereth 73).

There has, however, been comparatively little scholarship emanating from material culturists influenced by the social and urban history trends. Demos (1970) in his study of life in the seventeenth century Plymouth colony was the first to show the possibilities of investigating the interior spaces and artefacts of houses to establish more accurately life as it was then lived. Clifford E. Clark Jr.'s article on "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History" (1976) is another seminal contribution from the marriage of social and cultural studies.

Material culture studies have most recently expanded to include urban history subjects. Public buildings, housing types and room usage, transport networks, are all part of the essential evidence needed to interpret urban ways of life (Schlereth, 72).

Schlereth's survey of American material culture studies certainly points to a virile, versatile field of scholarship which

has received little attention in American professional historical journals and circles. In South Africa material culture is a little known field from which no substantial theoretical work has been forthcoming. It is a field in which both urban and social history paradigms are relevant and it is hoped that this venture in urban history will provide stimulus for further material culture studies in South Africa.

Origin of Study

It is in the context of an increasing awareness of the importance of the material fabric of every day life as part of a city's all-embracing culture that the origin of this study lies. It seeks to close some of the gaps in our knowledge as to the content of and manner in which the English emigrants to the eastern districts of the Cape Colony furnished their homes in the nineteenth century.

How little was known of Grahamstown domestic interiors was sharply brought into focus when establishing The Observatory Museum in Grahamstown as a historic house museum during 1980-83, a project sponsored by De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd.⁶ During this time

⁶ The building was purchased and restored by De Beers to commemorate the identification of the Eureka or Hope Town diamond which took place in Grahamstown in 1867, an event which marked the beginning of the diamond industry in South Africa.

The establishment of The Observatory as a historic house museum was undertaken in my capacity as Curator of Cultural History at the Albany Museum. For a discussion of the principles which underpinned the creation of the Museum, see my "The Role of Constraints in the Establishment of a Historic House Museum," South African Journal of Cultural History 2 (1985):29-38.

it was necessary to recreate part of the interior of the building to represent a late Victorian middle or upper middle class home in Grahamstown. Apart from the evidence contained in the fabric of the building, revealed by architectural investigation of the structure and also by paint scrapes and their analysis, it was necessary to discover from local contemporary sources the types of furniture and furnishings which were in use in Grahamstown houses during the late nineteenth century. It was soon apparent that no surveys of the interiors of Cape houses for this period, or earlier in the century, existed. The historical information required would have to be researched from primary sources, mainly local newspapers and contemporary photographs. It would have been comparatively easy to obtain information as to the interiors of domestic dwellings in England during the later years of Victoria's reign. What was needed, however, was the historically accurate records of what was actually available in Grahamstown, and the way in which the English settlers had adapted to their new environment. To what extent had a local character developed?

Many questions were raised. Some were related to room usage, and these had a direct connection with the social class of the occupants. In the case of The Observatory, the owner/architect of the major, unique,⁷ additions to the original

⁷ The unique features added to The Observatory by H.C. Galpin in 1881-82, were a camera obscura, ingeniously combined with an observatory, and a meridian room. The pendulum of the clock, the works of which were housed in Galpin's third floor personal workshop, hung in the drawing room on the floor below. The faces of the clock and its bell were part of the clock tower of the building.

1830s Cape Regency shop-dwelling house in Bathurst Street, was H.C.Galpin, a watchmaker and jeweller. Where could he be classified in the Grahamstown social hierarchy in the 1880s? What, in fact, was the social structure in Grahamstown at that period? According to J.F.C. Harrison, who has extrapolated a working class typology from Henry Mayhew's classification of London's labouring poor in the latter's London Labour and the London Poor (1861-62), a watchmaker/jeweller was a member of the labour aristocracy.⁸ Did that obtain in Grahamstown, or was the social situation much more fluid, and would it be more accurate to classify Galpin as middle or upper middle class in terms of the house which he designed? Room usage was crucial in determining that, whatever the average watchmaker/jeweller establishment might have been in London, in Grahamstown Galpin's home contained a drawing room and library. Both rooms, it was discovered through the examination of newspaper advertisements, were to be found in the homes of upper middle class householders. In late Victorian Grahamstown drawing rooms appeared to have replaced parlours in the homes of merchants and other rising middle class members. This may, of course, simply have been a question of terms applied by different social classes to a room used for much the same function, word usage reflecting a certain cultural background.

⁸ A summary of J.F.C. Harrison's working class typology has been extracted from his Early Victorians 1832-1851 (1971, 23-48), and forms Appendix A7.

The nature of the furniture imported from England needed investigation, and the extent to which local craftsmen made furniture from indigenous woods needed clarification. Was there a second-hand market for furniture in Grahamstown? Was new, fashionable en suite furniture imported, and were other English fashions followed as closely as distance allowed?

Furnishings and finishes had to be researched. What evidence was there as to the type of fabrics used in upholstery and for curtains? What styles were fashionable for window drapes? Were wallpapers used? If so, what evidence existed of these in the fabric of the building, and others contemporary with it? Did the newspaper advertisements give the names of wallpaper manufacturers whose wares were imported? What visual records were there of late Victorian interiors in Grahamstown which would show room arrangements, including how the curtains were hung?

Questions concerning facilities were raised. What, for example, were those for bathing? Was piped water laid on to the houses? Which raised the question as to when piped water was available in Grahamstown, and where, and what sort of bathing and sanitary arrangements were available in the houses, at least those of the wealthier citizens?

There were also queries concerning the relationship(s) between the houses and their occupants. Were there links between types of houses and social level of their occupants? Did, for example, most artisans occupy the simple early settler cottages or to what extent was society on the frontier not only socially,

but three dimensionally upwardly mobile? Was the large home of H.C. Galpin, occupationally an artisan watchmaker, in fact an exception, or were there other working class citizens in Grahamstown who substantially 'bettered' themselves? If so, where did they live? When, and where were the élite areas of the town established? Then too, most important in a study of domestic material culture, what sort of social mix was there in Grahamstown? Was the town dominantly middle class by the 1880s in life style if not in occupations?

Such enquiries relate to the social and spatial structure of a city, and in the absence of studies of the spatial organisation of Grahamstown it would be necessary to examine both the occupational and spatial structure of the town as a necessary framework for a study of its domestic material culture.

Detailed historical research is required to give answers, or to establish that there are none, to these and other questions. It seemed logical to turn to the earlier years of English settlement in Grahamstown and to commence an in depth, systematic survey from that point.

Choice of Period

The period to be studied, 1831-1853, has been determined as follows.

The first number of the Graham's Town Journal, Grahamstown's first newspaper, was published on 30 December 1831, effectively commencing from 1832, and 1853 saw the close of the 8th war on the eastern Cape frontier. The early Victorian era in England

can be said to be delimited by the Reform Bill of 1832 and the cultural watershed of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations which was opened in London on 1 May 1851. The roots of events which shaped the material aspects of English and Colonial society over a reign of sixty-four years did not commence with Victoria's accession to the throne in 1837, but somewhat earlier, with the commencement of the industrial revolution in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is fortuitous that such a significant source of social data as the Graham's Town Journal commenced in 1832, and that the Eastern Frontier's troubled borders had their longest relatively peaceful interlude following 1853, so giving a cohesive socio-political framework to coincide with Britain's early Victorian era. The choice of period is thus determined by historic events of importance to Grahamstown, but is one which is spanned by the cultural influences of what can be loosely termed late Georgian (1760s to 1800), Regency (ca. 1800 to 1830) and early Victorian. For when assessing cultural development there can be no hard and fast cut off point.

Victorian House and Home: Some Secondary Sources

That urban history is no longer confined to the creation of the built environment and the activities of landowners, developers, builders, owners and investors is attested to by a growing literature. These are works which give to urban history and architecture elsewhere the domestic social dimensions which this study attempts to give to Grahamstown, albeit in a different way.

Class and its influence on architecture is part of the warp

The English Terraced House (1982), where he shows that size of house and facilities were delineators of class. Although Muthesius is writing what amounts to an urban and social history of Victorian architecture, he is careful to avoid assessments as to the standards of living experienced by the occupants of the houses (101). The particular value of Muthesius' work for this study lies in his discussion of intraclass distinctions - house plan and room usage, facilities and architectural style, as they related to social mobility within the middle class. His chapters on "The Changing Plan of the Common House" and "Social and Architectural Hierarchy", in particular have provided stimulus.

Working class housing has received increasing attention in recent years, but Enid Gauldie's Cruel Habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing 1780-1918 (1974) remains the standard, comprehensive history of the housing of the working class in Britain. M.J. Daunton's House and Home in the Victorian City: Working Class Housing 1850-1914 (1983), although after the period covered by this study, has nevertheless been particularly relevant in the comments he makes concerning cultural development of an urban environment and his insight into the manner in which owners interpreted and utilized the space within their houses as well as the way in which working class families shaped their environment.

Few of the growing number of historical studies of the design of houses in England or the Commonwealth have analysed the internal design and use of interior spaces. Jill Franklin's

meticulously researched, analytical study of The Gentleman's Country House and Its Plan 1835-1914 (1981) is one of the few, and provides detailed discussion of the rooms indispensable to a gentleman's country residence. When one considers the building boom of the nineteenth century and the process of gentrification⁹ which characterized English society, her research findings are not so far removed from a study of domestic dwellings in Grahamstown as might appear at first sight. An understanding of upper class living is essential background to that of the aspiring middle classes. Franklin's virtual omission of the relationship between the house and its occupants is unfortunate, divorcing as it does two intimately related aspects. Roderick J. Lawrence (1982) in his cross-cultural study of domestic space and society, has also provided insights relating to the internal layout and design of houses.¹⁰

Mark Girouard's Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History (1978) provides excellent background material on the evolution of the country house as it met the needs and reflected the social attitudes of Britain's landed elite. It is complemented by Girouard's The Victorian Country House (1979), now regarded as a classic study of Victorian architecture. It is a work which also reflects attitudes and ways of life, and so blends social history with architecture.

⁹ For comments on some recent contributions to the concept of 'gentrification' see Chapter 1.

¹⁰ Lawrence compares house forms in England and Australia, and although his case studies are contemporary, he has included historical reviews for the two countries, that for Australia being particularly relevant to this study.

Behind the façade of Victorian domestic architecture there is, however, comparatively little available on interiors. The English Home (1979) by Doreen Yarwood, scholar, historian and artist, is a standard work. She is also author of an indispensable pictorial guide and glossary, English Interiors (1983). The Connoisseur Period Guides to the Houses, Decoration, Furnishing and Chattels of the Classic Periods, edited by Ralph Edwards and L.G.G. Ramsey (1958) include the early Victorian period, defined as 1830-1860, as well as volumes on the late Georgian (1760-1810) and Regency (1810-1830) and are valuable reference works. More recently, Susan Lasdun's Victorians at Home (1981) and Making Victorians: The Drummond Children's World (1983), both provide rich insights into the visual documentation of Victorian domestic interiors, demonstrating how they reflected the aspirations and values of their owners. In English Interiors 1790-1848: The Quest for Comfort (1978) John Cornforth has brought together a collection of pictures of domestic interiors drawn from the upper levels of English society. Most of the illustrations, which Cornforth regards as an independent genre, are the work of amateurs. They show the increasing informality of rooms between 1825 and 1845, an important development contributing to increased comfort in the home.

Photography came into its own in the 1840s after its invention almost simultaneously by Henry Fox Talbot (the calotype) in 1839, and Louis Daguerre (the daguerreotype), some six months later. Among the various photographic records available, however, early Victorian photographs of domestic

interiors are rare, and the visual records are rather to be found in paintings and drawings.

Literature on colonial domestic interiors is understandably more scarce. As far as the Cape Colony is concerned, apart from Carolyn Woodward's pioneer study on The Interior of the Cape House 1670-1714,¹¹ there is The Cape House and Its Interior by A.M. Oberholzer, M. Baraitser and W.D. Malherbe, published by Stellenbosch Museum in 1985. It is subtitled "An Inquiry into the Sources of Cape Architecture & A Survey of Built-In Early Cape Domestic Woodwork". The book is an important contribution as the second work to deal specifically with Cape interiors. As the volume treats almost exclusively Cape architecture broadly influenced by Dutch, German and French styles, and the built-in furniture of such houses in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, its relevance to this study of English interiors has been peripheral.

Domestic architecture is an important dimension of the study of interiors, and Ronald Lewcock's definitive work on Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa: A Study of the Interaction of Two Cultures 1795-1837 (1963) is essential to any contemporaneous study of Cape Colonial interiors. The main body

¹¹ C.S. Woodward's MA dissertation was submitted to the University of Pretoria in 1982. She has subsequently published an article based on her thesis research entitled "From Multi-Purpose Parlour to Drawing Room: The Development of the Principal Voorkamer in the Fashionable Cape House, 1670-1820," Bulletin of the South African Cultural History Museum 4(1983):5-19.

of the text is a detailed study of both public and domestic buildings. It also provides a useful discussion of the scope of town planning before 1850 and investigates the character of the early nineteenth century towns at the Cape, including Grahamstown. Lewcock's research is well complemented by Désirée Picton-Seymour's Victorian Buildings in South Africa (1977), and Dennis Radford's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Architecture of the Western Cape, 1838-1901" (1979).

There are few references to interiors in the published accounts of social life at the Cape in the early nineteenth century, and none, it would appear, for Grahamstown. This scarcity underlines the importance of studying the domestic material culture of the town and of using such evidence to document and analyse the past. Such analyses, however, also need to draw on contemporary accounts of the town to facilitate the historian's task of interpreting the factual data in the attempt to communicate a total sense of the past.

Descriptions of Grahamstown which help to fill the space behind the facts are however tantalisingly elusive. Cowper Rose in his Four Years in Southern Africa (1829) provides a rare early account of Grahamstown. Other writers include Stephen Kay (1833), Lieut. J.W.D. Moodie (1835), Charles J.F. Bunbury (1848, but referring to 1838), Thornley Smith (1850, but referring to 1842), Capt. A.S. Murray (1856, but referring to 1846-48) and Thomas Baines (1848).

Few paintings and drawings of early nineteenth century English interiors at the Cape exist. Those which have been

traced are discussed below in Chapter 2, "English Influences on Domestic Interiors at the Cape".

Photographic records of English domestic interiors at the Cape appear to be non-existent for the 1840s and 1850s. The earliest photographic studio at the Cape was that of the Frenchman Jules Leger in Port Elizabeth, opened in 1846 (Bull and Denfield 1970, 33). His Grahamstown studio was set up in Bathurst Street on 21 November of that year, so from that date the potential for photographic records of interiors was there. The early daguerreotype and calotype portraits were followed by the popular carte de visite, which was first recorded in the Cape in 1861. As the majority of these portraits were taken indoors, it is again a measure of the degree to which domestic environment was taken for granted that virtually no records other than of the contrived, 'stage set' backdrop of photographers' studios have been traced. Marjorie Bull and Joseph Denfield in their Secure the Shadow: The Story of Cape Photography from its Beginnings to the End of 1870 (1970) only record one interior view, taken in 1854, that of Commemoration Chapel in Grahamstown. In all their exhaustive research they failed to trace any photographic records of domestic interiors at the Cape.

Moving to a further outpost of the British empire, photographs of some magnificent late Victorian domestic interiors which are still intact form a major part of Victorian Splendour: Australian Interior Decoration 1837-1901 (1981). The author, Suzanne Forge, vividly describes and portrays in photographs the exuberant

interior décor which characterized Victorian homes in Australia and is still remarkably well preserved. She puts forward the thesis that Victorian homes were not a careless mix of styles and uneducated taste, but rather the product of a generation in England which took seriously the decorative arts. In Australia, from the poor to the rich, Forge shows that Australians took pride in ornamenting their homes with a forceful, vibrant, intelligent use of the technology generated by the industrial revolution in England. No comparable work has been traced for Canada or the Cape.

As far as the development of a distinctive Australian house is concerned, a recent work, The History & Design of the Australian House (1985) forms a major contribution to the corpus of knowledge on Australian house design. Edited by Robert Irving, Senior Lecturer in Architecture at the University of New South Wales, the authors examine the full range of Australian house types, looking at the influence of the Australian environment on house design. Part One is a history of the Australian house, and Part Two discusses some of the distinctively Australian approaches to the use of interior domestic spaces. The chapter on interiors and decoration by Suzanne Forge includes additional insights and illustrations to those published in Victorian Splendour in 1981.

Primary Sources

The main focus of this study is on domestic material culture or the interior furniture and furnishings of domestic dwellings in Grahamstown (Chapters 6 to 9). The contemporary evidence for this is to be found in vendue rolls, deceased and insolvent estate inventories, newspaper advertisements and pictorial records.

Vendue Rolls are the records of deceased and insolvent estate auctions held in the Cape Colony between 1691 and 1834. Housed in the Cape Archives, they have been classified as the Archives M00C 10 Series (Master Of the Orphan Chamber). For the purpose of this survey it was decided to examine the vendue rolls from 1820 onwards in order to obtain as wide a coverage as possible. Cultural development does not normally take place rapidly, and a ten year extension either way is admissible. Fourteen vendue rolls relevant to this study were examined for the period 1820 to 1834. Every vendue roll and inventory of an estate bearing an English surname was examined, and the criteria for selection, both for vendue rolls and inventories, was that they were written in English as opposed to Dutch and included household furniture and furnishings. Every vendue roll and inventory for Grahamstown, however, was extracted, regardless of whether household goods were included or not. A number of these, however, list only clothing and personal items.

The vendue rolls are copies of the public auction sales held by the Agents to the Board of the Orphan Chamber. When the head of a family died, unless the will expressly declined the services

of the Orphan Chamber, the entire estate was put up for auction so that the monetary proceeds (less the government commission and other fees¹²) were available for the support of the surviving spouse and/or minor children.¹³ Many wills examined from 1834 expressly declined the offices of the Orphan Chamber.

As they are records of auctions, the vendue rolls do not list the contents of domestic dwellings by room, which does limit their value when trying to determine the nature of domestic arrangements in the home. They do, however, provide a wide ranging, informative record of an estate, each item being listed together with the name of the purchaser and the amount realized, either in rix dollars or sterling.

¹² Typical vendue fees for the estate of George Lyon, Grahamstown, in 1831 were:

5 per cent due Govt & auct.	Rd 326 6
10 days attendance for the vendue	
Clerk at 2 rds per day	20
Copy Vendue Roll	2 4

Rd 349 2

(MOOC 10/44 Inv.91, 1831)

¹³ Vendue Roll MOOC 10/39 Inv. 35, 1826 is that of Ann Stubbs, Grahamstown, and appears to be the sale of the bulk of her estate. Recalling the death of his mother, Ann, Thomas Stubbs wrote in his journal, "The Orphan Chamber took all (the goods) we had and sold them by public auction" (Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, eds. Maxwell & McGeogh (1978) 88). Stubbs goes on to mention that "Major Dundas was landdrost at the time and bought largely of the splendid linen goods my mother brought out (they were not to be had in the Colony)". There is no reference to Dundas as a purchaser at Ann Stubb's vendue, nor of linen goods, although two sets of bed furniture (one white) were sold, as were a counterpane, three blankets and a coverlet, two feather beds and bolsters. Reading the list of effects sold, down to the personal possessions, watch, violin and books, makes one realize why so many people declined the services of the Orphan Chamber in their wills. Ann Stubbs' estate realised Rds 1 313 or £98 12s 6d.

Inventories of Deceased and Insolvent Estates are also housed in the Cape Archives. Their M00C 7 Series consists of wills, inventories and appraisements, and was examined for the period 1834, when it commences, to 1853. If someone died intestate, an inventory of all effects, immoveable and moveable, was compiled, with valuation. An inventory of a testate estate was sometimes taken as well. In these cases normally no valuation was given.

Selection was made (within the English delimitation) on the basis of content, and so inventories with sufficient household effects to provide a basis for comparison were chosen. Those which listed personal effects and a few miscellaneous items of furniture were not extracted as they could contribute little of significance to this particular study.

A total of 98 household inventories was extracted for the survey period (Appendix C1). Of these 36 relate to Grahamstown (Appendix C2). Cape household inventories, including those of Grahamstown, which list contents of rooms, number 40 (Appendix C3). Such 'room inventories' are of particular value in reconstructing the domestic arrangements of a dwelling, but those for Grahamstown are rare, only six being traced (Appendix C4.1-6). As there are so few Grahamstown room inventories, for discussion purposes two 'room advertisements' from the Graham's Town Journal are subsumed under this heading (Appendix C4.7 & 8).

Insolvent Estate Records, the M0IB Series (Master Of the Insolvency Branch) at the Cape Archives was examined for a test period, 1832 to 1838. Entry into the insolvent estate records is by name of the insolvent. As a test run the names of 95 persons

declared insolvent in the Graham's Town Journal during these years were checked against the MOIB index, but only 43 were traced. This indicates that not all cases required Supreme Court decisions. It was also clear that it sometimes took many years for an insolvent estate to be wound up.¹⁴ In the finality, only twelve inventories were extracted, one of which contained a room inventory. Those examined were frequently more an indication of poverty than a reflection of what the norm might have been prior to the presumably lowest ebb reached by selling all available possessions to meet creditors before the whole estate was seized.¹⁵

The documents filed in the MOIB series of estate papers include promissory notes, 'good for's' and accounts from dealers for monies owed them. They also can contain documents rich in social commentary, such as the record of the trade agreements and

¹⁴ The Graham's Town Journal 19.7.1838, 3c2 & 3, carried a letter to the editor from "Viator" concerning the length of time taken to wind up insolvent estates, a situation which often precluded the creditors being paid. He cited seventeen unresolved estates as examples. These were checked against the MOIB Index at the Cape Archives, and his contention substantiated in several instances, as insolvencies from 1830 and 1831 (Conway, Hutton and Deale) were only resolved in 1848, and that of Ayton (1837) in 1844, and Dednam (1836) in 1848.

¹⁵ Henry Harper of "Harper's Castle" in Grahamstown, is a case in point. His estate was declared insolvent in September 1833 (MOIB 2/687 (102) 8 Aug. 1848). T. Halse, Messenger of the Court for Albany, recorded that the only possession Harper claimed to own was a small cask of large blue and white beads. Halse wrote, in evident exasperation:

Stated that has no Property Moveable or Immoveable
--- he cannot produce the Waggon as rendered in his
Schedule C as it has been long since delivered over to Mr
Thomas Nelson of Graham's Town in payment of a Debt long
previous to his making said Schedule,
Cannot produce the Horse. . . .
Cannot produce the eight Oxen. . . .
Cannot produce the Bull. . . .

dealings which existed between James Temlett, Storekeeper, and Charles Breeze, Trader, in 1834.¹⁶

As the information yielded from the insolvent estate inventories over a seven year period was minimal, it was decided for the purpose of this study to limit it to this.

War Losses from the 6th Frontier War (1834-35) were examined and the most relevant, a single room inventory, extracted, that of J. Berrington, Inn Keeper at Port Frances near Grahamstown.

Newspapers are sources which illuminate every facet of life in a community, and advertisements in particular are rich in material relating to the interiors of domestic dwellings, providing a mirror of what was currently fashionable. Relevant advertisements from the Graham's Town Journal, 1832 to 1853, were indexed to reflect Grahamstown's material culture as required for this study. It was discovered that the newspaper sources were in general richer and more detailed than the data contained in household inventories. The limitation of newspaper advertisements is that they provide no link with the occupants of domestic dwellings. Both advertisements and inventories are basic to domestic material culture research.

¹⁶ Charles Breeze, Frontier Trader, resided at No. 9 Cross Street, Artificer's Square, (MOIB 2/686 (98) 8 Aug. 1848). Temlett had him seized by his own men in Caffre Land, and captured all his stock. The correspondence and details of legal proceedings taken by Breeze against Temlett are included in the documents filed with the insolvent estate papers.

Quantification, Directories and Computers

Quantification which provides meaningful answers to questions is one of the methodological problems, amongst others, facing urban historians. It is possible to build up extensive computer data bases and yet find that the possibilities for analysis are comparatively limited, or that one loses sight of the main subject of inquiry. This was a difficulty voiced by Dyos when he saw the New Urban historians' concentration on quantification reduce the city to a comparatively minor role.

Directories are handbooks to a town which contain one or more alphabetical lists of inhabitants with their addresses and occupations. Their origin in Britain goes back to the late seventeenth century, after which they appeared under various names, but by the early nineteenth century the term 'directory' was in common use (Corfield & Kelly 1984, 27).

Directories are a data source which urban historians have been reluctant to use because of doubts as to their reliability (Shaw 1984, 36). In the absence of census reports for a specific town, or as a supplement to such census data, directories are, however, a valuable reference tool provided that their limitations are recognized.

The first limitation faced by British and Canadian historians is the relative lack of information as to their availability (Shaw 1984, 38). In South Africa, however, A South African Bibliography (SABIB) provides a meticulous coverage of all material published in or on South Africa to the year 1925, and includes directories.

As far as Grahamstown is concerned, The Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register compiled by B.J. van der Sandt, Superintendent of the Government Printing Office in Cape Town, published twelve directories of Grahamstown inhabitants. These were published as part of the annual Cape Almanac, the abbreviated title given by archivists and historians to the series. The years covered are 1838, 1842-47, 1850, 1852-54, and 1858.

There are three other Grahamstown directories, that of J.C. Chase, published in 1843 in his The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay, &c. &c. with Statistics of the Colony, which is essentially the same as that of the Cape Almanac for 1843, and those published in The Eastern Province Directory and Almanac for 1848 and 1849.

As the almanacs were published for sale at the beginning of a calendar year, the list of inhabitants is in fact that of the previous year, and was probably compiled in the second half of that year. It is for this reason that although Chase's 1843 directory and the 1854 Cape Almanac directory of Grahamstown householders have been used for this study, they are cited throughout as '1842' and '1853' respectively.

The basis upon which the directories were compiled is not easy to establish, and the lack of such information constitutes another of the drawbacks to using such data sources. If a direct survey by the publisher/compiler was undertaken, it would be more likely to be accurate than second- or third-hand reports, possibly in response to advertisements for such details.

Census data comparison has proved to be the best method of

assessing the reliability of directories. For example, a random check of 100 Toronto labourers from Canada's 1861 Census made against the inhabitants listed in Brown's Toronto Directory for 1861, showed that 79 were listed in the directory (Shaw 1984, 41). This is a particularly encouraging result from a low income group, as another limitation of directories can be that they reflect the more wealthy members of the town. If, however, no such independent variable as census data exists, as in the case of Grahamstown, another index must be found if possible. For Grahamstown the index used was the range of advertisers in the Graham's Town Journal for 1842. Checked against the Cape Almanac's "Inhabitants of Graham's Town", only 14.9% did not appear in the directory for that year, indicating a fairly representative coverage of merchants and tradesmen by the directory.

Directories tend to be biased towards businessmen and skilled workers, and are further limited by listing only heads of households. It is for this reason that the term 'householders' rather than 'inhabitants' has been preferred in this study. Domestic servants are not normally included, nor, in Grahamstown, is the black population reflected apart from a few Malay names.

Despite their limitations, directories have two great assets. They usually appeared annually, so making comparative records available, and in the absence of census records, they provide occupational and residential data which are

quantifiable¹⁷ and often prove a valuable additional record against which census records can be checked and expanded.

The possibilities of computerized data sorting are extensive, and open up hitherto unexplored avenues by checking the data according to various parameters. Through entering data from street listings in directories, it is possible, for example, to obtain an overview of the occupations of Grahamstown's inhabitants at given periods of time, and observe patterns which are otherwise obscured. Occupations can be analysed by type, and their spatial distribution traced. The changes which have taken place from one year to another in regard to the composition and character of streets can be observed. Indications of residential or social mobility can be examined by combining data bases. Additional fields can be added to the directory data base, such as religious denomination, and so the spread of occupations within a denomination can be observed. The complexity of the data sorting process is naturally increased as more fields are added.

A computerized analysis of occupations in Grahamstown was undertaken, based on the 1842 and 1853 directories of Grahamstown householders. Facsimiles of the two directories form Appendices A1-2, while derivative data sorts plotted on various fields

¹⁷ W.A. Armstrong's classification of occupations and discussion of their value and problems as a basis for social stratification, although apropos of census records, has provided valuable insights for a directory based analysis of Grahamstown occupations. See his "The Use of Information About Occupations" (1972), esp. 198-203.

appear as Appendices A3-4 and A12-15. The data on which these appendices are based have been processed by dBase II (copyright Ashton Tate) and interfaced with WordStar (copyright MicroPro), using an IBM Personal Computer.

Once the data had been processed using the dBase II data sorting software, it was possible to index the directories on several fields: surname, first name or initials, occupation and street. A class field was also added from a tentative Grahamstown typology (Table 4 and Appendix A9). The data from the directories was expanded by the addition of religious affiliation wherever this could be extracted from local church registers. The data disks are available for further processing on application to the author.

Colonial Comparisons

In my concluding attempt to compare the character of early Victorian Grahamstown with spatial and domestic cultural developments in another colonial, though not frontier settlement, Sydney Cove, Australia, I have drawn on a rich historiography. Such classic texts as the collection of essays edited by Louis Hartz, The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia (1964), and also, as more directly concerned with urban development in other colonial pioneer communities, Richard C. Wade's analysis of the early beginnings of town life in the North American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning (1980) has provided valuable insights. John Reys' important Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning (1979) is

unfortunately not available within the South African Library network.

Graeme Davison's The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne (1978) is regarded as the most important work on Australian urban history published to date,¹⁸ but has little to offer on the domestic scene. Michael Cannon's trilogy, Australia in the Victorian Age, published in Melbourne in the early 1970s is a brilliant social history of which his third volume, Life in the Cities (1975), is particularly relevant. Paul de Serville's Port Philip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne Before the Gold Rushes (1980) is a revised doctoral thesis which has also contributed to the growing literature on Australian urban society. It has not been easy to obtain comparative contemporary accounts of life in early nineteenth century Australia. "Life in Australia", by Another Lady, published in The Cape Monthly Magazine July 1872, is eminently readable, but has little to add to the picture of domestic interiors. The Urban History Yearbook has also had informative review articles on Australasia.

The apparant paucity of published sources on furniture and furnishings in colonial domestic interiors has made it difficult to obtain comparable data for Australia, Canada or New Zealand in the area of domestic material culture. Suzanne

¹⁸ Reviewed by James A. Gillespie, "Class in Urban History: A Review," Comparative Studies in Society and History 24 (1984): 167-73. See also Max Killy's comments in "Urban History Goes Social : Some Recent Work in Australia," a subsection of "Urban History in Australasia," Urban History Yearbook 1984: 68-70.

Forge's Victorian Splendour: Australian Interior Decoration 1837-1901 (1981) and the chapters of the ten contributors to The History & Design of the Australian House (1985), compiled by Robert Irving, have provided stimulus, but virtually ignore the cultural implications of the penal and working class origins of colonial Australia, a gap which is more than adequately covered by Cannon in his trilogy on Victorian Australia. The contrast between the American contribution to domestic material culture studies, as thoroughly researched and presented by Thomas J. Schlereth in his anthology of scholarly writing on Material Culture Studies in America (1982), and that of the British dominions, simply underscores the need which exists for research in this under studied research area. Domestic material culture is a field in which South Africans, too, need to assess the potential for post graduate cross-cultural research studies, as well as exploring the richness of our own multi-national colonial heritage.

It is hoped that this study, in its attempt to analyse the character of an early Victorian frontier town in terms of its material culture, within the context of its urban framework, will contribute something to the ongoing enquiry into urban history. From the perspective of a material culturist, urban history is seen, the Jeremiads notwithstanding, as one of the new frontiers of artefactual research.

CHAPTER 1

THE INDUSTRIAL URBAN ENGLISH BACKGROUND

Grahamstown was established as a direct consequence of Britain's conquest of the Cape Colony during the Napoleonic Wars. As a British foundation with a predominantly British settler population, by 1832 Grahamstown symbolized that 'fragment'¹ of European society in South Africa which took its origin and values from a Britain undergoing the most profound social and economic changes of its long history. The changes were those which by 1851 had turned British people from a predominantly rural based population into a majority of urban dwellers.² The detonator of this metamorphosis was the industrial revolution which in turn influenced and shaped profoundly the society of a garrison town on the Cape frontier of empire.

¹ 'Fragment' is a concept developed by Louis Hartz (1964, esp. 3-23) as the core of his theoretical argument in which he sees the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia as fragments of Europe.

² The population doubled from 10.5m in 1801 to 21m in 1851. Added to this was the flood of migrants from the countryside to the towns. By 1851 58.7% of the population in England and Wales was living in towns (Bédarida 1979, 17). An early example of how rapidly this change from a rural to an urban society could take place, is reflected in the growth of Manchester. Due to the expansion of the cotton industry, Manchester trebled in size during the thirty years between 1770 and 1800.

Economic Change

The technological and scientific developments which brought Britain to her position as the foremost industrial nation of the world by 1851, marked stages in a highly complex process of economic change and growth which extended over a century or more. Outstanding events which symbolized her progress were the political reform Bill of 1832, the Factory Act of 1833, the New Poor Law of 1834, the campaign of the Anti-Corn Law League and the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, Chartism and its campaign for working class enfranchisement (1838 to 1848), the Condition-of-England investigations in the 1830s and 1840s, further instalments of the factory code, 1844, 1847 and 1850, and the culmination in the Great Exhibition of 1851 which celebrated one hundred years of the industrial revolution.³

Thirty years after the 1851 Exhibition, Victorian prosperity soared and Britain's income per capita became the highest in the

³ Works to be consulted on these symbolic events in early nineteenth century British history include:

1832 Reform Act: M Brock, The Great Reform Act (1971) is regarded as the definitive work by Gash (1979, 357).

Factory Acts: J.T. Ward, The Factory Movement 1830-1855 (1962) is an authoritative work (Gash 1979, 358) which includes chapters on the Poor Law struggle, Chartism and the Corn Laws.

1834 Poor Law: Much of the Poor Law debate appears in journal articles (Nicholls 1978, 108). For monographic treatment see Michael E. Rose, The Relief of Poverty 1834-1914 (1972); Anthony Brundage, The Making of the New Poor Law (1978), regarded by Rose (1980, 437) as a valuable addition to writings on the New Poor Law; Ursula R.Q. Henriques, Before the Welfare State (1979); Norman McCord's "Some Limitations of the Age of Reform" (1974) discusses the implications of the limitations which contemporary conditions imposed upon the British Government by examining in this light the 1832 Reform Act, the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act and the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act.

Continued overleaf. . .

world (Bédarida 1979, 8). Whether the urban industrial working classes were any better off, however, is the subject of hot debate between 'optimist' and 'pessimist' historians.⁴

Economic and Political Philosophy

Underlying the transformation symbolized by the event of 1851 was the philosophy of laissez-faire,⁵ pioneered by Adam Smith, at the

³ contd.

Anti-Corn Law League: Norman McCord's The Anti-Corn Law League 1838-1846 (1958) remains the classic work.

Chartism: Chartist Studies, ed. Asa Briggs (1965) is a collection of symposium papers which analyse the regional aspects of Chartism. The second volume of Gash's excellent biography of Sir Robert Peel (1972) provides authority's reaction to the movement. J.T. Ward's Chartism (1973) is an objective re-examination of the movement. David Jones' Chartism and the Chartists (1975) reflects the journal literature and monographs on Chartism from the late 1960s and early 1970s. Edward Royle's Chartism (1980) (Seminar Studies in History) is one of the most recent studies on Chartism and provides a good synthesis of recent scholarship.

Condition-of-England Question: On the public health question, the basic work is Edwin Chadwick's Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, ed. M.W. Flinn (1965). Two excellent studies are S.E. Finer, The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick (1952) and R.A. Lewis, Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement, 1832-48 (1952). On the condition of the working classes, two essential contemporary works are Frederick Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844 (1892) and Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor (1861-62). The Unknown Mayhew ed. E.P. Thompson and E. Yeo (1971) includes selections from Mayhew. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963) is the modern classic in this field.

⁴ Hopkins (1979, 97-100) summarizes the issues involved in the Standard of Living debate.

⁵ Crouzet (1982, 105) defines laissez-faire as "both an economic doctrine and the politics which actually enforce it. The basic principle is that the welfare of both the community and individuals is best served when markets for goods, capital, land, labour and so on are left to the free play of supply and demand, and when the state interferes as little as possible in both the economic and the social sphere".

basis of which lay the conviction that the wealth of individuals and nations is governed by immutable economic laws. So Smith saw the growth of capital and the need for investment as fundamental, assuming that the competitiveness this would create with its consequent lowering of prices would be accompanied by increased wages. But one of the ironies of English history is that what appeared to be a liberal policy, promoting the freedom of the individual, was vitiated by an inherent weakness in the system itself. It appears that the majority of Englishmen grasped the liberal ideal which was part of the English tradition, but failed to detect the flaw, that without state intervention to protect the workers, they were open to exploitation by men whose self-interest would not only lead to economic growth through competition in an open market, but who would grasp every opportunity to increase their own profits at the expense of their labour force. There were men, such as the first Sir Robert Peel, who were aware of the suffering and exploitation of factory workers, especially women and children. A sense of public responsibility, for centuries the domain of the nobility and landed gentry, was certainly embraced by some of England's textile and iron manufacturers. There was, however, a new class of men emerging in English society who, in their cut and thrust rise from humble origins, grasped what Harold Perkin has termed the 'entrepreneurial ideal' of the emerging capitalist middle class, -that of the self-made man (1969, 221-30). To many of these men, public charity and the responsibility of employers for

the welfare of their employees, were seen to be incompatible with the economic principles of laissez-faire.

Alongside the achievements of industrial Britain was the stark contrast of the labouring poor, forced in many cases off the land by enclosure laws, driven to work in the 'dark satanic mills' (E.P. Thompson's term, 1964) or to tunnel underground for coal to feed the new, insatiable steam driven machinery which was robbing them of their cottage industries, suffering a breakdown in family life such as England had not known before.⁶ For many thousands of such people emigration was the solution to the Malthusian problem of overpopulation and the effects of the philosophy of laissez-faire. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that there was a real move away from the principles of laissez-faire to increase state intervention so that the appalling conditions under which so many of the working class lived could be alleviated.

Social Change

The social revolution which accompanied these changes brought about radical shifts in the traditional social alignments. English society, for centuries before the industrial revolution,

⁶ E.P. Thompson's Making of the English Working Class (1964) has become the classic text on the condition of the working classes and the emergence of working class consciousness -- a controversial, Marxist analysis. For an alternative approach written in response to Thompson, see Harold Perkin's thought provoking but also controversial Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (1969).

was ruled by the landed élite comprising the nobility and gentry, whose political and social power derived from their ownership of land. This élite group formed the apex of a social pyramid, the base of which was the 'common people' or 'labouring poor'. Positioned between the apex and base of what may be conceptualized as a three tier model, a wide middling group which included professional men had emerged between the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Stone and Stone 1984, 408). Both the middling group and the commonalty were politically and economically dependent upon the landed élite, a situation which began to change as the industrial revolution made possible the acquisition of wealth independent of land, and brought it within the grasp of men from the middle, and even working classes.

One of the most deep seated changes brought about by industrialization was the sharper class differential within English society. According to Radical theorists, it was in the industrial cities that workers and middle classes developed into opposing social and political groups. Factory industry was the crucible of the working classes, and the concept of class conflict as an integral part of class consciousness was emerging as early as 1825 when the Radical William Cobbett distinguished a class of working men which was combined against the 'masters' for improved wages (qtd. in Briggs 1960, 1985 rpt., 6). By the 1830s 'class' was a term increasingly used by Whig politicians and Radicals, although it was disliked by the traditionalist Tories.

From the 1840s, class as conceived by Friedrich Engels and

Karl Marx was related to the means of production which the bourgeoisie had and the proletariat did not, with the result that the two classes were perceived as being increasingly in conflict. They saw the petite bourgeoisie (small manufacturers, shopkeepers, artisans) being forced by the competitive capitalist system into the proletariat. Class in the Engels-Marx sense was forged in the industrial urban environment, although they also contended that economic and political change was taking place in rural England where the great divide between the capitalist landowning aristocracy and the landless agricultural workers was productive of deep conflicts (Armstrong 1972, 198-199).

Concentration of political power, however, continued to remain in the hands of the nobility and gentry, despite the growth, facilitated by the Anti-Corn Law League,⁷ of a politically active middle class. It was only after the 1867

⁷ The forging of middle class consciousness is linked by Asa Briggs to the formation of the Anti-Corn Law League in 1839 (1960, 1985 rpt., 13). See also his 1956 article on this subject.

The immediate cause of the establishment of the League was the industrial depression of 1836 and the succession of bad harvests. It was the manufacturers Richard Cobden (1804-65) and John Bright (1811-89) who gave force and direction to the movement. Although they tried to involve the working classes in the organization, they encountered considerable opposition from the Chartists, and the League remained an essentially middle class agitation. By 1846 when the Corn Laws were repealed, the middle class had been established as a political force in English society. By passing the repeal, it may be argued that in so far as the aristocracy had accepted what by this time had become a middle class view, to that extent they had taken a long step forward towards rapprochement between the middle classes and their own ranks.

Reform Act which enfranchised the urban working classes that the

Reform Act which enfranchised the urban working classes that the political hegemony of the upper class was gradually displaced.

The growth of middle class consciousness was not confined to their political awareness. It was also bound up with the distinction between employer and employee, factory owner and factory worker, and perhaps most deeply, between master, mistress and domestic servant. It was the wealth which gave a family the means to keep domestic servants and so enjoy a leisured life style which demarcated the middle class most sharply from the working classes. This distinction was reinforced by different educational levels and opportunities, religious affiliation, and spatially perceived through the growth of middle class suburbs.⁸

With the move away from the 'orders' or 'ranks' of society, occupations became the major criteria by which members of the middle and working classes could be distinguished.⁹ It was the middle classes which provided the growing number of civil servants, administrators, school and factory inspectors, architects, engineers and other experts required by a complex technologically productive society in an increasingly urban environment. People in occupations which had previously carried a

⁸ Middle class suburbanization in Birmingham and the growing distinction between workplace and home is an important component of Cannadine (1980), and is also discussed by Davidoff and Hall (1983, 327-45).

⁹ The analysis of urban occupations has received increasing attention by both urban historians and urban geographers since the late 1970s, since basic to any understanding of towns is what people do in them. See esp. Armstrong 1966, 1968a & 1972, Dennis 1977, Patten 1977 and Lindert 1980. As nineteenth century Grahamstown was in many respects a pre-industrial town, literature relevant to occupations occurring in early modern towns in Britain is also relevant to this study.

social stigma, such as apothecaries and Nonconformist ministers, were gradually acquiring an acceptable middle class status. By 1851 approximately 18% of Britain's labour force were in middle class occupations. Of these some 50% were in commerce, 25% were farmers, and the rest were 'members of the professional, administrative and employing classes'.¹⁰

Working class consciousness was sharpened by middle class claims to political and economic power, despite Cobden and Bright's efforts to involve the working classes in the Anti-Corn Law League. Chartism, the working man's response to his disillusionment following the 1832 Reform Bill's failure to enfranchise the working classes, was the forum from which violently opposing views to those of the middle class were debated.¹¹ A new edge was in turn given to middle class opinion by the fear of working class action which could spill into violence, as the Chartists championed the restoration of the rights of the worker to the entire fruits of his labour through political means.

While on one level the working classes were acquiring cohesiveness through their dependence on capital, lack of

¹⁰ Figures quoted in Ryder and Silver (1970, 69). In the first British census (1801), occupations were classified very broadly, but by 1851 a system of 17 classes and 91 sub-classes (later termed orders and sub-orders) had been introduced. Discussed by Armstrong (1972, 192-94).

¹¹ Despite the issues which made Chartism a dominantly working class movement, its origins were in an alliance between middle class Radical MPs and artisan radicals in London. See Royle 1980, esp. 17-26 and 54-55.

security, and low income which was forging a consciousness of their political identity, on another there were deep differences. Three levels in fact existed within the working classes in and between which there was a complex network of hierarchies.¹² At the upper end of the spectrum were skilled workers who had gained their expertise through years of apprenticeship. At the lower end were the unskilled workers who provided the reservoir of heavy manual labour or backup required by the skilled workers. In between an increasingly large semi-skilled work-force responsible for machine operations developed due to growth of technical means of production. Inevitably, social distinctions were an integral part of these divisions. Wage differences in particular marked the distinctions between the groups, and cultural gaps developed as skilled workers could obtain some education, belong to a trade union and friendly society, none of which the labourer could afford. Housing also marked the real differences between the working classes as craftsmen and artisans could afford to live at a level at least one step removed from the promiscuous shared dwellings in the slums of the cities.

Class Perceptions by Urban and Other Modern Historians

As an important focus of this study is on the occupations of the inhabitants of an early nineteenth century frontier town, an

¹² Bédarida (1979, 56-66) provides a good summary of the hierarchy within what he terms the 'popular classes' (56-66). Models which reflect something of the complex structure of the working and middle classes are discussed below as they are of particular relevance to social stratification in Grahamstown, the subject of part of Chapter 3.

awareness of the theoretical perceptions of some modern historians concerning social class and stratification is necessary, particularly as occupation is regarded by most class theorists as one of the most important determinants of social stratification (Armstrong 1972, esp. 198-203). The data available on occupations have to be examined through the grid of a classification scheme or class model in order to be used meaningfully in assessing the nature of a town and the degree of social or residential mobility which took place in it.

Neale, a self-confessed eclectic Marxist, has explored and analysed class in English history from 1680 to 1850 in his work of that name published in 1981¹³ and also in his most recent work, Writing Marxist History (1985),¹⁴ one chapter of which is devoted to exploring the task of historians in relation to class and urban history (141-84). It was only after the Second World War, according to Neale, that the 'simplistic' or traditional

¹³ R.S. Neale is currently Professor of Economic History at the University of New England, Australia. A particularly critical review of Neale's 1981 work is by Philips. A main thrust of his criticism is Neale's failure to adopt the rigorous theoretical basis which Neale himself insists in his introductory chapter is essential for social historians to prevent the discipline from becoming a shapeless sprawl. Philips sees Class in English History 1680-1850 as a polemic in support of a Nealean view rather than an objective study of class, the class struggle or English history. Less critical reviews are those of Stearns and Corfield.

¹⁴ Reviewed by Sidney Pollard (1986), Professor of Economic History at the University of Bielefeld, West Germany. While commending Writing Marxist History for its readability and new perspectives on old problems, Pollard shows that although ostensibly a defence of Marx, in fact Neale's two main themes (alienation or loss of the worker's freedom under industrial capitalism, and his opposition to statistical data as used in the Standard of Living debate) have no Marxist solution, nor, in the latter instance, has the issue anything to do with Marxism.

approach to class followed by both mainstream and Marxist historians was questioned. Until then, he maintains that the three tier 'common sense' model of English society (upper, middle and working class) was virtually unquestioned (1985, 146-47).

Influenced by Ralf Dahrendorf's Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (1959), Neale (1968, 11) draws a distinction between social classes based on conflict deriving from authority-subordination relationships which stemmed from ascribed status (usually rank rather than wealth or occupation), and social stratification based on objective criteria such as occupation, wealth or manners. This distinction is so central to his theoretical framework that in Nealean terms the necessity of distinguishing between social class and social stratification in order to explore and understand Victorian society in meaningful terms may be compared in importance to the base layer mentalités of the Annalistes.

The means by which social stratification may be measured are largely economic, and criteria such as occupation, source and size of income, education, church affiliation, size and type of assets (extended in this study to include domestic dwellings and domestic material culture) are all quantifiable, objective means. There are other less easily measured criteria which are also relevant, distinguished by Neale as values, social customs and language (1981, 131).

In 1965 Neale postulated a five class model including a middling class and clearly identified strata within the working

classes. It is extracted as follows:

- (1) **Upper Class:** Aristocratic, landholding, exclusive.
Authoritarian.
- (2) **Middle Class:** Industrial and commercial property owners.
Senior military and professional men, aspiring to acceptance by the upper class.
Deferential due to concern for property and achieved position. Privatized.
- (3) **Middling Class:** Petit bourgeois, aspiring professional men.
Artisans and other literate people.
Less deferential. Privatized.
- (4) **Working class A:** Industrial proletariat in factories.
Domestic industry workers.
Collectivist. Non-deferential, demanding government intervention to secure satisfactory working conditions.
- (5) **Working Class B:** Agricultural labourers, domestic servants.
Urban labourers, urban poor, most working class women.
Deferential and dependent.

(Neale 1968, 23)

Not all historians, however, are as rigid as Neale in his distinction between social class and social stratification, nor do all class theorists agree with him. Perkin (1974, 676), for example, took issue with Neale over the basis of his five class model as well as the distinction Neale makes between social classes as distinct from socially stratified groups in society. When writing Mid-Victorian Britain, Geoffrey Best (1971, xv) was prepared to accept a Marxist structure of class antagonisms if he found evidence for it, but decided that Victorian class

concepts cannot be analysed in a simple way, be it Marxist or mainstream. He wrote "I have used the language of class more as it was used by Mid-Victorians than as it is used by any ancient or modern school of social theorists; i.e. I have used it continually and confusedly". Then W.D. Rubinstein (1977, 117n37), while recognising the value of Neale and Perkin's novel explanations of English social structure in the nineteenth century, contends that the horizontal classes which they and others accept are not in fact the primary reference groups, since he maintains that 'class' in the Marxist sense was not salient until after 1918. He instead sees vertical geographical or occupational groups as primary.

Although Neale sees his five tier model as a revolutionary break-through, Perkin (1969, 252-70), shortly after the publication of Neale's article, identified a fourth 'forgotten class' of professional men. Rubinstein's 1977 theory of middle class structure in Britain presents yet another alternative approach. In contradistinction to the Marxist approach which he believed failed "to comprehend the complexity and diversity of the capitalist élite," (125) he postulated three élites in English society during the Victorian era. Rubinstein based his analysis of class structure on probate valuations and income tax assessments.

In addition to the landed élite, Rubinstein's evidence showed that there were two middle class élites: a dominantly London based commercial élite, and a largely provincial industrial élite, with its centre in the north of England.

Neither was brought about by the industrial revolution. The commercial élite, mainly merchant bankers, (less wealthy than the landed élite which retained its financial hegemony into the 1880s, but, surprisingly, more wealthy than the industrial élite) was already in existence as part of pre-industrial English society. The industrial, manufacturing élite could in many instances, Rubinstein contends, trace its origins to the Puritan era. Social distinctions between these two middle class élites were, however, greater than the economic. The commercial, business sector was strongly gentrified, socially mobile, dominantly Anglican, later sending sons to public schools and Oxbridge, and penetrated by landed society as the professions of bankers, merchants, etc. were more socially acceptable as they were not associated with manual labour. The industrial, manufacturing élite were less influenced by or attracted to the values of the landed élite, and more interested in political reform movements. Many industrialists were Nonconformist, few were 'self-made' men. It was a class virtually unpenetrated by the landed élite as the type of work associated with industry was 'less gentlemanly'. What is today known as the 'Establishment' was, Rubinstein states, a gradual merger of the landed, commercial and industrial élites (124).

Unlike Perkin with his 'forgotten middle class' of professional men, Rubinstein, in an important note, maintains that professionals, as essentially salaried servants, are outside the class war (122n54).

More recently, Lawrence and Jeanne Stone (1984) have investigated the commonly held belief that English society has

long had an 'open élite' into which there has been easy upward mobility from men of business into the landed classes. They point out (1984, 3-4) that both liberal and Marxist historians have accepted this paradigm, although they have drawn different moral conclusions from it. The Stones investigated the 'open élite' assumption by examining the houses owned by the landed élite over a period of 340 years.¹⁵ Rigorous quantification of the data through the use of a computer enabled them to establish that only 6% of the rich merchants over the years 1540 to 1880 were in fact absorbed into the English landed élite (403).¹⁶

The Stones have also shown that a professional 'middling sort' existed in England from the sixteenth century. Carefully avoiding use of the term 'class', they conclude that the landed élite had convinced the middling sort that their way of life was socially acceptable and infinitely preferable, through a process of 'gentrification'.

This concept of 'gentrification' is discussed by Martin Wiener in his somewhat controversial English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980 (1981).¹⁷ Wiener sees the most striking development in nineteenth century social history as the gentrification of the business class, primarily

¹⁵ The Stones' sample was of 2 246 owners of 362 houses and up to 160 pieces of information about each of them. The survey covered Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire and Northumberland.

¹⁶ The Stones discovered that during the 340 years covered by their study, there were only 137 men of business out of the 2 246 owners of large estates who bought their way into the élite in the three counties surveyed.

¹⁷ Both Stansky and Harris find Wiener's thesis unconvincing in their reviews, although Perkin evidently finds nothing at which to cavil.

achieved through education in the public schools and Oxbridge, a trend which continued well into the twentieth century. The 'Establishment-educated' industrialists who emerged had, he contends, "a pastoral, gentry veneer", (140) and a distaste for the way of life which brought industrial and commercial profits. A new ideal had emerged -- that of the leisured gentleman. The result was that for the industrial capitalists in the most urban nation in the world, "the radical ideal of active capital was submerged in the conservative ideal of passive property, and the urge to enterprise faded beneath the preference for stability" (14). The result, Wiener concludes, was the economic decline of Great Britain.

Acceptance of the conclusions of the Stones and Wiener removes a concept of class conflict between the middle and upper classes of English society, as gentrification meant that the middle classes did not resent the *élite*, but instead sought to imitate them. They had as their greatest ambition the acquisition of landed property, the correct furniture and furnishings, clothes, social graces and education for their children which would win them entrance to and acceptance by the landed *élite*. 'Gentrification' provided the glue which bonded together the upper and middle strata of society. The gentrification of the middling sort is, in fact, the explanation put forward by the Stones as to why England did not have a proletarian revolution: she was "developing an aristocratic bourgeoisie, not a bourgeois aristocracy" (411).

The Stones' perception of the nature of the middling sort is combined with their conclusions as to the degree of social

mobility which took place during the 340 years of their survey. Their findings suggest an alternative typology for the middling and upper classes which is extracted as follows:¹⁸

Upper Class:	Landed élite (partly landed, partly professional) Army, navy, law, church. 6% overseas merchants, bankers, etc.
Upper Middle Class:	Upper or aristocratic bourgeoisie. Overseas merchants, bankers, etc. acting in close co-operation with the landed élite; gentrified in the 18th century, but only 6% were absorbed into the landed élite.
Middling Sort:	Professionals. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries: Army, doctors, apothecaries, schoolteachers, clerks, musicians, dancing masters, etc. In the mid- to late 19th century: higher civil servants, monied and managerial classes, etc. Gentrified mainly through public schools, giving rise to an 'imperial service élite'. "A gentrified, professionalized, bureaucratized, bourgeoisie".
Industrial Bourgeoisie:	Parallel to the middling sort. Money, but neither status nor power.

This suggested typology based on the Stones' research reflects a middling group which is remarkably similar to that in Neale's five tier class model. Their distinction between the middling sort and industrial bourgeoisie is reminiscent of Neale's separate middle and middling classes, but neither is seen in quite the Rubinstein concept of two middle class élites of

¹⁸ This typology has been constructed from various references in Stone and Stone. See esp. 24, 403, 408, 411-12.

industrialists and commercial giants.

Another area of lively debate is that associated with the role and significance of the labour aristocracy in Victorian Britain. As David Englander commented recently in a review article, "the formation of a distinct upper stratum within the working class and its impact upon the militancy and class consciousness of the labour movement has generated a formidable and growing literature" (1985a, 694).

If the work of Henry Mayhew,¹⁹ as also adapted by J.F.C. Harrison (Appendix A7) is taken into account, the working classes may be divided into four categories: labour aristocracy, ordinary skilled workers, artisans, semi- and unskilled workers. Mayhew's London Labour and the London Poor (1861-62) is a contemporary analysis which gives an excellent guide to categorization, and reflects the complexity of the working class. Mayhew classified them as those who will work; those who cannot work; those who will not work; and those who need not work. Although historians and social scientists have had reservations about the accuracy of Mayhew's survey of the London poor, his biographer, Anne Humpherys (1977, 200-01) in her careful analysis of Mayhew's work, concludes that although his categories are sometimes crude, his techniques often those of the amateur, and his facts sketchy in many places, Mayhew nevertheless provided what no one else has been able to do - vivid contact with the

¹⁹ Mayhew conducted his immense survey of the labouring poor in London between 1849 and 1851. It was later published as London Labour and the London Poor (1861-62).

actual people who made up London's poor in the mid-nineteenth century.

Local Government

Perhaps the most significant aspect of urbanization in England was the development of urban local government from 1835.²⁰ Municipal reform could only begin in the political climate of the 1830s, the Whig decade, when Whigs and Radicals were in a position to initiate the appointment of the Poor Law and Municipal Corporations Royal Commissions in 1832 and 1833 respectively.²¹

Towns in England were at this date either incorporated or without a charter of incorporation and so under the rule of the county bench. The corporate towns were those which had a form of local administration, but before the Municipal Reform Act was passed in 1835, the Commission Report (with a strongly Whig-Radical political emphasis) showed that the corporations were not coping with the rapid urban process attendant upon

²⁰ K.B. Smellie's History of Local Government (1946) is still the best short work available. Derek Fraser's Power and Authority in the Victorian City (1979) is aimed at the non-specialist reader and is a synthesis of case histories of various towns and cities. E.P. Hennock's Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth Century Urban Government (1973), deals with municipal government in Birmingham and Leeds, but also shows clearly the growing importance of local government in Victorian England as a whole.

²¹ Smellie emphasizes that modern local government began with the passing of the 1834 Poor Law Act which established the principle of central government control of local authorities in administering the system. The 1835 Municipal Corporations Act made possible a system of local government via elected municipal councils. See esp. 29-33.

industrialization, and were in urgent need of reform. The breakdown of law and order in the towns, growing objections to class distinctions reflected in the membership of the largely private corporations (the Tory-Anglican urban élite of gentlemen and merchants, vs. the Whig-Radical-Nonconformist wealthy industrialists who were excluded from the corporations), their self-perpetuating nature, and the fact that without municipal reform the 1832 Reform Bill would be a dead letter (Times 1833), were facts which under the Whig administration resulted in the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835 (Fraser 1979, 3-5). The Act made possible a programme of reforms which were to develop urban local government and eventually impose it upon the entire country, establishing a concept of urbanization which is inseparable from a system of popular elective local government.

Development of local government was part of the slowly evolving pattern of English national life which was being shaped by the urban process. The new urban élite was essentially middle class or bourgeois, and the creation of municipal government was part of the Whig campaign to find a position in the urban power and authority structure from which middle class leaders could exercise their influence upon state and local affairs.²² That there was Tory opposition is not surprising as this was a clear attack on the aristocracy and they saw that their traditional

²² Fraser (1979, 14) comments that the 1832 Reform Act and 1835 Municipal Corporations Act were "stages in the Whig search for a role for the bourgeoisie in the political system. . . . Municipal reform sealed a compact between urban and landed élite".

position based on landed rights would give way to an elective system which would radically alter the power structure of English society. In actuality the change was less radical due to the residence and ratepaying qualifications introduced by the 1835 Act, but nevertheless municipal reform opened the way for a municipal revolution,²³ placing the responsibility for urban development squarely on a local not national legislative basis.

Progress and reform did not, however, immediately follow the introduction of local government. The 1835 Act only marked the beginning of the reform process, and progress was uneven and inadequate in a society where a complex interaction of authorities, organizations and individuals jostled for a place in the industrial sun.²⁴ Housing, law and order, public health and poor relief were urgent urban needs, shaping and shaped by the institutions and other forms of control partly introduced by an essentially middle class municipal government structure, and partly through central government intervention.

Public Health

Local government structures could not keep pace with the problems

²³ Fraser (1979, 149-51) discusses two deeply revolutionary dimensions to the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act. These are the change of men in office whereby virtually all those previously excluded from local government took control, and its 'in-built potential for future momentum' whereby procedures were created through which incorporate and new towns could obtain charters.

²⁴ It was only in 1888 that the County Councils Act finally created an effective local government system for the whole country (Fraser 1979, 153).

caused by rapid urbanization.²⁵ The growth rate of the cities was far exceeded by the natural population increase. Overcrowding, insanitary conditions, disease, poverty with its attendant squalor and worse, vice and degradation, were the labourer's lot, inseparable from his urban environment.²⁶

From 1837 when Dr William Farr was appointed as Compiler of Abstracts at the Registrar-General's office, his statistics showed, as did those of Edwin Chadwick's Sanitary Report of 1842, that social class and residential area were the chief factors governing longevity.²⁷ Contaminated water supplies were a major cause of mortality, and it was only after 1849 when it was proved that cholera was a waterborne disease that attempts were made to improve urban water supplies. Although the Sanitary Act of 1866 obliged local authorities to supply water to their municipalities for domestic use, this was rarely implemented, due to private water companies insisting on payment guarantees which the local authorities could not or would not give.

It is against such a background that Chadwick saw the solution of Britain's enormous public health problems in terms of

²⁵ Slums were not the product of industrialization. Housing conditions in rural Britain were often as bad or worse. See esp. Gauldie 1974, 21-69.

²⁶ Urban working class housing conditions are discussed in detail by Gauldie in her section on Housing and Public Health, 73-141.

²⁷ According to Chadwick's records for Bethnal Green, in 1839 the average age of deceased mechanics, servants, labourers and their families was 16 years as compared with the tradesmen's 26, and the gentlemen and professionals' 45 years. Figures from Ryder and Silver 1970, 47.

a national, centralized policy, not as a local government affair. In 1844 and 1845 the Health of Towns Commission reports confirmed the findings of Chadwick's 1842 Report, although one of the Commissioners, Lyon Playfair, disagreed with Chadwick's national approach, seeing the role of local government as crucial (Ryder and Silver 1970, 49). The political and economic climate of laissez-faire placed the responsibility for solving public health problems on the local municipal authorities. It was only in 1848, following the second outbreak of cholera, that the Public Health Act was passed, establishing a centralized Board of Health under Chadwick's influence. Official enquiries into the public health of a town could now take place, and it was thus finally only under the pressure of central government legislation that local governments were forced to deal with public health problems. Until this point their attitudes had ranged from indifference to involvement of a wide variety of people and organizations at different levels, more often than not independent of the local authorities. Public services, such as water and gas works, were often in private hands and although the local authorities in theory could take action in the interests of public health, in practice such essential services were mostly retained by private ownership well into the 1860s.

It was only in the 1870s that a concept of public health based on medical as opposed to sanitary considerations, was established at central government level when the Privy Council's Medical Department was formed under John (later Sir John) Simon, London's first Medical Officer of Health. Public Health had

evolved into a medical framework in which it was to remain, the responsibility of both central and local governments (Ryder and Silver 1970, 49-50).

Poor Relief

Equally slowly, but also bitterly contentious, was the development of the poor law as legislated for in 1834. The working classes were deeply opposed to the New Poor Law. They viewed with horror the grim workhouses being erected and the reality when it came was even worse. But when it is realized that the inadequate early machinery of government, the demand for public economy, lack of sufficient trained staff, poor communications and the only partially developed social conscience of the Victorians are as much facts about English society as the 'bastilles', a balance is provided to the grim picture of poverty and degradation of England's poor.²⁸

The Civic Gospel and Public Face of the City

Meanwhile, from 1835 the middle class was increasingly active in

²⁸ See Norman McCord's well argued case for "Some Limitations of the Age of Reform" (1974). His article draws attention to the distortions caused both by interpreting history in too restrictive an ideological framework, and from judging past actions from an altruistic stance which has no root in reality. The New Poor Law was not all 'bastilles' any more than slums were the sole responsibility of grasping capitalist landlords. Prior to 1834 there had been ad hoc poor relief in various areas, and following it there was a remarkably large involvement in charitable work by the Victorians. The Poor Law Commission's official reports and proposals were an important contribution to the provision of hard information on which government decisions could be based and which also aroused the public conscience. For broader coverage of poor relief see references under footnote 3 above.

the new municipal government made possible by the Municipal Corporations Act. The middle class ethic of hard work and self-help created the wealth which made possible major improvements to the city. The motivation to do this came from the preaching of the 'civic gospel' by which members of the middle class were stirred to see service to the city as their highest end. Birmingham was the cradle of the civic gospel which originated under the preaching of a Nonconformist minister, George Dawson.²⁹ Under its impact public buildings which housed schools, libraries and the city council itself, were built to stand as a moral statement designed in the noblest architectural style.³⁰

For more immediate benefit of the great mass of urban dwellers, Joseph Chamberlain as mayor of Birmingham from 1873-76, brought not only lighting and water under the successful control of the Town Council, but also cleared the slums in the city centre, initiating a scheme for rebuilding the heart of the town. Assisted by the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement

²⁹ George Dawson (1821-77) was originally a Baptist, but established his own Church of the Saviour in Birmingham in 1847, three years after moving to the city. It became the most popular church in Birmingham for the thirty years of Dawson's ministry. No evangelical, Dawson's church had no credal base. The 'doctrine' which he preached was total commitment to the service of the city. He saw the city as transcending all social barriers and man's chief duty consequently was to promote the city and therefore the common good. It was in this sense that the civic gospel was understood.

³⁰ Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914) when addressing the Birmingham School Board in 1876, answered those who queried the possible extra costs involved in building architecturally outstanding schools by stating, "We are bound here also to see that buildings which are the outward and visible signs of the work going on within shall not be in evident discord with the nobility of the duty we perform" (qtd. in Garvin 1932, 1:211)

Act of 1875 (amended by Chamberlain's contributions) he was able to rehouse the working class inhabitants of the slum area. In its place he had Corporation Street built, a new thoroughfare in proximity to the fine Town Hall, which was flanked by buildings designed on noble lines which housed shops, offices and institutions, a fitting monument to the civic pride of England's most progressive city.

It might be expected that the civic gospel would have had a marked effect upon the growth of modern urban planning in Britain during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In practice, however, while there were various examples of private intervention in urban development, public authorities did comparatively little to control the evolution of the urban environment, or to change its public aspect (Sutcliffe 1981, 48-53). In keeping with laissez-faire, during much of the century public architecture remained in private hands, an expression of individual rather than representative values. It was only from the 1880s that the low quality of the built environment of the cities, with its concomitant effects upon the quality of life in the urban population, was increasingly discussed at national level and action taken. The result was the Housing Act of 1890, but even this did little other than codify existing regulations under which slums could be cleared and houses built for renting. Sutcliffe (1981, 56) suggests that it was only at the close of the 1890s, as a result of the Darwinian based belief that man's well-being is largely determined by his environment, that town planning as it is known today, came into being. The belief that

a house is "an intellectual and moral statement, a total environment in which the individual might achieve self-fulfilment" came to be an essential part of the new statement on the urban environment (Olsen 1983, 285, quoting Klaus Eggert).

Housing

Historians have shown an increasing interest in the relationship between housing and the urban environment. Daunton, for example, in his House and Home in the Victorian City (1983),³¹ focuses on the house as a place of residence as one of his two main themes, linking it closely to its urban environment. He shows how, for the working classes, a more family orientated life style emerged in the later nineteenth century. It was, he suggests, a compensation for increasing subordination at work, but shows it was also the positive result of an improved standard of living whereby the working classes for the first time had more money to invest in amenities and possessions for their greater comfort.

This, for the working man, was the realization of every Englishman's dream of his home as his castle. It was underlined

³¹ Sutcliffe, in his review of Daunton, remarks that it was only in the 1960s that architects and historians began to take an interest in Victorian housing. Since then the interaction between spatial separation and social relationships within the city has received attention from historical geographers as well as historians of town planning and architectural historians. Urban housing is central to the debate, but Daunton argues that the social meaning of the pattern of social segregation is seldom discussed, and sees this as a weakness in the approach of the historical geographers, while he believes historians of town planning have failed to consider how the activities of planners relate to the social structure of the period.

by the Registrar-General in the 1851 Census Report when he remarked that "the possession of an entire house is strongly desired by every Englishman, for it throws a sharp, well-defined circle round his family and hearth -- the shrine of his sorrows, joy and meditation".³² For the aristocracy and the aspiring upper middle class bankers, merchants and industrialists, the country house (as opposed to a house in the country) was symbolic of the power and consideration which were inseparable from upper class status. Urban middle class housing varied according to the occupation and income of the inhabitants, and was either detached in large grounds, or part of a terrace, the English row house which formed the greatest proportion of housing for both middle and working classes in the nineteenth century.³³

In pre-industrial Britain work and dwelling place were normally combined. By the 1820s, however, members of the provincial middle class had begun to distinguish between their work place and home. In order to distance themselves

³² Great Britain. Census of 1851. Report of the Registrar-General. Parliamentary Papers 85 (1852-53) xxxvi. Quoted in Bédarida 18. By 'entire house' the Registrar-General was presumably referring to a detached house as distinct from a semi-detached dwelling such as characterized urban areas. The detached house became the feature of suburbia.

³³ Stefan Muthesius in The English Terraced House (1982) has shown that the rows of identical terraced houses which resulted from speculative building projects are increasingly being recognized as a major contribution by English developers which placed Victorian housing in the forefront of European urban growth. His illustrations demonstrate that numerous Victorian terraces have considerable architectural beauty, and in many instances have proved to be models of small scale planning still studied by architects from other countries.

geographically from their working environment they established suburbs. In London, such suburbanization had in fact begun in the eighteenth century. The first London villas were built in St. John's Wood in the 1820s. This movement towards the suburbs was a retreat into a more private residential life style, as members of the middle class exchanged the town house for a detached or semi-detached villa and public squares for private gardens. Detached houses were preferred by more affluent families aspiring to the aristocratic country house ideal. It was also part of the separation between public and private spheres which was becoming a feature of the middle class life style. Women were increasingly playing a central role in the home as it became less socially acceptable for them to be involved in any way in public life, especially business (Davidoff and Hall, 1983 esp. 328-29, 332-33). By the mid-nineteenth century the lower middle class had begun to follow the suburban pattern. It was only in the 1880s, though, that improved wages and shorter working hours combined with more efficient urban transport and cheaper 'Workmen's Fares' to enable the working classes to consider the advantages of suburban living.

Suburban life for the working classes was a far cry from the communal life shared in tenement blocks in the city centre which was the only type of housing available for the working man earlier in the century. Building development was frequently speculative, and houses were erected which often lacked proper foundations and adequate space for a family. The most notorious

were those built back to back to save space. Use of poor building materials and lack of sanitation created urban slums even as they were built. There was a positive side, too, and property speculation played a crucial role in urban development (Bédarida 1979, 19). The prevailing philosophy of laissez-faire left property development largely in the hands of landowners, some of whom had extremely large estates. Development included the layout of streets as well as construction of houses. It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that local authorities began to take control of urban development, by which time the complex interplay of landlord or owner, builder and tenant, had shaped the urban environment into a socially segmented mould. The social hierarchy of Victorian Britain was literally built into its urban fabric.

Popular Culture

Against a background of communal tenement life the culture of the working classes was public as distinct from the privatized culture of the middle and upper 'leisured' classes. Leisure has only become part of historical scholarship since the 1970s, with the expansion of social history as an accepted historical discipline. The research of one of its recent exponents, Marxist Hugh Cunningham (1980, 9), has shown that popular culture and its commercialization by the mid-nineteenth century far from being quenched by the adverse conditions generated by the industrial revolution, in fact showed vigorous growth between the 1780s and 1840s.

During this period, although there were attempts by the middle and upper classes to control some forms of leisure by making them upwardly exclusive (fox hunting, shooting, horse racing), the more brutal sports (bullock running, cock and dog fighting, ratting) survived in both rural and urban areas. Despite this all classes enjoyed sports such as prize fighting, wrestling and cricket, not to mention Astley's circus. Drama, especially melodrama, fairs, travelling showmen, the erection of temporary wooden theatres in towns and villages were all part of the close-knit popular culture which flourished in rural as well as urban environments (see Cunningham 1980, 15-37).

It is of particular interest that this popular culture as described by Cunningham, although 'of the people', cannot "by any stretch of the historical imagination be described as 'a working-class culture'", because it was not class conscious, embracing members from all levels on the social scale (38). It was, however, distinct from two lesser genres, secular radical culture and religious culture. Debating societies, newspaper readings, theatre going, were part of the radical recreational scene, while the Methodist-dominated culture both opposed the 'vices' of popular culture and replaced it with revivalist meetings, vigorous psalm and hymn singing, and emotional outbursts which accompanied many of their meetings (Cunningham 1980, 38-41).

Popular culture was also influenced by political factors, and from the late 1830s to the early 1850s, Chartism created a pattern of leisure exclusive to the working classes. 'Chartist culture' as Edward Royle terms it (1980, 80-84) was unique to the early Victorian working class world, but its cultural symbols

were part of a recognized religious revivalist pattern to which a secular, political dimension was given. Chartist values were consolidated into a democratic, radical working class culture through the regular monthly, weekly, and sometimes daily club meetings, and the club became the centre of political and social life of the Chartist movement (Jones 1975, 72-83).

The most recent contribution relating to Chartist culture is that of Pickering (1986), who in his discussion of symbolic communication in the Chartist movement refers to the bands which interrupted speakers at mass rallies (oratory was only one aspect of Chartist communication) (153), and the symbolic visual communication of "the traditional English radical colour of green, the red cap of liberty from the French revolution, and ... the white hat made famous by Henry Hunt" (154), which persisted as a radical symbol well into the 1840s. Chartist leader O'Connor's fustian suit which identified him with the working class was another deeply significant symbol of radicalism (158-162).

Where the influence of Chartist churches was strong, political meetings had a revivalist fervour, for the majority of Chartists were not anti-Christianity, despite the Owenites and others, and Chartism married well with Nonconformism. Brass bands, Chartist hymns, processions, prayers, Sunday services, annual Chartist celebrations, festivals, spectacular Chartist funerals, were all part of the holism with which the Chartists embraced their political creed. And the symbolic colours, clothes and accessories were communicating without words a message of class consciousness which had moved popular culture

into a distinctively working class culture. All these cultural symbols were part of the Chartists' national ambition, the regeneration of society under the freedom of the People's Charter.

For the semi- and unskilled workers in particular, housing conditions were such that homes offered little or no comfort, and at all levels of the working classes public houses became the centre of social life for many. Providing warmth, light, companionship and refreshment, the pub was also the venue at which men joined the various clubs available to them, furniture and clothing clubs, political, friendly and benefit societies. Pub-based entertainment included quoits, wrestling, boxing and gambling (Cunningham 1980, 84). Newspapers were available both in pubs and shops, often subscribed to by a number of individuals.

In the late 1820s and 1830s the 'rational recreation' movement (Cunningham 1980, 76, 99-107) developed to promote the constructive use of leisure. It was part of the middle class ideal of self help and improvement, which took on an explicit form whereby reformers sought to provide new kinds of leisure which would be suitable to an urban, industrialized society. The aim was to create museums, libraries, parks, institutions, concert halls, where all classes could spend leisure time in self improvement. Cunningham sees this as a more subtle, insidious way of imposing social control on the working classes, as well as an outworking of a guilt based middle class reaction to their exclusive culture, but does not give evidence for his inferences (91).

As the pub formed the working man's drinking club, so the chapel provided a venue for sober, increasingly temperance recreation -- public lectures, tea parties, choir practices, Harvest and other festival suppers, musical evenings, mutual improvement societies, and Sunday schools.³⁴

Quality of Life

Although the popular culture of the working classes helped to alleviate and even to raise living conditions for some, the quality of life for the greater part of Britain's working classes was poor lived out against a background of noise, stench and inconvenience. Given their wretched housing situation, it was only the labour aristocracy, artisans and other skilled workers who could afford to rent better accommodation, provide basic furniture and furnishings, and so escape the lot of the semi- and unskilled workers. Seasonal unemployment, illness, and often premature old age, however, affected the upper levels of the working classes as it did the lower, and so circumstances could change abruptly for the worse.

Room sizes in new houses varied between 8 and 10 feet and could house an entire family, serving as a combination of living, eating and sleeping quarters. Speculative houses in Liverpool, for example, had a frontage of 12 feet, a depth of 13½ feet

³⁴ -For a discussion on religion and the working classes see Hopkins 1979, 79-84. Harrison 1971, 150-62 and 1984, 279-86 gives particular attention to the role of the Methodists among the common people.

and consisted of a cellar, ground floor general purpose room, and two small low ceilinged rooms above with standing room in the centre only. Working class housing built in Leeds for better paid artisans had slightly larger rooms, and that in Birmingham included an extra storey but the overall dimensions were similar (see Gauldie 1974, 93-95).

Interior furnishings naturally varied according to income and level of accommodation. Landlords rarely kept their property in good repair which provided little incentive to domestic comfort. Mayhew's accounts of working class conditions in mid-nineteenth century London show that unemployment or sporadic work could reduce a home to bare walls and floors, everything pawnable gone. Another contemporary source, The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, carefully researched in 1883 by the Rev. Andrew Mearns, a Congregationalist, describes the meagre possessions of the poorer working classes.

As to furniture -- you may perchance discover a broken chair, the tottering relics of an old bedstead, or the mere fragment of a table; but more commonly you will find rude substitutes for these things in the shape of rough boards resting upon bricks, an old hamper or box turned upside down, or more frequently still, nothing but rubbish and rags.

(Qtd. in Gauldie 1974, 98)

The Bitter Cry account is not exceptional. By contrast Gauldie also refers to the 1864 Sheffield Flood compensation claims submitted by members of the largely employed artisan population. The regular items claimed were basic furnishing requirements: tables, chairs, beds and a chest of drawers or cupboard, minimum crockery and cutlery. Clocks, mirrors, ornaments and soft

furnishings were luxuries beyond the reach of such households. Quality of life is difficult to measure other than by such evidence of the actual material goods with which people could or were unable to surround themselves. Efforts to establish 'real wages' as a quantitative yardstick have proved unsatisfactory, and so the qualitative approach would seem to offer historians the most satisfactory method of obtaining reliable indications as to life as it was then lived (Hopkins 1979, 100).

Emigration Aspirations

It was natural that when the quality of life was almost unendurable, or people were faced with an economic climate which was forcing them to reduce their standard of living, emigration should present possibilities of an improved life style. After the close of the Napoleonic wars economic conditions in Britain were forcing all social groups, not only the working classes, to look for better prospects in another country. Thomas Pringle, journalist and poet who emigrated to the Cape in 1820, declared

I see little or no prospect of materially improving my circumstances in this country. . . . I cannot and will not endure it while a prospect remains of extricating myself by any exertion or sacrifice that can be made with honour and a good conscience.

(Qtd. in Meiring 1968, 17-18)

George Anderson, carpenter, who established himself in Grahamstown as a 'Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer, Carpenter, &c. &c.' (GTJ 16.6.1836, 1c2; see also Plate 20h), explained his circumstances to Lord Bathurst in his application to emigrate to

the Cape in the following terms:

. . . our own active exertions which are now paralyzed in this Country thro the Extreme deadness of trade ours having so fallen off that we have not been able to get any work for more than two years past and as we are all strong and my Sons young active and willing to work makes it the more unfortunate and always having lived Respectable and in one House for near twenty years the near prospect of absolute Poverty is the More Dreaded.

(Cory Library Microfilm PRO CO 48-41
G. Anderson to Bathurst 27.9.1819)

Emigration, despite the disastrous possibilities envisaged by George Cruikshank in his cartoons,³⁵ offered an improved quality of life, but it was one which in general could only be attained by self effort and determination. Perkin (1969, 380) suggests that the greatest middle class triumph was the acceptance by the working classes of the middle class ideal of self help as the key to better political, economic and social conditions. It was an ethos which was carried by many emigrants of all classes to the Cape and other colonies in the first half of the nineteenth century, and which had a crucial role in shaping the new societies. The upper class values and life style, the 'gentrification' to which many working and middle class members aspired, had, in fact, already begun to influence cultural and social life in Cape Town when the British governing class of gentry confidently established English hegemony at the Cape for the second time in 1806.

³⁵ The Cruikshank cartoons are reproduced in colour in Bryer and Hunt 1984, 18-19.

CHAPTER 2

ENGLISH INFLUENCES ON DOMESTIC INTERIORS AT THE CAPE

Contemporary Written Perceptions

How quickly the English influence on domestic interiors made itself felt at the Cape is evidenced by the diarist Samuel Eusebius Hudson, writing in October 1799, only four years after the first British Occupation of the Cape in September 1795. He commented that "Our houses, which so lately were crowded with the heavy Dutch furniture, now have the light elegant appearance of a London residence: everything seems new, modelled on English fashion".¹

The impact of English style was not only felt in interior decoration. The second British Occupation was from 1806, and the effect of the British upon the character of Cape colonial architecture was such that Ronald Lewcock (1963, 1) in his definitive work on early nineteenth century Cape architecture, states that it cannot be over-estimated.

In 1853, over half a century after the initial British Occupation, the influence of the English was even more pronounced. That year the Russian novelist, Ivan Alexandrovich Goncharov (1812-91) visited the Cape, and his shrewd, often humorous perceptions and eye for detail chronicle vividly his

¹ S.E. Hudson came to the Cape in May 1797 as steward to Andrew and Lady Anne Barnard. This entry dates from the time he was first Clerk of the Customs. Only parts of his diary survive, and that for 17 Nov. 1798 to 3 Apr. 1800, is held by the South African Library, Cape Town.

impressions. Writing of his first view of Cape Town, following his arrival from England, he recalled

I stared intently at the features of the town; the same England, the same rather narrow tall English houses. . . . Only one concession is made to the climate, but that's a big one; a verandah or balcony (stoep) runs the full width of the house A few of the houses are in the Hollands style. . . . But the remains of Holland's dominion are scarce. . . . At every place luxurious shops for cloth, linen, fabrics, stare one in the face and there are many tailors and jewellers; in a word, it's a small corner of England.

(Pt. 1, 63-64)

Goncharov had already concluded from his first introduction to the Colony when he docked in Simonstown that the difference between the Dutch and English style of living was the English emphasis on comfort combined with light, gay furnishings and decor, while the patriarchal Dutch reflected the importance of their ancestral roots by their well preserved furniture "blackened with time and especially in paunchy wooden bureaux and cupboards with ancestral china and silver" (Pt 1, 56). He carried away much the same impression when en route to Stellenbosch he visited first an English inn, The Fox and Hounds, on the Eerste Rivier, and then a Dutch home, Elsenberg, owned by the grandson of one Martin Melck (Pt 2, 86-87, 99).

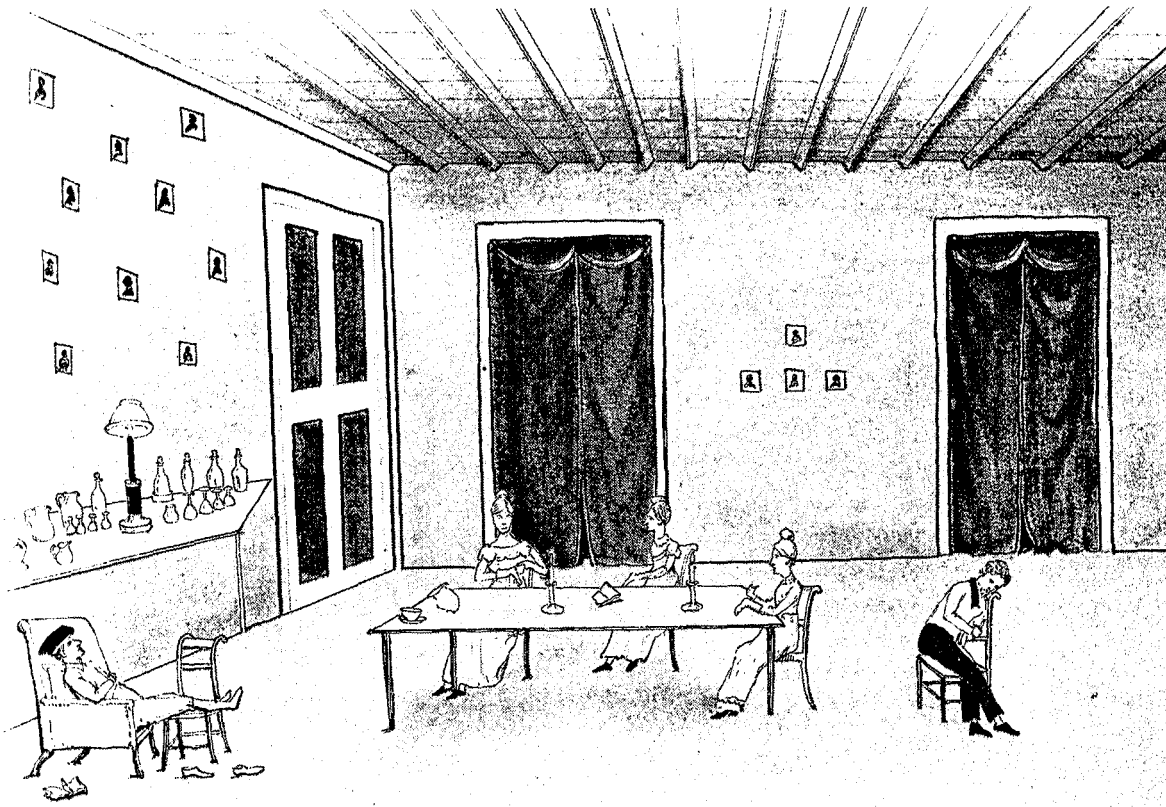
Published descriptions of English interiors at the Cape and of comments such as those of Hudson and Goncharov are rare for the first half of the nineteenth century, and even more so in regard to Grahamstown. An observer such as Harriet Ward, who

spent five years on the Frontier and months in and out of military accomodation in Grahamstown during the 7th Frontier War (1846-47), gives no description of her own home, or those of her friends or acquaintances, other than to mention "the spacious and pleasant mansion we had left" (1848, 473).

The reason for such silence is a reflection of the fact that to the English who recorded their impressions of the Cape Colony, English homes were not novel. The lack of such written descriptions makes the contemporary pictorial records all the more important.

Contemporary Visual Records

It is almost inevitable that the early Victorian pictures of domestic interiors in England and the Cape should be of upper or upper middle class dwellings, as it was the upper *échelons* of society who had the means and desire to preserve a pictorial record of their homes. Five such records of Cape interiors are discussed below. First, a rare drawing which remains to give a glimpse of Regency style on the Eastern Cape frontier, is a pen and ink sketch believed to be of Major George Pigot and his family (Plate 1). Four sketches of drawing rooms in Cape Town in the early nineteenth century are known. Two are by Charles Bell (Plates 2 and 4), one attributed to him (Plate 5), and one is by Sir Charles D'Oyly (Plate 3). As two are believed to be of the drawing room at Government House, these will be discussed together after those of private homes. Last, there is a glimpse of the drawing room in a Cape house, in Charles Cornwallis Michell's *En avant deux*, a caricature drawn for the daughter of



Major George Pigot and his Family in the Drawing Room at Pigot Park, 1820s

Pen and ink sketch.

Cape Archives, Elliot Collection 403

Sir Lowry Cole, Governor of the Cape between 1828 and 1833, which is dated ca. 1830 (Plate 6).

Pigot Park (Plate 1)²

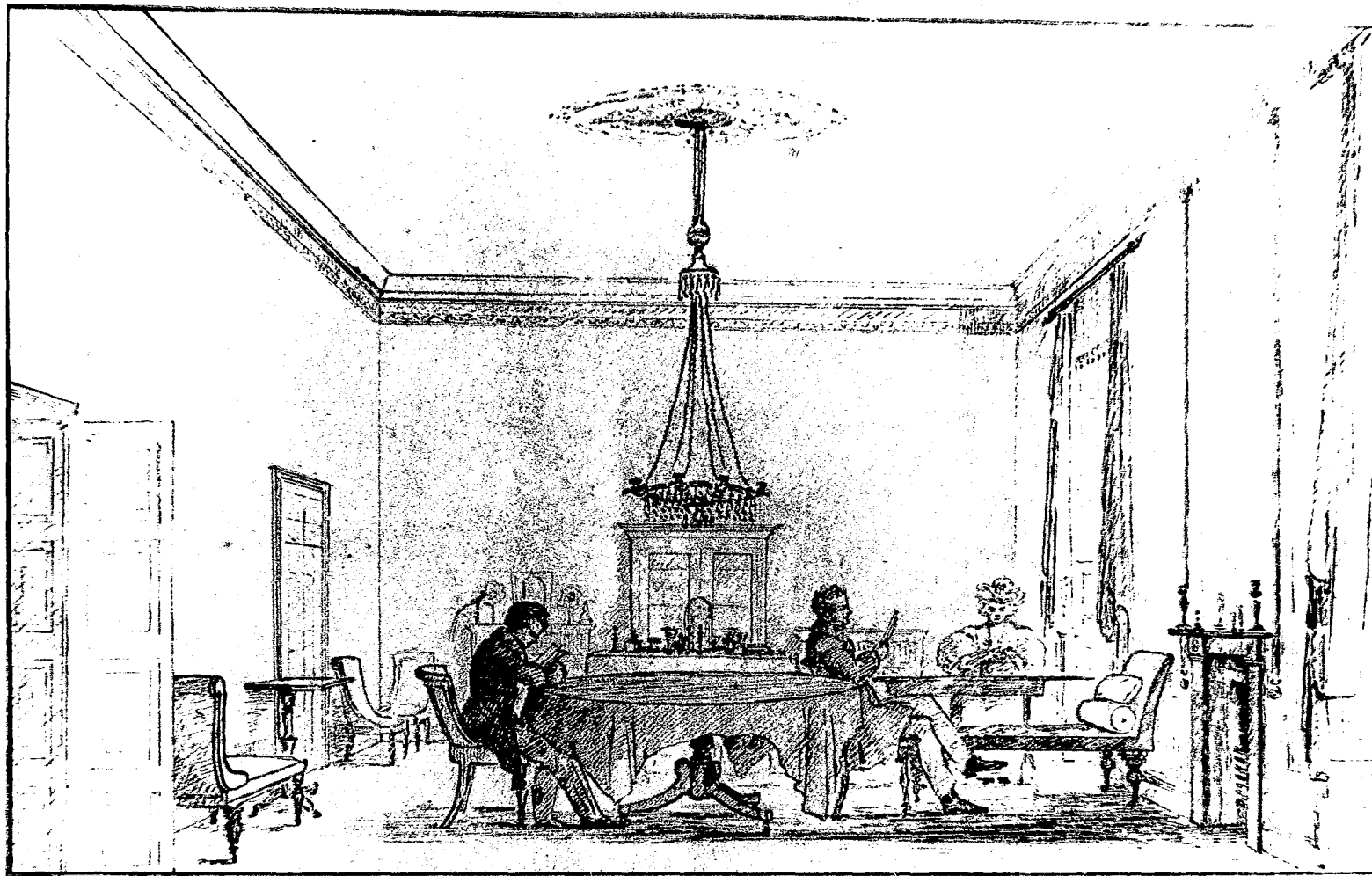
An 1820 Settler, Major George Pigot died in 1830 after having established his estate, Pigot Park, at Blaaukranz near Bathurst in Lower Albany. He was the natural son of Lord Pigot, a former Governor of Madras, by Catherine Mary Hill. The Pigot family were counted among the gentry of Albany. It is likely, from the paucity of furniture shown in the room, that the sketch was made in the early 1820s, soon after Pigot Park was built. In 1822 Thomas Philipps, another 'gentleman settler' who emigrated in 1820, recorded that he

. . . arrived at Pigott [sic] Park, where we had engaged to dine and stay the night. They had that day completed their first bed room, into which we were ushered, and notwithstanding we had only a curtain for a door, and the House close to bush, we never dreamt of Caffres or Wolves for which this place was always famous.

(Philipps 1960, 144)

The height of the Pigot room, accentuated by the size of the door and window frames created a light and airy spaciousness characteristic of the Regency. The door, with its dark panels, is not typical of the period, when door and architraves in England were painted in white or light colours (Yarwood 1979, 210). The curtains appear dark and heavy as they hang behind a simple valance, the colour a colonial adaptation to shield the room from the glare of the sun. Such adaptations to local

² Reproduced for the first time in the Journal of Sophia Pigot 1819-1821 (1974), Plate 29. The original sketch is in the possession of Mr Brian Aldridge, and a photograph of the original is housed in the Cape Archives. Elliott Collection 403.



Col. Bell's House - Millmaison - Capetown

"Col. Bell's House — Millmaison, Capetown"

"For Lady Frances Cole"

"Christmas 1832"

Pen and ink drawing by Charles Davidson Bell.

By kind permission of the
Library of Parliament. Mendelssohn Collection.

conditions were made early in the life of the settlement and included lining tents and wagon canopies with green baize for coolness.

Millmaison (Plate 2)³

Millmaison was the home of Col. John Bell,⁴ Chief Secretary to the Cape Government from 1827 to 1841. Charles Davidson Bell (1813-82) was his nephew, recognized now as one of South Africa's most versatile artists.⁵ By profession an engineer, land surveyor and civil servant, Bell landed at the Cape in 1829, aged 16, to join his uncle. Plate 2 shows Charles Bell's sketch of the drawing room at Millmaison, and is inscribed "Christmas 1832. For Lady Frances Cole".

As did the Pigot sketch, the Millmaison drawing reflects the room's spacious, light Regency atmosphere. The walls, ornamented with a narrow dado beneath the cornice, are either painted or papered, and the cornice poles, from which the draped curtains are suspended, are just below the cornice dado. Fringed, semi-transparent window blinds take the place of muslin

³ Charles Bell's drawings of Millmaison and Government House drawing room were presented to the Library of Parliament, Mendelssohn Collection, by Mr Alfred Gordon-Brown in 1968. Information from Miss M.C. Jooste, Deputy Chief Librarian, letter dated 28 May 1986.

⁴ "The Cape Town Directory for the Year 1833" entry for the Hon. Col. Bell, C.B., lists him as "secretary to government, upper end of government gardens [sic]". The 1833 Cape Town Directory is reprinted in Pama (1975, 96-124).

⁵ For details of Charles Bell's career and works see Gordon-Brown (1975, 122-23).

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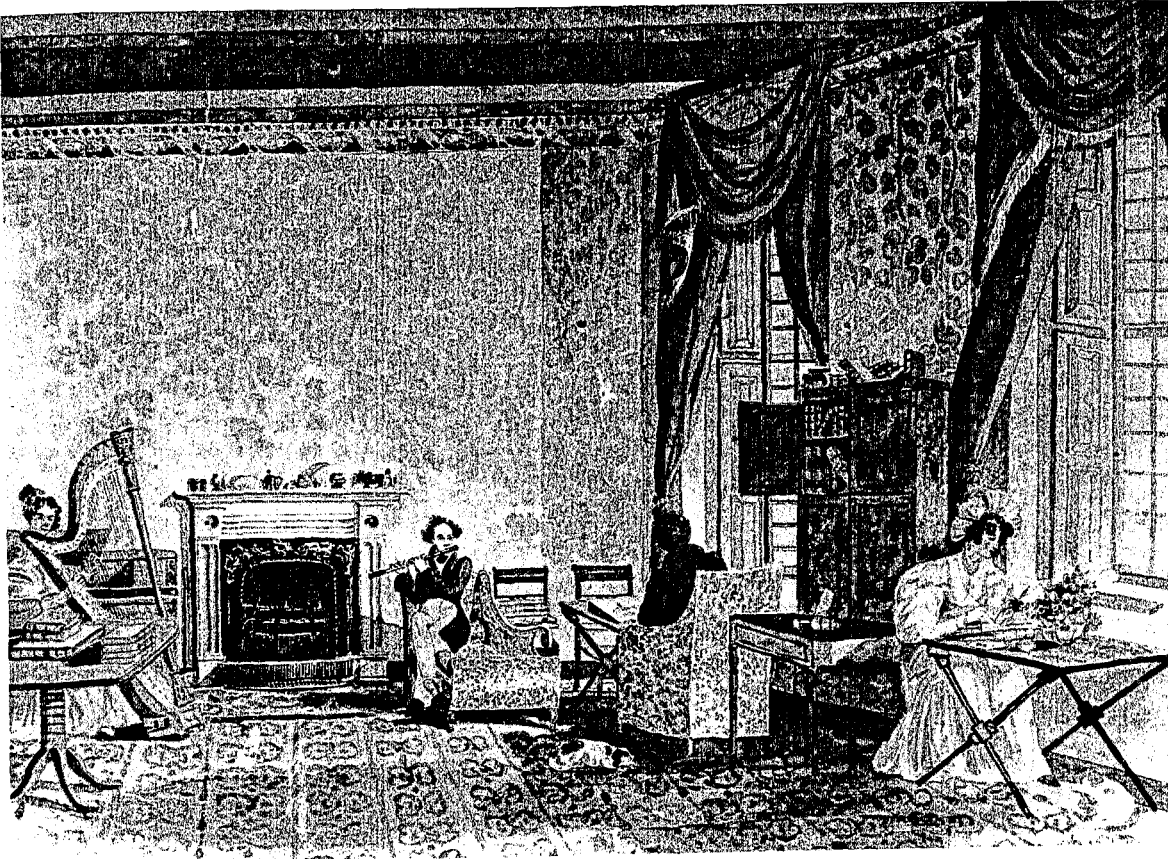
⁵ For details of Charles Bell's career and works see Gordon-Brown (1975, 122-23).

under the curtains. Such blinds were still fashionable in London in the 1840s (Morris 1958, 115). A high, painted wainscoting is indicated either side of the fire place. Regency ceilings tended to be plain and the chandelier, with its papier mâché or stucco medallion, provides a central feature which draws together the architectural proportions of the room.

To the Regency eye, trained in the principles of design, walls were a significant part of the architecture of a building, which had mathematical proportions, creating visual harmony both within and without.⁶ The lack of pictures is therefore striking, particularly as they are needed above the doors to give a harmonious balance, to complement the high panelled window embrasures opposite. It would appear that, rather than hang unsuitable, small pictures on the walls (as in the Pigot sketch, although the case is mitigated in a pioneer situation), they were left bare. In England it was only from the 1840s that walls "ceased to be significant as walls, and became surfaces on which to hang pictures, often so close together that hardly any of the wall itself was visible" (Hinton 1958, 26).

The central furniture arrangement draws the eye both down and up, the height of the weighted chandelier being adjusted with meticulous accuracy just to clear the cornice of the glazed cabinet against the far wall. Wall chairs and two couches at different angles, each with an adjacent table, emphasise the versatility of the room, as do the three occupants, all absorbed

⁶ See Lewcock 1963, Chapter 16, "Contemporary Theories of Design," 357-72.



A Musical Afternoon at Hopeville Lodge, Gardens, Residence of Sir John Wylde.

Watercolour by Sir Charles D'Oyly, 1832.

Cape Archives 443/A3100

in their own avocations. Bookcases flank the cabinet, in front of which a rectangular table stands, covered by an assortment of objects. The empty cloth covered circular lloo table, with typical late eighteenth century feet on castors, would have duplicated as a tea table.

The distinctly Regency room with its dominant table and absorbed occupants, presents an air of informality and relaxation, providing a valuable record of transitional Colonial style which predates the publication of Loudon's 1833 Encyclopaedia, where the acme of good taste in furnishing a drawing room was the creation of an informal, lived-in appearance (qtd. in Lasdun 1981, 45, 52).

Hopeville Lodge (Plate 3)⁷

Sir Charles D'Oyly's watercolour depicts a musical afternoon at Hopeville Lodge in the Gardens, residence of Chief Justice Sir John Wylde. It shows Sir John with his back to the artist, Lady Wylde making lace, and their children playing the harp and flute respectively. Sir Charles D'Oyly (1781-1845)⁸ spent the greater part of 1832 and 1833 at the Cape on sick leave from Bengal where he was on the staff of the East India Company. He left a rich

⁷ D'Oyly's Hopeville watercolour has been reproduced in several works, with various names given to the room. Both Lewcock (1963, 329) and Hattersley (1969, 110) term this interior a drawing room.

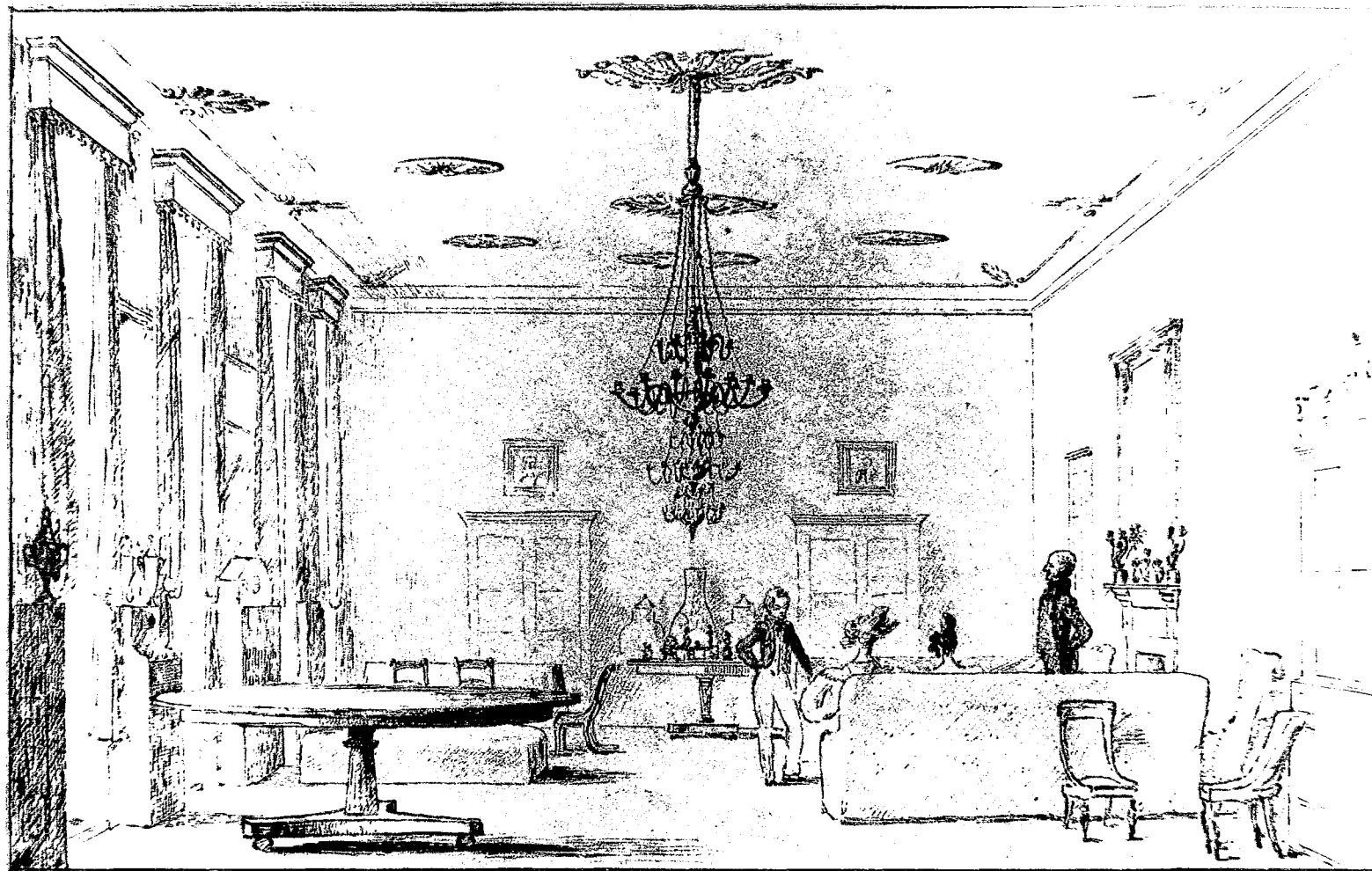
⁸ For details of Sir Charles D'Oyly's career and works see Gordon-Brown (1975, 151-53).

visual record of the social history of Regency Cape Town.⁹

The obvious differences between the Hopeville and Millmaison drawing rooms are Hopeville's unpainted wooden ceiling, and the patterned wallpaper, carpet, hearth rug and chair upholstery which tend to darken the room, although a sense of light and space is retained by the large windows and high ceiling. The cornice poles appear to be attached to, or resting on the carved cornice, unlike those at Millmaison which appear just below the cornice dado. The curtains are more sophisticated, and are draped to shape the light to focus on the tables and instruments. Curtain drapery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries required considerable skill. The Hopeville curtains appear to have a delicate lining, softly pleated into a central clasp. An asymmetric fringed swag is elegantly draped over each cornice pole. The lack of pictures and chimney or pier glass is less acutely felt, due to the patterned wallpaper. Although mirrors were frequently advertised in the Graham's Town Journal throughout the early Victorian period, it is clear from the room inventories studied (Appendix C3) that only just over half the drawing rooms had chimney or pier glasses. Their function was to increase light in English rooms dulled by overcast weather, and at the Cape rooms were, of course, kept dark for coolness.

A characteristic Cape feature of the Hopeville drawing room is the unplastered ceiling, which is simply constructed from the

⁹ -Pama's Regency Cape Town is illustrated by sketches from an album of drawings by Sir Charles D'Oyly held by the Africana Museum, Johannesburg, together with D'Oyly's other Cape Town sketches, including "A musical afternoon at Hopeville in Gardens, residence of Sir John Wylde," (1975, 10).



"Drawing Room, Government House, Capetown"

Pen and ink drawing by Charles Davidson Bell. 1832?

*By kind permission of the Library of Parliament.
Mendelssohn Collection.*

exposed beams and floor boards of the room above. It was only as English interior decoration became fashionable that plaster ceilings were introduced (Lewcock 1963, 24, 326). These were not always elaborate, a ceiling chandelier rose often being the only decoration (Lewcock 1963, 387). This was in keeping with the English trend towards simplicity in small and medium houses. Clifford Musgrave (1958, 22) points out that in such instances decoration would be confined to a single Adam motif which often included "a single circular garland upon the ceiling". This simplicity lasted in England from the 1750s to the 1840s.

The upright chairs against the wall could from their shape well be Cape Regency stinkwood chairs (see Baraitser and Obholzer 1978, 77-84). The inventories show that it was not uncommon for stinkwood furniture to be included in English drawing rooms at the Cape.

Government House (Plates 4 and 5)

The two sketches of the drawing room in Government House, Cape Town, present an intriguing contrast. Charles Bell's pen and ink sketch (Plate 4) is dated 1832. The water colour (Plate 5) is from an album which belonged to Lady Frances Cole, now the property of the Africana Museum, Johannesburg. Carolyn Woodward, pioneer researcher on Cape Dutch interiors, discusses this watercolour in her 1983 article on the transition of the Cape 'multi-purpose parlour' (her terminology) to the drawing room. Woodward (1983, 16-17) comments that the watercolour was completed some time between 1828 and 1833 (Sir Lowry Cole's term

of office as Governor of the Cape), and suggests that it probably represents the drawing room of Government House, but makes no reference to the identity of the artist.

After a careful comparison of Bell's pen and ink sketch of the Government House drawing room (Plate 4) with the watercolour (Plate 5), it does seem probable that Charles Bell was the artist responsible for both. The delicately executed painting with its sensitivity to colour, light and balance as well as a keenly observant eye for detail, are characteristic of Bell's work. Coupled with this is the fact that Lady Catherine Bell, wife of Charles Bell's uncle Col. John Bell, was the sister of Lady Frances Cole (both were daughters of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury), which increases the probability that the talented young Charles Bell was the artist.

The captions to Plates 2 and 4 are not in Charles Bell's handwriting. The inscription "For Lady Frances Cole. Christmas 1832" at the bottom of the Millmaison sketch is, however, by Bell. The John and Charles Bell Heritage Trust owns an album of sepia wash drawings made by Bell during the 7th Frontier War (1846-47) entitled "Some Rough Sketches of Scenes illustrative of late events in Southern Africa".¹⁰ Captions are written both on and below the drawings. Those written onto many of these are in the same compact, non-cursive upper and lower case letters as the

¹⁰ The album conceived by Bell was never published. This is stated by Dr Frank R. Bradlow in "Charles Bell Sketches and Prints", notes which accompanied the Charles Bell Exhibition at the 1983 Five Roses National Festival of the Arts, Grahamstown. Photocopies of Bell's 1846-47 drawings were supplied to the author through the kind offices of Dr Bradlow.

inscription to Lady Frances Cole below the Millmaison sketch. The numbering and titles of the War of the Axe drawings in general appear below the frames in a handwriting other than that of Bell.

It is difficult to assess whether the addition of the date '1832' to Bell's sketch of the drawing room at Government House was added by the caption writer or by Bell himself. A comparison of the dates which Bell wrote on the 1846/47 drawings indicates that it could be in his handwriting. If so, the accuracy of the date is unlikely to be questioned. The size and similarity of the Millmaison and Government House drawing room sketches (Plates 2 and 4), in fact suggest that they were both Christmas presents, a memento, for the Malmesbury sisters. If the date were, however, added later its accuracy could be queried.

The reason for raising the question of dating relates to the undated watercolour. If it is indeed the same room, the sketch and the watercolour may be 'before' and 'after' studies of the Government House drawing room which Lady Frances requested Bell to do for her. The Coles were officially in residence in Government House for five years, and it is possible that the watercolour reflects the changes made by Lady Frances to the Government House drawing room before they left the Colony in August 1833. Whatever the exact background, however, the watercolour has preserved evidence of what may be considered the height of Cape English Regency style.

The most marked differences in design between the two rooms are the fireplace surrounds and the lack of moulded ceiling motifs in the watercolour. If the rooms are the same, the wooden

of office as Governor of the Cape), and suggests that it probably represents the drawing room of Government House, but makes no reference to the identity of the artist.

After a careful comparison of Bell's pen and ink sketch of the Government House drawing room (Plate 4) with the watercolour (Plate 5), it does seem probable that Charles Bell was the artist responsible for both. The delicately executed painting with its sensitivity to colour, light and balance as well as a keenly observant eye for detail, are characteristic of Bell's work. Coupled with this is the fact that Lady Catherine Bell, wife of Charles Bell's uncle Col. John Bell, was the sister of Lady Frances Cole (both were daughters of the 1st Earl of Malmesbury), which increases the probability that the talented young Charles Bell was the artist.

The captions to Plates 2 and 4 are not in Charles Bell's handwriting. The inscription "For Lady Frances Cole. Christmas 1832" at the bottom of the Millmaison sketch is, however, by Bell. The John and Charles Bell Heritage Trust owns an album of sepia wash drawings made by Bell during the 7th Frontier War (1846-47) entitled "Some Rough Sketches of Scenes illustrative of late events in Southern Africa".¹⁰ Captions are written both on and below the drawings. Those written onto many of these are in the same compact, non-cursive upper and lower case letters as the

¹⁰ The album conceived by Bell was never published. This is stated by Dr Frank R. Bradlow in "Charles Bell Sketches and Prints", notes which accompanied the Charles Bell Exhibition at the 1983 Five Roses National Festival of the Arts, Grahamstown. Photocopies of Bell's 1846-47 drawings were supplied to the author through the kind offices of Dr Bradlow.

inscription to Lady Frances Cole below the Millmaison sketch. The numbering and titles of the War of the Axe drawings in general appear below the frames in a handwriting other than that of Bell.

It is difficult to assess whether the addition of the date '1832' to Bell's sketch of the drawing room at Government House was added by the caption writer or by Bell himself. A comparison of the dates which Bell wrote on the 1846/47 drawings indicates that it could be in his handwriting. If so, the accuracy of the date is unlikely to be questioned. The size and similarity of the Millmaison and Government House drawing room sketches (Plates 2 and 4), in fact suggest that they were both Christmas presents, a memento, for the Malmesbury sisters. If the date were, however, added later its accuracy could be queried.

The reason for raising the question of dating relates to the undated watercolour. If it is indeed the same room, the sketch and the watercolour may be 'before' and 'after' studies of the Government House drawing room which Lady Frances requested Bell to do for her. The Coles were officially in residence in Government House for five years, and it is possible that the watercolour reflects the changes made by Lady Frances to the Government House drawing room before they left the Colony in August 1833. Whatever the exact background, however, the watercolour has preserved evidence of what may be considered the height of Cape English Regency style.

The most marked differences in design between the two rooms are the fireplace surrounds and the lack of moulded ceiling motifs in the watercolour. If the rooms are the same, the wooden

mantleshef on which the pier glass rests in Plate 4 had been replaced by a lower fireplace surround. The small ceiling rose in the watercolour draws attention to the omission of a central chandelier, and the absence of any means of lighting other than the small girandoles on the mantelpiece is at variance with the well furnished, tastefully decorated room. It suggests that the interior décor was not quite complete when the artist painted the room.

There are, however, aspects of the two rooms and their contents which indicate that they could indeed be the same. A comparison between Plates 4 and 5 shows a similar position of windows, doors and fireplace, although only half the room is shown in the watercolour, assuming the rooms to be the same. The most distinctive feature is the large porcelain bottle-shaped vase which appears between a pair of oviform lidded jars at the far end of each room. A circular loo table is directly in front, and in Plate 5 may support the vase. In the watercolour the jars are on stands, while in Plate 4 they are only roughly sketched in with no visible means of support, giving the impression that the artist may have added them to show how they could provide a central focus in the refurnished room.

In Plate 4 the eighteenth century wooden cornices which concealed the curtain heading are each edged with a fringe, and the curtains are simple panels of fabric which hang either side of the windows and are looped back with cords. The curtains in

the watercolour are supported by the fashionable 'French'¹¹ gilt or brass cornice poles with finials at each end. Four large rings support each skilfully pleated fringed valance, behind which the curtains are hung, fastened with tasseled cords. The naturalistic floral pattern of the carpet resembles closely the upholstery of the settee in the foreground and the two arm chairs, while the ottoman seems to be covered to match the carpet.

Wall panels of Chinese scenes and floral patterns appear to have been expressly designed for the room. Catherine Lynn (1980, 46) comments that "The Western wallpaper trade used painting as a technique not only for imitating Chinese papers, but also for producing non-repeating scenes -- mural paintings rendered in distemper colors on paper . . . These one-of-a-kind paintings were usually produced to specifications for a particular room, and were expensive".

Woodward (1983, 17) has described the Government House drawing room (Plate 5) as "quintessentially English", and it is this quality which sets it apart from that in Plate 4, which, with its twin glazed cabinets and a third bearing a porcelain garniture in the right foreground, retains Cape Dutch features and lacks the distinctive style which the 'planned to room' furnishings provide. As the period progressed, some English

¹¹ 'French' curtains and rods were fashionable in England from ca. 1775, the term being applied to any elaborate window hangings which included curtain panels which were drawn to each side of the window as opposed to the ophaal gordijnen/kordyne, the rising curtains, known in eighteenth century England and America as 'festoons' (Seale 1979 89).

drawing rooms were to emulate this aspect of Lady Frances Cole's contribution to English style at the Cape.

En avant deux (Plate 6)

Lieut.-Col. Charles Cornwallis Michell (1793-1851)¹² was Surveyor-General and Government Architect at the Cape from 1828 until his retirement twenty years later. One of the most competent architects to practice at the Cape, he designed St. John's Church, Bathurst, in the classical style and St. Paul's Church, Rondebosch, in the Gothic manner. His whimsical sense of humour was incorporated in the corbel stones of the windows at St. Paul's, sculpted as grotesque heads in robust Gothic style (Lewcock 1963, 284-85). His sketch En avant deux is of importance due to Michell's trained architectural sense, and because it reflects what appears to be a Dutch/English household early in the century. The emphasis is strongly Georgian both in furnishings (the carved eagle surmounting the framed mirror) and costume (knee breeches were worn at the Cape until ca. 1815 -- Strutt 1975, 152). The subject itself reflects the importance of acquiring English social customs early in life, and is sharpened by the endearment used by the plump Dutch wife "Didn't I tell you, love, it wouldn't be money misapplied" and her spouse's heavily accented response, "It is indeed quite vonderful".

¹² For details of Lt.-Col. Michell's career and works see Gordon-Brown (1975, 196).



Ink and wash caricature by Charles Cornwallis Michell.
Signed "C.C.M. invt. for Miss Cole's album". ca. 1830.

Africana Museum, Johannesburg

English Influence on the Cape Dutch Parlour

This naturally brings us to the interesting question as to the extent of English influence on the Cape Dutch parlour in the early nineteenth century. When the British occupied the Cape in 1795 and again in 1806, the furnishings of the principal room(s) of the home were to be influenced stylistically by a very different tradition from that of the Cape Dutch which had characterized the Cape interior from the mid-seventeenth century.

Carolyn Woodward, following her comparison of seventeenth and eighteenth century inventories from the Cape and the Hague,¹³ has drawn a number of conclusions of considerable importance. She points to the lack of Dutch settlers at the Cape, especially women, with a cultivated taste to influence the development of the Cape interior. This was largely due to the stratum of Dutch society from whence the settlers were drawn, one which had little understanding of the cultural developments taking place in fashionable circles. Cape Dutch society grew to be mainly 'petit bourgeois,' composed of company officials, tradesmen and farmers, who had a communal family life-style, understanding little of the need for privacy which affected the upper échelons of society (Woodward 1982, 53).

Although the Cape was isolated, Woodward notes that it was on an important trade route from the East, and so Cape citizens had access to a rich market of oriental porcelain and lacquer, as

¹³ The work referred to is Woodward's MA dissertation, "The Interior of the Cape House 1640-1714," University of Pretoria, 1982.

PLATE 7 *Voorkamer* at Blettermanhuis, Stellenbosch Museum.
 Recreated Cape Dutch Interior, late 1700s



Left:
 The upright chairs, footstools and brass spittoons typical of the Cape Dutch *voorkamer* in the eighteenth century, were still in homes showing English stylistic influences in the mid-nineteenth century. Note the festoon curtain, or *ophaalgordijn*.
Stellenbosch Museum

Below:
Voorkamer dominated by curtained bed and cabinet.
Stellenbosch Museum



well as textiles from India, items which would not normally have enriched the homes of their social counterparts in Holland.

The effects on the Cape interiors were marked:

Throughout the Dutch East India Company period the Cape -- or at least that section of it that was in reach of Cape Town -- was quick to reflect European fashion, but however superficially fashionable and however large the Cape house might become in the eighteenth century, it was a house inhabited by a family that had little real need for specialized rooms and a very mild interest in personal privacy: by a family with money but little sophistication.

(Woodward 1982, 54)

What was characteristic of Cape Dutch interiors in the eighteenth century appears to have been retained into the early years of the nineteenth. Further research by Woodward shows a 'reluctant' development of the Cape Dutch multi-purpose parlour into the English drawing room. Changes were noticeable in only two fashionable Cape Dutch houses according to her inventory research (Woodward 1983, 14).

The main difference between the Cape Dutch parlour, or voorkamer (Plate 7), and its English counterpart at the Cape in the early nineteenth century was the retention by the Dutch of the bed, and often a large cabinet, possibly with a porcelain garniture, and/or a wardrobe (sometimes also known as a 'cabinet' which causes some confusion as to which item of furniture is actually meant). The voorhuis, or hall, was often furnished as a reception room, in addition to the voorkamer. Petrus Borchardus Borchers, in his An Auto-Biographical Memoir, published in Cape Town in 1861, recalled the Stellenbosch home of "an old respectable countryman", as he remembered it from the years he had spent in Stellenbosch before moving to Cape Town to

take up a civil appointment under the Batavian Government in 1803. His description of the principal rooms contributes to our understanding and interpretation of inventory entries.

One of the front rooms was usually a parlour, and particularly in summer kept dark and cool. It was furnished with stinkwood furniture, and the chief piece was a large wardrobe (cabinet), with folding doors and drawers, silver mounted, and this was destined for the neat Sunday dresses and extra linen. . . . Another front room was furnished with bedsteads and fine soft feather beds and other pieces of furniture, and some little ornaments. This was kept for the special purpose of receiving strangers, so that the friend or traveller was generally welcome and his reception prepared. The ladies were very particular about the rooms reserved for that purpose.

(Borcherds 1861, 204-05)

Inventories in Dutch lie outside the scope of this survey, but of the inventories in English extracted from the records at the Cape Archives, five detail the possessions of individuals bearing Dutch names, and a sixth those of an Englishman married to a Dutch woman. Two of these inventories may be classified as middle to upper class, and four are from the working classes. The reasons for these inventories being in English not Dutch are not always clear, particularly when the notary is also Dutch. They do, however, provide examples of households where one might expect to detect some English influence.

In 1848, more than four decades after the Stellenbosch home described by Borcherds, the Stellenbosch Dorp Street home of Anna Maria Briers, wife of David François Naude, a retail shopkeeper, was inventoried in English by Notary C. Marthinus.¹⁴ The house

¹⁴ Cape Archives M00C 7/1/192 Inv. 29, 1848.

consisted of a hall, drawing room, gallery, pantry, bedroom, backroom, storeroom and kitchen.

The most valuable item in the Naude home was the bedstead, complete with curtains, feather bed, mattress, pillow and cushions, worth Rds 120 (£9),¹⁵ which, together with a four drawered wardrobe valued at Rds 100 (£7 10s), dominated the drawing room. Seating was provided by six yellow American chairs,¹⁶ valued at only Rds 15 (£1 2s 6d). The rest of the contents of the drawing room consisted of a stretcher, complete with feather bed, pillow, cushions and clothes worth Rds 50 (£3 15s), a table with wax cloth cover, a washhandstand, toilet table with white drapery, a large toilet glass (value Rds 20 or £1 10s), a small toilet glass, a small round bedtable and a candlestand or gueridon.

From the contents of the drawing room, it does seem as though the English influence is confined to terminology, as no English drawing room would include these items. The social standing of a retail shopkeeper was not, even forty years later, to be compared with the circle in which the Borchers family moved (Borchers's father was the Dutch Reformed minister at Stellenbosch and their friends included the landdrost, doctor, and a few of the 'most respectable inhabitants' who had personal libraries -- no books are included in the Naude home). The presence of six American chairs in the 'drawing room' does,

¹⁵ The legal value of the rixdollar was still 1s 6d in 1848, according to The Eastern Province Directory and Almanac for 1848, 182.

¹⁶ For further details on American chairs at the Cape, see Chapter 6.

however, indicate that it was used by Anna Maria as a 'withdrawing' room off the hall, the main reception area. Borchers recalled that social custom in Stellenbosch separated the ladies from their husbands when visits were paid to one another's houses:

The ladies used to accompany their husbands, and were received in a separate room, and amused themselves by conversing on different subjects connected with their department or taste, enjoying a cup of coffee, tea, chocolate, sweetmeats, cakes, &c.; and when the clock announced the hour for departure they joined their husbands, some being carried in sedan chairs, then in fashion, by two bearers.

(Borchers 1861, 206)

Although the English drawing room had its origins in a 'withdrawing' room for the ladies, by the mid-nineteenth century it had for many years been the principal reception room for mixed gatherings of the sexes.

When the contents of the Naude drawing room are compared with those in the hall, it is clear that the hall was used as the main reception room. The most valuable and unusual item in the hall was a barrel organ, valued at Rds 100 (£7 10s). There were twelve stinkwood chairs with damask cushions (Rds 75 or £5 12s 6d), invariably arranged in a row along the walls (Plate 7), also six footstools and two brass spittoons. There were also three tables, one of which had an old damask cover thrown over it, the other two had a few shells for ornament. There was a brass table lamp, the only one in the house, and two ladies' workboxes, an indication that the ladies did not always remove themselves from the vicinity of the men, and that whatever

purpose the 'drawing room' served in a public capacity, they also used the hall, which for generations had been the province of the mistress of the house.

The contents of the hall, with the most valuable chairs, their footstools, the spittoons and tables might at first sight be taken for the dining room, but for the presence of a gallery (galerij-gaanderij), which was also furnished with tables and chairs, a not uncommon Cape Dutch feature (Woodward 1983, 10). In this case, however, it is the hall which reflects the more specialized reception room atmosphere introduced by the English at the Cape. The Cape Dutch voorhuis was often furnished in a similar style to the Naude hall, but would in addition have had a much more expensively furnished voorkamer dominated by a curtained bed, wardrobe and/or cabinet (Plate 7). Here the English influence appears to have upgraded the voorhuis furniture, but due in all probability to modest financial circumstances (the total estate was valued at Rds 3169-6-0 (£237 14s 7 1/2d), this was as far as they could go.

The Stellenbosch Naude inventory was treated first, to place it in proximity to the Borchers account. Further up the social scale, in a financial bracket that the Naude's could not attain, was Carel Arnoldus Becker of Wolmunster in Rondebosch.¹⁷ In 1844 Becker died at the age of 53, and his wife's death followed

¹⁷ Cape Archives M00C 7/1/178 Inv. 31, 1844. Becker had emigrated to the Cape from France, and named his Rondebosch home 'Wolmunster' after his birth place, the village of Wolmunster in the District of Moselle on the border of France and Germany. According to his death notice, Becker was a 'gentleman'. I am indebted to Mrs Adele Keen of Mowbray for these details and those concerning Becker's son-in-law Clerke Burton.

within six months. Their eighteen year old son, Carel or Charles Johannes, was living at Wolmunster, as was his sister Catherine, Mrs Clerke Burton. Wolmunster was left to Catherine Burton, and Charles inherited Wolmunster Cottage on the estate. Becker also had a house and premises in Loop Street and on Market Square in Cape Town. In this case English influence was strengthened by Catherine's marriage to Clerke Burton, Master of the Supreme Court. Despite the apparent wealth reflected by the contents of Wolmunster, Burton had to buy the estate for £2 000 to prevent it from being declared insolvent.

Wolmunster was a substantial house, with seven rooms, a hall, kitchen, pantry and wine cellar in addition to numerous outbuildings. The drawing room (so termed in the inventory) is English in style, the only distinctively Cape feature being the stinkwood from which the matching blue damask covered couches, chairs and ottoman were made. Blue damask curtains at the window completed the ensemble. A loo table and small table with cover provided additional focal points. Accessories were two fire screens, two china jars, a chimney glass, chimney ornaments, a fender and fire irons, in addition to two bell ropes, a carpet and a hearth rug. It is clear from the Becker's home that a degree of wealth, social standing in the Cape Town community, and cross-cultural marriages were important vehicles of English influence on the Cape interior.

At the lower end of the social spectrum, the house belonging to a Worcester Tanner, Johan Ernst Seijffert, in 1836¹⁸ had a

¹⁸ Cape Archives MOOC 7/1/138 Inv. 13, 1836.

multi-purpose hall which was furnished with a yellowwood table and six common chairs as well as a stove. Additional items were a pail, a 'bason' with five cups and saucers and a copper kettle and chafing dish. The bedroom was separate and contained only two stretchers, a straw matrass and a pillow. No storage containers for clothes are mentioned. The omission of a bed and cabinet from this hall is more likely to be due to impecunious circumstances than to any English cultural influences.

In 1836 the Chief Artificer and Turn Cock to the Cape Town Water Works, Samuel Eley (or Ely) died,¹⁹ leaving his second Dutch wife, Maria Johanna Eley, born Wolmerans, and his twenty year old son, Samuel Robert, by his first wife Maria Dorothea Pieterzen (Philip 1981, 117). Eley rented a three roomed house, with hall and kitchen, No. 12 Pepper Street, Cape Town.

The room on the right hand (still described in Cape Dutch fashion by position rather than function) was a multi-purpose parlour in Cape Dutch tradition. Eley was an Englishman, from Ipswich, Suffolk, but as one would expect, in the furnishing of his home, the influence of his Dutch wife (and probably that of his first wife as well) was dominant. The principal furniture in their front room consisted of a large wardrobe (called 'cabinet') (the exact terminology used by Borchers in 1861 of a Stellenbosch parlour 'wardrobe'), seven American stinkwood chairs, a stinkwood table with drawer, and a bedstead, with matrass, feather bed, eleven pillows and three blankets. No bed

¹⁹ Cape Archives MOOC 7/1/136 Inv. 20, 1836.

curtains are mentioned, nor does this room, or any other, appear to have had curtains or carpets. The 'Parlour' also contained four dumb waiters, two large and two small. Eight pictures and a toilet glass adorned the walls, and light was provided by seven old candlesticks of various patterns. A wide miscellany of items which we would associate with the kitchen included cutlery, crockery and glasses, three kettles (one pewter and two copper), two coffee mills, three irons (two Italian, one smoothing), trays and 'one lot of old Books'.

Samuel Eley was earning £8 19s 3d per month, which was a higher than average wage for a man in trade (cited in the 1838 Cape Blue Book's wages for labour return as 4s 2 1/4d per diem,²⁰ or £5 6s 6 3/4d per twenty-seven day month). It is unlikely therefore that the Eley's multi-purpose parlour was an economic necessity. In this case the classic Cape Dutch features -- bed and wardrobe/cabinet, reflect the home of Maria Johanna Eley.

The house of Tailor Carel Joseph Becker and his wife Hendrina Elizabeth Henken, No. 61 Long Street, Cape Town, combined, in 1838, home and shop premises.²¹ It consisted of a hall and kitchen downstairs, and upstairs, of a front room and landing. There was a defective camp bedstead on the upstairs landing, and the front room contained a stump bedstead with feather bed, bolster, four pillows, a coverlet and four sheets.

²⁰ The first 'Wages for Labour' return was in 1837 (Cape Blue Book 1838, 249).

²¹ Cape Archives M00C 7/1/144 Inv. 97, 1838

Their four children (three sons aged 14, nine and six and a three month old daughter) possibly shared the family bed. This was certainly a multi-purpose living room as it included a large table, eight stinkwood chairs, three foot stoves, a stinkwood press and an assortment of trays, crockery and cutlery, as well as eight pictures, a small workbox and some printed books. Becker appears to have practised his tailor's trade in this room as a trestle table, two pairs of tailor's shears, two tailor's planks and a large looking glass suggest. No English influence is discernible, only common overriding economic factors, and it is unclear why the inventory is in English.

Also from the lower end of the social spectrum, Johanna Petronella Obermeyer's home at No. 2 Peper (Pepper) Street, Cape Town,²² did reflect a slight English influence; her first husband was Johan Joseph Smith, alias Joseph Smith, a carpenter. Here there is no bed in the Hall which is furnished more as a dining room, with a teak flap dining table and the only chairs in the house, one rosewood and five stinkwood chairs as well as three teak common chairs. The second front room boasted four teapoys, an unusual inventory item, and they and the hall rosewood chair add an English touch. Apart from this, the second front room, with its mixed wood tent bedstead with chintz curtains, secretary-chest of drawers with a glass case, and a small teak glass case, stinkwood clothes press, and paraphernalia of living, has clear overtones of the multi-purpose Cape Dutch

²² Cape Archives MOOC 7/1/158 Inv. 49, 1840.

parlour. There is no seating mentioned, and so it was presumably brought in from the hall when required.

It is clear from these English inventories which list the contents of Dutch homes at the Cape that much more research needs to be done before any substantive conclusions can be drawn. Carolyn Woodward (1983, 13), referring to the depth of the Cape Dutch parlour tradition, suggests that these rooms could have survived far into the nineteenth century in areas where English influence was negligible. On the slight evidence of the six inventories examined, it would appear that given sufficient wealth and position, and an English environment, English fashions took over. By the mid-century English terminology was in use, even in a Stellenbosch home, a reflection, perhaps, of cultural aspirations, but tradition and/or economic factors limited this English influence. Among the Dutch working classes, even in a dominantly English centre, there was a preference for the communal family life style which the multi-purpose parlour or living room represented. By contrast, inventories of the contents of English working class homes do not show any of the Cape Dutch parlour influences, except in the single instance of Samuel Eley.

As far as the general influence of the Dutch upon English interiors at the Cape is concerned, there appears to be little. The fact that almost half (46%, 18/39) of the reception room furniture in such homes was made from indigenous woods is a

parlour. There is no seating mentioned, and so it was presumably brought in from the hall when required.

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natural environmental development. If it could be established that the bulk of this locally made furniture was Cape Dutch, then there would be evidence of closer cross-cultural exchange.

As the second town in the Cape Colony, Grahamstown's contribution to the development of English style at the Cape should be of considerable importance. There English influence, without the admixture of Cape Dutch style, can be expected to provide a vignette of what may possibly be termed 'Cape English' colonial style. It is the aim of this study to investigate in detail the domestic material culture of Grahamstown's domestic dwellings to discover whether, in an environment virtually without significant Cape Dutch influence, a 'Cape English' style evolved. Before this possibility is explored, it will be our business to discover something of the occupational and spatial structure of early Victorian Grahamstown as a necessary framework for the investigation and evaluation of the town's domestic material culture.

CHAPTER 3

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION: ANALYSING SHAPES IN SOCIETY

Occupation as a Basis for Analysing Social Class

It has been said that while there appear to be as many views on social class and methods of classification as there are sociologists "the most useful piece of information to have about a man to place him in a social context is to know what sort of a job he does" (Rosser and Harris 1965, 89-90). That information will, however, be of little use in determining the social structure of a town unless it can be classified within an appropriate framework.

Historians and urban geographers have approached the classification of occupations in various ways. From his experience in analysing the social structure of early Victorian York, W.A. Armstrong (1972) recommends use of the Registrar-General's 1951 Classification of Occupations as a parameter against which nineteenth century occupations can be measured and their position in the social hierarchy calculated.¹ The five

¹ Armstrong first described the Registrar-General's 1951 scheme in his contribution to Eversley et al., "Social Structure from the Early Census Records" (1966). He is not the only historian to have used the 1951 classification for analysing the social structure of Victorian cities. The discussion following Armstrong's paper on the interpretation of census enumerators' books (1968a), delivered at the 1966 Urban History Conference, shows that a number of British historians had made use of it in their research (Dyos 1968, 146-50), although it was sharply criticised by C. Harris during the discussion. Flood and Schofield (1968) have also criticized aspects of the scheme as put forward by Armstrong. In 1977 Royle proposed certain modifications which are referred to below. Fox (1980) used Royle's classification in his paper on the demography of Sunderland in 1851.

class scheme provides broad social groupings into which householders may be classified on the basis of occupation:

- Class I Professional, etc. occupations
- Class II Intermediate occupations
- Class III Skilled occupations
- Class IV Partly skilled occupations
- Class V Unskilled occupations (Armstrong, 1972,205)

The advantage of using such a scheme lies in its standard nature from which a comparability of data and research findings is possible which is not the case where idiosyncratic social classifications are devised. Problems encountered in the application of the 1951 classification are discussed by Cole (1955)² and Armstrong (1972). The most immediately apparent difficulty is the relevance of the scheme to nineteenth century data, a problem to which Armstrong's paper is in part directed, and which his modifications address.

The chief difficulty in using this scheme for an analysis of Grahamstown's social structure, however, is that it is dependent upon data which are available only from census enumerations, as Armstrong's modifications underline (1972, 209-11).

The problem attendant upon combining occupation and status in a single classification scheme is discussed by Michael B. Katz (1972).³ In his study of Hamilton, Ontario from 1851 to

² See especially Cole 1955b. Armstrong (1972, 424n31) regards this as probably the best critique on the subject.

³ Katz was Associate Professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto in 1972 when his paper was published. He noted that since completing his analysis of occupations in Hamilton, Ontario, as outlined in his paper, he had received a copy of Charles Booth's occupational classification (1841-91) which would be used instead of his scheme in the Hamilton project (1972, 81n13).

1881 (Katz 1976), he has discovered the need to distinguish between a classification showing occupational structure which deals with function (raw material or end product) and one which reflects mobility where social ranking of occupations is required and hierarchy is of key importance. Katz maintains that one classification cannot serve both purposes. In a structural scheme the occupational category is the reference point (blacksmiths as a group, not the individual blacksmith), whereas in a mobility classification it is the movement of an individual up or down, from status category to status category, which is the point at issue (see esp. Katz 1972, 64-70).

Katz devised a structural scheme based on the type of occupations which he discovered in Hamilton through his use of the town's quantitative records, which included a manuscript census, assessment rolls, directories, newspapers and marriage records. The material was analysed at decade intervals. Well aware of the need for comparability, Katz chose categories for his occupational analysis which would bear comparison with Charles Booth's classification of industrial occupations, devised by Booth as a preliminary to his nine volume survey of the Life and Labour of the People of London (1892-97). The results showed Hamilton to be a pre-industrial commercial city, with a rapidly expanding urban fabric as shown by the size of the building trade in comparison with other sectors of the economy (Katz 1972, 82).

In agreement with Katz' distinction between occupational and mobility classifications, two such schemes are proposed below for early Victorian Grahamstown.

Structural Classification for Early Victorian Grahamstown

The structural classification has been arrived at by amalgamating features of the occupational classification schemes of two scholars, Patten and Booth.

It is clear from Patten (1977, 307-10) that two approaches to classification of occupations have been followed by scholars over the last three decades for towns in England. Two types emerge. The majority use raw material and its end production (textiles, household goods, building) as the basic criterion, while a few use type of activity (distribution, services). Of these Patten sees the latter as more useful on a comparative level, providing a base on which more detailed occupational divisions may be erected.

Booth's occupational classification, 1841-91, was published for the first time in Armstrong 1972 (253-83). Designed for use in analysing the population of London for census purposes, it is essentially an industrial classification as opposed to Patten's pre-industrial scheme. While Patten's classification is particularly relevant to a non-industrial colonial town such as Grahamstown which, although strongly influenced by commercial trade with industrial England, retained an occupational structure more closely analagous to pre-industrial Britain, Booth's detailed categorization provides a basis from which it is

TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDERS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 & 1853
Based on Patten (1977) and Booth (1841-91)

	1842	%	1853	%
Gentry	-	-	6	.8
Professions and Services (including clergy, but less innkeepers, etc., and domestic servants)	117	22.8	164	22.9
Farmers, gardeners, etc.	9	1.7	51	7.1
Distributors/Dealers (including innkeepers etc.)	112	21.8	141	19.8
Artisans and Artisan-retailers	140	27.2	169	23.6
Builders	97	18.9	101	14.1
Domestic Services	14	2.7	22	3.1
Labourers	25	4.9	61	8.6
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
TOTALS	514	100	715	100

possible to adapt and assign occupations to Patten's pre-industrial scheme. The value of comparability of data in any occupational structure of a town is obvious, hence the decision to use Booth's categories as a framework for classifying occupations in early Victorian Grahamstown.

Table 1 reflects the occupational structure of Grahamstown in 1842 and 1853 in a classification based on Patten and Booth. The data are drawn from the directories of inhabitants of Grahamstown contained in Chase (1843) and the 1854 Cape Almanac (see Introduction, 31-35). The directories reflect the previous year's inhabitants, and so are referred to throughout this study by the actual year which they represent, 1842 and 1853 respectively.⁴ Of the 12 directories of Grahamstown inhabitants which exist for the period of this study, 1832-53, that for 1842

⁴ Lists of Grahamstown inhabitants for the period 1832 to 1853 appear to be confined to those contained in the Cape Almanacs (1838, 1842-47, 1850, 1852-54), Chase 1843, and the Eastern Province Directory and Almanac, 1848 and 1849.

The only opgaaf rolls (returns for taxation purposes) for Grahamstown which might be expected to contain details of Grahamstown inhabitants are too early for this study, covering 1814, 1817-18 and 1823 (Cape Archives J398, J401 and J402).

According to the 1839 Cape Almanac (57-58) every field cornet had to keep an exact register of all the inhabitants of his district above the age of 16 years. All heads of families had to report the deaths of any members on the register within 48 hours. Every October a list of the young men who had attained the age of 16 had to be submitted to the Civil Commissioner of the district so that they could be enrolled. All births and deaths of Hottentots and other free persons of colour in the Field Cornet's district had also to be made to the Civil Commissioner, twice a year. So the mechanisms for recording the inhabitants of Grahamstown certainly existed. No trace, however, of the Field Cornets' registers could be found at the Cape Archives.

(1843) is the first substantial listing of 'housekeepers' as Chase terms them, and 1853 (1854) the last relevant to this research. That for 1853 is also more comprehensive than those which immediately precede it. The data are inadequate in that they do not provide a full reflection of the occupations of householders in Grahamstown, since population figures for Grahamstown show that the size of the town by the mid-nineteenth century was approximately 6 000 (Eastern Province Directory and Almanac for 1848, 47) whereas the 1842 and 1853 directories only provide details of between some 500 and 700 persons. They are also a very poor reflection of the military, black and domestic worker sections of the population, but this may well be because they were compiled as lists of 'resident householders' eligible for voting under the 1837 Municipal Ordinance regulations.⁵ In the absence of census and other sources, however, the directories of Grahamstown inhabitants are invaluable as the only means of obtaining a broad indication of the occupational structure of the town. Appendices A1 and A2 should be consulted for facsimiles of the 1842 and 1853 directories. In Appendices A3 and A4 the directories have been indexed by occupation. A preliminary structural analysis of occupations in Grahamstown based on

⁵ Following the application in Grahamstown of the General Municipal Ordinance of 1836, a Board of seven Municipal Commissioners was elected in May 1837. According to the Ordinance and Graham's Town Journal (Hunt 1961, 159, 224) the electorate was to comprise "resident householders . . . severally paying taxes to an amount exceeding six shillings per annum, and resident respectively within one mile of St. George's Church, Graham's Town". Although no voters' roll has been traced, it is surely no coincidence that the first list of Grahamstown inhabitants to be published was that of 1837 (Cape Almanac 1838, 122c-23).

Booth's classification was necessary, and appears as Appendix A5. Appendix A6 is the structural analysis based on Patten which was also a necessary preliminary to amalgamating features of the two schemes for Grahamstown. Entries in the 1842 and 1853 directories total 530 and 746 respectively. Not all the householders, as they will be termed from now on, have their occupation specified, hence the lesser totals of Table 1.

The results shown in Table 1 reflect in broad terms Grahamstown as a pre-industrial town, since none of the occupants were engaged in mechanical means of production. Some quarter of the householders were engaged in the professions and public services. There was a slightly larger commercial sector, and an initial active, large artisan class which, when the building trade is included, amounted to 46.1% (237/514) in 1842 and which had decreased to 37.8% (270/715) by 1853. Such findings need, however, to be tested against social groupings, which are more difficult to determine. It is necessary to trace class distinctions in Grahamstown to the origin of the settlement.

Class Distinctions Inherent in the 1819 Emigration Package: Another England?

Our noble station at the Cape of Good Hope
has the finest soil and climate in the world
. . . and we lay for posterity another
England, with which, by skillful government
the mother country will be joined in bands
indissoluble.

London Times 18 June 1819

In July 1819 the House of Commons voted £50 000 to assist emigrants to settle at the Cape of Good Hope. Over 90 000 applications were received for the 4 000 places available, an overwhelming response.

The irony of the 1819 emigration scheme was that although it was designed as a means of alleviating the distress prevalent in post-Napoleonic war Britain, in practice it was weighted in favour of the middle classes, not the unemployed, poverty stricken lower classes. This fact, given the time and context, is not surprising. The scheme embodied, as an inherent part of its conceptual framework, the rigid division between master and man which characterized Victorian society. Land owning was fundamental to a powerful ruling élite, and perhaps the greatest goal of the rising middle classes. So, as a practical and convenient measure, but also in accordance with the traditional pattern of 'squirearchy', the British government dealt only with the heads of parties. These men, in terms of the scheme, would become a land owning elite in the new colonial settlement on the

eastern Cape frontier.⁶

A fairly high proportion of the seventy odd party leaders were half-pay officers or gentleman farmers who saw themselves as the landed gentry in a colonial society stratified according to the English model. A small proportion were professional men including surgeons, surveyors and architects. These 'upper class' and 'upper middle class' leaders were, it seems, equally balanced by a group of middling class party leaders, while less

⁶ Basil le Cordeur (1981, 3) points out that the authoritative and prestigious position of the self-styled gentry emigrants was "systematically bolstered" by the Acting Governor Sir Rufane Donkin, who, writing to Lord Bathurst in 1822, viewed them as "a sort of aristocracy or intermediate class between the government and the labourers. . ." (Theal 1903, 15: 97-98). Thomas Pringle (1824, 34-36), in his account of the state of the English settlers in Albany, described the heads of parties and independent settlers of social standing, such as Major-General Colin Campbell (formerly Commander of the Forces in Newfoundland), as 'superior settlers' in contradistinction to the "great body of labouring settlers".

In recent years Guy Butler (1974, 136) has used the term 'squire class' for the "experienced and excellent farmers" among whom "were Army and Navy men of the squire class". le Cordeur (1981, 3-6) has coined the term 'Albany gentry' to describe the members of this elite group. The term 'Cape gentry' as used by Robert Ross (1983, 193) to refer to "the relatively prosperous, market-oriented farm owner-operators, almost invariably white and in general considerable employers of labour", does not strictly apply to the Albany gentry. Ross is concerned in his paper with the rise of the 'gentry' in the western Cape from the late eighteenth century, although he does use the term in the context of discussion concerning eastern Cape pastoralists and wool farmers. Clifton C. Crais (1986, 127) identifies the rise of the eastern Cape gentry with "the arrival of a group of British gentlemen settlers and their indentured servants in 1819-20".

than a quarter appear to have been artisans.⁷

More than a third (42%) of the adult male settlers of 1820 were, according to Hockley (1957, 31), occupationally linked to farming and country pursuits. Skilled artisans and mechanics, he estimated, formed 32%, while those in trade and commerce only 12%. Albany's potential landed élite from the army, navy and merchant marines formed only 5% and the professions a mere 4%.

Despite Hockley's estimates, it is probable that the bulk of the settlers were from the artisan and middling classes, rather than in land-linked occupations. As the object of their coming was to farm and settle in this capacity, it is likely that many may have given their occupation as 'labourer' when in actual fact they were only emigrating in that capacity, and were not necessarily employed as such in Britain. Caution must therefore be exercised in placing too much weight upon Hockley's proportions.

In 1822, due to the initial failure of the agricultural

⁷ A tentative indication of proportions of upper, upper middle, middling and working class membership of party leaders was obtained by assigning occupations to the list of party leaders published in Morse Jones (1971, 7-14). The results are only tentative as careful research is needed to establish the occupations of the unspecified group, as well as verification of the accuracy of both the list and occupations assigned (mostly based on information from Morse Jones 1971). The social groupings used in the assessment are those postulated as a mobility classification for Grahamstown (see below, 122-28).

Social Group	No.	%
I (Upper)	18/73	24.7
II (Upper Middle)	6/73	8.2
III (Middling)	24/73	32.9
IV (Skilled Artisan)	13/73	17.8
V (Unskilled)	-	-
Unspecified	12/73	16.4

settlement, artisans, labourers and indentured servants were allowed to look for work wherever they could find it, and moved off the land into Grahamstown, and adjacent districts. Servants and labourers are an intrinsic part of the concept of gentry, as the life style of this socially 'élite' group is dependent not only on birth, but a private income and the leisure to enjoy a way of life which presupposes servants and an adequate labour force. It was the loss of indentured labourers which was a strong factor against the establishment of a real gentry in Albany.

Pringle (1824, 34) considered that the artisans and labourers, due to their move off the land, had actually improved their circumstances by emigrating from Britain. The artisans were free to establish themselves in their former occupations or change them, as were the labourers, and so have the opportunity of moving upwards on a socially mobile frontier. At this early stage in Grahamstown's history qualified artisans were rare, and exorbitant wages were paid to indifferent workmen. It was an opportunity for the prudent to establish themselves, but others took on building contracts which they could not fulfil once the initial demand and inflated wages settled into a normal pattern (GTJ 13.4.1832, 62c3).

Grahamstown, Focal Point on a Shifting Frontier

By 1832 Grahamstown had already established her reputation as the second town in the Cape Colony and the principal commercial and military centre of the eastern districts (Cape Almanac 1832, 185). Situated in the magisterial district of Albany (Fig. 1, map, folds out after page 114), the town was a stable point in an

increasingly controlled frontier zone.⁸ In 1832 the colonial frontier which formed Albany's eastern boundary was still the Keiskamma River (1819), with the territory between the Keiskamma and the Fish Rivers forming a neutral belt known as the Ceded Territory. Following the 6th Frontier War (1834-35), the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, proclaimed the Kei River as the eastern boundary of the colony, and annexed the territory between the Keiskamma and the Kei Rivers as the Province of Queen Adelaide.⁹ In August 1836 D'Urban's annexation policy was reversed by the Colonial Office, and the de jure boundary of the Colony moved back to Lord Charles Somerset's 1819 Keiskamma demarcation, with the Fish River as the de facto boundary across which neither Colonist nor Xhosa could move without a pass. A large portion of the Ceded Territory was returned to certain Xhosa chiefs who would hold the land as a 'loan in perpetuity,' conditional upon their good conduct. The Mfengu would continue to live in the vicinity of Fort Peddie, and Diplomatic Agents of the government would be stationed in 'Cafferland/Kaffirland' as the Ceded Territory was then popularly known. This Glenelg-Stockenström frontier policy settled the boundaries for the next

⁸ In Hermann Giliomee's terms (1979), now accepted in current South African historiography, there were three phases of development on the eastern Cape frontier: the open frontier, ca. 1770-93, the period of frontier crisis, 1793-1812, and the closing frontier. Giliomee suggests that the frontier closed at different times for different peoples, but for all groups from 1812. This concept is summarized with some additional aspects and material in du Toit and Giliomee (1983, 1: 14-16 & 127-88).

⁹ For discussion on D'Urban's frontier policy see Lancaster 1980, ch. 6, 187-237 & 194-96, particularly for details concerning the boundaries; Galbraith 1963, 116-18 and Cambridge History of the British Empire (CHBE) 1936, 8: 311-14.

ten years.¹⁰

After the 7th Frontier War (1846-47), the boundary of the Colony became the Keiskamma/Tyhume Rivers. This was a retention of Somerset's 1819 boundary, but it was extended to include the remains of the Ceded Territory as part of the Cape Colony. It was renamed the District of Victoria. The land between the Keiskamma and Kei (D'Urban's Province of Queen Adelaide) was declared a British Protectorate and named British Kaffraria.¹¹

At the conclusion of the 8th Frontier War (1850-53), the eastern boundary remained the Keiskamma/Tyhume in Sir George Cathcart's settlement, although alterations were made to the northern boundary of British Kaffraria.¹²

Grahamstown had a population of some 1 800 by 1832, and between a sixth and a third of Albany's population were living in the town.¹³ Figures for population and housing in Grahamstown

¹⁰ For discussion on the Glenelg-Stockenstrom frontier policy see Lancaster 1980, 238-68; Dracopoli 1969, 125-33; Galbraith 1963, 138-50 and CHBE 1936, 8: 314-15.

¹¹ For discussion on the Grey-Smith frontier policy see Benyon 1980, 53-56, Galbraith 1963, 214-16, 222-24 and CHBE 1936, 8: 338.

¹² For discussion of Cathcart's settlement see Milton 1983, 221-23, Benyon 1980, 56-59 and Galbraith 1963, 263-65.

¹³ Population statistics for Albany in 1831-32 are given in the 1833 Cape Almanac as 6 416, and the 1833 Cape Blue Book as 10 057. The latter figure includes whites and free blacks (9 906) and apprentices (151). The population for Grahamstown in 1831 was estimated at 1 800, and so may be said to have formed some 28% or 17.9% of that of Albany (population statistics are only rough estimates). By 1843 when Albany's population is given as 15 346 (Cape Blue Book 1843), Grahamstown's population was estimated by Chase at 4 000 whites and 1 000 coloureds, and so had increased to include 32.6% of the population of Albany.

TABLE 2

POPULATION AND HOUSES IN GRAHAMSTOWN 1820-58

YEAR	POPULATION	HOUSES	SOURCE
1820	200	3 or 22	Chase 1843: 287 <u>Cape Almanac 1835: 111</u>
1821		80	Thompson 1827, 1: 25
1823		+300	Thompson 1827, 1: 25
1828-29	3 000	-	Rose 1829: 45
1830	1 715	417	<u>Cape Almanac 1831: 176</u>
1831	1 800	512	<u>Cape Almanac 1832: 185</u>
1833	2 500	650	<u>Cape Almanac 1834: 204-m</u>
1834	+2 000	660	<u>Cape Almanac 1835: 111</u>
1835	3 000	-	Alexander 1837, 1: 356
1838	4 000	-	Backhouse 1844: 174
1840	+4 000	750	Chase, GTJ 30 Apr. 1840: 2c3
1843	4 000 white 1 000 col.	700	Chase 1843: 39
1844	4 500 white 1 500 col.	750	<u>Cape Almanac 1845: 292</u>
1848	4 500 white	750	<u>EP Directory & Almanac</u> 1848: 47
1858	1 500 col. 3 089 white 2 343 col.	1 000	Irons 1858: 76

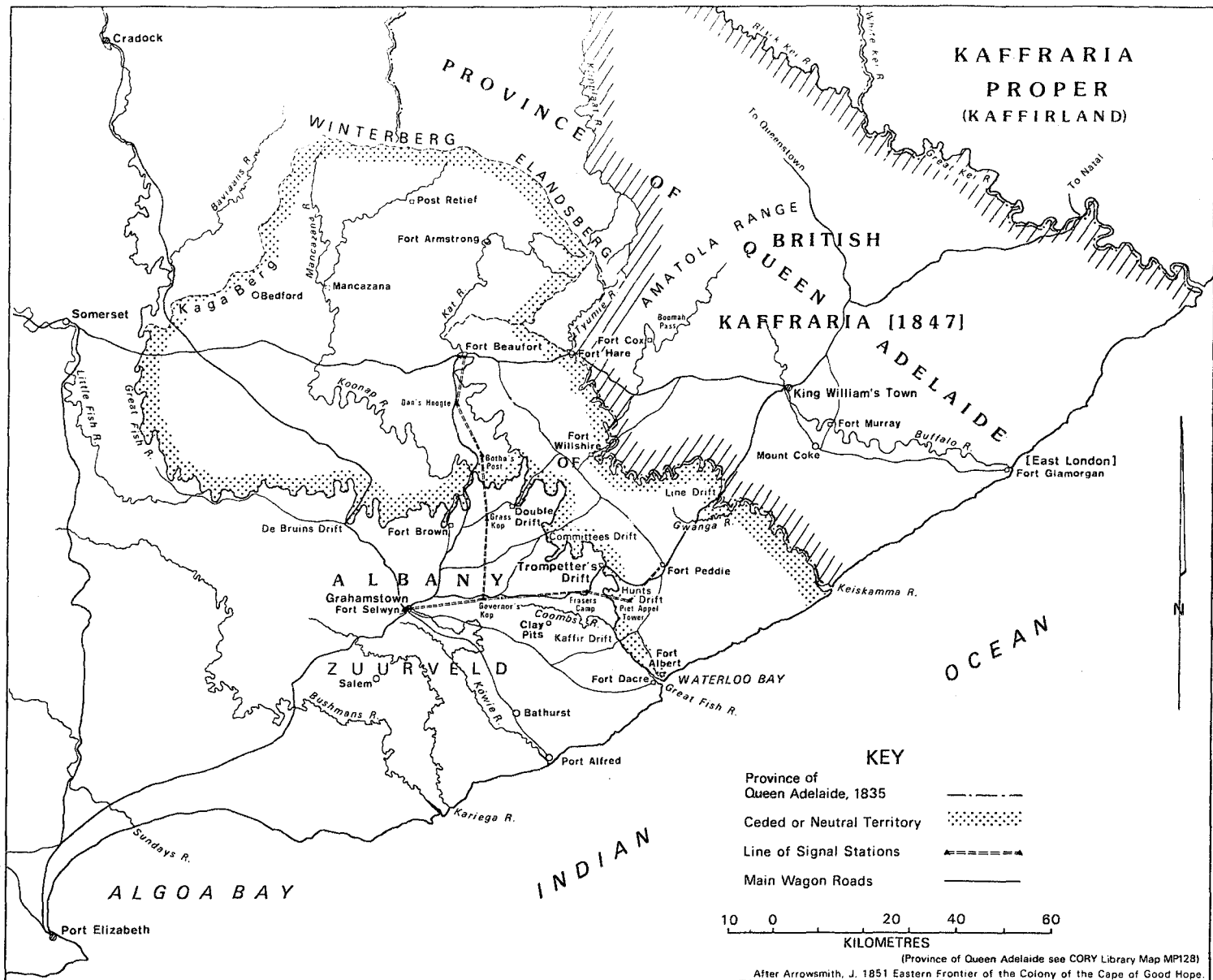
Key: + = above white = white col. = coloured

FIGURE 1
Eastern Frontier of the
Colony of the Cape of Good Hope 1851

After J. Arrowsmith.

Drawn by W.O. West, Cartographic Unit,
Rhodes University.

FIGURE 1



5. 1 Eastern Frontier of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope 1851. After J. Arrowsmith
Drawn by W.O. West, Cartographic Unit, Rhodes University.

between 1820 and 1858, together with their sources, form Table 2.

Grahamstown's commercial importance in the 1830s was already well established. More than a third of the exports from Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth) were from Grahamstown, for goods valued at £87 822 were exported in 1832, and of these £33 634 (38.3%) were quoted in the Cape Almanac (1833, 192) as deriving from Grahamstown.¹⁴ It was reported in the Graham's Town Journal at this time that "on the whole, Albany must be viewed more in the light of a Trading than an Agricultural District. To its commerce alone we can attribute its present state of prosperity. . ." (GTJ 20.4 1832, 66c2). As a growing commercial centre, Grahamstown was already presenting opportunities for economic growth which pointed to the emergence of a mercantile élite, more powerful than the landed élite in Albany.

¹⁴ Import and export figures for Port Elizabeth between 1828 and 1832 were given in the Graham's Town Journal, 31 Jan. 1833: 3cl. In all cases the figures are considerably higher than those cited in the Cape Blue Books for the equivalent years. The reason is that no coastal trade figures were included with the official customs returns. In 1832 the difference was £36 532 on exports and £93 534 on imports. Figures for the coastal trade between Port Elizabeth and Cape Town are rare, as no official returns were necessary. Only those for 1831-34 have been traced: 1831-33 in the Cape Almanac 1834: 106, and incomplete 1834 figures from the Cape Archives, CO 432 No. 47, 1834. Dr A.C.M. Webb, Senior Lecturer in Economic History, Rhodes University, has confirmed that this is an important question which economic historians have so far had little success in elucidating. It makes any attempt to assess the volume and value of imported manufactured goods to the Eastern Cape, particularly furniture in the context of this study, of little value. For details of coastwise exports and imports to and from Table Bay and figures traced for Grahamstown exports, see Appendix B.

Figure 2

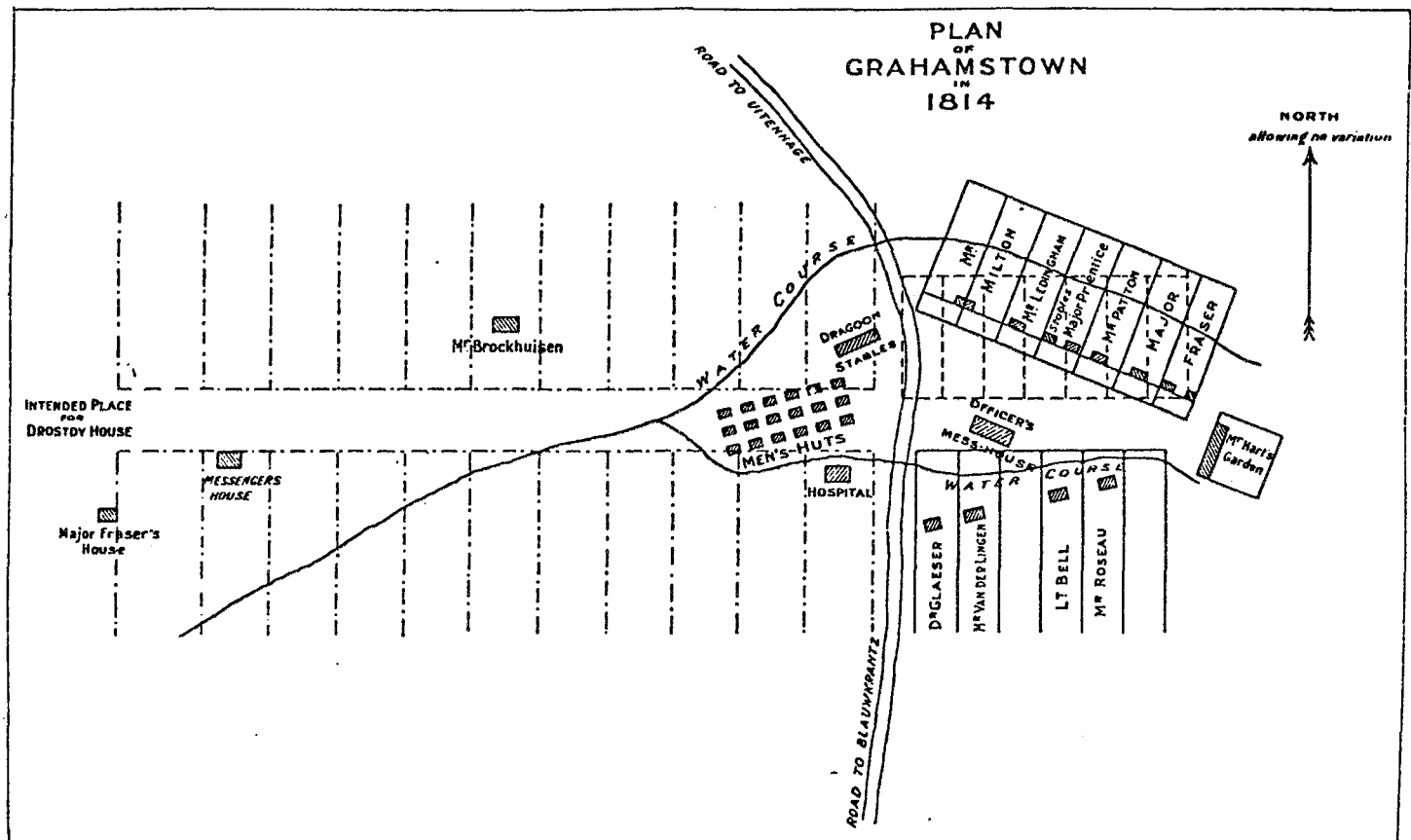


Fig. 2 J. Knobel's Plan of Grahamstown 1814.
 Redrawn. As published in Cory 1910, 1: 269.
 Photography: Cartographic Unit, Rhodes University

Class Concepts in Grahamstown in the 1830s

Four social groups had emerged in Grahamstown by 1832, identified by a correspondent in the Graham's Town Journal as Storekeepers, Traders, Mechanics and Artisans, and Farmers.¹⁵ This contemporary view was reinforced in 1834 when an editorial in the Journal examined "the several orders and conditions of men" in the rising community of Grahamstown and its environs, classifying the inhabitants as farmers, traders and artisans (2.1.1834, 2c1 & 2). Traders in this context were confined to those conducting trade with tribesmen in the interior.

In both accounts, men whose occupations placed them in a professional category (doctors, attorneys, clergy, government officials, etc.) were omitted, as were those at the lower end of the social spectrum (manual labourers, domestic servants, etc.). As in England, Grahamstown society was more complex than the three tier model.

"An Emigrant of 1820" (GTJ 6.4.1832, 58c2) points out that the storekeepers in Grahamstown were by the 1830s the most thriving group in Albany, for they had built up a trading enterprise until they had sufficient capital, combined with local knowledge and expertise, to take full advantage of the wealth generated by the presence of the military and the frontier trade (GTJ 2.1.1834, 2c1 & 2). The storekeepers were general dealers, carrying a wide range of manufactured goods, the greater

¹⁵ "Emigration to Albany -- Present State of its Inhabitants," by An Emigrant of 1820. GTJ 1.4.1832, 58c2 & 3; GTJ 13.4.1832, 62c2,3; GTJ 20.4. 1832, 66c1,2.

part of which were imported from Britain, the remainder being from her colonies and occasionally from foreign states (Cape Blue Book returns for Imports 1832 onwards). The military force on the frontier drew its supplies mainly through the storekeepers, but their commissariat contracts, particularly for forage, were regarded by some as being injurious to the interests of the farmers (GTJ 13.2.1835, 2c3). The civilian population of Grahamstown, as well as the military and farmers in Albany, obtained all their supplies of furniture and other manufactured goods through the storekeepers. Not only were the storekeepers importers, but they also exported hides, horns and other natural products from the interior, via the frontier traders, both buying them on the Grahamstown market and employing traders themselves across the boundary of the Colony.¹⁶ According to the 1832 Journal account, the whole enterprise left a considerable amount of cash floating in the hands of the storekeepers (GTJ 6.4.1832, 58c2). Imports were paid for partly by exports of hides and horns which enabled the storekeepers to build up the capital necessary for what, by 1834, prior to the outbreak of the 6th Frontier War in December of that year, was a considerable business enterprise.

¹⁶ A case in point is given in Cape Archives MOIB 2/686 No. 28,1848. Charles Breeze of Cross Street, Artificers' Square, was employed as a frontier trader by storekeeper James Temlett in 1833.- Dissatisfied with Breeze's performance, Temlett, authorised by Civil Commissioner Campbell, had Breeze and his goods seized across the colonial boundary. Correspondence between Temlett and Breeze and details of litigation are included with the insolvency records pertaining to Breeze in the Cape Archives.

Purkis (1978, 12) refers to the extensive chains of credit which had been established between London and Grahamstown through the expansion of the early frontier trade and the first stages of the wool trade. In this way, following the 1834-35 war, the merchants were able to consolidate their position and over the next couple of decades a substantial financial enterprise developed and flourished. Purkis (1978, 4) shows that by 1870 imports and exports from Port Elizabeth totalled over £3 million, twice as much as those of Cape Town, wool, hides and skins forming the bulk of exports. The role of Grahamstown's merchants and traders in establishing this commercial empire was crucial, and also accounts for the rapid rise in status of men such as James Howse (Sephton's Party, 1820, labourer), James Temlett (Sephton's Party, shepherd), and George Wood (Sephton's Party, carpenter's apprentice). Howse owned extensive properties, became a prosperous merchant and was appointed a Municipal Commissioner in 1837 (Hunt 1961, 280). Temlett, also a Municipal Commissioner from 1843-58 (Hunt 1961, 280) although he was listed as 'storekeeper' not merchant in the Grahamstown directories, built one of the finest late Georgian town houses in Beaufort Street, overlooking Market Square (Plate 23a). Lewcock (1963, 402) comments that "the market square, although at a distance from the town, became the focus of a select residential area itself, and some of the most splendid and costly houses of the period were built overlooking it". George Wood's trading and later general dealing enterprise brought him and his family to positions of eminence in the town, Wood himself becoming a

member of the Legislative Council (Gibbens 1982, 25-27, 458-59).

Howse and Wood were Methodists, and Temlett a Baptist.

Contemporary travel accounts give glimpses of Grahamstown's social structure, the most useful in this context being that of Lieut. J.W.D. Moodie. In his Ten Years in South Africa (1835), Moodie distinguished six classes in Grahamstown:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| I | The Civil Establishment |
| II | The Military |
| III | Merchants "who, with only one or two exceptions, are all retailers, and form the middle class in Graham's Town. . . ." |
| IV | Mechanics and Artisans, "a thriving class. . . ." |
| V | European labourers, "for the most part discharged soldiers and usually a drunken, dissolute and improvident set of men." |
| VI | Hottentots (Khoi) "who seldom, if ever, rise above the condition of labourers." |
- (Moodie 1835, 2: 303-04)

Although Moodie's Grahamstown categories are occupational, his arrangement is hierarchical, and bears a remarkably close correlation with Patten's 1977 pre-industrial classification. It is also of interest that Moodie (1835, 1:31-32) does not mention professional occupations, as he does in his six class structure for Cape Town at the same period. There he linked the civil and military establishments together including clergy in the established church with them to form his top rank. Second in the hierarchy were lawyers, medical practioners, merchants, retailers, those who lived by letting out slaves and by receiving boarders, "who form a large part of the householders", and all other white inhabitants above the rank of servants. Third were European and Cape Dutch artificers and labourers "a very doubtful

TABLE 3

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT SALARIES, GRAHAMSTOWN 1832-51

Based on Bédarida's Income Criteria for the English Bourgeoisie

	SALARY	YEAR
Upper Middle Class (Income £800 p.a.)		
Lieut.-Governor	£1 500	1845
Middle Middle Class (Income £300 to £800 p.a.)		
Civil Commissioner & Resident Magistrate	500	1845
plus house rent and official travel grant	100	
English Chaplain	400	1832-35
Archdeacon, St. George's Church	400	1848-51
Acting Secretary to Lieut.-Governor	350	1845
Lower Middle Class (Income below £300 p.a.)		
Clerk of the Peace	250	1835, 1848
Chief Clerk to Resident Magistrate	200	1835, 1848
Dutch Reformed Minister	200	1848-51
Master of Free School, Grahamstown)	200	1848-51
plus house rent)	36	
District Surgeon	150	1832-48
Clerk to Clerk of the Peace	100	1835
Interpreter	100	1845, 1848
Roman Catholic Chaplain	100	1848
1st Clerk to Resident Magistrate (£80, 1835-48)	100	1851
2nd Clerk to Resident magistrate	80	1835-51
Chief Constable	60	1848-51
Overseer of Watercourses	60	1832
Gaoler	40	1849-51
Messenger	50	1848-49
Constable	36	1835-48
Assnt. Teacher, Free School; Clerk to Chaplain	30	1848
Sexton and Bell Ringer	27 10s	1834-35
Market Master	22 10s	1834
Field Cornet (£15 prior to 1848)	20	1848
Usher, Free School	15	1848
Scavenger	18 5s	1851

class" situated between the other white inhabitants and free blacks (no class given for the latter), and Malays who formed the fourth group. Khoi and slaves constituted the fifth and sixth of Moodie's classes. The comparison between Moodie's Grahamstown and Cape Town classifications shows clearly the differences in social groupings which exist between towns, necessitating individual schemes.

Income as a Basis for Social Stratification

One method of establishing a mobility classification where hierarchy is the central component, is to use income as a criterion. François Bédarida (1979, 48-66), a social historian who is also active in the field of urban history, has used income as one of the criteria which can be used to determine the boundaries of different strata within the English bourgeoisie. He divides the bourgeoisie into the upper middle class, middle middle class, and lower middle class. The upper middle class have, he contends, an income in excess of £800 per annum, the middle middle class world of professions, wholesale merchants, managers in commerce, accountants and senior clerks in government employment would be distinguished by incomes from £300 to £800 per annum, and the lower middle class of small shopkeepers, bank clerks, schoolteachers, and such like, would earn under £300 (Bédarida 1979, 52).

If one takes the civil establishment salaries in Grahamstown as published in the Cape Almanac as an indication of professional income (Table 3) (they remained remarkably stable between 1832 and 1851), Grahamstown appears to have had an essentially lower

middle class civil establishment administering the affairs of a largely working and lower middle class population if Bédarida's income criteria are followed.

Using salaries as an index of wealth to show status in the case of Grahamstown at least, is not in all cases an adequate reflection of the social position of an individual when other facts concerning some of the incumbents of the Bédarida lower middle class posts are taken into consideration. A particularly clear example is Richard J. Eaton, Clerk of the Peace for Albany, who in 1841 married the daughter of George C. Sanford, Assistant Commissary General to H.M.Forces. The Sanfords' social standing in Grahamstown was high as Sanford's post was on a social ranking on par with that of an army officer. The Eaton-Sanford marriage took place in St. George's Episcopalian Church on 3 February 1841. Witnesses to the ceremony included two daughters of Lt.-Col. Henry Somerset, Elizabeth Harriet (aged 23) and Leonora Louise (17), definite confirmation of the Sanford social circle. Both families were members of St. George's Church at a time when social standing and church affiliation were of the utmost importance, and the established church socially acceptable in a way in which the nonconformist denominations were not. The Sanford's Bell Street house, also reflected their high position in the town. The District Surgeon, Dr John Atherstone, is another whose social standing in Grahamstown was certainly not lower middle class. A surgeon from Guy's Hospital, London, before he emigrated to the Eastern Cape frontier in 1820,

Atherstone was of good birth and social connections.¹⁷ His income as district surgeon would have been supplemented by his private practice. The Atherstones moved in Grahamstown's upper/upper middle class circle.

Mobility Classification for Early Victorian Grahamstown

The point is perhaps reached at which a classification reflecting Grahamstown's social structure can be attempted. As has been discussed in Chapter 1 (47-57) class perceptions by historians vary. There is, however, sufficient general consensus to make it possible to propose a model for Grahamstown which fits into an acceptable framework.

Class I : Upper Class

Entry into the English upper class was normally by birth. The Stones' conclusions concerning the very small 6% penetration of the élite by those not eligible by birth (Stone and Stone 1984, 403) would almost certainly show a rise when colonial gentry are under consideration. Bolton's (1968) thorough study of the colonial gentry is one of several which indicate greater social mobility in the colonies.¹⁸

¹⁷ Details of the Atherstone family are given in Mitford-Barberton 1968, 17-19. In a personal communication Miss N. Mathie of Grahamstown, who is completing her research on Dr. W.G. Atherstone prior to publication of what is likely to be the definitive study, has drawn attention to Dr John Atherstone's close connections with Lord Charles Somerset during the five years spent by the Atherstone family in Cape Town between 1823 and 1828, prior to their settling in Grahamstown.

¹⁸ Studies on the colonial gentry include Syme (1958), Bolton (1968), Dunae (1981) and Barman (1984).

The proportion of civilian gentry in early nineteenth century Grahamstown was very small, but it is clear from entertainments advertised in the Graham's Town Journal, balls and races in particular, that army officers, merchants and 'gentlemen' formed the upper circle in the town, with a sprinkling of professional men.¹⁹ A study of marriage register entries for St. George's Episcopalian (Anglican) Church between 1848 and 1853 shows that social alliances were being formed between the offspring of merchants and professional men and military officers.

Christina Emma Thompson, daughter of merchant W.R. Thompson, married Captain Charles Henry Somerset, eldest son of Col. Henry Somerset, (Commandant of the Frontier and eldest son of Lord Charles Somerset) on 18 January 1848. This was a particularly important upwardly mobile alliance in Anglican circles in Grahamstown. On 6 February 1849 there was a double wedding at St. George's church when merchant Charles Maynard's daughters Frances Mary and Henrietta Georgina married respectively Captain Thomas Hare of the Cape Mounted Rifles and Lieut. John Stokes of the Royal Engineers. Frances Somerset, third daughter of Col. Henry Somerset was a witness to both marriages, an evidence of friendship between the Somersets and Maynards. In 1851 another daughter of Charles Maynard, Amelia Ann, married Patrick

¹⁹ GTJ 13.3.1836, 1c1. Stewards for the Albany and Somerset Annual Turf Club Meeting were Col. Somerset, Capt. Selwyn and C. Griffith Esq. GTJ 5.5.1836, 1c2. Stewards for the Subscription Ball at Parke's hotel were Lieut.-Col. Somerset K.H., Lieut.-Col. Peddie, K.H., Charles Maynard Esq., and James Black Esq.

Robertson, an Ensign in the Cape Mounted Rifles who was quartered in King William's Town. Lieut. Adjutant Charles Harland Bell, also of the Cape Mounted Rifles, married Sarah Jarvis, daughter of attorney George Jarvis, on 2 November 1852. Witnesses included merchant James Black and Deputy Sheriff Frederick Carlisle. On 5 January 1853 James Black's daughter Agnes married Captain Edwin George Mainwaring of the 91st Regiment.

The Catholic Church Register for 1838 to 1853 describes Kate Dougherty who married John H. Williams (no occupation) in June 1848 as a 'gentlewoman' and Jane M. Ford who married Brigade Major Wm. G. Scott, as a 'lady'. Susan Maria Ously Heathcote is entered as a Protestant. She was the sister of Frances Somerset, wife of Col. Henry Somerset, and the latter was witness to her marriage to Lieut. Thomas Donovan of the Cape Mounted Rifles. It was the couple's second marriage ceremony, the first had taken place at St. George's Anglican Church. No entry was made in the register under 'Rank or Profession' for Susan Heathcote.

Class II : Upper Middle Class

On the basis of the evidence above, it may be fairly assumed that the upper middle class in Grahamstown comprised an Anglican merchant élite as well as members of the professions whose income appears in no way to be sufficient to place them in Bédarida's upper middle class bracket, but whose life style and social circle made upward mobility into the upper class feasible.

Class III : Middling Class

Membership of the middle middle class is less easy to determine, as the boundaries which mark the contours of a mobile group make it easier to say who does not belong on a higher level than those who do on a lower. It is at this point that a socially mobile frontier society may be said to have a 'middling class' which embraced both lower middle and middle middle occupations.

The 1951 Classification Class II Intermediate Occupations includes both manual and non-manual occupations. The distinguishing feature of the middle class as a whole, however, was that they did not perform manual labour. In Australia, Cannon (1975, 211) shows that there were tests of social acceptance made at the level of the small shopkeeper "who was regarded as working with his hands and therefore not eligible for admission to the ranks of social leadership. . . . the only way for the shopkeeper to rise permanently in society was 'to cut the shop and open an office'". In Grahamstown the social stigma of shop versus office was not a barrier to upward mobility. Nevertheless the position of shop and storekeepers is a difficult one to evaluate socially, providing an important reason to keep a relatively wide middling group which, while clearly demarcated from manual workers (unlike the 1951 Class II), allows for the upward mobility of individuals.

Grahamstown's Class III is also in line with Stephen A. Royle's (1977) proposed new approach to social stratification from the early nineteenth century census returns. He divides the Registrar-General's 1951 Class III classification of Skilled

Occupations into two groups, distinguishing between routine non-manual and commercial occupations, his Class III, and skilled manual which becomes his Class IV (216-17).

The 1951 Classification of Occupations by the Registrar-General has been, nevertheless, a valuable guide in determining those occupations which may be said to fall within the scope of Grahamstown's middling class. Armstrong (1972, 215-23) published a list of occupational terms encountered in samples drawn from the York census enumerators' books in 1841 and 1851, classified according to the Registrar-General's five classes (listed above, 103). Occupations from the 1842 and 1853 Grahamstown directories have been classified as middling on this basis, and are equivalent to the 1951 Class II Intermediate non-manual occupations.

Class IV : Skilled Manual Workers

Mayhew's (1861-62) monumental survey of the labouring classes in London has been referred to above (56). Harrison's (1971) typology of the working classes, based on Mayhew (Appendix A7) distinguishes the labour aristocracy from ordinary skilled workers and artisans. In his pioneering contribution to the labour aristocracy debate, Eric Hobsbawm (1964, 273) put forward the following criteria for determining membership of this élite group:

1. Level and regularity of a workers's earnings.
2. His prospects of social security.
3. His conditions at work, including the way he was treated by foremen and masters.
4. His relations with the social strata above and below him.
5. His general conditions of living.

6. His prospects of future advancement and those of his children.

Even Hobsbawm himself did not succeed in exploring all these dimensions, concentrating mainly upon the economic. Harrison (1971) also concentrates on earnings, and is less demanding in defining the labour aristocracy as highly skilled artisans earning 30s to 40s a week, as distinct from the ordinary skilled artisan earning 20s a week (see Appendix A7). We know from various sources (Appendix A8) that artisans in Grahamstown earned between 5s and 8s per diem in the 1830s. A journeyman could in theory earn £6 per month if a master craftsman was in a position to employ him. Masons, bricklayers and carpenters could earn £3 15s per month with board and lodging or £6 6s per month without. It is, however, beyond the scope of this study to investigate individual cases which would make it possible to determine which occupations and the individuals within them might qualify for membership of an élite working class group. Takao Matsumura (1983, 72-74, 165) has also shown that membership of the labour aristocracy was not just a matter of economics, but that there was "a high degree of occupational continuity over generations" in so far as the flint glass makers of Stourbridge were concerned. In the absence of any studies on the labour aristocracy at the Cape, and particularly Grahamstown, the Grahamstown working class is consequently simply divided into skilled and unskilled workers.

Class V : Unskilled Manual Workers

Royle's (1977, 216-17) second deviation from the 1951

TABLE 4

SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN EARLY VICTORIAN GRAHAMSTOWN 1832-53

A Suggested Class Typology

I Upper Class

Army Officers, Gentry. Birth is the initial criterion.

II Upper Middle Class

Professional men, civil establishment and merchant élite. Criteria such as income, social connections, size and type of dwelling, nature of furnishings, are parameters against which membership of this group may be measured. Birth is also of importance, but other factors make upward mobility possible, particularly on a colonial frontier.

III Middling Class (Non-manual)

Intermediate occupations, Registrar General's Class II. Includes rising professionals, civil servants and merchants. Farmers form an important part of this class, but may vary from those who can scarcely write their names to substantial, educated landowners who may penetrate the upper middle class, depending on social alliances. The middling sort also embraces the lesser world of small shopkeepers, minor civil servants, clerks, school teachers, victuallers, etc. Gentrification of the middling sort is an important means of upward mobility, whether it be through education, increased wealth which provides for improved housing and recreation, or fashionable furnishings. Distinguished from the working classes by non-manual occupations. Nonconformist church affiliation characterized many of the middling class.

IV Skilled Manual Workers

Artisans, artificers and mechanics were the terms most frequently used in Grahamstown to describe this class.

V Unskilled Manual Workers

The difficulty in distinguishing between 'semi- and unskilled' occupations is illustrated by the case of William Waters. His occupation is given in entries in the St. George's Church Baptismal Register in 1852 as a shepherd, and in 1853 as a labourer. An advertisement in the Graham's Town Journal in 1851 offers employment to a European "to act as Guard over a flock of sheep grazing on 'Hilton Farm' . . . Terms 1s 6d per diem, with usual rations" (Appendix A8.11). In 1848 1s 6d was the wage paid to a coloured labourer (Appendix A8.10). The 1951 Registrar-General's Classification places a herdsman in Class IV, partly skilled occupations, and a labourer in Class V, Unskilled occupations (Armstrong 1972, 222-23).

Classification is to abandon its division between semi- and unskilled workers as irrelevant in a nineteenth century context. He notes that "the majority of people in the nineteenth century whose occupations were categorised as partly-skilled in the 1951 scheme held jobs such as agricultural labourers, grooms and washerwomen which probably did not require extensive training or a high level of skill at that time" (219n11). As Harrison's typology, based on Mayhew's contemporary research (Appendix A7) also groups semi- and unskilled workers together, they are classified together here, in contradistinction to Armstrong (1972) and the 1951 Classification.

Table 4 summarizes a suggested social structure for Grahamstown, based on occupations from the 1842 and 1853 directories of householders. The detailed social classification setting out occupations for each of the five classes appears as Appendix A9. Occupational terms have been included both from the 1842 and 1853 directories and relevant church registers. A list of occupations set out according to the Registrar-General's initial classifications (his Classes I to V) which has been a useful preliminary to categorization, forms Appendix A10.

Grahamstown's Social Structure 1842 and 1853

Having outlined a possible mobility classification, we are now in a position to obtain an indication of the type of society which characterized early Victorian Grahamstown. Tables 5 and 6 (the social class data used are to be found in Appendices A14 and A15) suggest that in terms of a broad three tier social class model

TABLE 5

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF GRAHAMSTOWN 1842

Extracted from the "Directory of Graham's Town", Chase (1843)

SOCIAL CLASS			No.	%	Three Tier Model %
I	Upper		16	3.0	3.0
II	Upper Middle	Non-Manual	41	7.7	38.7
III	Middling	Occupations	164	31.0	
IV	Skilled	Working Classes:	223	42.1	
V	Unskilled	Manual Occupations	59	11.1	53.2
	Unspecified		27	5.1	5.1
TOTALS			530	100	100

TABLE 6

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF GRAHAMSTOWN 1853

Extracted from the "Directory of Graham's Town", Cape Almanac (1854)

SOCIAL CLASS			No.	%	Three Tier Model %
I	Upper		9	1.2	1.2
II	Upper Middle	Non-Manual	53	7.1	43.2
III	Middling	Occupations	269	36.1	
IV	Skilled	Working Classes:	268	35.9	
V	Unskilled	Manual Occupations	110	14.7	50.6
	Unspecified		37	5.0	5.0
TOTALS			746	100	100

which distinguishes between manual and non-manual occupations, Grahamstown had a predominantly working class population during this period. In 1842 some 53% of the householders were from the working classes, the middle classes forming almost 39%, with a small upper class of 3%. By 1853 the non-manual middle classes had expanded (43.2%), but some 50% of the householders were still from the working classes. In both years unspecified occupations accounted for some 5% of the householders.

To what extent the working class nature of the town affected its social life is a question which could well merit a separate study. The degree to which the working classes influenced Grahamstown's material culture, however, is more difficult to assess. It is probable that upward mobility on the frontier would encourage the process of gentrification which was a recognized feature of English society by the mid-nineteenth century. In an age when church affiliation was an important social as well as religious component of middle class and to some extent working class life, an examination of the social composition of churches in Grahamstown should contribute to our understanding of cultural influences in the town, as would some yardstick against which upward mobility could be measured. An examination of data from church registers, discussed below, was found to provide some valuable indications in both these areas. The question of working class influence and gentrification is one to which we will return at the conclusion of this study (Chap. 9, 245 & Chap. 10, 256).

TABLE 7

COMPOSITION OF CHURCHES IN GRAHAMSTOWN, BY SOCIAL CLASS 1838-53

Based on:

St. George's Episcopalian (Anglican) Church Marriage and Baptismal Registers, 1849-53.

St. Patrick's Catholic Church Marriage Register 1838-53.

Wesleyan Methodist Church Marriage Register 1839-53.

Baptist Church Marriage Register 1839-53.

SOCIAL CLASS	ANGLICAN		CATHOLIC				METHODIST				BAPTIST			
	T	%	M	F	T	%	M	F	T	%	M	F	T	%
I Upper	15	6.1	3	2	5	3.8	1	-	1	.3	-	-	-	-
II Upper Middle	12	5.0	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	1.0	-	-	-	-
III Middling	108	44.1	35	6	41	31.3	82	-	82	26.6	21	1	22	31.4
IV Skilled	55	22.4	16	3	19	14.5	71	-	71	23.0	39	1	40	57.2
V Unskilled	55	22.4	26	27	53	40.5	129	21	150	48.5	8	-	8	11.4
Unspecified			13	-	13	9.9	2	-	2	.6	-	-	-	-
M = Male F = Female T = Total TOTALS	245	100	93	38	131	100	288	21	309	100	68	2	70	100

Social Composition of Churches in Grahamstown, 1838-53

Apart from directories, church registers are the other main source of occupational data for early nineteenth century Grahamstown. In order to obtain an indication of the social composition of churches in the town, data from the Episcopalian (Anglican), Catholic, Methodist and Baptist marriage registers were extracted and analysed. Unfortunately the records of the Independent/Union (Presbyterian/Congregationalist) Church do not include any details regarding occupations. The Anglican baptismal register also contains a record of occupations, and so this was combined with the marriage register data. Table 7 sets out the analysis which indicates the social composition of the churches. As the church's role in society at this date was strongly institutional, births, marriages and deaths bringing virtually all the population into it on these occasions, the registers reflect a greater cross section of society than do the directories of householders. This is particularly noticeable in the Methodist Church records which have a high preponderance of unskilled workers, 48.5% (150/309). The majority of these were Khoi, Mfengu or Xhosa labourers (88.7%, 133/150), all of whom were illiterate as they could not sign the register. There were possibly four white labourers, but it is not always easy to distinguish racial origins of people who had names such as John Andries who married Sanna Kleinveld, Frederick Malagas who married Sarah Matins, or Aaron Moses who married Kandas Salmon. In all these instances the witnesses appeared to be Khoi.

The composition of churches in Grahamstown set out in Table 7 shows St. George's Church to be a microcosm of the Anglican

Church in England, with its small percentage of élite upper and upper middle class members forming an estimated 11% of the congregation, the highest upper class representation across the denominations. It also had the largest middling class and smallest working class congregations of any of the churches. Yet the middling and working class sections within St. George's were virtually identical, 44.1% and 44.8% respectively. It is possible that the middling class would have been larger, for Chase (1843, 137) maintained that there had been a considerable loss in members from the Anglican Church after the arrival of the 1820 Settlers. He attributes this to the neglect and apathy of the British government towards the frontier settlers, particularly in not appointing bishops, forcing many heads of families to move into the Methodist church where good religious instruction was to be found. If Chase is correct, it shows a remarkable degree of religious egalitarianism on the frontier at a date when in England the social barriers between Anglicans and Nonconformists would normally have precluded such moves.

The Methodist Church was overwhelmingly working class, according to the data extracted, 71.5% (221/309). The Baptist Church was also dominantly working class, 68.6% (48/70), the balance being exclusively middling class. The Catholic Church appears to have had a membership of roughly two-thirds working class and a third middling class. This high working-class figure owes much to the ministry exercised by the Catholic Church among the military rank and file.

The dominantly working class Wesleyan Methodist Church, together with Grahamstown's predominantly working class population, suggests that the Methodist Church exercised a considerable influence upon the town. On the political front this is, in fact, a confirmation of the "uniquely pervasive Wesleyan political force" (le Cordeur 1981, 67-68) which flourished in Grahamstown and Albany at this time. An enquiry into the nature of Methodist sub-culture in Grahamstown is required before it can be compared with general cultural trends in the town in the early and mid-nineteenth century. In the absence of such a study, it is only possible to suggest that while it is likely that such a sub-culture exercised an influence upon the social life and life style of its adherents, the well designed (and presumably well appointed) residences of the Methodist merchant élite (notably the Wood family) strongly indicate that by the late 1850s (Reynolds 1974, 92-102) the acquisition of wealth was accompanied by a gentrification process more powerful than any sub-culture on an egalitarian frontier.

Social Mobility Indicators on the Frontier: Data from St. Patrick's Church Marriage Register

The marriage register of St. Patrick's Catholic Church differs from those of the other denominations in that it includes the occupation or position of 40.9% (38/93) of the women in the marriage partnership. An analysis of women's occupations from the register (Appendix A11) shows that 50% (19/38) improved their social standing through marriage, 15.8% (6/38) married 'below' their station in life, while 34.2% (13/38) retained their social

status. As the man in the partnership improved his own status when the woman lowered hers, this sample in fact reflects an upward mobility of 65.8% (25/38), an indication of a strong socially mobile frontier.

In conclusion, the analysis of shapes in society provides an essential means of evaluating the town's domestic material culture. Without a classification by which one can assign a particular individual to a specific social class, it is not possible to evaluate the character of a town in meaningful, comparable terms. While it is fully recognised that the assigning of individuals to a particular class is debatable when factors other than strictly occupational are introduced, such decisions are part of the evaluative process necessary in any study which involves the subtle nuances of social processes. Something more tangible, however, in the evaluation of the culture of a community other than the shape of its society, is its spatial structure. This, together with the theoretical problems inherent in linking the shapes in society to shapes on the ground (spatial form or structure), forms the subject matter of Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY GRAHAMSTOWN: ANALYSING SHAPES ON THE GROUND

I

Linking Shapes on the Ground to Shapes in Society: Theoretical Problems

Having postulated a framework for Grahamstown's social structure through a close examination of occupations as arguably the most important means for assessing the social structure of a town, and having examined briefly income and religious affiliation as additional criteria for establishing the shape of society, what other factors are indicators of an individual's place in it?

Spatial form (shapes on the ground), with its relationship to social processes, has been the subject of a number of studies in recent years, and much of significance in terms of the total culture of a community, its life-style and values, can be determined from a study of the design of a town and its material fabric. A look at the spatial structure of Grahamstown must necessarily precede the closer examination of the interiors and material culture of its domestic dwellings. Before the spatial organization of early Victorian Grahamstown is discussed, a brief consideration of the theoretical problems which beset the links between shapes on the ground and shapes in society is necessary.

The distinctions drawn between social stratification, class and class consciousness reflect differing perceptions of the shape of society. There are also different perceptions of shapes on the ground. David Cannadine (1982c) has examined attempts made by

historians to link the two, raising the question as to what, if any, relationship exists between residential differentiation or non-differentiation (social mix) and social structure, the shape of society.

Residential differentiation is the specialised research area of a number of urban geographers, most prolific of whom in recent years has been Colin G. Pooley (1977, 1979a & b, 1982, 1984), lecturer in Geography at the University of Lancaster. Other urban geographers who have made significant contributions are Lawton (1955), Carter and Wheatley (1978, 1982) and Shaw (1977).¹ The 'Pooley-Lawton-Carter-Shaw' (Cannadine's term) argument is that by the mid-nineteenth century many cities exhibited a high degree of residential differentiation (see for example, Pooley 1977, 364; 1984, 131). A completely different conclusion, however, was reached by another urban geographer, David Ward (1975, 1976). Following his analysis of census data for Leeds, 1841-71, he found very little evidence of patterns of residential differentiation, when the data was examined by criteria of occupation, income and status.

The implications of these opposing views of spatial form are, Cannadine suggests (1982c, 241-43), further complicated by different perceptions of social structure. As a result it is quite possible not only to use the same empirical data as

¹ Cannadine (1982c, 236-37) and Pooley (1984, 131-32) identify the same urban geographers whose research findings on residential differentiation have appeared to confirm the contemporary mid-Victorian view that a highly segregated urban society had developed in English industrial towns by the mid-nineteenth century.

evidence for residential differentiation or non-differentiation, but also as evidence for class conflict or class collaboration.²

In effect, Cannadine argues that whether one works from the premise that shapes on the ground did, or did not, lead to shapes in society, one could equally argue for or against class conflict or collaboration from the same data. Equally, if one were to argue from the opposite point of view, that it was shapes in society which determined shapes on the ground, the same anomalous, mutually exclusive conclusions would be drawn, and cites the conclusions of various researchers to substantiate his argument (245-47).

The evidence adduced, Cannadine argues, shows that no adequate theory or methodology exists to date whereby links between social structure and spatial form may be meaningfully assessed. He suggests that this may be because there is, in fact, no direct connection, or that if there is some link, it is relatively unimportant. A third possibility is acceptance of the (unproven) Marxist claim which is also that of the Urban History Yearbook, that "there must indeed be a connection between place

² Cannadine (1982c, 243-47) shows that Foster (1968) argues in essence that towns with the greatest pattern of non-differentiation should have the most class conflict due to the residential juxtaposition of 'resident bourgeoisie' and workers which made the latter acutely conscious of the economic and social inequalities inherent in English society. (The logical extension of this argument is that if the classes were kept apart, class conflict would be minimized, and restricted to the workplace.) Cannadine also argues that the findings of Joyce (1975) and Briggs (1957) suggest that residential proximity, far from being the cause of class conflict in fact encouraged interclass collaboration (244-45). This pattern accords with the gentrification of English society as perceived by Wiener and the Stones (see above 53 & 54).

and process, but that the likelihood is that the lines of causality do not all run one way," and so the links are mutually reinforcing (248).

In a recent paper Pooley (1984) has reassessed the extent to which residential differentiation existed in Victorian cities in an attempt to reconcile some of the conflicting interpretations of residential separation to which Cannadine drew attention in 1982.³ Pooley suggests that use of different classification systems and methods of data recording and analysis may well account for some of the different interpretations, and discusses Ward's study of Leeds as a case in point. By using the same procedures, Pooley obtained a similar pattern of non-differentiation in Victorian Liverpool which did not contradict his previous analysis which showed a high degree of segregation (132-35). Katz (1972,63) has pointed out that the choice of a classification scheme partly predetermines the pattern of social stratification and mobility that will be found. Similarly, different criteria used in definitions of differentiation (in the Leeds/Liverpool studies 'over-representation' and 'exclusiveness') will produce significantly different results (Pooley 1984, 135).

Pooley calls for a move away from more studies of residential spatial patterns towards assessing their significance and meaning in relation to the economy, environment and social structure of Victorian cities, and discusses some such aspects

³ Pooley does not make an explicit connection with Cannadine's assessment, but certainly addressed himself to a number of difficulties which Cannadine has raised.

(136-41). He also suggests that sources such as contemporary literature, diaries, and newspaper reports should be added to the routinely accepted census records, directories, rate and poll books, which until now have been (and must remain) the chief means of quantification of data. It is only through the expansion of sources that understanding of how differentiation was perceived by the Victorians themselves, and its implications for residents and the whole of society can be explored. He adds, with honesty, that such studies have been rarely attempted and are extremely difficult (142).

The difficulties raised by both Cannadine and Pooley show that the interpretation of data relating to spatial form and social processes is a veritable minefield for the unwary historian, which nevertheless presents challenges in numerous areas. Recognizing the theoretical problems which face the historian venturing into this field, it is however, evident (vide Pooley 1984) that, by using a classification of social structure based on occupational criteria which admits wide comparability, patterns of residential differentiation or non-differentiation (social mix) may be meaningfully obtained by an analysis of a town's occupational and spatial structure.

Nothing has been written directly on the spatial structure of Grahamstown,⁴ and it is outside the scope of this study to

⁴ Three sources which relate to Grahamstown's spatial structure are Urban Heritage (1975), Haswell (1979) and Christopher (1984). The usefulness of the Urban Heritage study, Grahamstown: A Pilot Study in Conservation is, however, considerably diminished by the fact that no sources are contained in it.

present a detailed discussion of residential differentiation such as Pooley envisages. Nevertheless, in the discussion which follows, contemporary perceptions of Grahamstown, travel narratives, newspaper advertisements and reports, as well as pictorial records combine with the analysis of directory data to present an initial glimpse of the spatial structure of the town between its foundation in 1812 and entry into a period of comparative peace and consolidation in 1853.

II

The Spatial Structure of Grahamstown, 1812-53: Analysing Shapes on the Ground

Dutch Cultural Origins

In 1812 when Ensign Andries Stockenstrom recommended to Col. John Graham the site on which Grahamstown was founded, it was on the basis of its commanding position and adjacent abundant water supply (Stockenstrom 1887, 63). In making the choice, Stockenstrom, consciously or not, was following the Cape Dutch settler prerequisite for the founding of a dorp as distinct from an English town. A spur, on either side of which flowed two streams which could be canalized in furrows to provide water for domestic and agricultural purposes, was the prototype Dutch dorp site (Haswell 1979, 691).

Later the same year a sub-Drostdy was established in Grahamstown, as the new military headquarters was named. Sites

for the Drostdy, Messenger's house and gaol were chosen at the west end of the spur at some distance from the military camp at the east end, a clear separation of functions. In 1814 when government surveyor J. Knobel laid out the town (Fig. 2), he took the line of High Street as the axis of the town from the position of the gaol and Messenger's house, siting it along the length of the spur which was intersected by Hill Street at its crest (Fig. 3).

Street vistas which focused upon church and drostdy had become an integral part of Dutch town planning (Christopher 1984, 72). Knobel sited the Drostdy at the west end of High Street and utilized the unusual triangular space already established by the line of officers' houses at the west end as a distinctive setting for a church or other major public building. The result was, Lewcock comments, that "almost fortuitously, he initiated one of the finest town designs in South Africa" (1963, 401).

The 1820 plan of Grahamstown (Fig. 4) shows the early rectilinear grid pattern of the town, characteristic of Dutch settlements (Haswell 686). By 1824, following the influx of English settlers, particularly artisans, to the town, the grid appears to have been extended for projected development which catered for urban growth well into the 1830s. The 1824 plan (Fig. 5) has marked on it some 80 buildings, but according to George Thompson's Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa (1827, 1967 ed., 1: 25), this was the number of houses built by January 1821, and by 1823 upwards of 300 houses had been erected.

The size of the erven laid out by Knobel, 50 by 150 paces (Cory 1913, 1: 269), reflected Grahamstown's initial agricultural

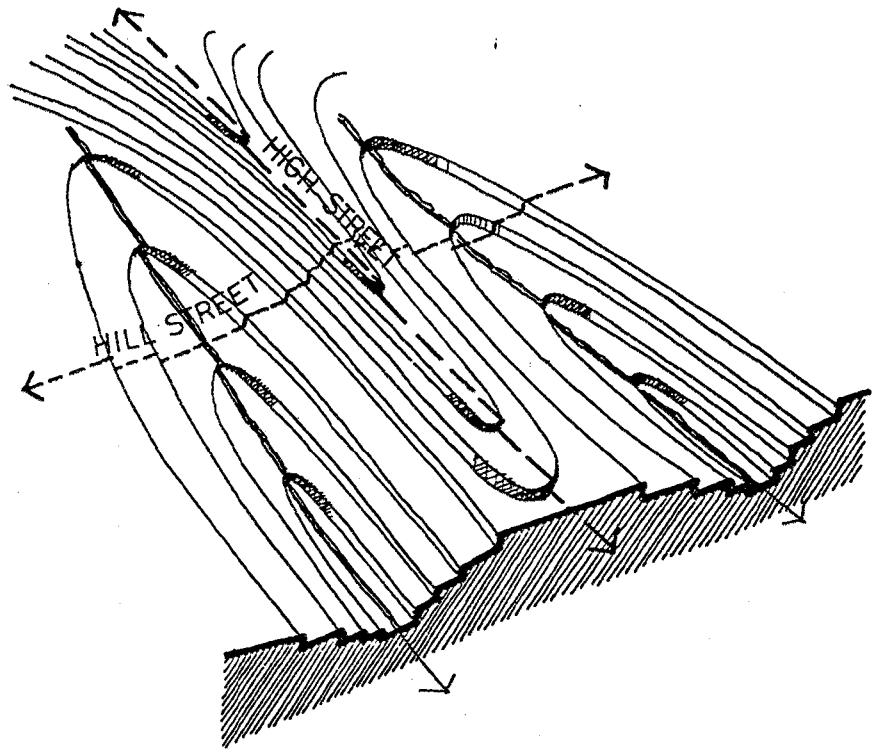


Fig. 3 High Street Spur and Streams on Either Side.

Urban Heritage 1975, 9

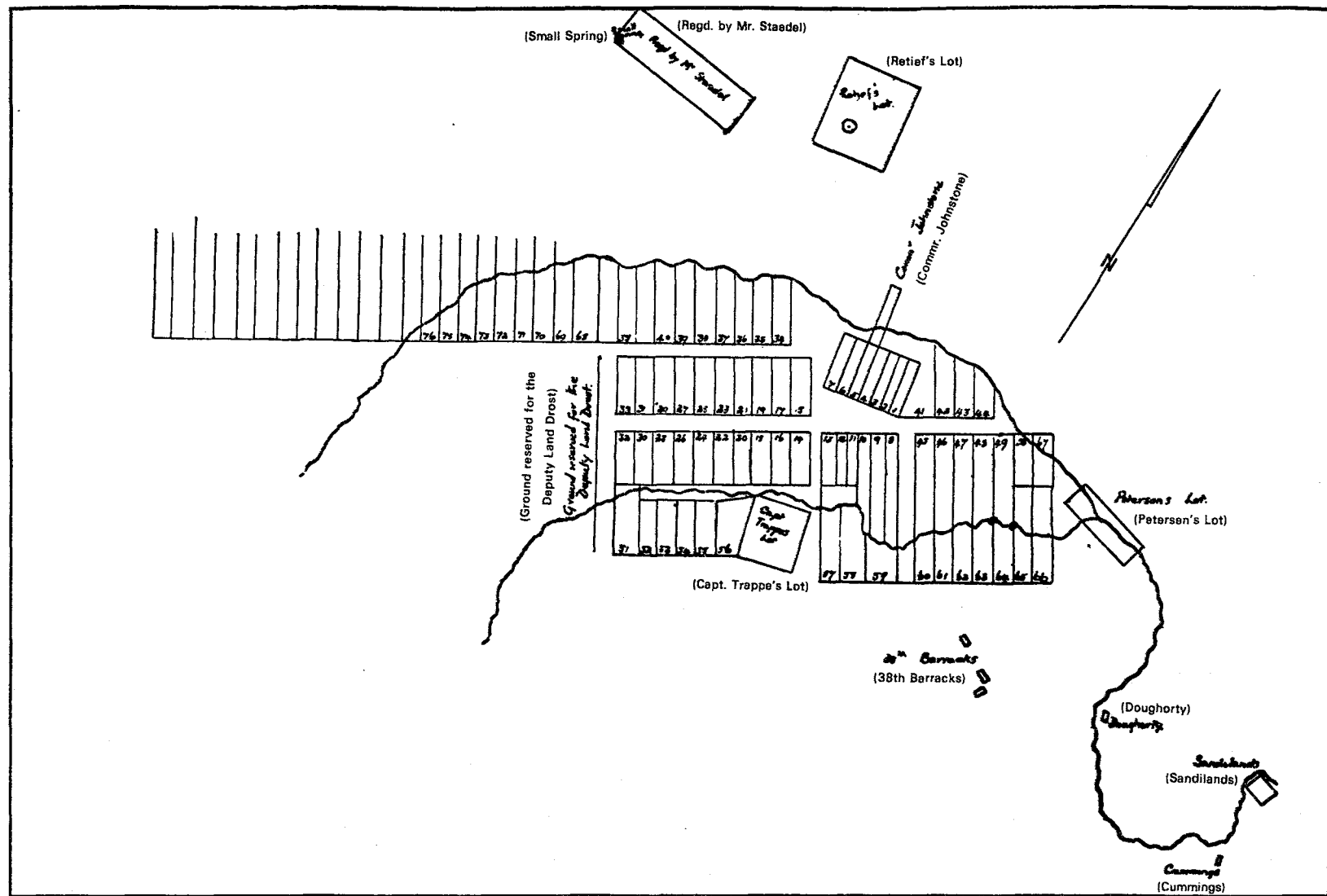


Fig. 4 Plan of Grahamstown, 4 June 1820
 Redrawn from Original in Surveyor-General's Office, Cape Town.
 Photography: Cartographic Unit, Rhodes University

FIGURE 5

Plan of Grahamstown ca. March 1824

Traced from the original by E. Lewcock.

Original: Albany Museum.

Photography: Cartographic Unit, Rhodes University.



Graham's Town from the East, ca. 1842

Lithograph published in 1849 by W. Monkhouse, York, after a drawing by the Rev. Thornley Smith, Wesleyan Missionary stationed in Grahamstown and vicinity 1842-47. An illustration from the original by Thornley Smith appears in William Boyce's *Memoir of the Rev. William Shaw* (London 1874), entitled *Graham's Town in 1842*.

nature, as subsistence market gardening was an essential part of the economy of the town, since it had been planned only as a military encampment. This was again in the Dutch cultural tradition where dorpe were agricultural villages.

The English Cultural Overlay

The coming of the British settlers in 1820 brought about a radical change in the character of Grahamstown. The 1824 plan does not reflect much in the way of subdivisions, other than on Settlers' Hill on the south side of the town. A particularly large erf was divided into 32 small lots running north-south, and became known as 'Artificers' Square', as the lots were within the financial reach of the many artisans who were leaving their locations for an urban environment where they could sell their skills. Two streets bisected Artificers' Square at right angles to each other, the resulting octagon giving a distinctive character to the streetscape. The plan also reflects further subdivisions to the south of Artificers' Square and the east of Market Place, which were also part of the artisans' quarter.

A pattern of close settlement was, however, integral to the British concept of town planning (Christopher 1984, 72), creating a townscape with closer affinity to an English village than to a Dutch dorp. A lithograph from a drawing by the Rev. Thornley Smith, Graham's Town from the East ca. 1842 (Plate 8), shows considerable infill between High and New Streets, as well as in the vicinity of Bathurst Street. From 1843 the Grahamstown Directories increasingly note addresses such as 'rear of'

nature, as subsistence market gardening was an essential part of the economy of the town, since it had been planned only as a military encampment. This was again in the Dutch cultural tradition where dorpe were agricultural villages.

The English Cultural Overlay

The coming of the British settlers in 1820 brought about a radical change in the character of Grahamstown. The 1824 plan does not reflect much in the way of subdivisions, other than on Settlers' Hill on the south side of the town. A particularly large erf was divided into 32 small lots running north-south, and became known as 'Artificers' Square', as the lots were within the financial reach of the many artisans who were leaving their locations for an urban environment where they could sell their skills. Two streets bisected Artificers' Square at right angles to each other, the resulting octagon giving a distinctive character to the streetscape. The plan also reflects further subdivisions to the south of Artificers' Square and the east of Market Place, which were also part of the artisans' quarter.

A pattern of close settlement was, however, integral to the British concept of town planning (Christopher 1984, 72), creating a townscape with closer affinity to an English village than to a Dutch dorp. A lithograph from a drawing by the Rev. Thornley Smith, Graham's Town from the East ca. 1842 (Plate 8), shows considerable infill between High and New Streets, as well as in the vicinity of Bathurst Street. From 1843 the Grahamstown Directories increasingly note addresses such as 'rear of'

African, New or Bathurst Streets. Thus by the early 1840s the commercial and residential requirements of its citizens had broken the rectilinear erven of Grahamstown into a proliferation of smaller lots where a frontage of 35 or 40 feet was not unusual. Due to this greater density of buildings, the townscape⁵ was considerably softened and less regulated than intended on its original plan.

The subdivision of the agriculturally planned erven did not materially change the street plans of the grid which had been imposed somewhat arbitrarily on the topographical features of the town. Street plans, Haswell (1979, 694) notes, are usually the most resilient component of townscapes (694), and Lewcock (1963, 401) indicates that Knobel's initial unity of conception regarding the foci of the High Street axis was important enough not to be lost in the subsequent development of the town.

When the first public sale of land was held in Grahamstown in May 1815, the chief condition of sale was that a good house be built on the street line within eighteen months of purchase (Cory 1910, 1: 271). A fundamental feature of Dutch streetscapes, Haswell (1979, 691) points out, is the solid line of buildings which are regarded as a single architectural composition. It was

⁵ Townscape is "the total landscape of a town, its natural and man-made ingredients, and those which are a combination of both. As a science, townscape consists in the studying and recording of all the elements from buildings, groups, spaces and variations in level, down to details like street furniture and lettering, which give a town its individual character" (Urban Heritage 1975, 33).

also a feature of English towns and villages, and had been so from the eighteenth century (Muthesius 1982, 1). The 'single line' formation which became a settled feature of the commercial and early residential areas of Grahamstown (Plates 19c & d, 21b) was not only adherence to the Town Regulations of 1 February 1820 where Article 12 required all buildings to be in line with the street and each other (Urban Heritage 1975, 15), but an expression of the settlers' familiar urban experience. The English preference for pitched roofs rather than flat in the Cape Dutch style superimposed on the streetscapes a distinctively English character. This is particularly well portrayed in the Thornley Smith lithograph (Plate 8) as is the late Georgian simplicity of Grahamstown in the 1840s, where clear plain surfaces are much in evidence.

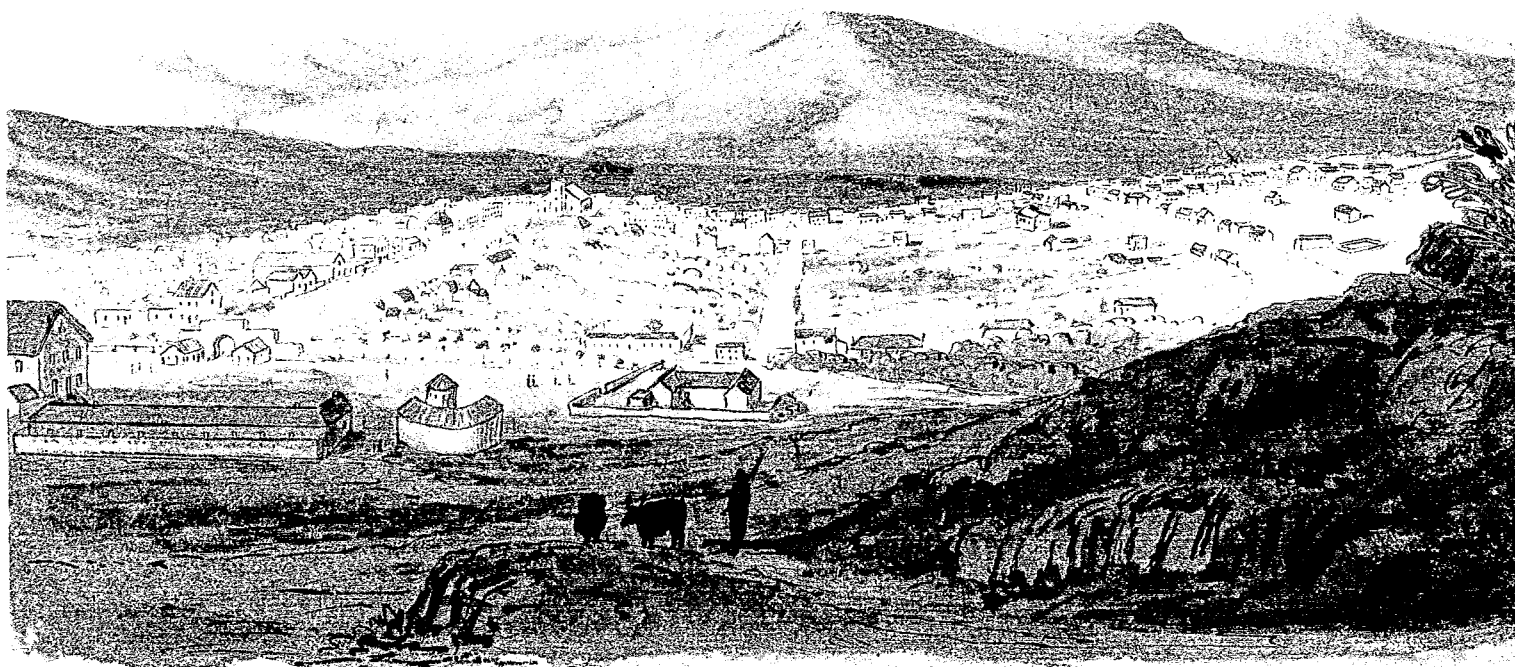
The orderly appearance of the town's rectangular grid was noted by William Harrison in 1830, who remarked that "The Town is very much scattered about, but is laid out at right angles and may some day rise into a place of importance. . . ." (Crail 1957, 20). Another observer was James Backhouse (1844) who visited Grahamstown in 1838 and wrote, "The present town consists of a few streets, one of which is spacious, and serves as a market-place. The streets are regularly laid out, and the houses are neat and white, or yellow" (174).

Grahamstown's principal streets in the early 1820s were High and, parallel to it on the north side, New Street, which became the 'tradesmen's quarter' (Lewcock 1963, 401). Bathurst Street, as the main route to the Market Place, steadily rose in

importance and together with High Street, particularly in the vicinity of Church Square, became the commercial centre of the town. By the 1830s Market Square, as it later became more generally known, was established as the trading centre of Grahamstown. It was described by William Shaw (1860, 76) pioneer Wesleyan minister and missionary in the Settlement, as not only the "source of supply to the town of a large portion of its daily wants . . . the assemblage on the market is likewise a kind of public exchange, where the merchants and dealers meet and business transactions are often negotiated."

Spatial Dimensions of Racial Segregation

Backhouse (1844, 174) also referred to kraals or villages of Mfengu and Khoi adjacent to Grahamstown. Christopher (1984, 73-77) shows that spatially racial discrimination became racial segregation. The origins of physical segregation in Grahamstown need deeper investigation to establish the degree to which integration did in fact take place within the town, as well as the processes which gave rise to segregation in the peri-urban zone. Suffice it to say here that from correspondence in the Graham's Town Journal in 1834 calling for assistance for the 'Indigent Poor' (GTJ 14.8, 3c2 & 9.9, 2c2), it appears that the 'Coloured' population lived either in huts near the Burying Ground on the outskirts of the east end of the town, or had no form of shelter. When Wesleyan missionary Thornley Smith (1850, 46) described his arrival in Grahamstown in 1842, he mentioned a considerable population of Mfengu in the 'suburbs' of the town. He also differentiated between two Mfengu villages at the east



Graham's Town. from a sketch by H.W.H.C. Piers Esq. Ordnance.

Graham's Town from the South-West, ca. 1846-47

Sepia wash after H.W.H.C. Piers by Charles Davidson Bell

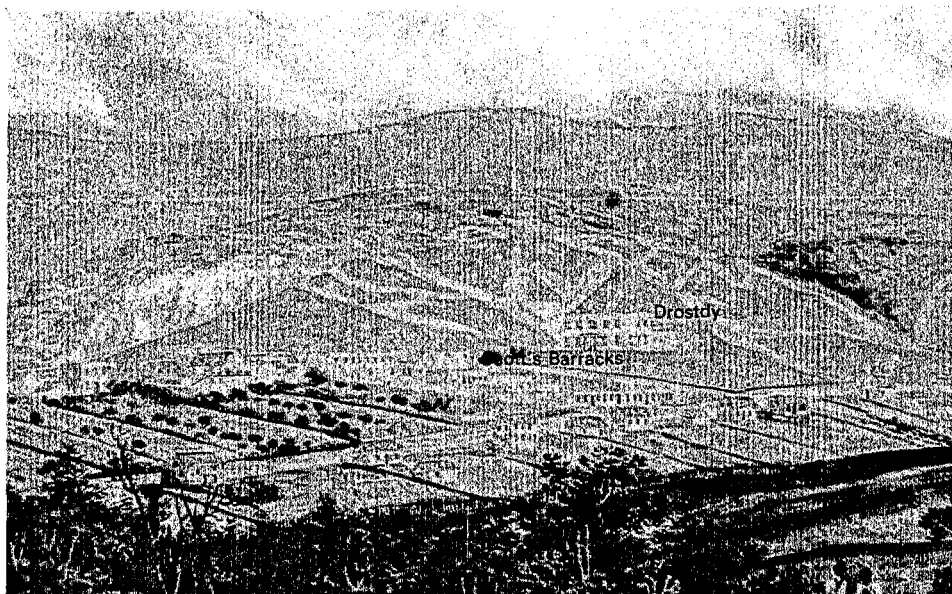
Original:
John and Charles Bell Heritage Trust Collection
University of Cape Town Libraries

and west ends of Grahamstown, the self-styled 'Missionary Fingoes' and the 'Government Fingoes' respectively (50, 51). No huts which by appearance would distinguish the 'Government Fingo' village appear in the 1842 lithograph of Grahamstown (Plate 8). Neither is there any trace of the Mfengu village at the Burying Ground which is clearly discernible in the foreground of the lithograph. There was also some correspondence in the Journal in 1853 (12.2, 3c2) which referred to the state of Grahamstown's Khoi population due to overcrowding in huts. A contrast is drawn with the situation in Cape Town where they mingled with other classes and so found their level. In April the same year (CFT 12.4.1853, 2c4) the Superintendent of Fingoes in Grahamstown furnished a return to the Municipal Board. It stated that there were 235 Mfengu huts in Grahamstown, occupied by 239 men, 308 women, 220 boys and 243 girls. The Xhosa had 100 huts in which there lived 86 men, 187 women, 101 boys and 97 girls. The Mozambiques had 35 erven occupied by 37 men, 43 women, 19 boys and 29 girls.

The Public Face of Grahamstown

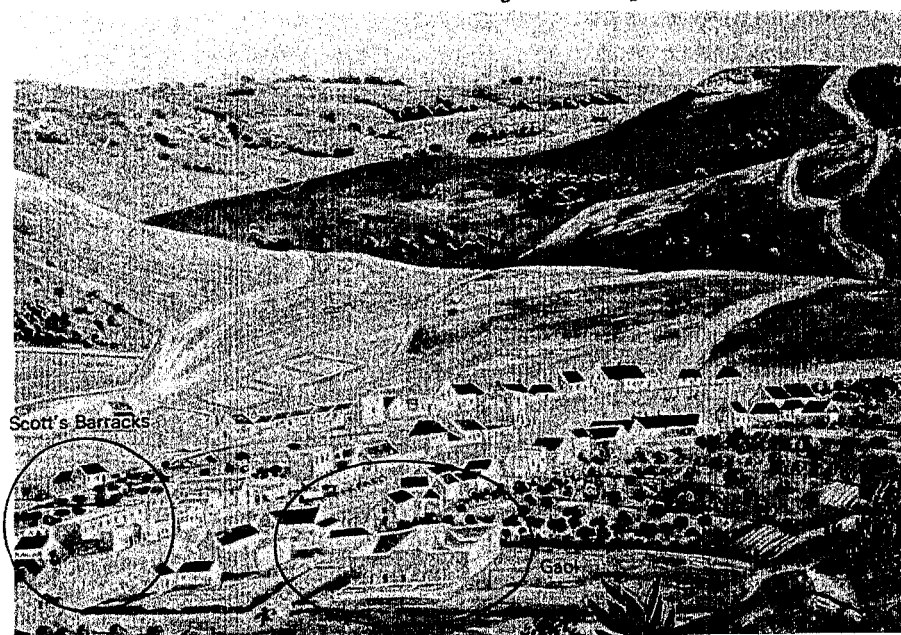
The Thornley Smith 1842 lithograph (Plate 8) provides the best contemporary townscape of early Victorian Grahamstown, but is well complemented by Charles Davidson Bell's sepia wash ca. 1846-47 (Plate 9), based on a sketch by H.W.H.C. Piers as it views

PLATE 10



a) Graham's Town in 1822 Viewed from the north.
Watercolour by an Army Officer and his wife.

*Original:
Albany Museum, Grahamstown*



b) Graham's Town in 1823 Viewed from the hill
behind the Drostdy.
Watercolour by an Army Officer and his wife.

*Original:
Albany Museum, Grahamstown*

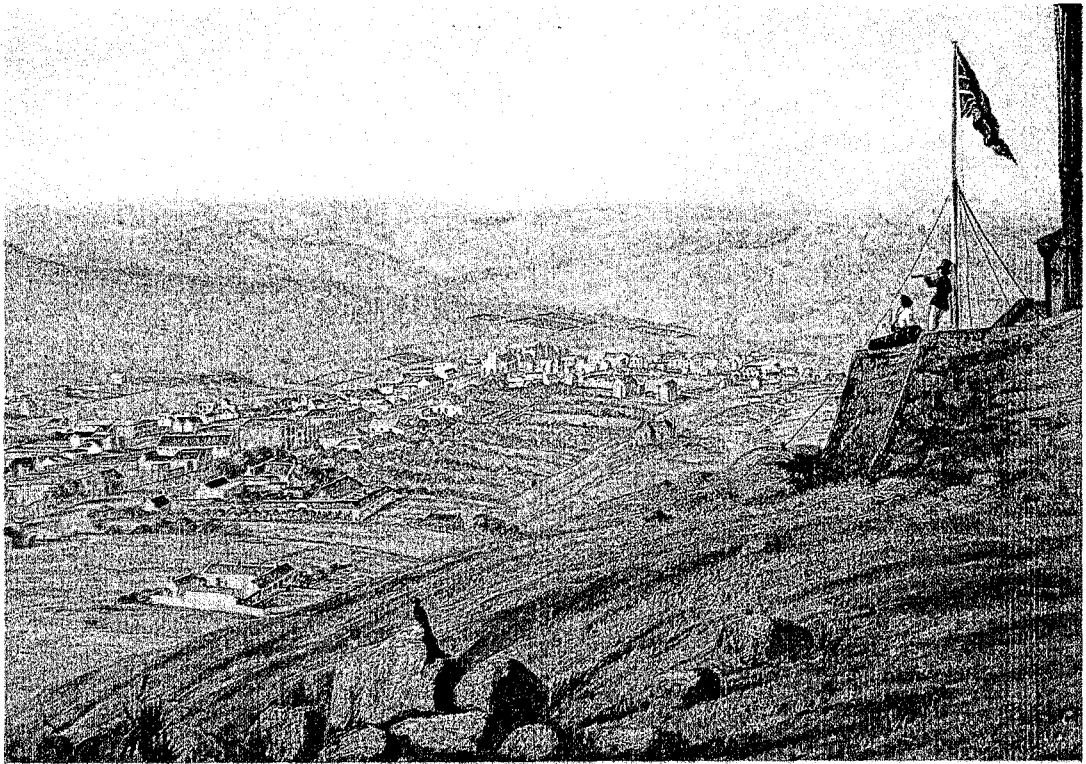
Grahamstown from the south-west.⁶ In terms of townscape Grahamstown was dominated from the 1820s by military, civil and ecclesiastical architecture. Prior to 1832 the most prominent public buildings were the Drostdy (1822-29/30),⁷ Scott's Barracks in High Street (1823),⁸ and the new Gaol built in 1824 by Arnoldus Dietz in Somerset Street (Plate 10), as well as St. George's Episcopalian Church (1824-30) (Plates 14 and 15). The first building erected for public worship in the town was the 1822 Wesleyan 'Yellow' Chapel, a modest building which did not contribute significantly to the impact of the townscape.

⁶ Bell's sketch of Grahamstown after Piers is included in a collection of War of the Axe (1846-47) sepia wash drawings entitled "Some Rough Sketches of Scenes Illustrative of the late events in Southern Africa", held by the John and Charles Bell Heritage Trust Collection, University of Cape Town Libraries.

H.W.H.C. Piers was stationed in Grahamstown as an Ordnance Clerk ca. 1839 to 1841, the period during which the six watercolours of the town held by the Albany Museum were painted.

⁷ Pieter Retief obtained the government contract to build the Drostdy in 1822 (Plate 10a). After much litigation involving Retief and a subsequent contractor, Carl Frederick Pohl, the building was finally completed by a third party ca. 1829 or 1830 (see Lewcock 1963, 240-47 and Cory 1912, 2: 181-88). It was occupied for a short time in 1829 by Dr John Atherstone, the first occasion on which it was inhabited. It was used for the Circuit Judges in 1830, a single instance. It was never used by the Landdrost, who instead occupied the Public Offices on the south-west corner of Hill and High Streets (see 1837 Plan, Fig. 6).

⁸ Scott's Barracks were erected on the north side of upper High Street, an extensive complex accomodating six officers, 180 rank and file, 12 horses, a powder magazine and commissariat stores (Lewcock 1963, 241). The Barracks, a contract undertaken by Pieter Retief prior to his commitment to build the Drostdy, were completed in April 1823. They were extensively damaged by a storm in October the same year, and by April 1824 were uninhabitable (Lewcock, 1963, 242). The Barracks formed an important element of the early townscape of Grahamstown, as is evidenced in Plate 10a.



Graham's Town from Selwyn's Battery, Jan. 17, 1850

Oil painting by Thomas Baines

Original:
Albany Museum, Grahamstown

Anglicans and Nonconformists alike worshipped in the Chapel until their own places of worship were built (Hewson 1981, 15). Between 1832 and 1853, however, the public aspect of Grahamstown was a much clearer reflection of its functions.

A 'vigorous and stimulating' (Lewcock 1963, 276) **military establishment** took shape at the west end of High Street from the mid-1830s. Early in 1835, during the 6th Frontier War (1835-36), the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, ordered the Drostdy House and ground to be taken over as a "fortified Barrack Establishment,"⁹ since he regarded the site as strategically the most important in the town. Major Charles Jasper Selwyn, Officer Commanding the Royal Engineers, was responsible for the fortification of the new Drostdy military establishment which was to contribute significantly to the overall character of the townscape. A star shaped fort, known as Selwyn's Battery was built to command the 'heights' above the Drostdy (Plate 11). It was in operation by 3 September 1836 when a seventeen gun salute was fired to announce the arrival of the new Lieutenant-Governor, Andries Stockenstrom (Cory 1919, 3: 340). A military prison for solitary confinement was completed early in 1838 (Plate 12). In a design unique in the Cape Colony, the prison was a modification of Jeremy Bentham's eighteenth century panopticon which had been incorporated into penitentiary design in the early nineteenth

⁹ D'Urban's letter, dated 4 July 1835, is fully quoted in Cory 1912, 2: 189.

century. The 'military lock-up' as it is designated on Hoggar's 1863 plan of Grahamstown, comprised a segment of a panopticon with a circular guard tower commanding the eight cells on Bentham's principle of ceaseless surveillance of prisoners, intended for their betterment (Hume 1973). The cells formed an arc, and the stone walls of their exercise yards radiated out from the base of the guard tower.¹⁰ The unusual design of the prison contributed a strong visual element to the military establishment, enhanced by its forbidding eastern aspect.

Selwyn was responsible for the design of the two new barracks which were completed by 1839,¹¹ the barracks adjacent to the Drostdy Officers' Quarters being linked to it by a covered loggia (Plate 13a).

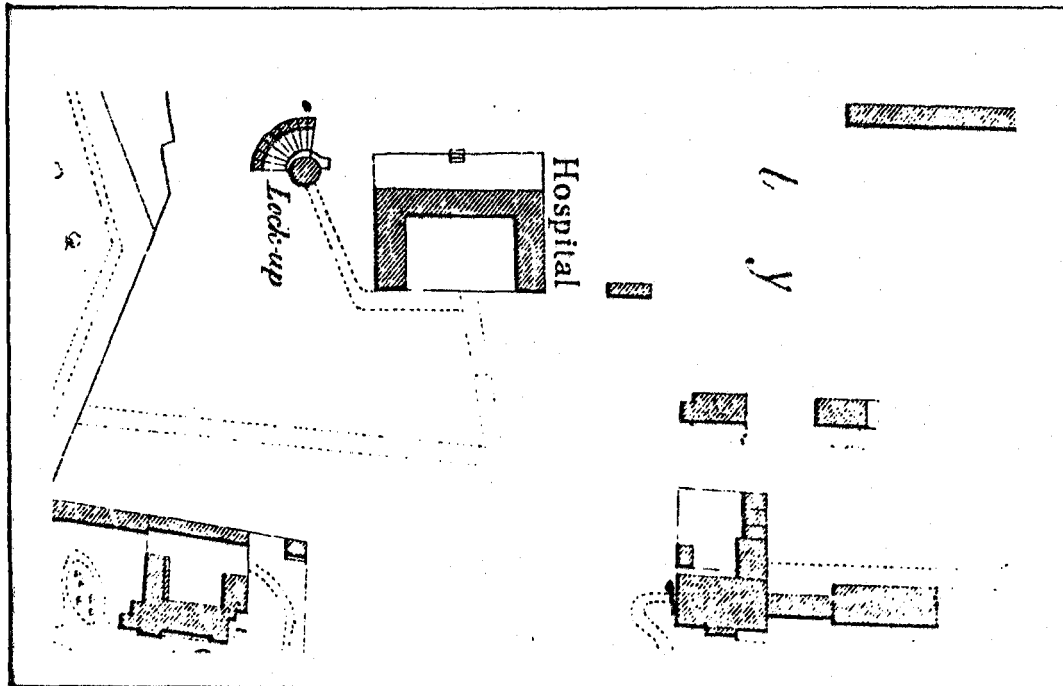
If the 1842 dating of the Thornley Smith lithograph (Plate 8) is correct, the military hospital on the north side of the prison was substantially complete by that date.¹² It was a long, low building, opening onto a three sided courtyard, the

¹⁰ The presence of stone walls dividing the cell exercise yards was unsuspected until restoration of the prison (now known as the Provost) was commenced in 1982.

¹¹ Lewcock (1963) gives 1838 as the date of completion of the Barracks, but Una Long in her notes "Buildings on the Drostdy Ground, Grahamstown" (Cory Library MS 7565), states that in January 1838 when Sir George Napier became Governor of the Colony, buildings in progress on the Drostdy ground included quarters for the Infantry. She quotes as her source an Enclosure with the Napier Dispatch 29 Dec. 1838.

¹² The Hospital was certainly in use by 1846, as a report from one O'Neill, dated 5 March 1846, refers to 30 men currently in the hospital (Cory Library MS 7: 261).

PLATE 12 Military Prison (Provost), Grahamstown



- a) Detail of Military 'Lock-up' (Provost) from the Plan of Grahamstown surveyed and drawn by R.S. Hoggar in 1863. Note radiating cell exercise yard walls and adjacent hospital. Government House is front left, the Drostdy front right.



- b) East facing elevation of the Military Prison. Photograph taken following the restoration in 1982-83.

PLATE 12 Military Prison

- c) 1982-83
reconstruction
of excavated
cell exercise
yard walls
shows section
of panopticon
design after
Jeremy
Bentham

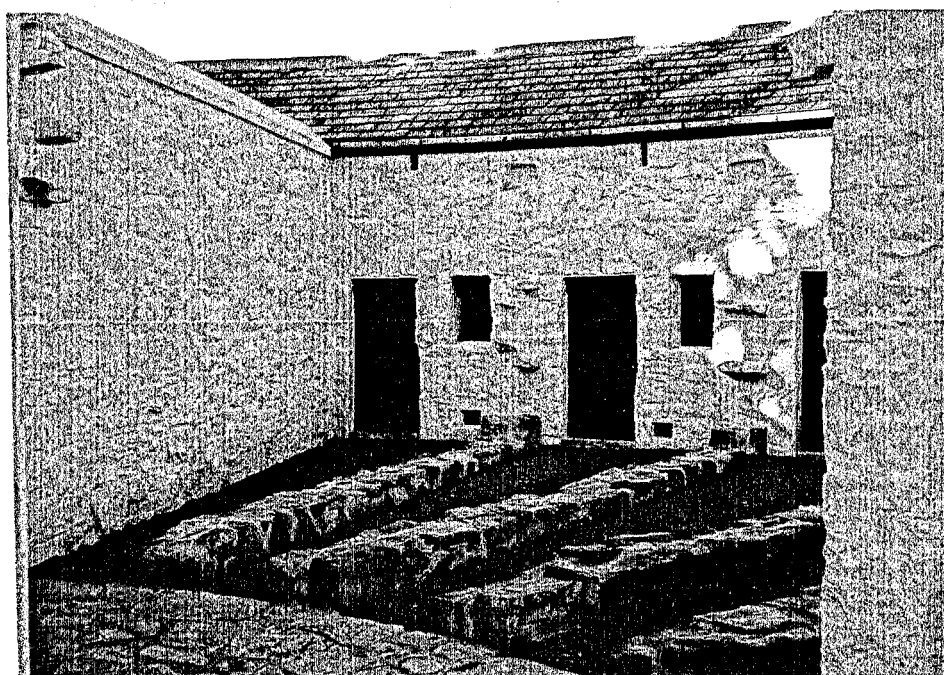
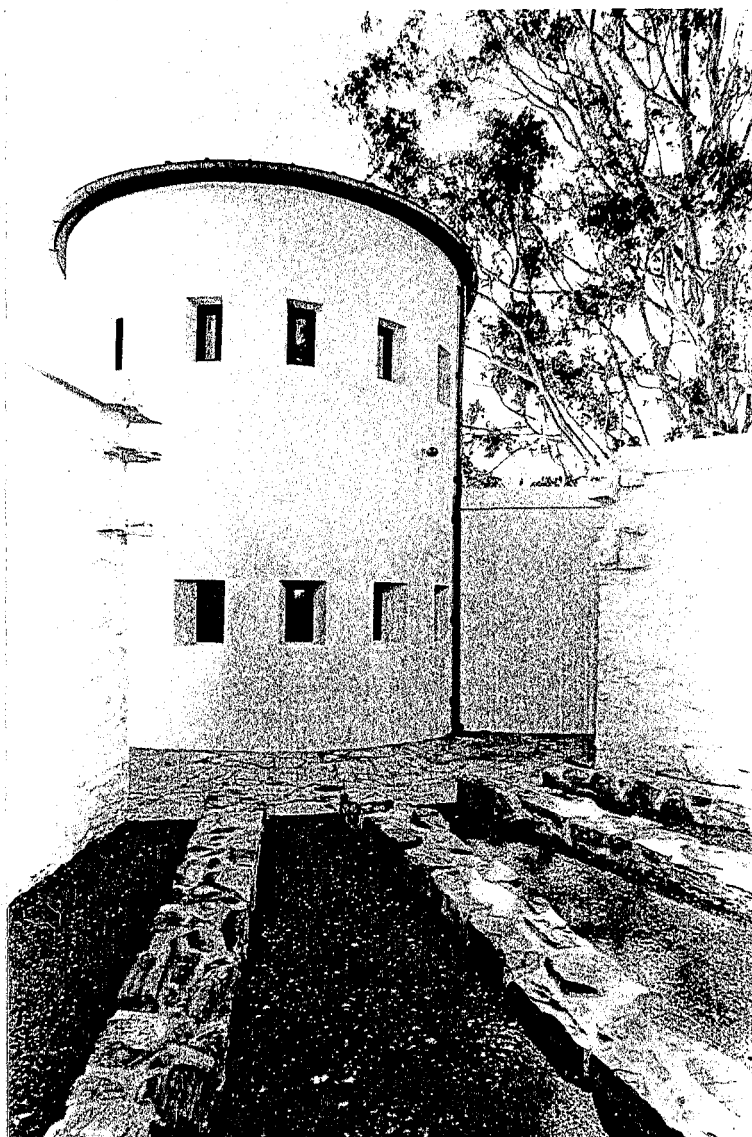
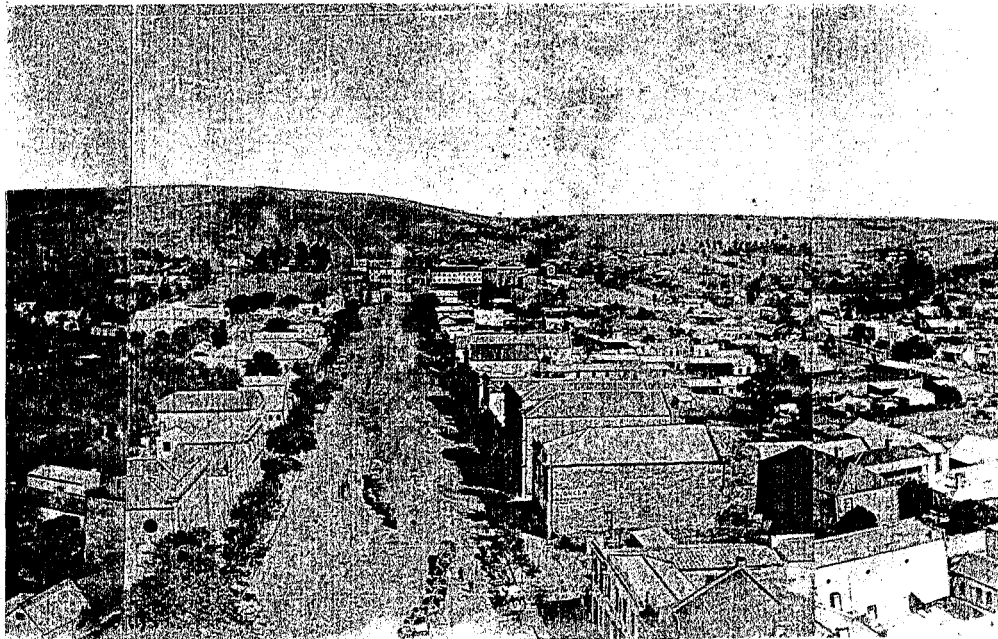


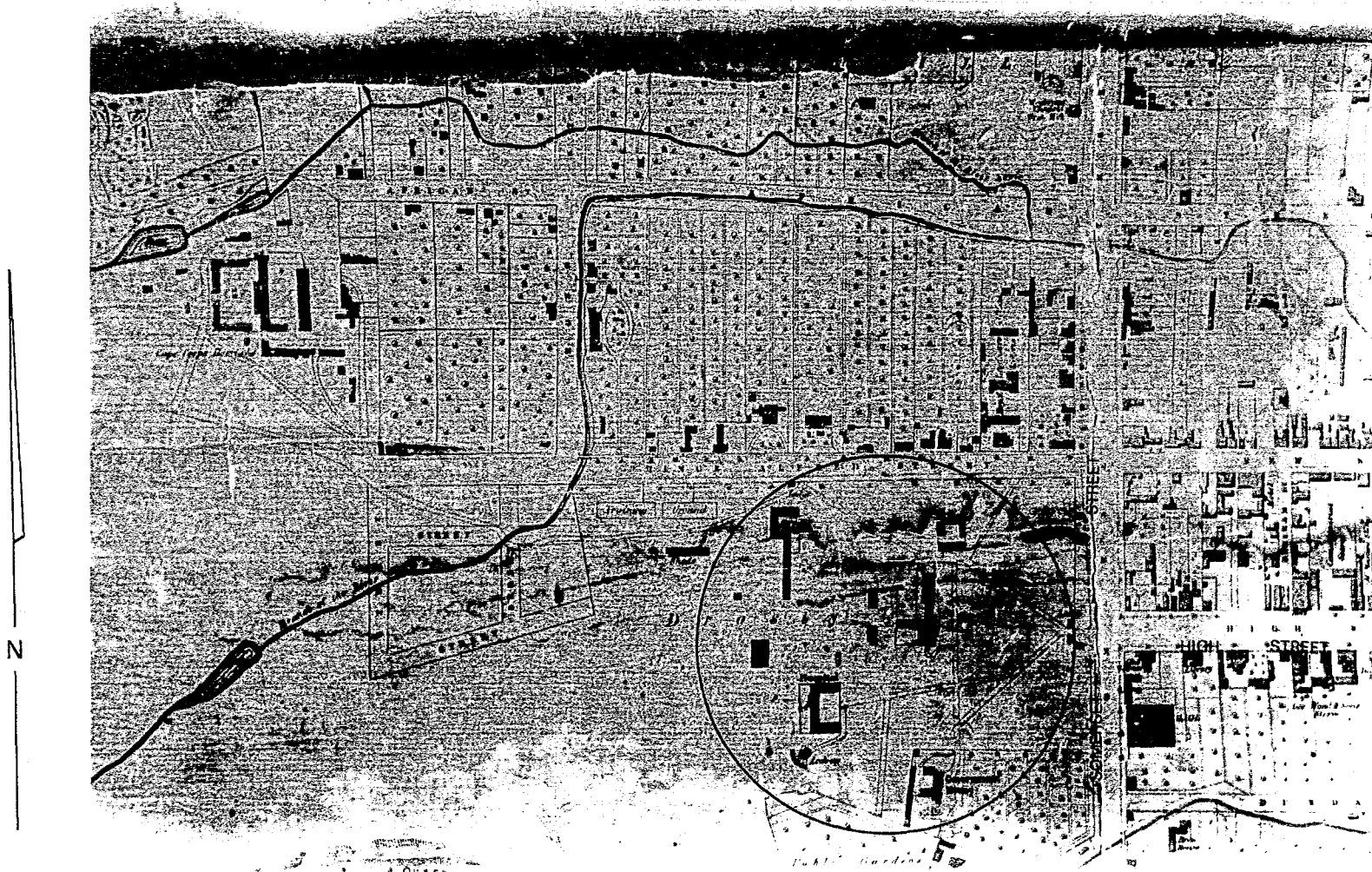
PLATE 13 Drostdy Military Establishment



- a) Street vista of the Drostdy military establishment at the west end of High Street, Grahamstown ca. 1875.

Photograph by C.J. Aldham from the tower of St. George's Cathedral.

*Frank van der Riet Collection
Cory Library for Historical Research
Rhodes University*



b) Drostdy military establishment at the west end of High Street.
Detail from the Plan of Grahamstown surveyed and drawn by
R.S. Hoggar in 1863.

fourth side being formed by a high stone wall with well-proportioned gateposts.

The impressive stone gateway to the new Drostdy military establishment incorporated two guard rooms and sentry posts and was completed ca. 1842. Bell's sketch of Grahamstown (Plate 9) shows how its position strengthened and enhanced the High Street vista, drawing the eye to the strong sweep up the broad street to St. George's Church, squatly, yet distinctively as regards position, situated at its apex. By the early 1840s the new military establishment was essentially complete in so far as it affected the central townscape, as is evidenced in the Thornley Smith lithograph, and Hoggar's 1863 Plan (Plate 13b).

The revival of Gothic **religious architecture** in England had reached a climax by 1818 (Lewcock 1963, 279), and its influence soon penetrated to the frontier of the Cape Colony, although neo-Classicism with its mathematically proportioned beauty continued to influence public architecture, including church design. So, from the 1820s, when the influx of British settlers was at its height, and particularly from 1832, Gothic and Classicist architectural forms began to shape the central townscape, imposing on it a distinctive English character. This, despite the crudities in design of St. George's Church, commenced in 1824. St George's was an incompetent and unhappy combination of Gothic Revival and neo-Classical features (see Lewcock 1963, 281-83) which, nevertheless, due to its position on the east end eminence of the High Street spur, has been ever since the axial

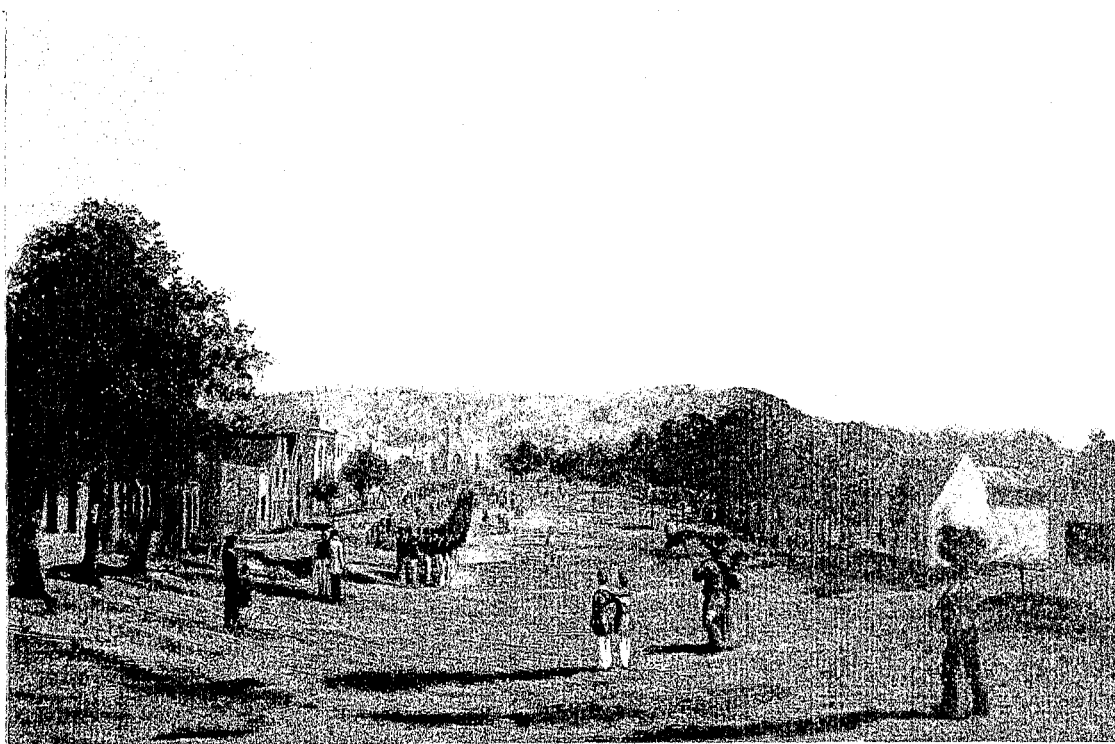
PLATES 14 & 15

Site Image of St. George's Church, Grahamstown and its Spatial Relationship to the Four Intersecting Street Vistas in the Central Townscape.

Oil paintings by Thomas Baines, 1848-49.

Originals on loan to the Albany Museum from Syfret's Trust

PLATE 14 Site Image of St. George's Church, Grahamstown
Oil painting by Thomas Baines, 1848-49

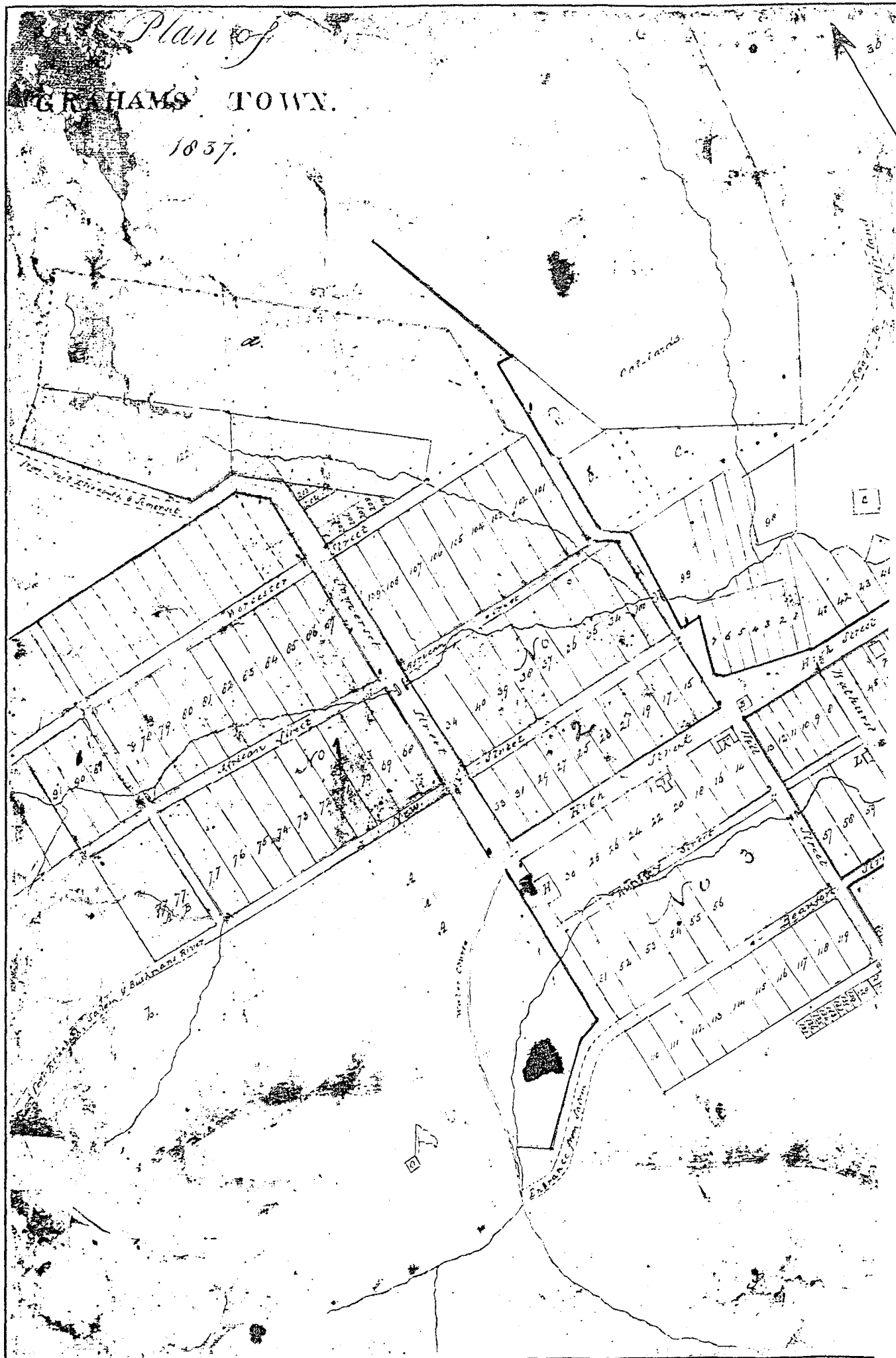


a) High Street, Graham's Town, from the West, 1848



b) High Street, Graham's Town, from the East, 1849

FIGURE 6

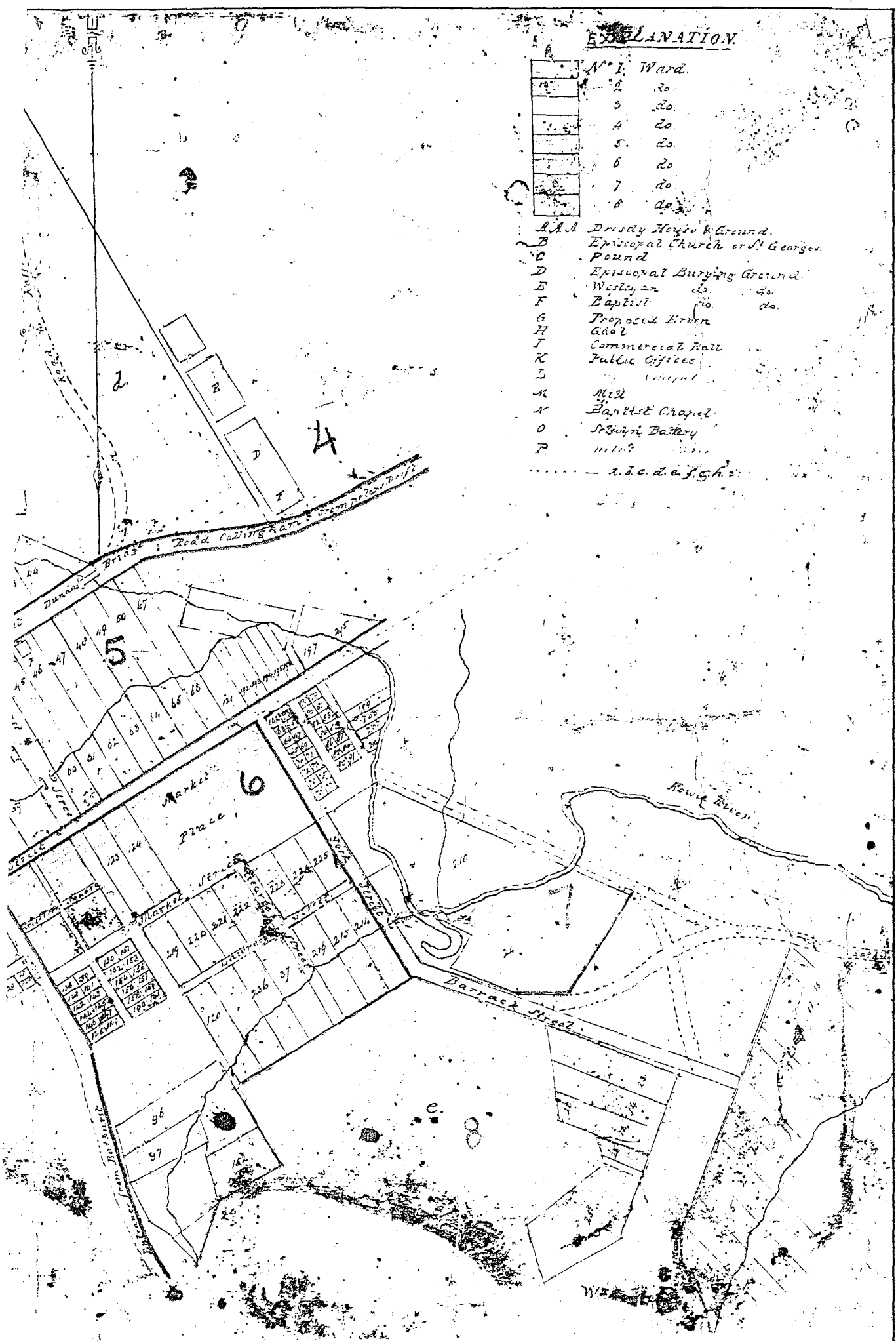


EXPLANATION

N ^o 1. Ward.	
1	do.
2	do.
3	do.
4	do.
5	do.
6	do.
7	do.
8	do.

A.A.	Dready House & Ground.
B	Episcopal Church or St. Georges.
C	Pound
D	Episcopal Burying Ground.
E	Wesleyan do. do.
F	Baptist do. do.
G	Proposed Burying
H	Ground
I	Commercial Road
K	Public Offices
L	Wharf
M	Mill
N	Baptist Chapel
O	Severn Battery
P	Water

..... a. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i.



St. George's Church

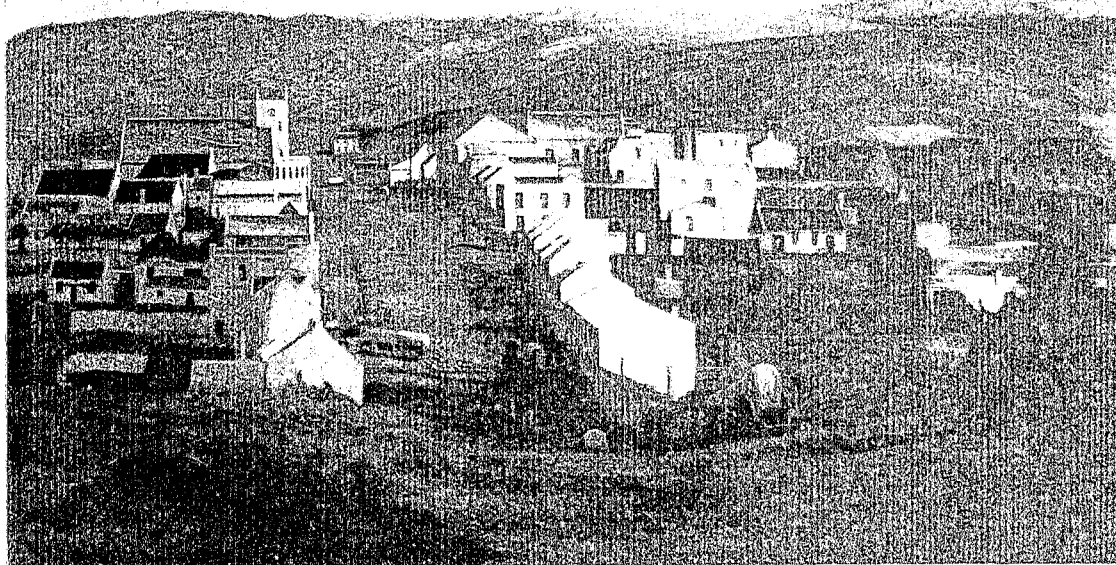
Independent Chapel

**St. Patrick's
Catholic Church**

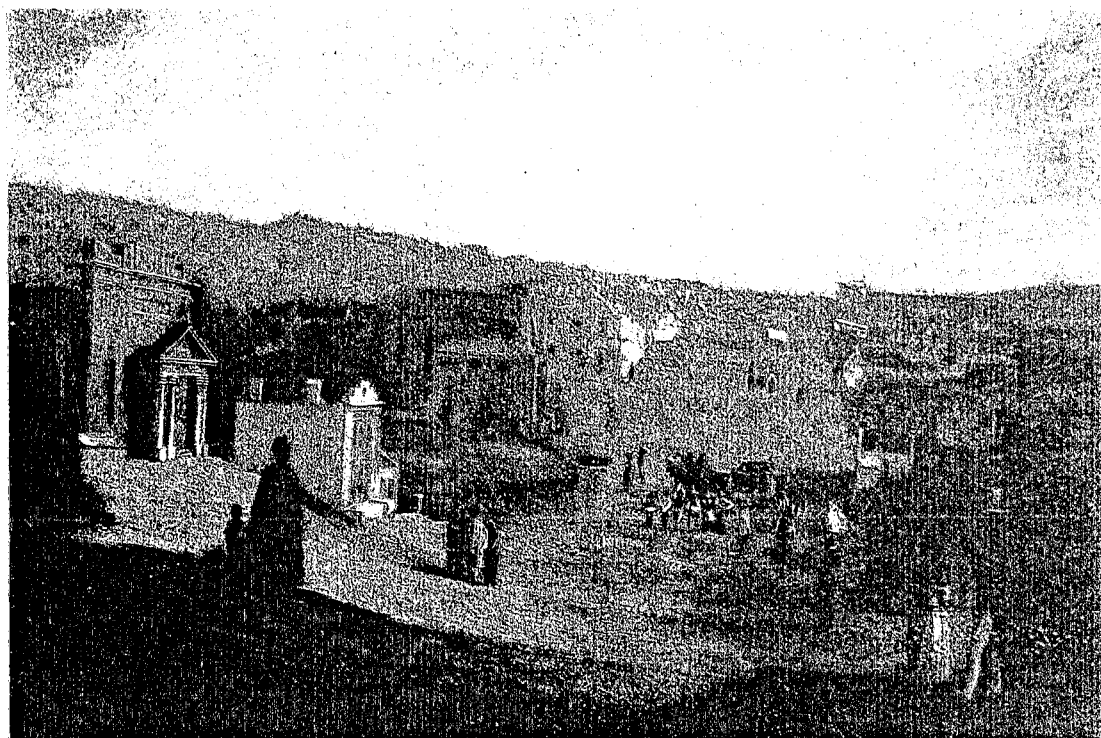
St. George's Church

**55 Hill
Street**

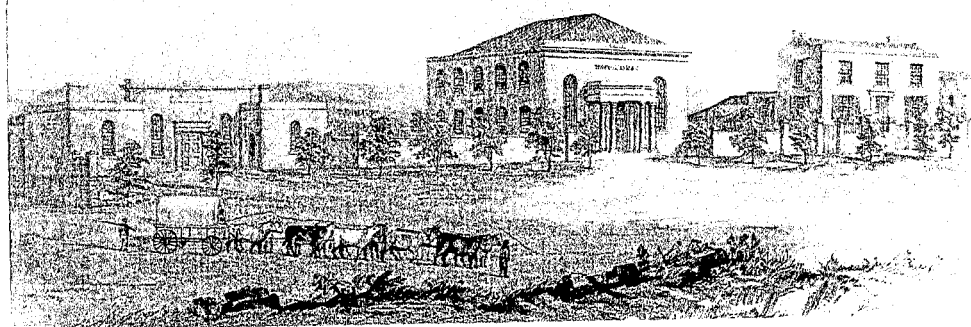
PLATE 15 Site Image of St. George's Church, Grahamstown
Oil painting by Thomas Baines, 1848-49



a) Hill Street, Graham's Town, from the North, 1848



b) Hill Street, Graham's Town, from the South, 1848



The Wesleyan Mission Premises, Graham's Town, ca. 1844

Lithograph from a drawing by the Rev. Thornely Smith, published by W. Monkhouse, York, in 1844 in aid of the Wesleyan Schools and Missions. From left to right:

School House, Chapel (later Shaw Hall), and Mission House.

focus of Grahamstown, despite commercial expansion of the town in its vicinity. Its axial position was later reinforced by the completion of a new Gothic Revival tower and spire in 1878 which is visible from virtually everywhere in the town. Thomas Baines' series of four paintings of High and Hill Streets in 1848-49 are a valuable record of the site image of St. George's Church and its spatial relationship to the four intersecting street vistas (Plates 14 and 15).

From 1832 the ecclesiastical establishment began to change the image of the central townscape. The New Wesleyan Chapel (later Shaw Hall) was opened for worship in December that year (Hewson, 1981, 22) (Plate 16). The building was rectangular, neo-Classical in style, with a portico supported by four Tuscan columns and was built to seat 800 people. It faced onto the south side of lower High Street (the east end).

The next substantial church building to contribute to the townscape was St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church in Hill Street, built in the Gothic style between 1839 and 1844. Lewcock (1963, 289n, 353) notes that Major Selwyn was almost certainly connected with the design of St. Patrick's. At much the same time the New Union (Independent) Chapel in Hill Street was in the course of construction. Its foundation stone was laid in April 1840 and the Chapel was completed by December 1842. A lofty building, it was designed in the neo-Classical style, its portico with a classical pediment being supported, as was the Wesleyan Chapel, by four Tuscan columns. Thomas Baines' painting of Hill Street from the south in 1848 (Plate 15b) shows clearly the



Commemoration Methodist Chapel, 1870s

Street vista up Bathurst Street to focal point created by the Gothic Revival façade of the Commemoration Chapel.



Street Vista 1986

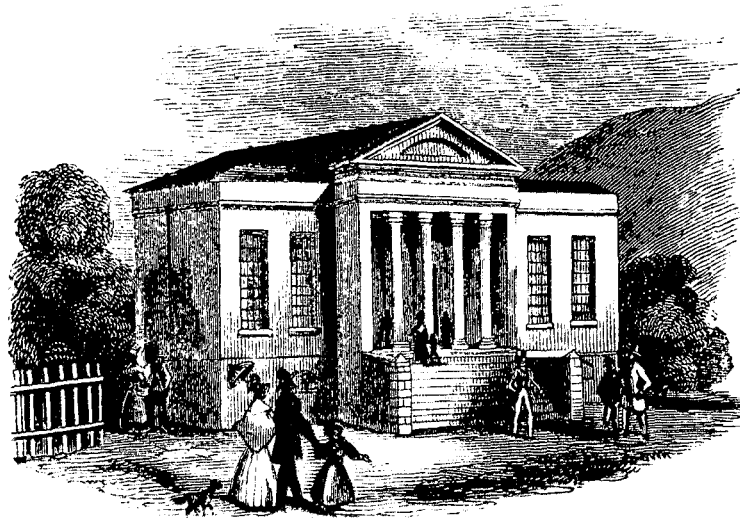
topography which influenced the siting of the Independent Chapel and the Churches of St. Patrick and St. George.

The spatial dominance of the churches reflects the importance given by the community to religious observance. In 1845 work on the Methodist Commemoration Chapel was commenced on a commanding site at the intersection of High and Bathurst Streets (Plate 17). By the mid-1840s the importance of Bathurst Street as the commercial centre of the town had been established (Lewcock 1963, 402), and the dominating position of the new Chapel may be seen both as an ecclesiastical and spatial expression of the commercial dominance of the Methodist middling and artisan classes upon Grahamstown.¹³ Based on a design by Thornley Smith, the church, with its impressive Gothic Revival façade and five slender spires, was opened for worship on 24 November 1850.¹⁴

Civic spirit in Grahamstown was such that as early as 1832 public shares were sold to erect a Commercial Hall as a focus for cultural and commercial life in the town, much in the spirit of

¹³ R.S. Dobbs in his Reminiscences of Life in Mysore, South Africa and Burmah (1882) refers to a conversation between an auctioneer and his son which took place as they and he approached Grahamstown in November 1840. "They were speaking of their professional duties, and one remarked to the other, that 'no one could succeed in any business in Graham's Town, unless he had the mark of the beast upon him.' We afterwards ascertained, that the beast referred to, was the Wesleyan Methodist Church, whose influence at that time, through the Eastern province, was almost supreme"(160).

¹⁴ Hewson (1981, 63-77) gives a full account of the building and subsequent history of Commemoration Chapel.



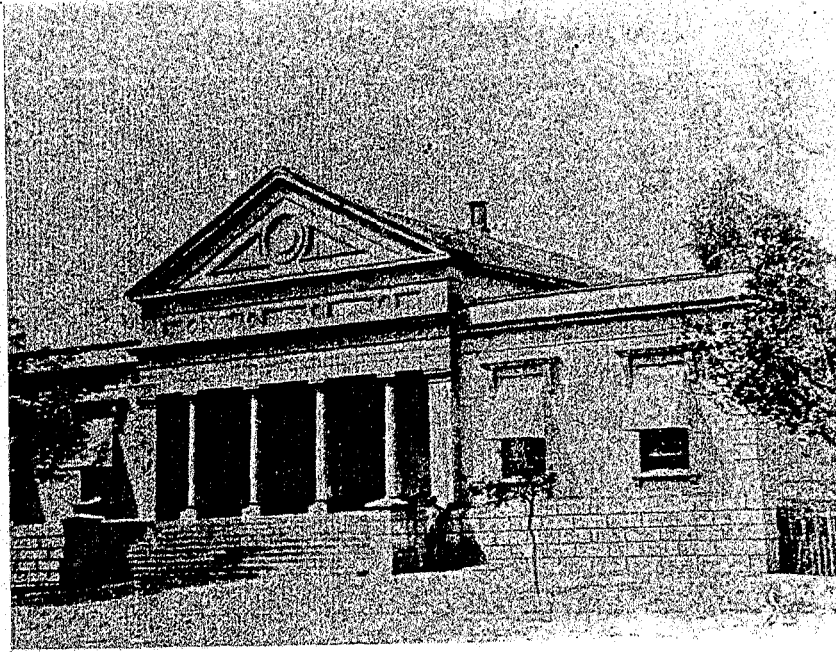
Court House, Graham's Town.

- a) Engraving from John Centlivres Chase, *The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay, &c., &c.* (London, 1843).



- b) The Court House (Commercial Hall until 1843), ca. 1870.

*Frank van der Riet Photographic Collection
Cory Library for Historical Research
Rhodes University*



- c) Court House "decorated with a Thibault-esque pattern in plaster" (Lewcock 1963, 274).

Lewcock associates this facade with the original Commercial Hall completed between 1832 and 1837. There is, however, no trace of the pediment mouldings or of the entablatures over the windows in the engraving of the Court House in Chase 1843. It would seem more probable that this photograph is later than the ca. 1870 view of the Court House in Plate 18b above. The unplastered brickwork has blocked in the area windows visible in 18a and b.

the Commercial Exchange in Cape Town (see Lewcock 1963, 77, 274). The tender of George Gilbert, who had initially come to Grahamstown on contract to build St. George's Church, was accepted in July 1832 (GTJ 27.7.1832, 119c2). The foundations of the building were dug on a site granted by the Governor, centrally situated on the south side of upper High Street (for site see 1837 Plan, Fig. 6). The building was first used in August 1836 (GTJ 11.8, 4c4) as the venue for a public dinner in honour of Col. Harry Smith who was about to leave the frontier, the building being at this date "nearly complete". It was finally finished in May 1837 (GTJ 25.5, 1c4).

The Commercial Hall (Plate 18) was an inchoate medley of neo-Classical elements which Lewcock (1963, 274) believed to have included a pediment "decorated with a Thibault-esque pattern in plaster". See, however, gloss on Plate 18c. The building, nevertheless, lacked entirely the perfect geometric harmony which characterized the public buildings designed and erected at the Cape by Thibault¹⁵. Neither its position nor its architecture contributed significantly to town or streetscape. In the event, the Commercial Hall failed to be used as a commercial centre, but was utilized as a cultural centre for concerts, balls

¹⁵ Louis Michel Thibault (fl. 1786-1806) was government engineer and architect under both the Batavian and British governments at the Cape (Cook 1974, 489-91).

Figure 6

Plan of Grahamstown in 1837, Showing Municipal Wards and Public Buildings.

Drawn by Surveyor W.E. Smith.

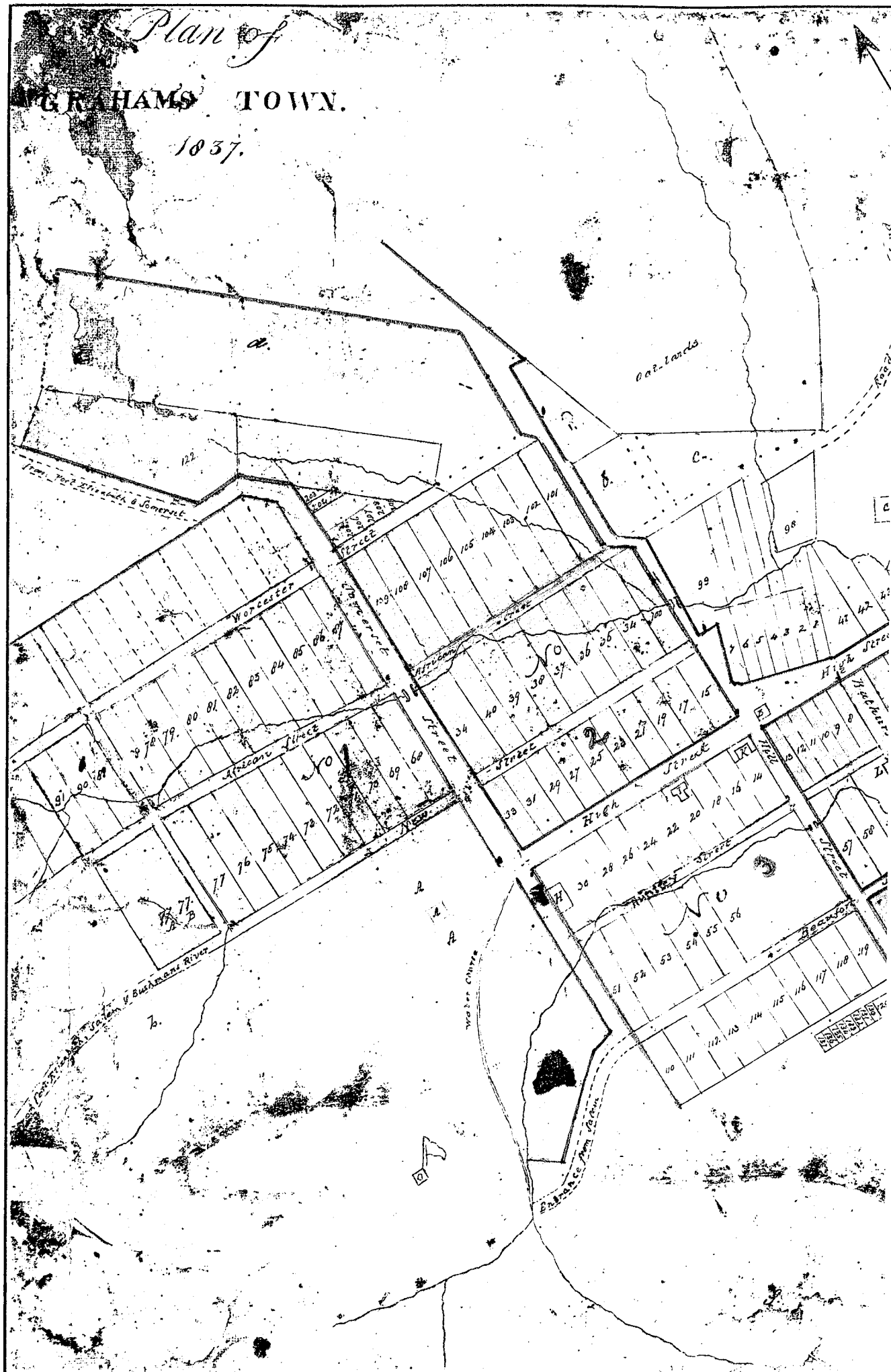
Municipal Wards shaded following limits delineated in the

Graham's Town Journal 29.6.1837, 1c1.

Original: Albany Museum.

Photography: Cartographic Unit, Rhodes University.

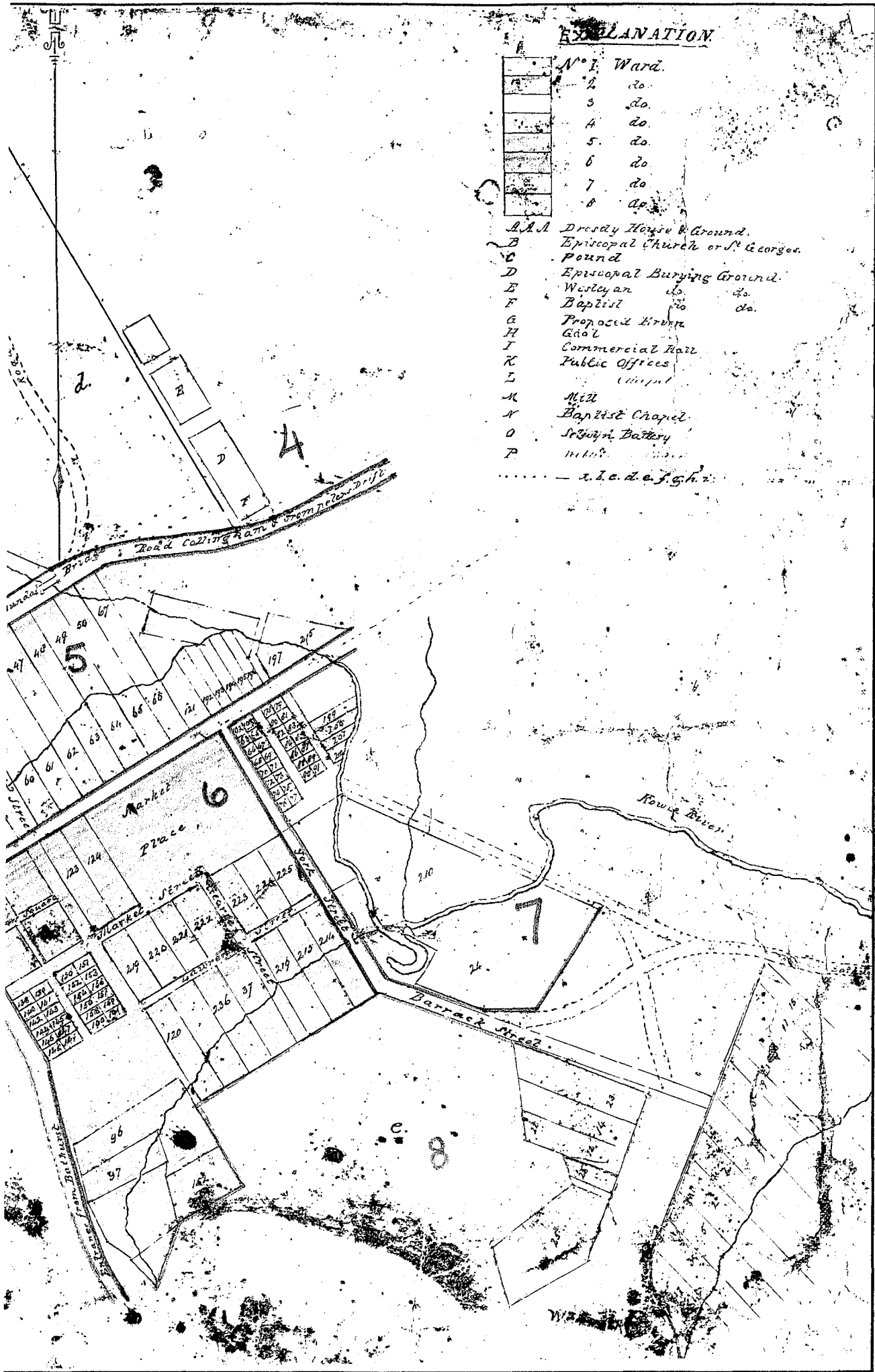
FIGURE 6



EXPLANATION

N ^o .	Ward.
1	do.
2	do.
3	do.
4	do.
5	do.
6	do.
7	do.
8	do.

AAA	Dressed Horse & Ground.
B	Episcopal Church or St. Georges.
C	Pound
D	Episcopal Burying Ground.
E	Wesleyan do.
F	Baptist do.
G	Proposed Bridge
H	Goal
I	Commercial Hall
K	Public Offices
L	Mill
M	Baptist Chapel
O	Seignior Battery
P	Mill
.....	A. L. C. & C. J. G. H. I.



and other entertainments.¹⁶ In 1843, after prolonged negotiations, the Colonial Government purchased the building from the Trustees, and it became the Court House for the Eastern Districts (Cory 1913, 2: 28-29).

Although Municipal Wards were established in 1837 (Fig. 6) and Municipal government entrusted to a Board of Municipal Commissioners, it was only after Grahamstown was incorporated as a municipality in 1862 that spatial expression was given to the central role of town government by the erection of a Town Hall on the north side of Church Square in 1870.

Domestic Dwellings

Apart from the few notable public buildings which gave a distinctive character to the townscape, the greater number of shapes on the ground which formed the urban fabric of Grahamstown were domestic dwellings, many of which were combined with workplace in a manner characteristic of pre-industrial English towns. The houses built in Grahamstown from its inception through to the 1850s may be divided into the following

¹⁶ Reference to specific cultural events which took place in the Commercial Hall prior to its becoming the Court House include: A Masonic Concert "in aid of the contemplated erection of 'An Asylum for the Aged and Decayed Freemasons'" (GTJ 15.12.1836, 1c4); An Exhibition of Natural Curiosities from India (GTJ 17.5.1838, 1c3); A Subscription Ball under the Patronage of His Excellency the Governor, and His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor (GTJ 23.8.1838, 1c3); and A Mechanical & Picturesque Theatre of Arts (GTJ 28.11.1839, 1c4). The Court House continued to be used as a cultural venue, although regular meetings, such as the monthly one of the Amateur Musical Society, had to be postponed when the Court was sitting (GTJ 5.10.1843: 1c1).

categories:¹⁷

- I The single and double storeyed settler cottages. In general these had pitched roofs and gable ends, but flat roofed cottages in the Cape Dutch tradition were also erected. Free standing, semi-detached or in continuous rows with street frontage as in English towns.
- II The simple flat or pitched roof, single or double storeyed late Georgian or Cape Regency town house with classical façade and corniced parapet. Free standing or semi-detached.
- III The simple flat roofed double storeyed late Georgian or Cape Regency dwelling house and workplace with a classical façade and corniced parapet. Free standing or semi-detached.
- IV The substantial late Georgian town house with a classical , pitched roof, wide eaves and 'break-through' chimneys. Free standing.
- V The villa , designed in a variety of styles. Free standing. (Plates 19-23)

Contrary to what might be expected,¹⁸ during the early Victorian period at the Cape domestic dwellings were Georgian with clear, simple façades and sash windows, a geometrically curved and semi-circular fanlight above the doorway often providing the only curved line in the entire façade (Lewcock

¹⁷ The main published sources consulted have been Lewcock (1963), Reynolds (1974), van der Riet (1974), Urban Heritage (1975), Picton-Seymour (1977), together with Radford's unpublished dissertation (1979). Paintings and photographs have also provided a rich, indispensable source.

¹⁸ Theron (1984?), in his simplified guide to architectural styles in Port Elizabeth and vicinity during the nineteenth century, classifies as early Victorian (1840+), an asymmetrical single storey semi-detached dwelling (his Fig. 13) with corrugated iron roof on house and verandah and decorated barge-board with finial climax at its projecting gable end. The asymmetrical plan is dated in his Fig. 17 as 1870. If Theron's plan dating is accurate, 1860 or 1870 rather than 1840+ would seem a much more likely date for his Fig. 13. In the light of architectural developments elsewhere in the Cape referred to by Picton-Seymour and Radford, and confirmed by research for this study, asymmetrical houses were a mid- to late Victorian design.

PLATE 19

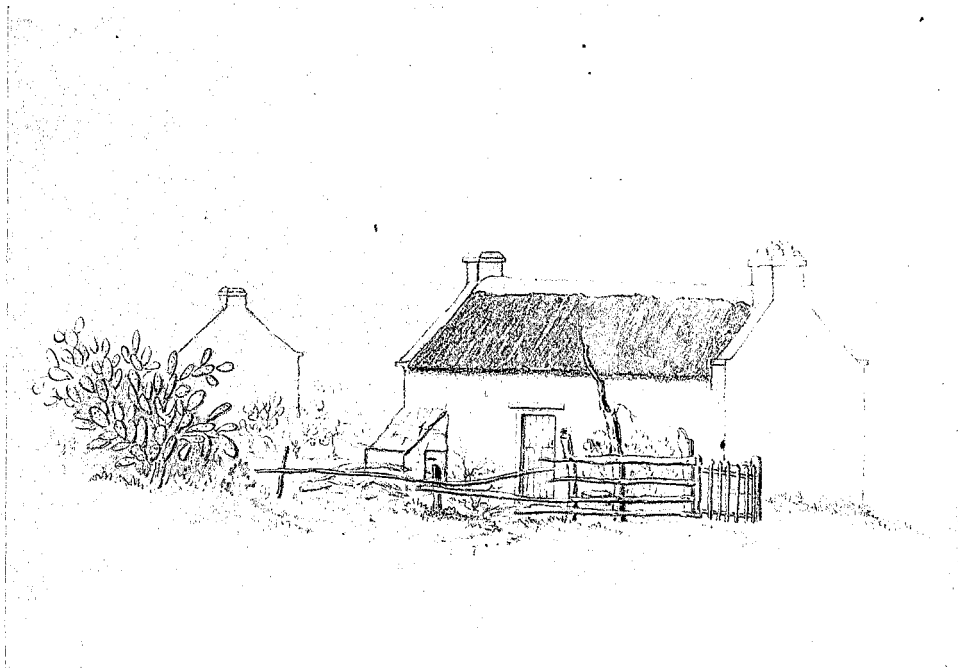
Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages

- a) Two roomed cottage occupied by Grahamstown artist Frederick Timpson I'Ons (1802-87). Beaufort Street, 1834.

Africana Museum, Johannesburg



- i) Front view, facing north onto Beaufort Street



- ii) Back view facing south up Settlers' Hill



b) No. 4 Cross Street, Artificers' Square, 1981



c) Row cottages, upper Cross Street (north side)
Artificers' Square, Settlers' Hill, 1981

PLATE 19 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages



d) Row Cottages, lower Cross Street (north side), 1981.

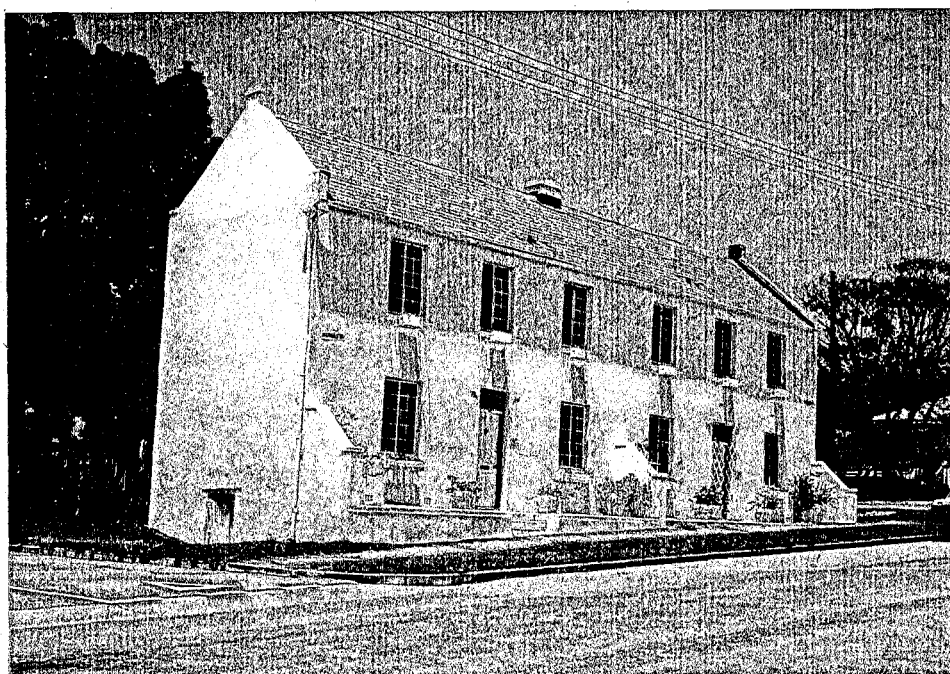


e) No. 9 Cross Street, 1986.
In 1848 the house was occupied by labourer Joseph Trimble.
The deceased estate inventory in which the contents of the
house are listed is reproduced in Appendix C4.6.

PLATE 19 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages



f) Double storeyed settler cottage on the north-east side of Artificers' Square, 1986.



g) Nos 32 and 34 Market Street, 1986. Double storeyed, semi-detached settler cottages.

PLATE 19 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages

- h) Nos 6 and 8 Lawrence Street, 1986. George Anderson, 1820
Settler carpenter and upholsterer, advertised his trade on
the stone lintels of his workshop, 6 Lawrence Street.

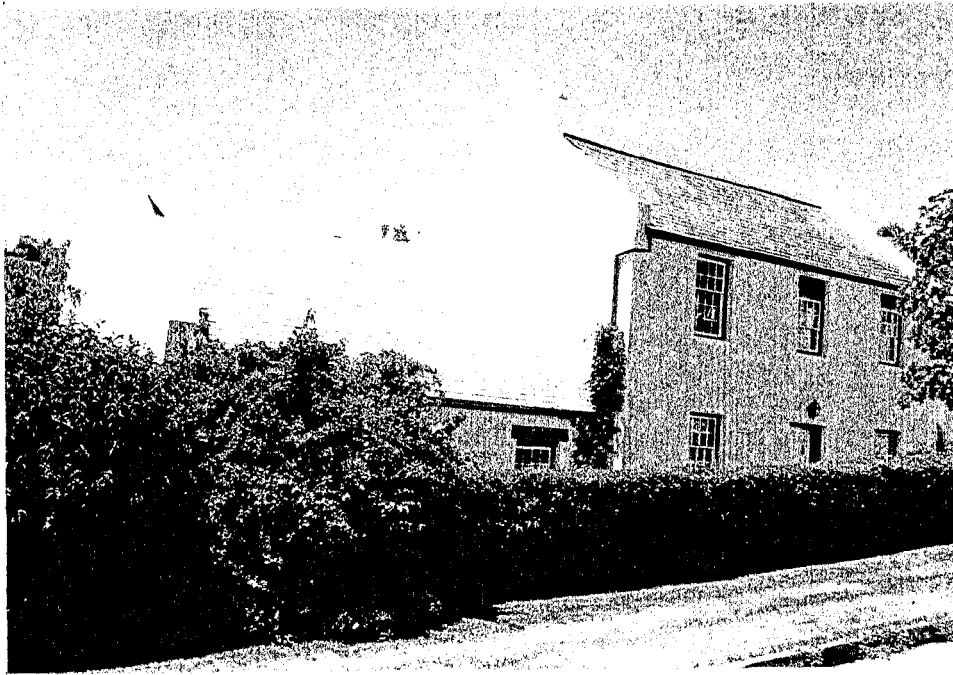


PLATE 19 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages

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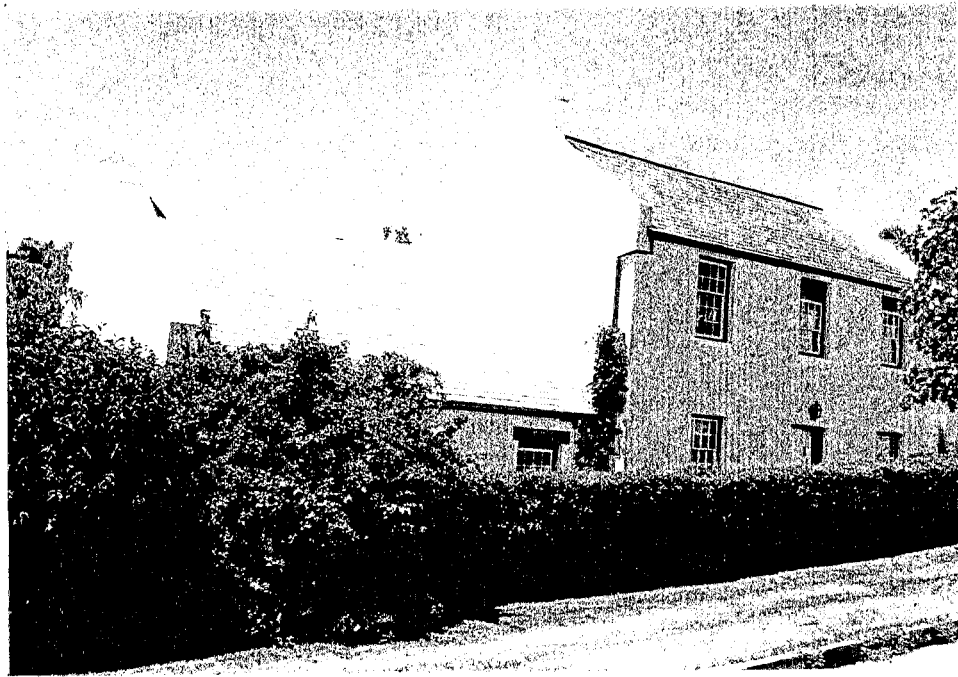
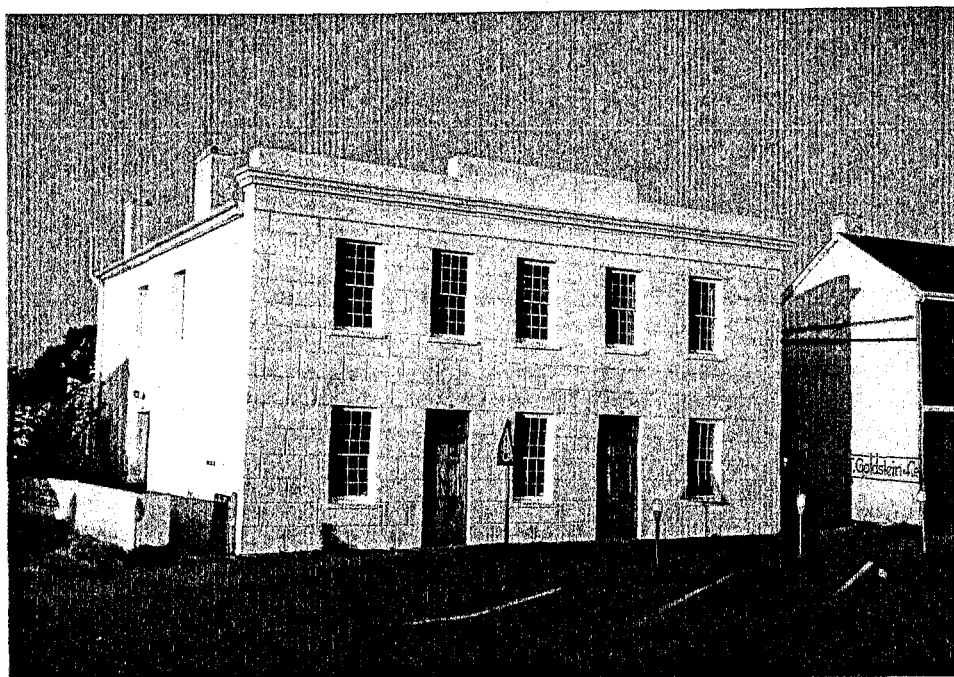


PLATE 20 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type II

Late Georgian/Cape Regency Town Houses (1820-37), Flat Roofed



a) Late Georgian town house, 48 and 50 Bathurst Street, 1982.
Declared a National Monument 1986.



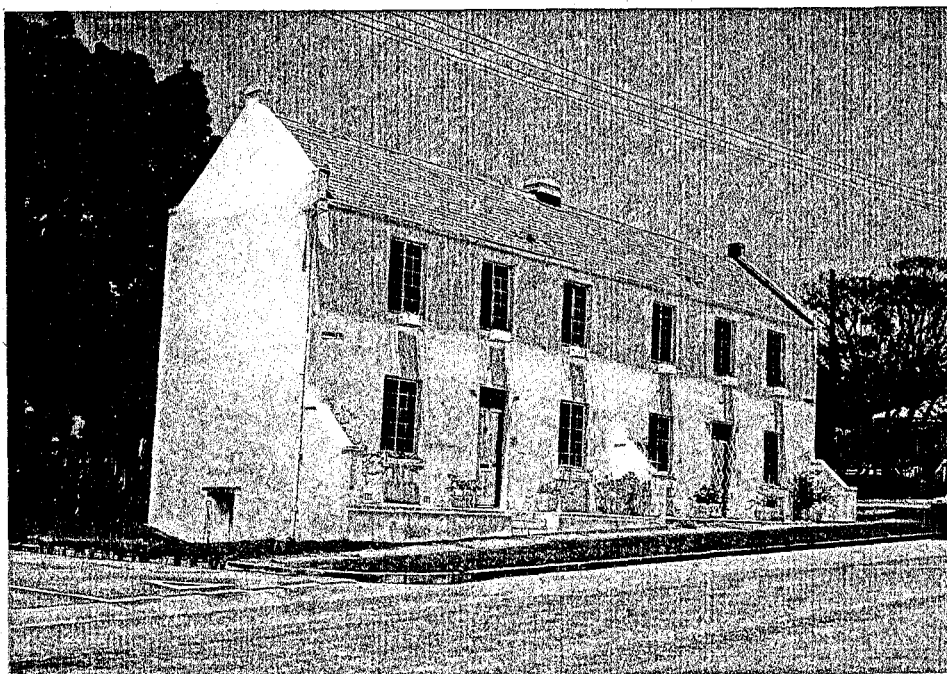
b) Georgian style town house, 55 Hill Street, 1982.
Probably built by painter and glazier William Stent ca.
1842. Appears in Thomas Baines' 1848 Hill Street
painting (Plate 15b) adjacent to the Independent Chapel.
Pitched roof a later addition.

Declared a National Monument 1985.

PLATE 19 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages



f) Double storeyed settler cottage on the north-east side of Artificers' Square, 1986.



g) Nos 32 and 34 Market Street, 1986. Double storeyed, semi-detached settler cottages.

PLATE 19 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages

- h) Nos 6 and 8 Lawrence Street, 1986. George Anderson, 1820
Settler carpenter and upholsterer, advertised his trade on
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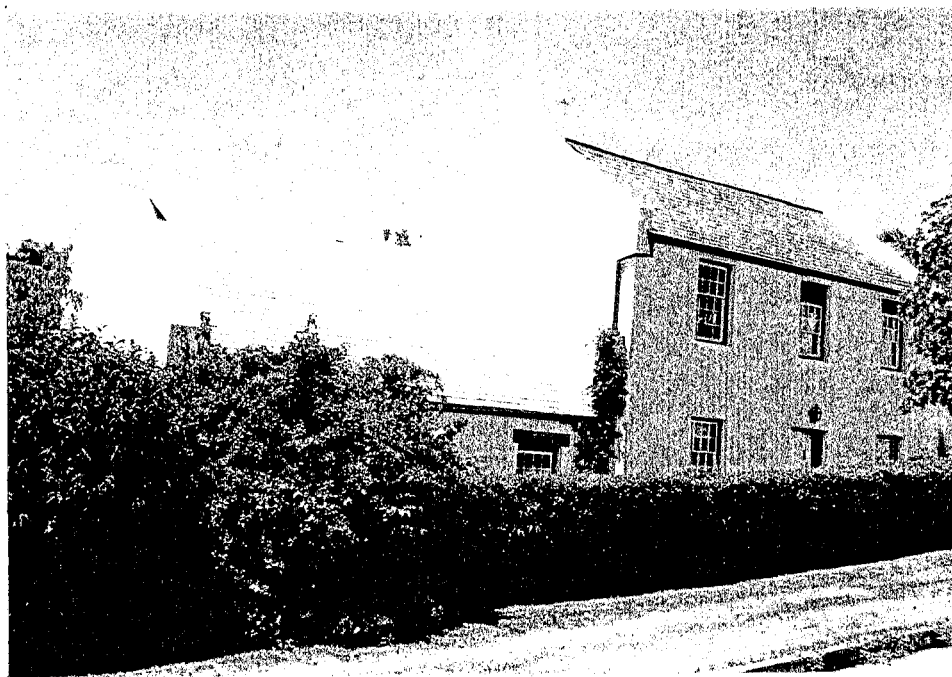
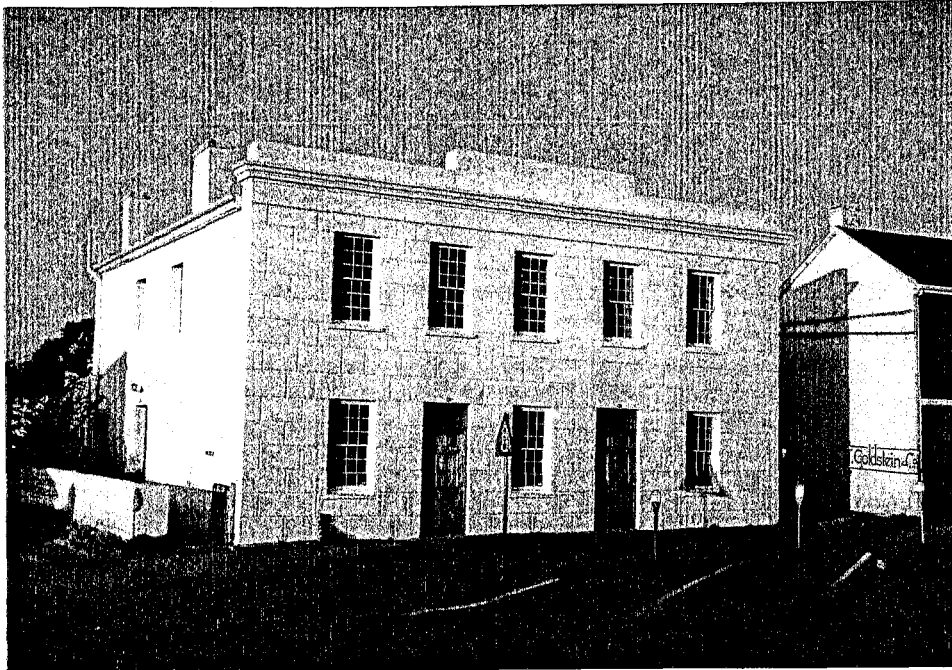
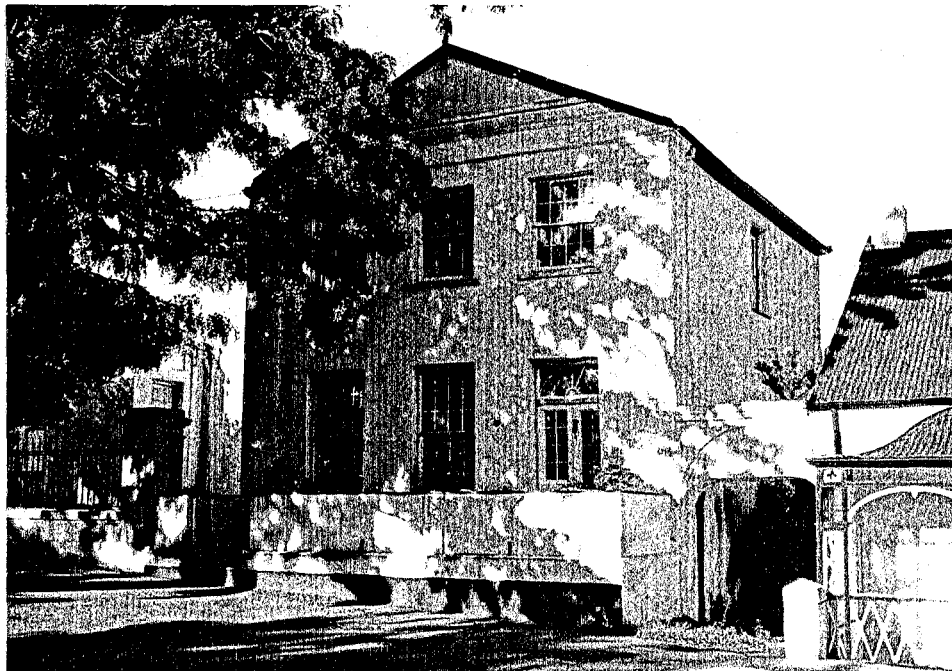


PLATE 20 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type II

Late Georgian/Cape Regency Town Houses (1820-37), Flat Roofed



a) Late Georgian town house, 48 and 50 Bathurst Street, 1982.
Declared a National Monument 1986.

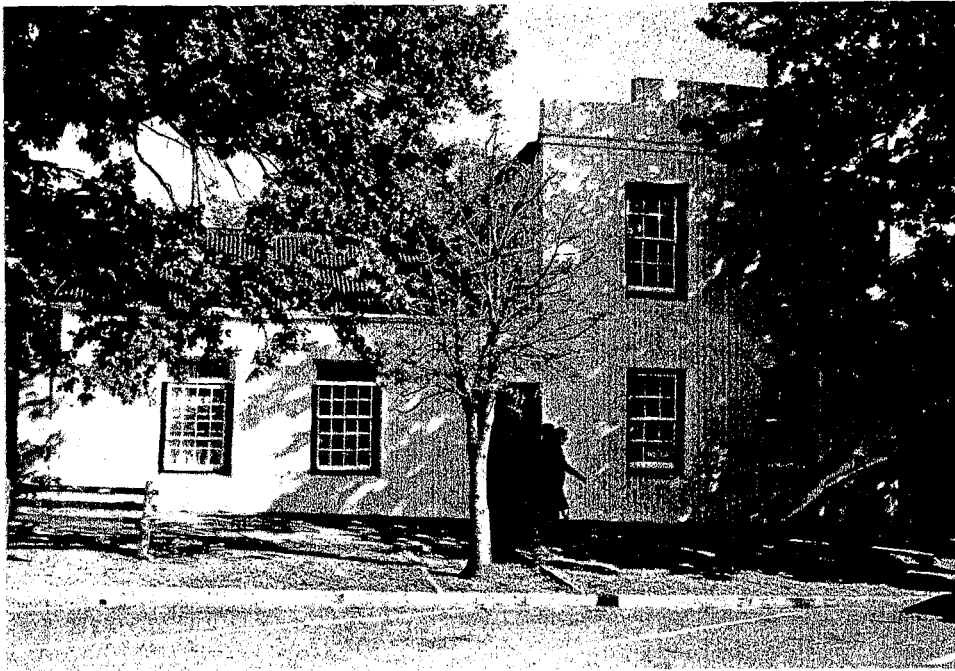


b) Georgian style town house, 55 Hill Street, 1982.
Probably built by painter and glazier William Stent ca.
1842. Appears in Thomas Baines' 1848 Hill Street
painting (Plate 15b) adjacent to the Independent Chapel.
Pitched roof a later addition.

Declared a National Monument 1985.

PLATE 20 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type II

Late Georgian/Cape Regency Town Houses (1820-37), Flat Roofed



- c) Late Georgian town house, upper High Street, north side, 1983. Belonged to C.H. Huntley, who in 1853 was listed in the Grahamstown directory as clerk to the Resident Magistrate, High Street.

PLATE 21 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type III

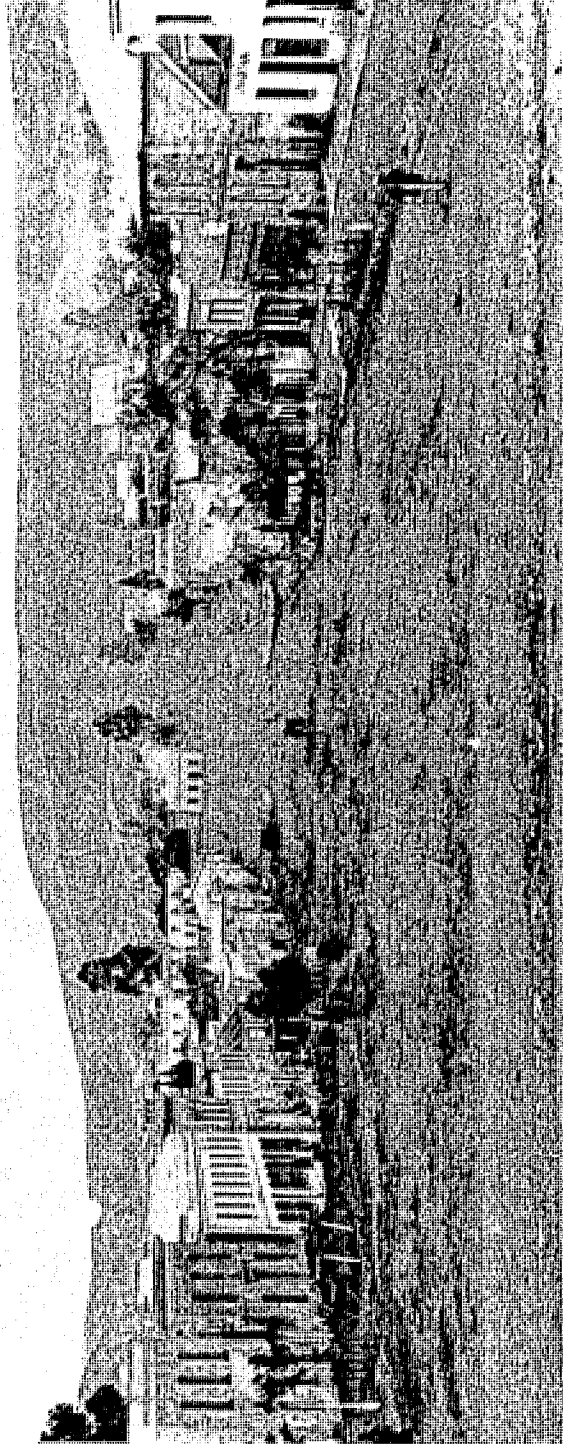
Late Georgian/Cape Regency Dwelling/Workplace



- a) No. 67 Bathurst Street ca. 1867. Probably built before 1834, since when watchmaker Thomas Marsh purchased the property in that year, a building already existed on the site (Scott 1985, 31). When H.C. Galpin purchased the property in 1859, he and his family occupied the top floor as a dwelling house, using the ground floor as shop premises, a common pattern from the earliest days of the settlement.

PLATE 21 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type III

Late Georgian/Cape Regency Dwellings/Workplaces

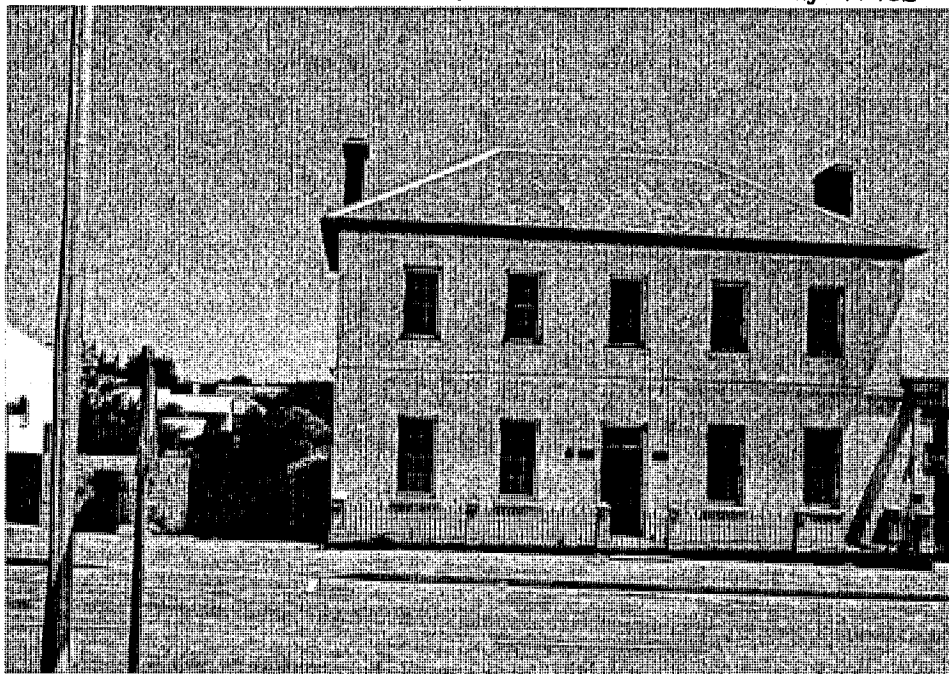


b) Streetscape. Bathurst Street, mid-1860s. Numerous dwelling house/workplace combinations in single line formation which was a feature of the central commercial and residential areas. Galpin's building is third on the left.

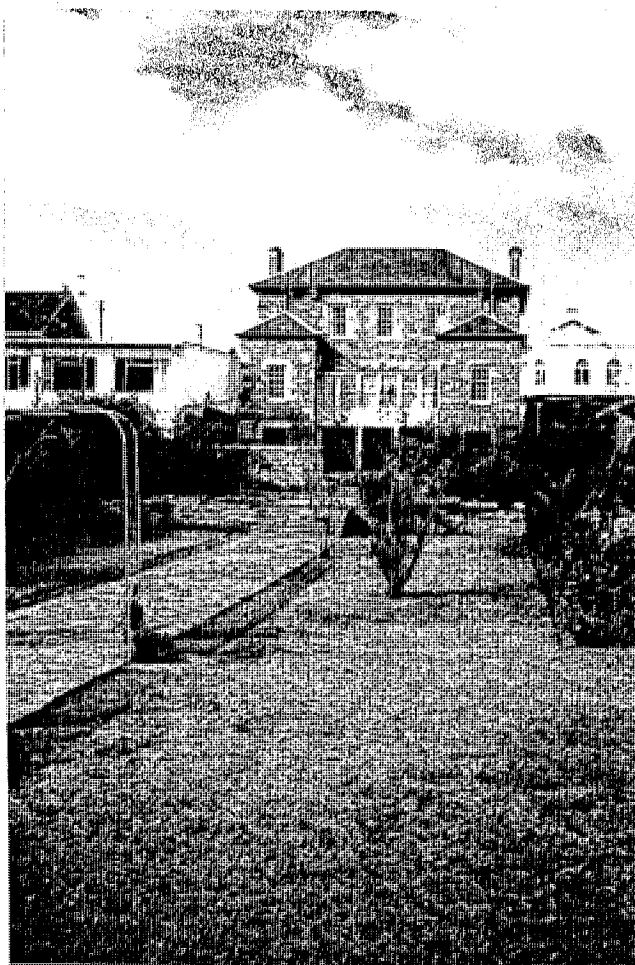
PLATE 22 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type IV

Late Georgian Town Houses
Pitched Roof, Break-Through Chimneys

a) Temlett House, Market Square
Probably built by storekeeper James Temlett early 1840s



i) Front view 1986



ii) Back view 1981

Late Georgian Town Houses
Pitched Roof, Break-Through Chimneys

"THE RETREAT"

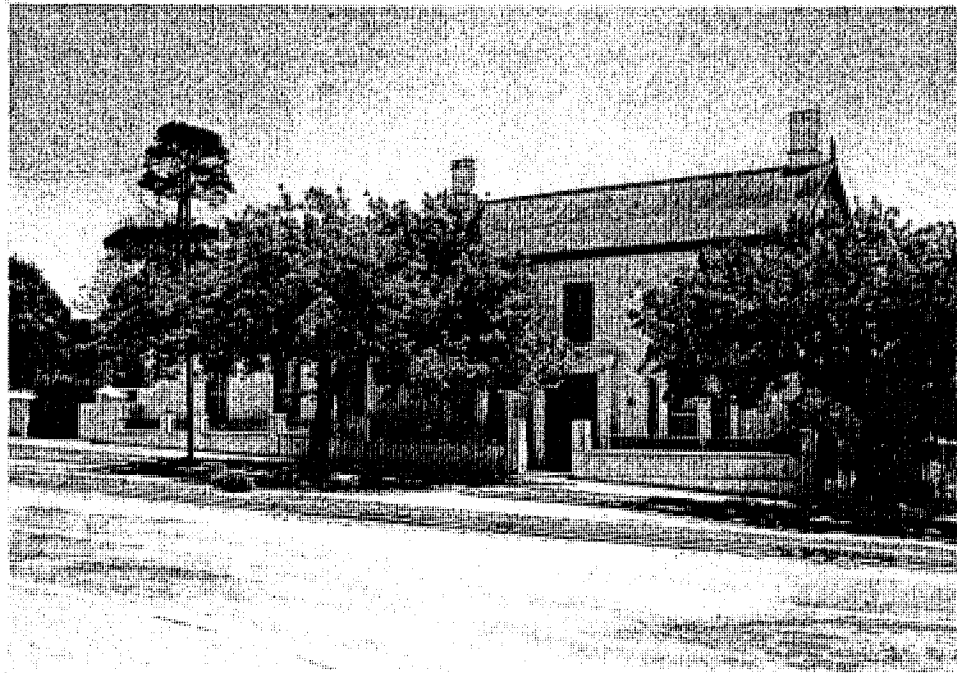
BOARDING SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES,



GRAHAM'S TOWN.

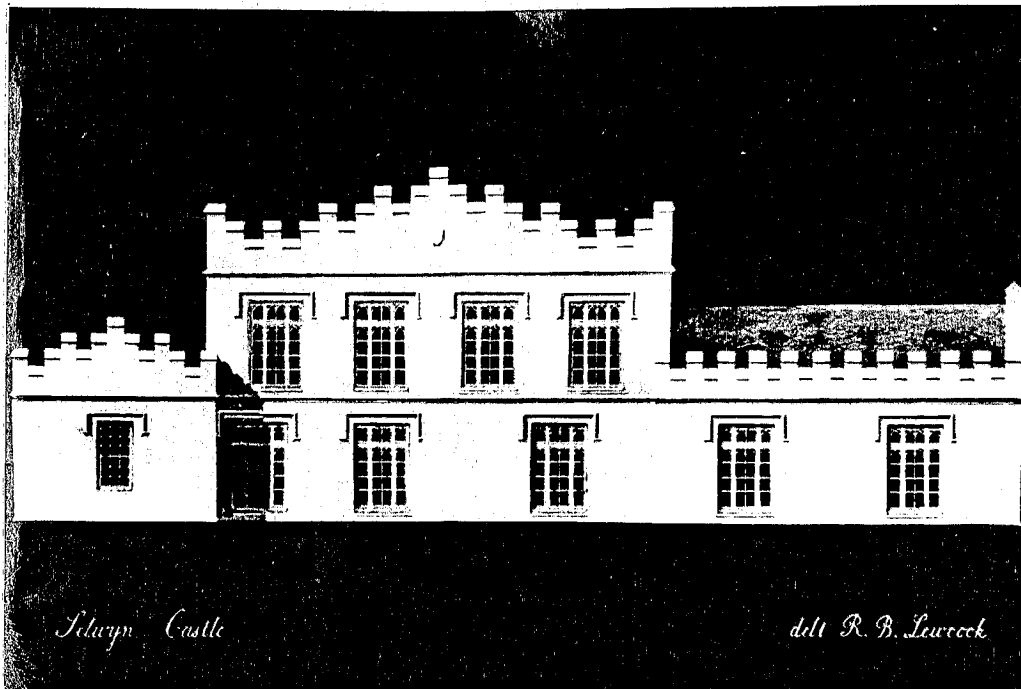
CONDUCTED BY MRS. EDES.

- b) The Retreat, corner of Somerset and New Streets, ca. 1845.
Probably built by Pieter Retief prior to 1831 (Randell 1977, 11).



The Retreat 1986
Corner of Somerset and Prince Alfred Street (formerly New Street).

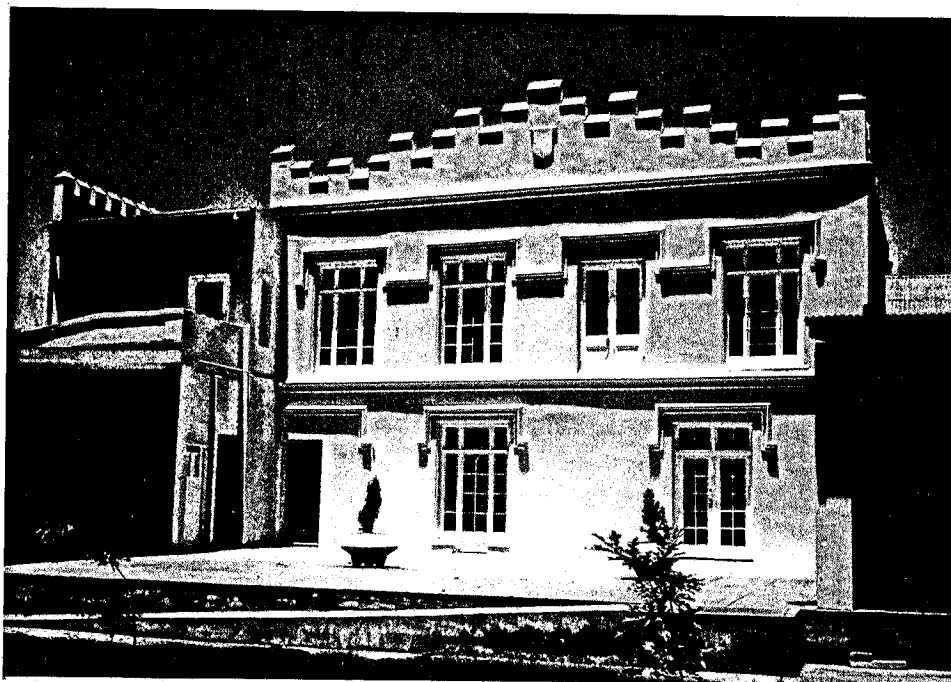
PLATE 23 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type V
Villas



(i)

- a) Selwyn Castle, New Street (now Prince Alfred Street). Built by Major C.J. Selwyn, officer in charge, Royal Engineers in 1835 to house his family. Used as Government House ca. 1838 to 1848. In use as the residence of merchant James Black prior to 1853 when the Blacks returned to England. The contents of the house in 1853 are detailed in the sale notice in the *Graham's Town Journal* (Fig. 10).

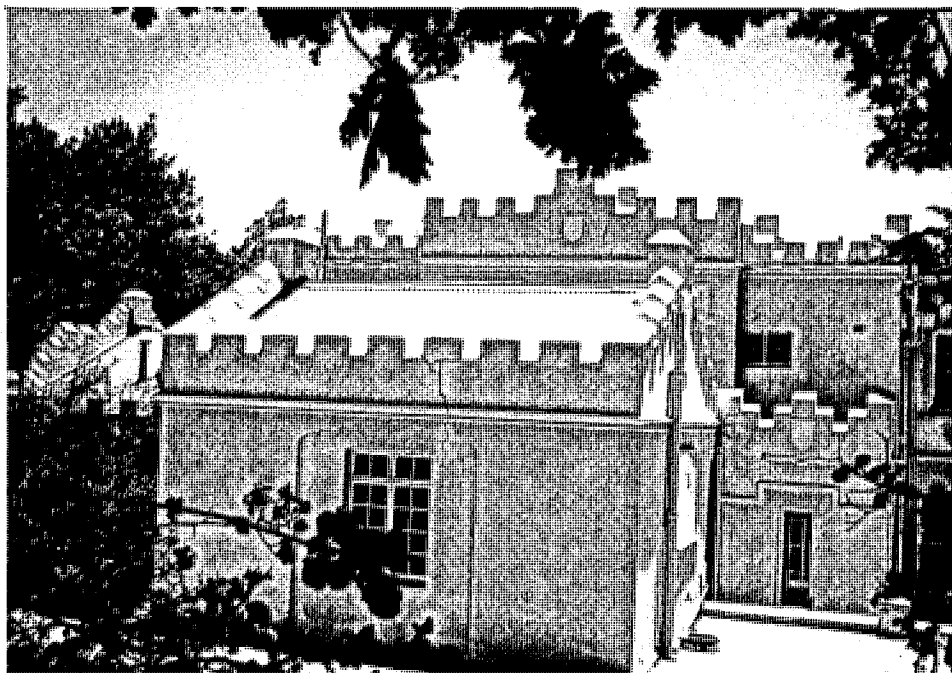
The photograph shows a reconstruction of Selwyn Castle as it appeared after the additions of 1836, but prior to the erection of the verandah. Viewed from the north. Selwyn Castle was built in Gothic Revival style, and was "The first house of its type at the Cape, and certainly in its day the most splendid. It contains evidence of far greater taste and discernment on the part of its designer (in spite of a certain bizarre quality) than any of its successors can show" (Lewcock 1956, 5).



(ii)

Selwyn Castle 1986, North Façade

Villas



(iii)

Selwyn Castle 1986, South Façade.

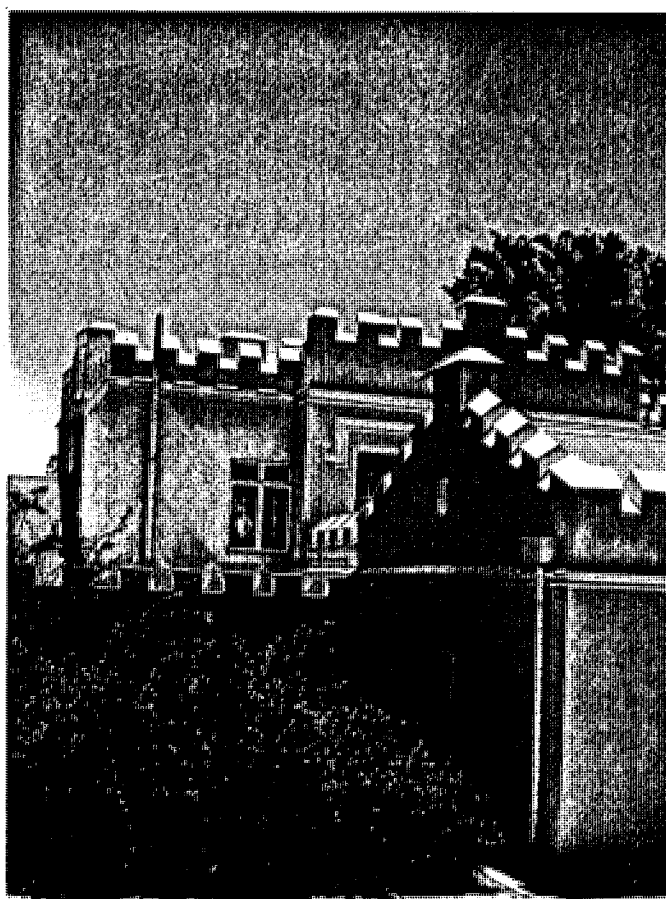


PLATE 23 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type V
Villas

- b) Cottage ornée, early 1830s. Botanical Gardens, 1982.
Features: Peaked Gothic style windows, octogonal Georgian
chimney and Regency fireplace.
Declared a National Monument 1984.



PLATE 23 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type V

Villas



- c) The Pavilion House, 56 Beaufort Street, ca. 1865.
Built ca. 1835-40 (Lewcock 1963, 316), only the right
bow-front retains its original curved pagoda roof in 1986.
Declared a National Monument 1971.



The Pavilion House 1986

1963, 89). In her definitive work on Victorian Buildings in South Africa (1977), Désirée Picton-Seymour sees 1853, the year which saw the defeat of Sandili, Chief of the amaRharhabe, as the beginning of an era free from the fear of attack when Grahamstown citizens could turn their attention to the adornment of their homes. "The Victorian idiom", she continues, was grafted quite naturally upon the Settler versions of Georgian and Regency, resulting in the flat-fronted town houses of Grahamstown, richly adorned with wooden verandahs, also with the elegant cast-iron of Woodville (1861), and the extravaganzas of the Tower House (1882)" (201).

Wooden verandahs were in fact being made in Grahamstown in 1849. Carpenter and Joiner John Yates was undertaking "Building in all its Branches", including "Verandahs built in the finest styles" from plans and designs which he would supply (GTJ 4.8.1849, 1c4). The first advertisement for imported cast-iron pillars traced in the Graham's Town Journal was inserted by merchants C. & H. Maynard in October 1850 (26.10, 1c3). The pillars were "12 feet long and 5 inches in diameter, with Bases and Caps complete". This confirms Picton-Seymour's mid-century dating of imports of British mass produced cast-iron, which included verandahs and railings (13). Corrugated iron was exported to the Cape from about 1850, but it was only in the 1860s that it began to be used on a wide scale, together with imported-iron verandahs (Picton-Seymour 31). No mention of corrugated-iron was traced in the Journal advertisements through to 1853. Corrugated-iron has become almost inseparable from

Victorian verandahs and pitched roofs in South African buildings, many earlier roofs being replaced by the lighter, more versatile metal.

In terms of the spatial organisation of early Victorian Grahamstown, contemporary paintings, newspaper records and comparisons with trends in the Western Cape (Lewcock 1963, Picton Seymour 1977, Radford 1979) combine to show that domestic dwellings with late Georgian and Regency characteristics persisted well in to the 1850s. In fact, the rare lithograph of Grahamstown in 1862 drawn by Frederick Schiffman (Gordon-Brown 1975, 216; reproduced in Reynolds 1974, 110-11) reflects the central townscape as still predominantly late Georgian, very few of the houses having acquired Victorian verandahs, the Albany General Hospital (1858) and Woodville (1861) being notable exceptions. A number of houses not visible in this view from Oatlands may well have had Victorian wooden verandahs and decorative barge boards added to the projecting rafters of gable ended roofs, but in the absence of documented histories of individual buildings, the townscape of early Victorian Grahamstown was the simple, classical one of the Georgian and Regency legacy. Adapted to a colonial 'rural vernacular', more often than not lacking the geometric proportions of the true prototype, the structural form of domestic dwellings nevertheless contributed significantly to individual streetscapes as well as the overall townscape.

Residential Differentiation

To what extent spatially did the townscape represent Grahamstown

society? It is contended by Pooley et. al. (see above 135ff.) that by the mid-nineteenth century social stratification in Victorian cities spatially became residential differentiation. A particularly clear manifestation of this was the middle class move to suburbs, designed for appeal and status, from the 1820s (F.M.L. Thompson, 1982, 7). The separation of workplace from domestic life as one of the hall marks of respectability and status was an increasingly important middle class move, as recent studies of Edgbaston, the élite middle class Birmingham suburb, show (Cannadine 1980, Davidoff & Hall, 1983).

The creation of a specifically artisan quarter in Grahamstown, Artificers' Square, might well, in terms of early nineteenth century class concepts, be seen not only as the meeting of an economic need, but also as the spatial expression of upper and middle class exclusive values. As the responsibility for town planning was at government level, and in Grahamstown the drawing up of Town Regulations in 1820 was undertaken by Capt. Henry Somerset in consultation with 16 other property owners (Urban Heritage 1975, 15), the probability that residential differentiation on class grounds received a heavy weighting is high.

Some sort of empirical testing of such an hypothesis is necessary. The presence of an artisans' quarter on a grid plan of Grahamstown is not necessarily conclusive evidence of class segregation in the town. Architecturally, there was a clear distinction between the substantial double-storeyed town houses of Market Square (Type IV) and the single storeyed row of settler

cottages in adjacent MacDonald Street or those in Artificers' Square (Type I). Yet Artificers' Square did not solely comprise settler cottages. Flat roofed town houses (Type II) rubbed shoulders with single and double storeyed houses of the early settler type.

The links between shapes on the ground and shapes in society are not easy to measure, as discussed above (134-39). The association of types of domestic dwelling with their occupants is perhaps the ultimate test of residential differentiation. The evidence for this association is, however, rarely retrievable in sufficient quantity to yield significant results. Over the passage of time, in the wake of onward 'progress', many of the largest domestic material artefacts, houses themselves, are flattened. Only partial pictorial records are left to link the house to the occupants listed in census returns or directories. Or no such pictorial record may exist at all. Type and size of dwelling without reference to their occupants, especially in a socially mobile population, is not necessarily an index to patterns of social segregation or otherwise.

Recognizing the difficulties of interpretation and the partial nature of the data, the 1842 and 1853 directories of Grahamstown householders were nevertheless tabulated to give some indication of residential distribution in the town (Tables 8 to 11, after page 162). To facilitate a spatial analysis the order of streets tabulated reflects the town grid from north to south and east to west. The distinctive Market Square area, Artificers' Square, Settlers' Hill and Suburbs, together with unlocated

FIGURE 7

Plan of the City of Grahamstown 1924

Annotated and coloured to reflect streets listed in the 1842 and 1853
directories of Grahamstown householders.

N ITY OF STOWN

VEYOR-GENERAL, CAPE TOWN.

EXPLANATORY

This plan is compiled from diagrams and plans filed in the Office of the Registrar of Deeds and Surveyor-General, Cape Town. Boundaries of original grants indicated thus: ———— Boundaries of subdivisions indicated thus: - - - - - Reference to original title deeds filed in Deeds Registry are indicated thus: Alb. F. 258 of Alb. Q. 18. Reference to minute diagrams filed in the Surveyor-General's Office showing subdivisions of original grant indicated thus: Alb. S. IV. 354.

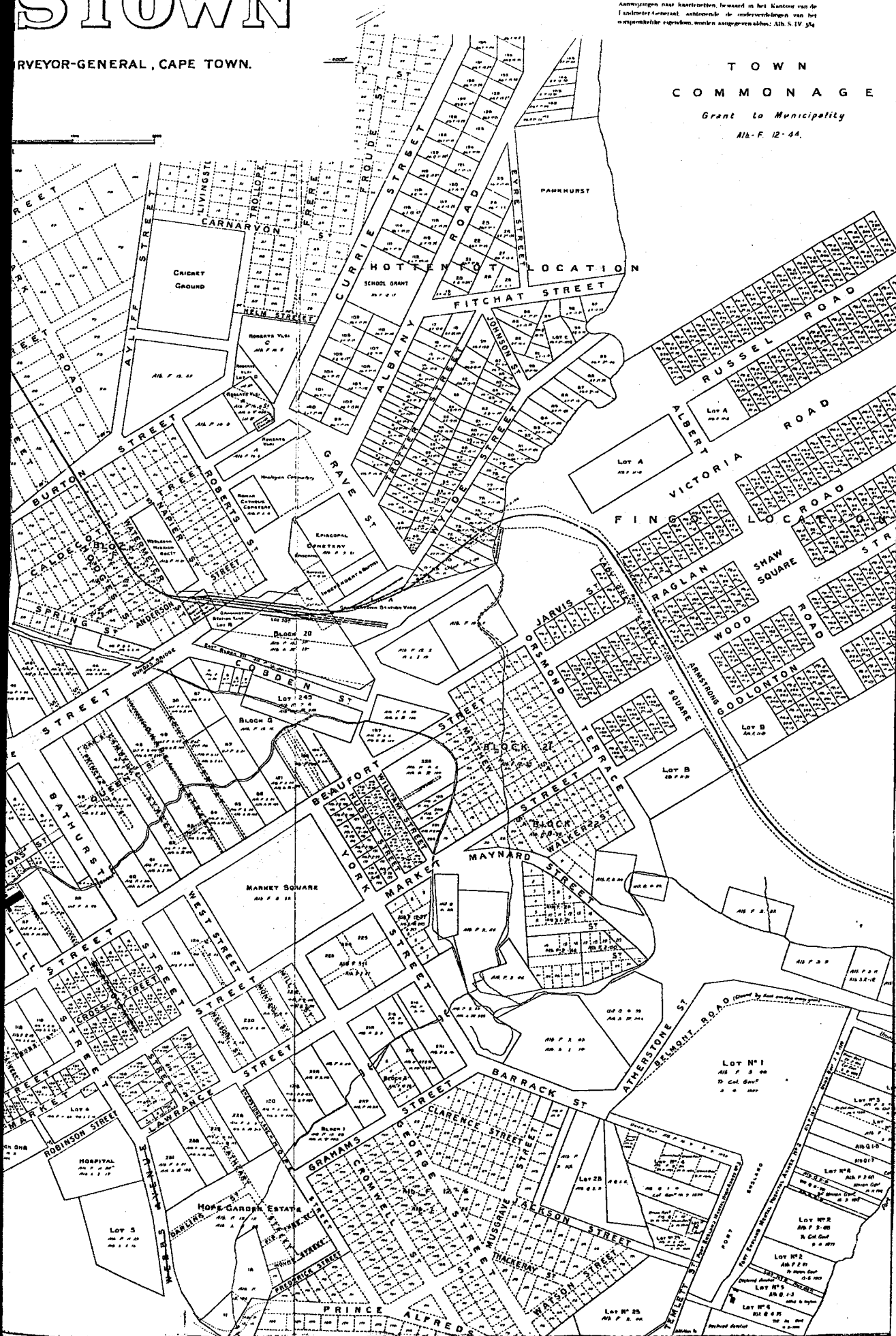
VERKLAARING



Dit plan is samengesteld uit kaarten en plannen welke bewaard zijn in de Kantoren van de Registrateur van Akten en Landmeter-Generaal, Kaapstad. Grenzen van oorspronkelijke erfenissen worden aangegeven aldus: ———— Grenzen van de onderverdelingen worden aangegeven aldus: - - - - - Aanwijzingen naar oorspronkelijke granteeksten, bewaard in het Kantoor van de Registrateur van Akten, worden aangegeven aldus: Alb. F. 258 of Alb. Q. 18. Aanwijzingen naar kaarteeksten, bewaard in het Kantoor van de Landmeter-Generaal, aanteekende de onderverdelingen van het oorspronkelijke erfdom, worden aangegeven aldus: Alb. S. IV. 354.

TOWN COMMONAGE

Grant to Municipality

Alb. F. 12-44.



KEY  1842
 1853

PLAY
OF THE C
GRAHAM

COMPILED IN THE OFFICE OF THE S

1924



streets, form a third section. The data on which the tables are based are to be found in Appendices A12 to A15. The 1924 Plan of the City of Grahamstown has been annotated and coloured to reflect the streets listed in the 1842 and 1853 directories (Fig. 7). It was not possible to map the research results on a plan of Grahamstown as there is no easy method of establishing on which side of the street householders lived, their erf or street number. The directories list only street and occupation.

Early Victorian Grahamstown, less than two miles in radius, was (and remains) a 'walking town' (Cannadine 1977, 458), with residence and workplace frequently spatially linked in one building. The pattern of residential differentiation observed in Tables 8 to 11 indicates that the town was in a 'transitional' or 'emergent' phase (Ward 1975, 139, 151). In 1842 the highest concentration of Social Class I (almost exclusively army officers) was in upper New Street, Beaufort and Bell Streets. Bell Street (later Worcester) on the west side of the town was the origin of what is still the modern élite 'West Hill' suburb.¹⁹ By 1853 there was no clear social differentiation between the west and south as there is in the modern city. In fact, more than half of the upper class were living on the south side in Beaufort Street, Hope Garden and the military establishment at Fort England. Ten years later, Hoggar's 1863 Plan of Grahamstown shows the nucleus of the prestigious West Hill establishment, occupied by the handsome residences set

¹⁹ 'West Hill' is mentioned in the directory of Grahamstown householders for the first time in the 1850 Cape Almanac as the address of the Hon. William Cock (merchant elite).

within landscaped grounds which belonged to members of the merchant élite.

The highest concentration of merchant élite and professionals of Social Class II was, as expected, in High Street both in 1842 and 1853, and in almost equal proportions. By 1853 the emphasis had shifted from Beaufort Street (1842) to Bathurst Street as the area with the second highest grouping of Social Class II.

The growing importance of Bathurst Street is confirmed by the residential distribution of the middling group, Social Class III. As in the merchant élite and professional class, their highest concentration in both survey years was in High Street, and shows the same almost exact proportioning. While Hill Street ranked second to High in 1842, by 1853 Bathurst Street was next in line, reflecting the growing commercial significance of this area of the town centre, while Hill Street appeared to be declining in economic importance.

The artisan quarters of Grahamstown were established in the 1820s in New Street and Artificers' Square on Settlers' Hill. Residential patterns of Social Class IV (skilled artisans) in 1842 and 1853 show that while New Street, as the most important artisan quarter was still a feature of the town's social geography, Artificers' Square was surprisingly peripheral in the artisan residential pattern, both in 1842 and 1853, although retaining its dominant artisan character.

In 1842 the greatest concentration of unskilled workers, Social Class V, was in African Street on the northern periphery

of the town, then Beaufort, York, Somerset and New Streets. The emphasis had shifted to Beaufort Street by 1853, followed by African, Chapel, New, Somerset and High Streets as well as the vicinity of Market Square. Both sets of data trail off into a scatter of labourers, carriers and other unskilled workers throughout the town.

There is, in fact, for all social classes, a clear pattern of social mixing (even Social Class I had its representatives in Somerset, Hill and Chapel Streets) throughout the town. Due to the limitations of the data this weak level of residential differentiation is offered as only a preliminary indication of the social geography of Grahamstown. Nevertheless, the material evidence of shapes on the ground, reflected in the spatial configuration of the townscape, is a confirmation of the transitional nature of Grahamstown during the years between settlement and the relative peace which was to come with the cessation of the 8th Frontier War in 1853. Patterns of residential segregation in the decade following 1853 should reflect a higher level of residential differentiation.

Cultural Palimpsest

The townscape of villages and towns, and the central townscapes of cities are, Haswell (1979, 694) suggests, 'cultural landscapes'. Beneath the characters which delineate the cultural landscape of a town, "there are other words and phrases to be read: the town is a palimpsest" (Martin 1966, 155).

While culturally many towns in South Africa reflect from

their inception a 'composite' culture, both Dutch/Afrikaner and English, Haswell regards Cape Town and Pietermaritzburg as cultural palimpsests (694). Grahamstown too, it is suggested, is a cultural palimpsest, its English character being superimposed on its Dutch origins from the 1820s, shaping its society, its buildings, and, as follows naturally, its material culture.

TABLE 8.1

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 : NORTH-SOUTH												
SOCIAL CLASS:	I		II		III		IV		V		Unspec.	
STREET	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Smith	-	-	-	-	1	.6	1	.4	-	-	-	-
D'Urban	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.7	-	-
Bell	3	18.8	1	2.4	-	-	2	.9	1	1.7	-	-
Toll Bar	-	-	-	-	1	.6	1	.4	-	-	-	-
Fair Lawn	-	-	-	-	1	.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oatlands	1	6.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Govt Mill	-	-	-	-	2	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
African	-	-	-	-	4	2.4	12	5.4	12	20.3	1	3.7
New	5	31.4	3	7.3	13	7.9	30	13.5	5	8.5	4	14.8
High	-	-	18	43.9	32	19.6	21	9.4	-	-	4	14.8
Dundas Bridge	-	-	-	-	2	1.2	2	.9	-	-	-	-
& Pound	-	-	-	-	19	11.6	26	11.7	8	13.5	5	18.5
Beaufort	4	25.0	6	14.7	1	.6	10	4.5	2	3.4	-	-
Lawrence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS*	13/16	81.4	28/41	68.3	76/164	46.3	105/223	47.1	29/59	49.1	14/27	51.8

* Totals represent number and percentage of householders in the residential area covered in Tables 8.1-3 and 9.1-3
e.g. The majority of Social Class I (81.4%, 13/16) were resident in the streets running north-south in Grahamstown in 1842.

TABLE 8.3

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 : AREAS & UNLOCATED												
SOCIAL CLASS:	I		II		III		IV		V		Unspec.	
STREET	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
MarketSquare/ Street/Place	-	-	1	2.4	7	4.3	12	5.4	-	-	1	3.7
Artificers'												
Square &												
Cross Street	-	-	2	4.9	6	3.7	8	3.6	2	3.4	3	11.2
Settlers' Hill	-	-	-	-	1	.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Suburbs	-	-	-	-	2	1.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unlocated areas/streets												
Smith's Ave	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	.9	-	-	-	-
Futter's Row	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5.1	-	-
King Street	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.3	1	1.7	-	-
TOTALS	0/16	-	3/41	7.3	16/164	9.8	25/223	11.2	6/59	10.2	4/27	14.9

TABLE 9.1

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES, GRAHAMSTOWN 1853 : NORTH-SOUTH

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES, GRAHAMSTOWN 1853 : NORTH-SOUTH												
SOCIAL CLASS:	I		II		III		IV		V		Unspec.	
STREET	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.4	-	-	-	-
Worcester	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	.7	-	-	-	-
Toll Bar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.9	-	-
West Hill	-	-	2	3.8	-	-	-	-	1	.9	-	-
Near Oatlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	.7	-	-	-	-
Govt Mill	-	-	-	-	1	.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
African	-	-	2	3.8	2	.7	4	-	-	-	-	-
New	-	-	3	5.7	24	8.9	41	15.3	11	10.0	1	2.7
High	1	11.1	23	43.5	52	19.3	30	11.2	10	9.1	4	10.8
Dundas Bridge & Pound	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	8.2	1	2.7
Dundas	-	-	-	-	4	1.5	5	1.9	3	2.7	-	-
Queen	-	-	-	-	1	.4	-	-	3	2.7	-	-
Beaufort	3	33.4	4	7.5	4	1.5	3	1.1	1	.9	-	-
Lawrence	-	-	2	3.8	25	9.3	13	4.9	14	12.8	8	21.6
Hope	-	-	-	-	6	2.2	4	1.5	1	.9	1	2.7
Garden	1	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	5/9	55.6	36/53	68.1	119/269	44.2	105/268	39.2	54/110	49.1	15/37	40.5
Total number of Householders 746												

TABLE 9.2

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES, GRAHAMSTOWN 1853 : EAST-WEST

SOCIAL CLASS:	I	II	III	IV	V	Unspec.
STREET	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cape Corps	1	11.1	-	-	2	.9
Barracks	2	22.2	-	-	8	3.0
Somerset	-	-	-	-	1	.4
Allen's Row	-	-	-	-	1	.4
Scott	-	-	-	-	1	.9
Bertram	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hill	-	-	4	7.5	22	8.2
Bathurst	-	-	5	9.3	35	13.1
Campbell	-	-	-	-	2	.7
Chapel	-	-	1	1.9	16	6.0
George	-	-	-	.4	11	10.0
York	-	-	-	1.5	2	1.8
Fort	-	-	-	-	-	-
England	1	11.1	1	1.9	3	1.1
William	-	-	1	1.9	6	2.2
TOTALS	5/9	44.4	12/53	22.5	101/269	32.7
					103/268	36/110
						32.7
						17/37
						46.0

TABLE 9.3

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES, GRAHAMSTOWN 1853 : AREAS & UNLOCATED

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES, GRAHAMSTOWN 1853 : AREAS & UNLOCATED												
SOCIAL CLASS:	I		II		III		IV		V		Unspec.	
STREET	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Market Square/ Street/Place	-	-	4	7.5	15	5.6	17	6.3	9	8.2	2	5.4
Artificers' Square & Cross Street	-	-	-	-	13	4.8	15	5.7	3	2.7	3	8.1
Settlers' Hill	-	-	-	-	10	3.7	17	6.3	4	3.7	-	-
Suburbs	-	-	1	1.9	7	2.6	5	1.9	3	2.7	-	-
Unlocated areas/streets												
Adam Location	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.9	-	-
Govt School rear	-	-	-	-	1	.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Albert Street	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.4	-	-	-	-
Britain	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	.7	-	-	-	-
King	-	-	-	-	2	.7	3	1.1	-	-	-	-
Bowker	-	-	-	-	1	.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	0	0/9	5/53	9.4	49/269	18.2	60/268	22.4	20/110	18.2	5/37	13.5

TABLE 10.1

SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN STREETS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 : NORTH-SOUTH

SOCIAL CLASS:	I	II	III	IV	V	Unspec.	T
STREET	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Smith	-	-	-	50.0	1	50.0	-
D'Urban	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bell	3	42.8	1	14.3	-	100.0	-
Toll Bar	-	-	-	-	2	28.6	-
Fair-Lawn	-	-	1	50.0	1	50.0	-
Oatlands	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	-
Govt Mill	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-
African	-	-	2	100.0	-	-	-
New	-	-	4	13.8	12	41.4	1
High	5	8.3	3	21.7	30	50.0	4
Dundas Bridge	-	-	18	42.7	21	28.0	4
& Pound	-	-	-	-	2	50.0	-
Beaufort	4	5.9	6	8.8	26	38.2	5
Lawrence	-	-	-	7.7	10	76.9	-
T = Total							

Total No. of Householders: 265/530

TABLE 10.2

SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN STREETS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 : EAST-WEST

SOCIAL CLASS:	I	II	III	IV	V	Unspec.	T	
STREET	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cape Corps Barracks	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	-	1
Somerset	1	3.4	-	-	11	38.0	6	29
Allen's Row	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Hill	1	1.8	4	7.3	22	41.9	3	55
Bathurst	-	-	1	2.2	22	47.8	1	46
Campbell	-	-	-	-	6	66.7	1	9
Chapel	-	-	2	6.25	18	56.25	2	32
York	-	-	-	-	7	33.3	7	21
Barrack East	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	1	3
Barracks	1	7.1	3	21.4	4	28.6	2	14

Total No. of Householders : 211/530

TABLE 10.3

SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN STREETS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 : AREAS & UNLOCATED

[illegible]

TABLE 11.1

SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN STREETS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1853 : NORTH-SOUTH

SOCIAL CLASS:	I		II		III		IV		V		Unspec.		T
STREET	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	1
Worcester	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	66.7	1	33.3	-	-	3
West Hill	-	-	2	66.7	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	3
Near Oatlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	100.0	-	-	-	-	2
Govt Mill	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
African	-	-	2	10.0	2	10.0	4	20.0	11	55.0	1	5.0	20
New	-	-	3	3.6	24	29.3	41	50.0	10	12.2	4	4.9	82
High	1	.9	23	19.8	52	44.8	30	25.9	9	7.7	1	.9	116
Dundas Bridge	-	-	-	-	4	33.3	5	41.7	3	25.0	-	-	12
& Pound	-	-	-	-	1	25.0	-	-	3	75.0	-	-	4
Dundas Street	-	-	-	-	4	50.0	3	37.5	1	12.5	-	-	8
Queen	3	4.5	4	6.0	25	37.3	13	19.4	14	20.9	8	11.0	67
Beaufort	-	-	2	14.3	6	42.8	4	28.7	1	7.1	1	7.1	14
Lawrence	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hope	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Garden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Total No. of Householders : 334/746

CHAPTER 5

INTERIOR SHAPES AND SPACES

Domestic Material Culture: The Study of Shapes Inside

Material culture research is a fast burgeoning field,¹ although its subject, those moveable artefacts to which human technology has been applied, is as ancient as the oldest civilizations of man. The study of Grahamstown's domestic material culture² in the early Victorian years, as set out in the following three chapters, is based on a study of furniture sale advertisements from Grahamstown's earliest newspaper, the Graham's Town Journal, 1831-53, and an analysis of relevant household inventories from deceased and insolvent estates housed in the Cape Archives.³

A townscape reflects the more permanent characteristics of a society, including the collective contribution made by individuals to the material fabric of their environment. The

¹ Essential reading on recent developments in material culture studies includes Schlereth (1982) and Pearce (1986 a&b).

² 'Domestic material culture' in the context of this study is synonymous both with 'furniture', used broadly to refer to large moveable objects, and also with 'furnishings' in the American sense of the term. Usually used in the plural, 'furnishings' include all moveable artefacts used for convenience or decoration in a house, such as tables, chairs, beds, sofas, carpets, curtains, pictures, equipment, etc. Seale (1979, 45) defines 'furnishings' as "chairs, lamps, wood-boxes, curtains, bean pots, books -- in short, anything more or less moveable that contributes to the liveability or beauty of life in the house".

³ The sources consulted for this study of Grahamstown's domestic material culture are discussed above in the Introduction, 26-30.

transitory nature of the domestic material culture with which people surround themselves is far more elusive and consequently more difficult to analyse than the solid walls which provide the interior spaces essential to house man's basic, as well as more elaborate, artefacts. A logical extension of the spatial analysis of a town is, it is submitted, the close examination of those sources which provide evidence as to shapes inside the shapes on the ground.

Whether or not artefacts, the works of man, are more than purely illustrative rather than instructive is a question which has exercised some historians who query the place of artefactual studies within the field of scholarly historical enquiry. In 1957 William Hesselstine, a distinguished historian of the American Civil War, urged museum curators to meet the intellectual challenge of the artefact. Artefacts, he contended, are historical facts and as such should be as meaningful as the facts the historian extracts from the documentary evidence inherited from the past. "It is because he seeks meaning that the historian looks longingly at the artifact [sic], wishing that the processes of internal criticism would enable him to extract meaningful information from it" (Hesselstine 1957, 1982 rpt., 100).

John T. Schlebecker, Chairman of the Department of Industries at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., has frankly acknowledged that artefacts only sometimes make a real difference to the study of history (Schlebecker 1982, 109). The objectives in studying artefacts are other, as indicated by Steven M. Beckow, a cultural anthropologist for some years on the

staff of the Canadian National Museum of Man, Ottawa. He stresses the point made by several material culturists in their discussion of the theoretical framework in which artefacts may be viewed and used in historical research. It is an approach which echoes the goal of urban historian Jim Dyos. The proper field of historical enquiry for material culture studies is the interpretation of artefacts in order "to illuminate the ways of thinking and designs for living which men brought to bear on their total round of life" (Beckow 1982, 114.) Artefacts are part of the human world of meaning and as such it is as legitimate to study artefacts as it is to study written records of man. Contextualisation is an essential component of artefactual research, which is in this study the reason for setting the domestic material culture of early Victorian Grahamstown within its urban framework in general, and social and spatial structure in particular.

The study of 'shapes inside' or domestic artefacts, is undertaken in the next three chapters with a view to discovering something of their cultural meaning within a particular society. The research undertaken in order to expand the knowledge we have of society in Grahamstown at this period has largely been divorced from an essential component of material culture studies, the object itself. Few adequately documented artefacts with a Grahamstown provenance dating from the first half of the nineteenth century are available for study in any local institution, underlining a serious gap in the town's artefactual repositories. Fortunately a rich source of published documentary evidence has been preserved in the advertisement columns of local

newspapers, and it is this which forms the backbone of the analysis of domestic material culture in the following chapters.

Domestic Interior Spaces

The evolution and use of spatial form, interior spaces, within domestic dwellings, is a closely related subject which has received comparatively little attention, despite the number of studies on the design of houses (Lawrance 1982, 107). Muthesius (1982) in his detailed study of the English terraced house, has contributed one of the first major studies with bearing on this field (see also Franklin 1981). He comments that it was only during the nineteenth century that distinct differentiation was made between rooms. In the eighteenth century and earlier it had been a vague concept, there being several drawing rooms and parlours in the larger houses, and little distinction, for example, between breakfast room and dining room in the more modest middle class home (143). In the labourer's dwelling there was often no distinction possible, the single room being used as both living and sleeping quarters.

Patterns of room usage for different classes in Grahamstown are difficult to establish, as so few inventories which detail the contents of specific rooms are available. The chapters on domestic material culture are therefore confined to establishing for Grahamstown indications of the nature of shapes inside rooms common to all dwelling houses, from the simplest settler cottage in Cross Street occupied by labourer Joseph Trimble (Appendix C4.6) to the Bell Street villa belonging to Assistant Commissary

General George C. Sanford (Appendix C4.2): the reception room, bed room, dining room and/or kitchen.

The Documentary Evidence

Analysis of individual contributions to what is nevertheless a collective culture, is dependent upon both written and visual records. The apparent absence of any pictorial records as well as of descriptions of the interiors of domestic dwellings in Grahamstown for this period makes the documentary evidence difficult to interpret spatially. The importance of the few drawings of English interiors at the Cape discussed in Chapter 2 above is naturally heightened, but they reflect only the lifestyle of an élite minority. Lifestyle and furnishing arrangements are virtually inseparable, Seale (1979, 95) commenting that "one creates the other, and one is mirrored in the other". The closest that the historian comes to being able to recreate something of the ambience of the past through the use of documentary evidence, is by linking room inventories to the occupants of the dwelling house and attempting to put it all together through synthesis.

Of the 36 Grahamstown vendue rolls and household inventories traced, only 6 listed the contents of each room in the house, as opposed to an undifferentiated list of the owner's possessions. Such 'room inventories' are the most valuable primary sources among the available written records, providing site evidence as to the furnishings of a particular room, be it a middling or

upper class establishment, at a specific point in time.⁴ Sufficient room inventories also make it possible to discern whether or not furnishing patterns can be established for different occupational or social classes, for household inventories are particularly revealing when contrasted with other inventories of the same period, area and social grouping.

The first two furniture sale advertisements in the Graham's Town Journal to detail furniture according to room, were published in 1853.⁵ It was a practice which was followed somewhat haphazardly over the next couple of decades, but by the 1880s had become a fairly general format in the Journal. General household sale advertisements were noted from the inception of the newspaper in 1831, and over 300 advertisements of new and second hand furniture sales were extracted. To facilitate analysis, furniture listed in those advertisements was indexed according to type, in chronological sequence, with the

⁴ Inventories do not necessarily give a complete picture of the contents of a home. Items on loan from family or friends would not have been listed. In an insolvent estate items may have been disposed of prior to the assignment of the estate in an attempt to pay off debts and avoid bankruptcy (see Introduction 29). The results of room inventory analyses should only be taken as indicators of what one could expect to have found in English Cape colonial homes.

⁵ Two merchant brothers-in-law, James Black and Charles Pakenham, returned to England in 1853. Advertisements for the sale of their household goods, detailed by room, were published in the Graham's Town Journal on 8 and 22 February 1853 respectively (Appendices C4.7, C4.8).

name of the advertiser (Appendix D2). These advertisements as a main source (inventories as a lesser source⁶) reveal that imported furniture formed the greater part of items which furnished the domestic spaces of the average Grahamstown dwelling.

Chapters 6 and 7 aim to elucidate the documentary evidence from newspaper advertisements and room inventories in order, room by room, to supply some of the tools necessary to reconstruct the inside shape of an earlier colonial society.

⁶ While the general household inventories also contribute important data, those for Grahamstown are somewhat scanty in their coverage, and the Journal advertisements were found to be much the more valuable of the two general sources.

TABLE 12
RECEPTION ROOM TERMINOLOGY

English¹ Room Inventories Classified by Occupation of Householder and Sub-divided by Broad Class Categories

Occupation	Householder	Address	Inventory Room Description	Cape Archives/ GTJ Reference
WORKING CLASSES				
Cabinet Maker	THWAITES	Cape Town	Hall Below	MOIB 2/555
Chief Artificer	Abraham		Inv. date: 1832	31.5.1842
& Turn Cock, CT	ELEY / ELY	12 Pepper Street	Room on the right	MOOC 7/1/136,
Tanner	Samuel	Cape Town	hand	1836, Inv. 20
	SEIJFFERT	Worcester	Hall	MOOC 7/1/138
	Johan Ernst			1836, Inv. 13
Blacksmith	HUNTER	56 Long Market St	Parlour and	MOOC 7/1/144,
	Thomas	Cape Town	Hall	1838, Inv. 29
Boot & Shoe-maker	LEATT	Diep River	Parlour	MOOC 7/1/146,
Tailor	Henry	Cape		1838, Inv. 95
	BECKER	6 Long Street	Front Room	MOOC 7/1/144,
	Carel Joseph	Cape Town		1838, Inv. 97
Carpenter's	OBERMEYER	2 Peper / Pepper	Hall & Second	MOOC 7/1/158
Widow	Johanna P.	Street, CT	Front Room	1840, Inv. 49
Baker	JARDINE	Beaufort St	Parlour	MOOC 7/1/176
	John	Graham's Town		1844, Inv. 78
Labourer	TRIMBLE	9 Cross Street	Room to the Right	MOOC 7/1/194
	Joshua	Graham's Town		1848, Inv. 101
MIDDLE CLASS				
Trader	ARMSTRONG*	Hill Street	Parlour	MOOC 7/1/130
	John	Graham's Town		1835, Inv. 34%
Inn Keeper	BERRINGTON J.	Port Francis	Front Parlour	LG 17, 1835
Apothecary	PERRY Thomas	3 Market Square	Hall/Forehouse	MOOC 7/1/139
		Graaff-Reinet		1837, Inv. 95
Canteen	JOLLY*	East Barracks	First Room	MOOC 7/1/178
Keeper	John	Graham's Town	up Stairs	1844, Inv. 124
Auctioneer	NORDEN*	Beaufort Street	Drawing Room	MOOC 7/1/186
	Joshua D.	Graham's Town		1846, Inv. 20
Farmer	NOURSE	Farm 'Haddon'	Sitting Room	MOOC 7/1/186
	Gordon	Koonap River, Aly		1846, Inv. 77
Retail	NAUDE, David	Dorp Street	Drawing Room	MOOC 7/1/192
Shopkeeper		Stellenbosch		1848, Inv. 29
Field Cornet	GRAY*	Farm 'Walsingham'	Parlour	MOOC 7/1/206
	William	Lower Albany		1851, Inv. 99 & 100
UPPER MIDDLE & UPPER CLASSES				
District Surgeon	WENTWORTH*	Uitenhage	Parlour	MOOC 7/1/124
Merchant	Charles A.			1834, Inv. 28
	MARRISON	Harrington House	Drawing Room	MOOC 7/1/149
	James	Keizers Gracht, CT		1839, Inv. 100
Wool Farmer	DANIELLS*	Sidbury Park	Sitting Room	MOOC 7/1/155
Richard	Ann			1839, Inv. 74%
Daniells' wife				
Merchant & Agent	ROBERTSON	Haasendal	Front Room on	MOOC 7/1/150
Minister	William	Camp Ground	right hand	1839, Inv. 19
	FRAZER	Simon's Town	No. 2 Room	MOOC 7/1/153
	Rev. Henry			1839, Inv. 108
Merchant	MORRISON	6 Keizersgracht	Front Room	MOOC 7/1/173
	Murdoch		(left hand)	1843, Inv. 81
Ass. Comm. Gen.	SANFORD	Bell Street	Drawing Room	MOOC 7/1/176
	George Charles	Graham's Town		1844, Inv. 98
Merchant?	BECKER	Wolmunster	Drawing Room	MOOC 7/1/178
	Carel Arnoldus	Rondebosch		1844, Inv. 31
LMS	PHILIP	Hankey	Room on right	MOOC 7/1/183
Missionary	Rev. William E.	Uitenhage	hand	1845, Inv. 151
Publisher	BRIDEKIRK	Harrington St	Drawing Room	MOOC 13/1/127
SA C&MA	William	Cape Town		1847, Inv. 66
Physician	PEARSON	Wynberg	Drawing Room	MOOC 7/1/196
Surgeon	George Mackrill			1849, Inv. 98
Minister	McCLELAND	No. 7, Castle Hill	Drawing Room	MOOC 7/1/216
	Rev. Francis	Port Elizabeth		1853, Inv. 63
Merchant	BLACK	Selwyn Castle	Drawing Room	GTJ 8.2.1853, 1c5
	James	New Street		
Merchant	PAKENHAM	Graham's Town	Drawing Room	GTJ Extra
	Charles W.	Bathurst Street		22.2.1853, 1c4
		Settler's Hill		
		Graham's Town		

¹ English in this context refers to the language of the inventory. * = 1820 Settler

CHAPTER 6

GRAHAMSTOWN'S DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: SHAPES INSIDE I

Reception Rooms

The terminology used by various social groups to describe the principal room in the dwelling house differs, as is reflected in Table 12, and so for ease of reference 'drawing room', 'parlour', 'sitting room', 'room on the right' etc., are referred to as 'reception room', except where the context requires a more specific appellation. Table 12 suggests an almost invariable use of the term 'parlour' or 'hall' by the working and middling classes, and an upper middle and upper class preference for 'drawing room'.

The nature, quality and extent of reception room furnishings in Grahamstown dwellings, as those in the rest of the Cape, (Table 13, facing 180), indicate that this was the principal room in the house, warranting a more detailed study than the other rooms discussed in Chapter 7.

Imported English Furniture : Tables

By the 1830s and 1840s the informality of furnishings in English country houses was well established (Girouard 1980, 213-44). Such an arrangement took the form of a scattering of furniture throughout the drawing room, with a large round or octagonal table as a prominent focus in the middle or off centre of the room, with occasional chairs, couches and sofas grouped



The Drawing Room, Hollington House, East Woodhay, Hampshire 1843
Watercolour by Charlotte Bosanquet

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



*In my house at Grahamstown.
April 1866 to April 1867.*

The Drawing Room, Home of Capt. and Mrs J. Granville Harkness
Grahamstown, April 1866 to April 1867

Watercolour by 'A.H.', Mrs Annabella Harriette Harkness.

Africana Museum, Johannesburg



Rosewood card table,
1840's, 36in. wide.
\$540 £240

(i)



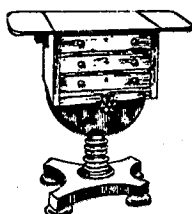
Victorian burr-walnut fold-
ing top card table on cab-
riole legs. \$730 £325

(ii)



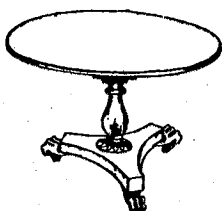
19th century mahogany fold
over top card table.
\$845 £375

(iii)



Early Victorian work table
with flaps, on a turned cen-
tral column with a shaped
platform base. \$450 £200

(iv)



Early Victorian mahogany
centre table on a shaped
platform base with claw
feet. \$450 £200

(v)



Early 19th century Anglo-
Indian ebony sofa table,
4ft. 2in. wide.
\$1,125 £500

(vi)



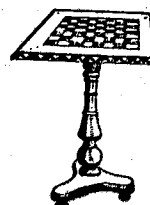
An early 19th century maho-
gany Pembroke table on
tapered legs with spade feet.
\$1,295 £575

(vii)



Early 19th century rose-
wood teapoy on platform
base with vase feet.
\$505 £225

(viii)



19th century walnut chess
table on a platform base
with bun feet. \$190 £85

(ix)

Sources: i, vi, and viii from Lyle 1981.
ii to v, vii and ix from Lyle 1982.

comfortably around the table as well as around various architectural features such as the fire place and bay windows. Charlotte Bosanquet's 1843 watercolour of the drawing room at Hollington House, Hampshire (Plate 24) reflects this English emphasis on the centrality of the table.

It is a furnishing arrangement which was transplanted to the Cape,¹ including Grahamstown where it is still reflected in 1867 in a watercolour of Annabella Harriette Harkness's drawing room (Plate 25). Metropolitan influences apart, what also affected the contents and arrangement of a room were social class and economic circumstances. Labourer Joshua Trimble of 9 Cross Street, Artificers' Square, had one table in his cottage parlour, whereas auctioneer Joshua D. Norden had eight tables in his drawing room (Appendices C4.6 and C4.5). Norden's tables included a loo table, card and sofa tables, a fashionable papier mâché table, and two marble and gilt side tables, the overall valuation being £35 in 1846 (see Plate 26 for illustrations of some tables referred to in Grahamstown advertisements and inventories).

Additional dimensions to the range of tables in use in the Grahamstown drawing room or parlour come from the advertisements in the Graham's Town Journal. In 1838 (GTJ 4.10, 1c2) C. & H. Maynard imported from London per the Eleanor, a pair of French

¹ See Bell's sketch of the drawing room at Millmaison (Plate 2), as well as those of Government House (Plates 4 & 5), although the table in the watercolour has receded to the far end of the room, it still serves as a focal point.

FIGURE 8 Advertisement from the *Graham's Town Journal* inserted by Joseph Lawrence, Chair and Cabinet Maker as well as Proprietor of the Furniture Repository in Church Square. 29.10.1840, 1c2.

Furniture Repository.

JUST UNPACKED, and for Sale at the Store of the Undersigned, some of the most *Splendid Furniture* that has recently arrived on this Frontier—consisting as follows:—

- Mahogany brass-mounted Sofa, in Hair-cloth,
- Do. Wardrobes, with Paliasters,
- Do. Nail Cover Chairs, stuffed in Hair-cloth,
- Do. Sliding Frame, Easy Chairs in Claret Leather, stained Rosewood Cane Seat do.
- Mahogany Loo Tables, French Polished, with Card Tables to match.
- Mahogany four feet wide Dining Tables, with wave boards,
- Rosewood Occasional Tables,
- Do. do. Work Tables, with Silk Bags and French Polished,
- Mahogany three feet six round front Chest Drawers,
- Mahogany Chiffoneers, with Reeded Columns,
- Rosewood three feet three do. the door fitted Crimson Silk,
- Mahogany six feet six Pedestal Side-boards, French Polished.
- Do. three feet three Pembroke Tables, on Turned Legs,
- Do. six feet Bagattelle Boards, complete,
- Do. three feet six Tent Bedsteads, Lath bottoms,
- Do. Bedsteps, Carpeted and Pans,
- Do. Folding Towel Horses,
- Rosewood Music Stools, stuffed in Leather,
- Mahogany 14 in 16 and 20 in Desks, French Polished,
- Do. Dressing Cases, and a quantity of other FURNITURE too numerous to particularise.

J. LAWRENCE,
Chair and Cabinet Maker.
Church-square.

polished mahogany card tables "with crimson cloth and embossed", and John Norton, about to leave the Colony, sold his mahogany, rosewood and japan loo tables (GTJ 1.11.1838, 1c2). The following year J.D. Norden & Co imported per Galatea mahogany loo tables with carved trusses (GTJ 9.5.1839, 1c3). In 1840 Joseph Lawrence had at his Furniture Repository in Church Square "some of the most Splendid Furniture that has recently arrived on this Frontier" (Fig. 8). If the furniture advertisements are anything to go by, Lawrence's consignment certainly contained items not advertised before in the Journal. It included rosewood occasional tables and rosewood work tables with silk bags, French polished, as well as mahogany Pembroke tables on turned legs. Throughout the 1840s and early 1850s there was a steady turnover of drawing room tables of all kinds, including Chinese occasional tables in sets (GTJ 17.7.1847, 1c2), papier mâché tables with landscape and flower patterns (GTJ 26.8.1848, 1c3), and, for the first time, in 1849 (GTJ 29.9, 1c3), Mahogany snap tables. In 1853 (GTJ 9.4, 1c7) S.W. Dell's Furniture Warehouse in High Street received the first consignment of English walnut furniture to be advertised on the frontier. It included 4'6" loo tables, 2' card tables and ladies' work tables.


Imported English Furniture : Musical Instruments

Three quarters of the advertisements for musical instruments in the Graham's Town Journal were for pianos, but few, it would seem, could afford to buy them, as only three of the 36


FIGURE 9 Advertisement in the *Graham's Town Journal* for the Sale of the Whole of the Furniture and Effects belonging to Major-General Henry Somerset. 25.9.1852, 1c3.

SALE
OF
VALUABLE
HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE.
TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION
AT
OATLANDS,
ON
WEDNESDAY NEXT,
The 29th instant,
THE WHOLE OF THE
FURNITURE AND EFFECTS
belonging to
MAJOR-GENERAL SOMERSET,
Consisting of—
Mahogany Drawing and Loo Tables
do. Waiting and Side do.
do. Drawing Room Chairs
do. Side Board
Rosewood Couches
do. Chairs
do. Book Cases
do. Work Table
Mahogany Chests Drawers
do. Easy Chair
do. Wardrobe
do. Portable Desk
Wash-stand with marble top
Bedsteads
Bedroom Furniture
Parlour Time-piece
Drawing-room Lamps
Pier Glasses
Carpets and Carpeting
Bronze Fenders and Irons
Damask Curtains
Branch and Table Candlesticks
Cutlery
Glass and Earthenware
Kitchen Utensils, &c. &c.
2 superior Rifles, (1 in case complete)
2 Single Guns
4 capital Pistols, (2 in case complete)
Also,
A very superior and brilliant toned
SQUARE PIANO-FORTE,
with Music Stool complete,
1 do. by Broadwood
A magnificent
HARP,
by Erard.
An instrument such as the latter
could not be bought in London
under 60 guineas, and is
the first thing of the kind
ever sold at an Auction
on the Peninsula.


A
FOUR-WHEELED




PIMPTON,
With shafts and polo complete,
2 sets of Carriage Harness, &c.
LADIES' & GENTLEMEN'S SADDLES
of superior quality.
AT THE SAME TIME AND PLACE
will be sold



5 MILCH COWS and CALVES,
4 Cows in Calf.



TWO BREEDING STALLIONS,
Well worthy the attention of Horse Breeders,
ONE EXCELLENT RIDING HORSE.



PLOUGH, HARROW.
and
SUNDRY GARDEN IMPLEMENTS.
W. R. THOMPSON, Sen.
C. POTR, Auctioneer.

Grahamstown inventories include pianos: George C. Sanford (Social Class I), canteen keeper John Jolly and auctioneer Joshua D. Norden, both from Social Class III. Less than a third of the room inventories for the Cape as a whole included piano fortes.

The range of pianos available on the frontier was impressive. Collard and Collard (Patent double-action, Grand square, warranted to stand any climate; Semi-grand with Russia leather cover; Cottage upright) and Broadwood (Grand, Square and upright demi-cabinet) were the most numerous. Prices, mentioned only occasionally, ranged from £37 10s for a Square Piano forte, including a packing case lined with tin (GTJ 17.2.1849, 1c3), £50 for a 6½ octave Piano Forte by Broadwood & Son (GTJ 27.1.1849, 1c6), £60 cash for a rosewood Semi-Cabinet Piano, complete with rosewood Canterbury and music stool (GTJ 1.11.1851, 1c3) to a rosewood Cabinet Piano Forte which "cost only a few months ago £90 Cash in Cape Town" (GTJ 15.6.1850, 2c1).

Besides the piano, other instruments available to contribute to the musical life of a community which largely depended upon its own resources for entertainment and relaxation, were harps, (Fig. 9) flutes and double flageolets, violins, a brilliant toned violincello, accordians, aeolian harps and guitars.

Mechanical reproduction of music was provided by means of musical boxes, which originated at the end of the eighteenth century (Scholes 1970, 612), musical pictures (merchant James Howse sold both second-hand in 1845, GTJ 3.4, 1c3), and hand or barrel organs which also developed in England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1851 (GTJ 19.7, 1c3) Birkenruth advertised for sale at his Church Square store

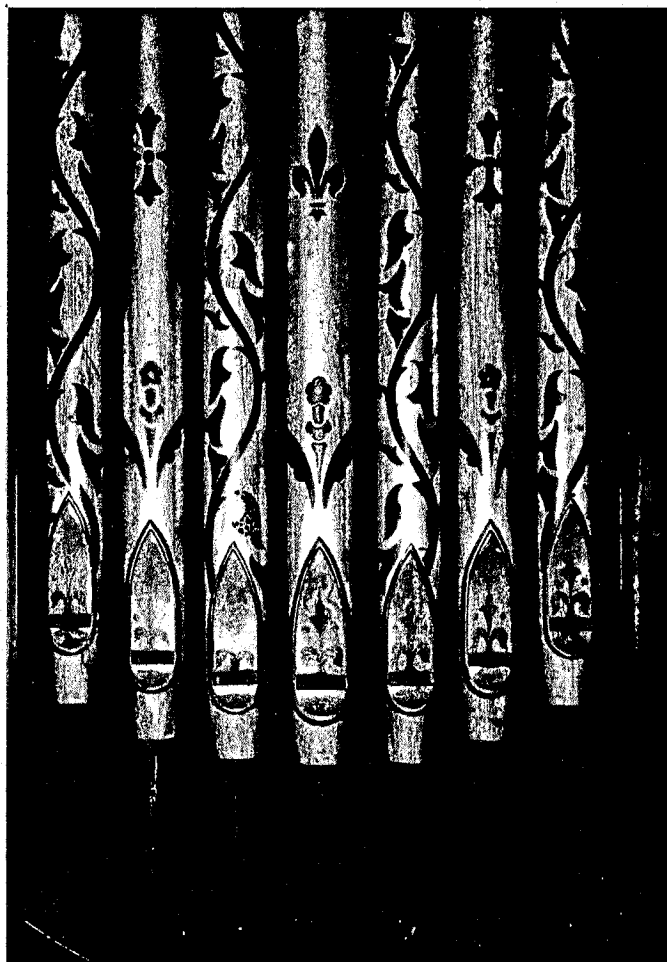
PLATE 27

The Somerset Organ 1986.

Designed and built by William Hill, Organ Builder to William IV, in 1832 to 1833 for Frances Somerset, wife of Col. Henry Somerset.

Still in use in Wesley Church, Market Street, Grahamstown.

Declared a National Monument 1960.



"Several Organs in walnut and mahogany cases -- Some with superior Church Music, playing from 30 to 40 pieces -- the other tunes are well selected, accompanied with trumpets, drums and bells".

In 1845 (GTJ 2.10, 1c4) H. & R.S. Blaine imported from Paris an Organ Seraphine, "a new French Patent Instrument, combining the tone & power of the Organ with the convenient size of the Seraphine . . . has 12 Organ Stops and is well adapted for a large place of worship, £75. . . ." Various advertisements for seraphines appeared in the Journal, supplying the needs of the numerous church groups, as well as being used in domestic circles.

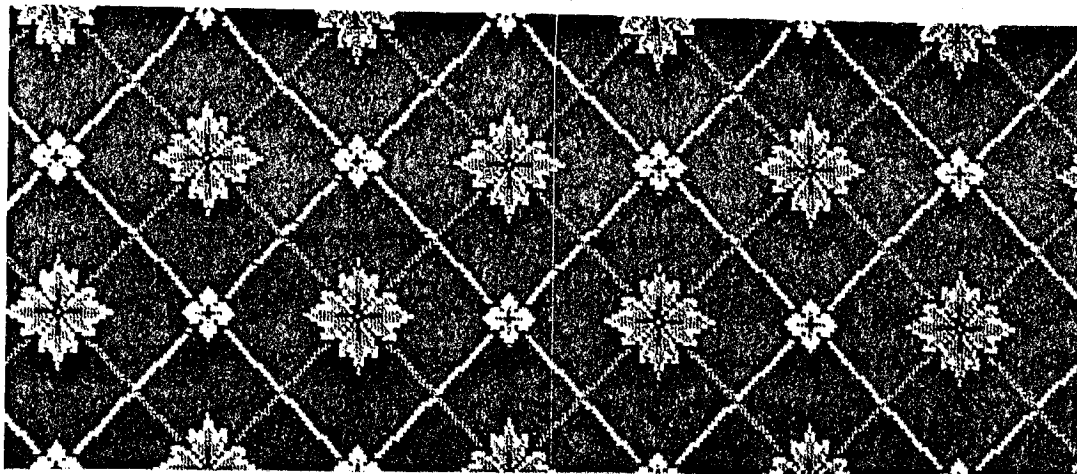
The most notable organ to be brought to Grahamstown, however, was the one built in London for Frances Somerset, wife of Col. Henry Somerset, by William Hill, organ-builder to William IV (Plate 27). It was made between 1832 and 1833, and was the first pipe organ to be imported to the eastern districts. The organ was housed in the drawing room of Oatlands House, home of the Somersets, and remained there from 1833 until the Somersets left the frontier in 1852. Where it went after that is not clear, but from the 1860s it is believed to have been placed in the Fort England Chapel (Hewson 1981, 44-47, Sampson 1982). It was transferred from there to the Wesley Church, Market Street in 1914, and declared a national monument in 1960.

Imported English Furnishings: Floor Covers, Curtains and Blinds

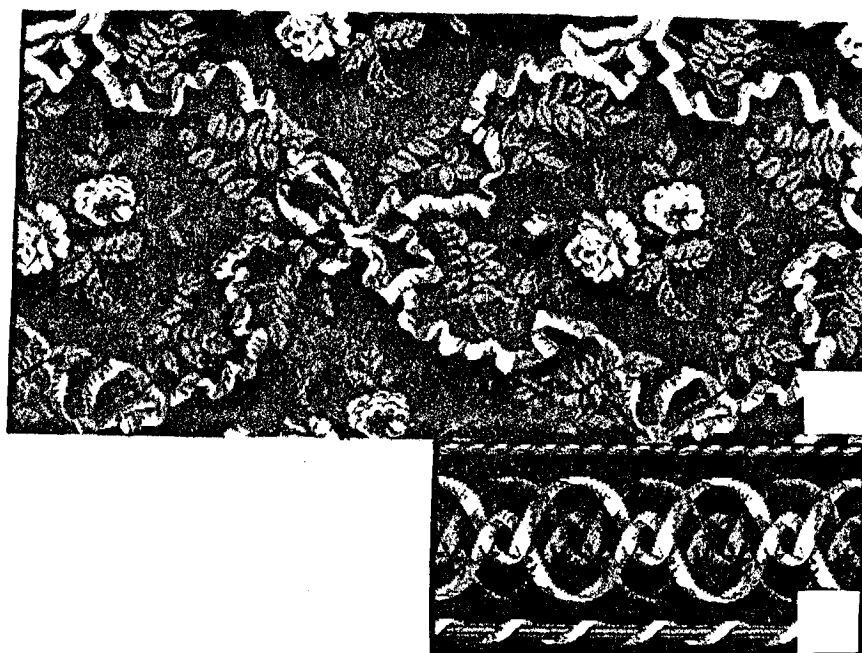
Floor coverings in the reception room could not be taken for

PLATE 28 Early and Mid-Nineteenth Century Carpet Designs

'Haddow House' Mid-19th Century
3 colours, 8½" repeat, side match
100% wool, Brussels



Reproduced from an English Brussels
in Haddow House, Aberdeenshire



'Aynsworth'

Early 19th Century

5 colours, 36" repeat, drop match
80% wool, 20% nylon Wilton
Reproduced from an English Brussels in
the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Hugh Mackay & Co. Ltd., Durham

granted, although the proportion of floor cloths, carpets or hearth rugs in Grahamstown room inventories is higher than the Cape average (75%, 6/8 as opposed to 46%, 18/39).

Brussels carpets were more popular than Kidderminster in Grahamstown if double the number of advertisements in the Journal for Brussels carpets is taken as a guide (40 as opposed to 20). Brussels and Kidderminster carpets were woven with a looped, uncut pile.

The only prices of new carpeting traced in the Journal were from G. Griffiths' Cheap Furniture House in Port Elizabeth in 1845 (6.11, 1c5), when he advertised Brussels carpet at 4s 6d a yard, Kidderminster at 3s 3d a yard, and hearth rugs at 10s each and upwards.

Carpets with matching hearth rugs were advertised from time to time. Second hand Venetian staircase or passage carpeting appeared in the Journal several times in the 1830s and early 1840s (e.g. Norton, 1.11.1838, 1c2 and Norden 12.3.1840, 1c3). It was the simplest form of carpeting, woven on an ordinary loom, striped or checked. Brass stair rods were for sale in 1843 (GTJ 8.6, 1c3), a small but significant item in a large sale of the "Superior Household Furniture" of Mr Penketh of the Royal Engineers, who occupied a large house in Somerset Street near the Old Toll Bar.

Early in the nineteenth century carpet designs (Plate 28) were classical, with stylized flower, acanthus leaf and scroll motifs, which became exuberantly exotic in the 1850s. In the 1840s diamond patterns of flowers or leaves, or simply a stylized

diamond pattern, were popular (Morris, 1958, 126).

Carpets were 'planned to room' in Grahamstown, as well as Cape Town (clearly visible in Plate 5), following the fashionable English trend. In 1843 the contents of West Hill House, Bell Street, were sold, shortly after it had been erected by merchant William Cock.² The sale advertisement includes a Brussels carpet planned to room, with ottomans to match. The context makes it clear that this was the drawing room. There was also an oil cloth planned to the dining room.

The occasional Turkey carpet was sold both new and second hand, auctioneer Charles Pote claiming rashly that he had for sale "A Splendid Turkey Carpet (the only one in the Colony) about 14 x 20 feet" (GTJ 28.4.1849, 1c5).

Window curtains were probably a luxury in working and middling class homes in Grahamstown. Room inventories for the Cape as a whole show that less than half (41%, 16/39) of the reception rooms had curtains or blinds, while, according to the Grahamstown room inventories, only half the householders appear to have had curtains in the principal room of the house.

In the early nineteenth century, curtain drapes in their

² In 1842 the Reverend George Aveline announced in the Journal (14.7, 4c2) that he proposed to move his pupils to West Hill House, "lately erected by W. Cock Esq. in the most pleasant and healthy situation about Graham's Town". By 13 July 1843, however, the house was advertised for sale, "or if not sold within a short space of time will be let". "The West Hill House Sale" was announced in the Journal of 15 June 1843. The position of the house is shown on Hoggar's 1863 Plan of Grahamstown, on the south side of Worcester Street (Bell Street in the early 1840s).

simplest form, a pair of fabric panels, were hung from brass rings over a brass or gilt cornice pole, and looped up to each side of the window embrasure by curtain pins or bands (Plates 2 and 24). White muslin curtains were sometimes hung behind the silk or damask drapes (Plates 2 and 24), or light fringed window blinds were used, even if the windows had inner or outer shutters (Plate 2). More complicated hangings, with swags of material draped over the cornice pole were used in more elaborate drawing rooms (Plate 3), as were flat fabric valances, caught up to resemble a swag, with several scallops and drapes of material cascading down the sides (Plate 5). Fabric covered cornices edged with fringes were simpler to make than elaborate swags which required the expertise of an experienced draper (Seale 1979, 90) (Plates 4 and 24).

The Grahamstown room inventories which include curtains (Sanford, Jolly, Norden and Black, Appendices C4.2, C4.4, C4.5 and C4.7) give some insight into styles in use on the frontier, as do a few advertisements from the Journal.

Assistant Commissary General George C. Sanford had the window curtains of his Bell Street home caught up with bands, either of fabric or brass. Brass bands were advertised in the Journal by George Willett in 1844 (1.8, 1c2), who was selling them with his moreen curtains. Sanford also had window blinds in the drawing room, as did canteen keeper John Jolly in the reception room of his large establishment at Fort England (size given in the Journal, 27.1.1847, 1c2). Auctioneer Joshua D. Norden and merchant James Black both had damask curtains hung

FIGURE 10 Advertisement in the *Graham's Town Journal* for the Sale of some of the Effects of Major C.J. Selwyn RE, at Selwyn Castle. Recently in use as the Residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, Col. John Hare. 1.7.1841, 1c1.

SALE OF FURNITURE.

MAJOR SELWYN having removed to a smaller dwelling, will cause to be sold
ON SATURDAY THE 3rd JULY.
AT THE LATE RESIDENCE OF THE
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,
AS FOLLOWS;

Large Gothic Book-case and Press,
One Painted Press,
Mahogany Table and Dressing do, in one,
Iron Sofa and Case,
2 Mahogany Gun Cases,
1 small do. Dressing Case,
1 Mahogany Bedstead and Curtains,
1 do. Tray and Stand,
2 do. Chest Drawers,
1 plain Box with lifting drawers,
1 green Insect do.
1 Feather Bed,
2 Gothic Gilt Cornices, Curtains, and Gilt Knobs,
2 Plain Gothic do. and Gilt Knobs,
2 Chintz Curtains, Cornices, and Gilt Knobs,
1 Tea Urn,
4 Silver Dishes, Teak-wood Case,
2 pieces Oil Cloth,
A quantity of Sago, and a lot of Packing cases.

Also,
Mahogany Sideboards, and handsome round
do Tables; Mahogany Sofas, and 2 Sofa Bed-
steads; Chimney, Pier, and Dressing Glasses.
Immediately after the above will be sold—
A quantity of Gold and Silver Plated Ware,
consisting of—Ear-rings, Brooches, Seals, Chains,
Pockets, Vinegrettes. Also, Gold and Silver
Watches, &c. &c., together with a quantity of
Lineries, consisting of Silks, Satins, Ladies' and
Gentlemen's Gloves, and a great variety of articles
too numerous to mention.
If the articles be not disposed of the Sale will be
continued at Candle light.
J. D. NORDEN & Co., Auctioneers.
N.B.—Also a handsome Mahogany Piano-
Forte, with a Metallic Plate, and improved Sound-
ing Board.

from cornice poles in their drawing rooms. The cornice poles in Selwyn Castle (rented or owned by James Black, cf. GTJ 10.6.1848, 1c1 and 9.9.1848, 1c2) were gilt, possibly still some of the remaining original gilt fittings put in by Major Selwyn, for in 1841 (Fig. 10) Selwyn was selling two Gothic gilt cornices, curtains and gilt knobs from Selwyn Castle which he had built in the Gothic style in the early 1830s (Plate 23a).

A completely different style of curtain draping which was also used in Grahamstown is revealed in an advertisement in the Graham's Town Journal inserted by Market Square builder John Mandy (13.4.1837, 1c1 & Cape Almanac 1838, 122d). He had imported three sets of "handsome Window Curtains, with superb gilt cornices, laths, rods, lines, pullies [sic] &c., and pins complete". The use of window laths with pulleys was in vogue in America in the late eighteenth century where they were in use until the 1840s (Seale 1979, 84), and refer to festoons, curtains which open and close up and down instead of being drawn to one side. Festoons were also in vogue in Cape Dutch homes in the late 1770s, and have been most successfully recreated in the voorkamer at Blettermanhuis, Stellenbosch (Plate 7). No further references to Grahamstown festoon fittings have been traced, but Seale (1979, 85) comments that in America the word 'festoon' is rarely found in inventories and so the only clue to their presence is in descriptions of their fittings.

Ready made curtains were imported, Joseph Hart, for example, advertised drawing room curtains trimmed with damask 'Direct from London' in 1843 (GTJ 23.3, 1c3). Maynards, Higgins & Co. of

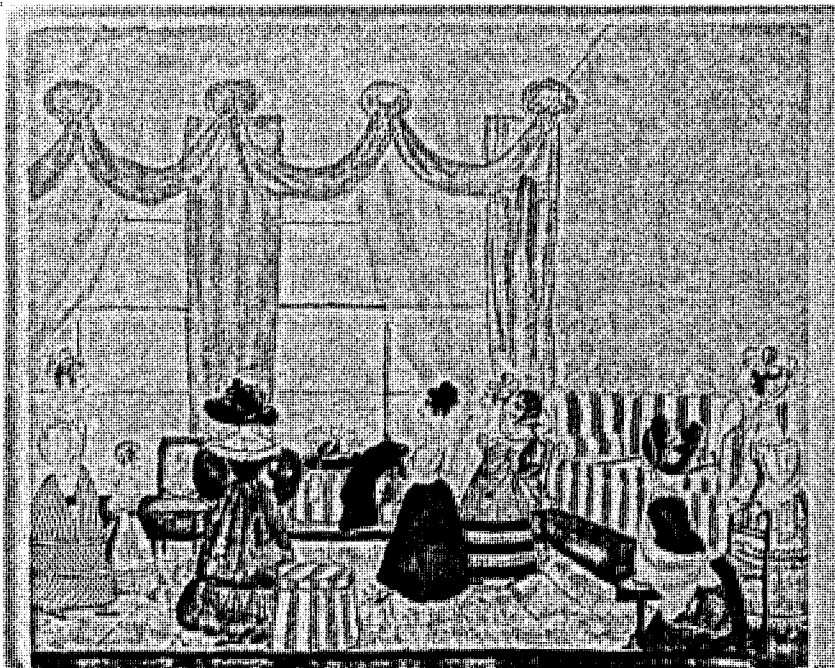
PLATE 29

Clear colours from the Regency: Curtains,
Carpets and Upholstery from the Drummond
Children's World, 1827-32

*By courtesy of the Victoria &
Albert Museum.*



Detail from the Interior of a Drawing Room in Brighton
Signed Julia Frances Drummond, 1828. Watercolour.
(Lasdun 1983, 18)



Indoor Scene on Good Friday
Signed C.E.D. April 17, 1829.
(Lasdun 1983, 50)

neighbouring Port Elizabeth, were proud to announce their assortment of "the best London-Made Furniture including Window Curtains made up, and Moreens and Chintzes in the piece" (GTJ 12.10.1843, 1c3). Moreen was a stout woollen or woollen and cotton material, either plain or watered, used for curtains.

Damask was one of the most popular curtain and upholstery fabrics in use in the 1830s, and in the 1840s tabinet, a heavy poplin with a silk warp and woollen or linen weft, with figures woven on a watered ground, was a fashionable furnishing fabric (Morris 1958, 120). Fashion colours in the 1830s and 1840s in England were bright, clear scarlet, yellow, blue and light green, the curtains often fringed with gold cord. It was only in the 1850s that the colours became darker, scarlet deepening to crimson, and light to dark bottle green (Yarwood 1979, 200, 210). The stripes of the 1830s, much used in upholstery, were broader and more vivid in colour than is associated with the Regency today, and are authentically reproduced in Lasdun (1983), a collection of watercolour paintings by the Drummond children whose family and friends moved in the Polite Society of Regency England (Plate 29). In 1844 (GTJ 10.10,4c3) draper B.M. Shepperson was advertising window furnishings which included "Striped and Chintz Furnitures, pink, blue and green London Dye Furniture Lining . . . Transparent Window Blinds . . . Window Muslins. . . ." Floral designs were popular throughout the period, although there were distinct differences in subjects and their treatments.

Transparent window blinds decorated with "Picturesque Views and Rural Scenes" were available in the 1840s and 1850s

TABLE 13

RECEPTION ROOM FURNISHINGS IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY AS REFLECTED IN 39 ENGLISH ROOM INVENTORIES, CAPE COLONY 1832-53

%	No. of items/ 39 inventories	Type of Furnishing
100	39/39	Chairs of some kind
95	37/39	Tables of some kind
72	28/39	Sofa, Couch or Settee
54	21/39	Mirrors, one or more
49	19/39	Pictures
46	18/39	Floor Coverings (Carpets, hearth rugs, skins) Colonial made furniture from indigenous woods
44	17/39	Fenders and Fire Irons
41	16/39	Curtains and/or Blinds
38	15/39	Ornaments, often specified as 'chimney ornaments' Musical Instruments (31% Pianofortes, 12/39 8% Other Instruments, 3/39, including Seraphine, Guitar, Violins, Flute, Barrel Organ). Stinkwood Chairs
36	14/39	Clocks
28	11/39	Arm Chairs
23	9/39	Card Tables Lighting of some kind
21	8/39	Easy Chairs Chairs with upholstered seats (5 damask, 3 horsehair, one of which had chintz covers) Loo Tables
18	7/39	Round Tables, could be Loo Tables } = 38% of all tables Writing Desks China Tea Services, Trays, Decanters
15	6/39	Sofa Tables Dining Tables Stinkwood Tables Chairs with Cane Seats Tea Caddies
13	5/39	Beds Bookshelves or Stands Books, but no bookcase = 26% containing books Footstools Ladies' Work Boxes Liquor Stand Games (Card Boxes, Backgammon, Chess)
10	4/39	Clothes Presses } = 21% with clothes storage Wardrobes Ottomans Cutlery, Plate
8	3/39	Pembroke Tables Yellowwood Tables Secretaries Sideboards Suites -- matching couch, chairs, etc. Glass Bird Cage, Parrot, Stuffed Birds
5	2/39	Chiffonniers, Fire Screens, Foot Stoves, Spittons, Teapots, Washhandstands
3	1/39	Barometer, Chess Table, Child's Chair, China Flower Stand, Gueridon, Speaking Trumpet, Telescope, etc.

(Shepperson GTJ 22.8.1844, 1c5 and Wood GTJ 2.4.1853, 1c5). Venetian blinds were advertised as early as 1832 (Nelson GTJ 10.2.1832, 25c3) and were still on the market in 1851 (Birkenruth GTJ 19.7, 1c3). Holland window blinds and blinds in green and other colours were also featured from time to time (e.g. Shepperson GTJ 13.10.1849, 1c2 and Birkenruth GTJ 19.7.1851, 1c3).

Imported English Furnishings: Mirrors and Pictures

Table 13 lists the full range of furnishings found in the inventories of reception rooms in Grahamstown and the Cape generally. In addition to the items discussed above, mirrors and pictures were an important feature of the reception room, warranting special mention. Apart from seating, the remaining items are too diverse and individualistic to single out for discussion.

The mirror was often described simply as a 'chimney glass' and the term 'pier glass' appears to have been used interchangeably. Yarwood (1979, 216) notes that pier or chimney glasses were usually rectangular in the early Victorian period. A main function of a large mirror against the chimney breast was to lighten the room, and the frame was normally richly carved and gilded.

There were frequent advertisements for pier and chimney glasses in the Graham's Town Journal, with descriptions such as "A fine brilliant Plate Chimney Glass richly carved and finished in Mat and burnished Gold frame, with stout panneled [sic] blind

Frames 48 x 26" (C. & H. Maynard, 27.1.1840, 1c5). More unusual were those mentioned in Penketh's household sale in 1843 (GTJ 5.6, 1c3), "Brilliant plate chimney glasses in black and ornamental gilt frames, one 48" x 25", the other 27½ x 15½ a convex mirror, in neat black frame, a pier glass in mahogany frame and 2 mahogany dressing glasses".

When Goncharov visited the Cape in 1853 (see Chapter 2 above, 76-77) he maintained that he knew by the pictures on the walls whether his host was English or Dutch. Those of horse-races and steeple-chases were certainly English. "The Hollanders don't paint horse-races -- instead you see everywhere tiger hunts and fox hunts and the portraits of kings and queens" (Goncharov Pt. 1, 56).

Pictures were to be found on the walls of more than half of the Grahamstown reception room inventories, and just under half of those for the Cape in general, including Grahamstown, but there is no mention of subject matter. For Grahamstown, the gap is filled to some extent by the Journal. It was possible to adorn the walls with purchases from Godlonton & White, Booksellers and Stationers, High Street, entitled Squire's Favorite [sic], Cruickshank's Bottle, and Caught Napping. These were rubbing shoulders with Ruth Gleaning, Maternal Instruction, Christ Weeping, Reading the Scriptures, etc. etc. (GTJ 3.2.1849, 1c5). Full length portraits of The Great Captain, The Duke of Wellington and The Hero of Scinde, Sir Charles Napier and other celebrated military and naval characters vied with the moral and religious engravings at Godlonton and White a few months later in 1849 (GTJ 23.6, 1c5).

Local talent included Thomas Baines and Frederick Timpson I'Ons, both professional artists whose work was exhibited and sold in Grahamstown. Baines' studies of the town are of particular historical significance in recording streetscapes prior to the advent of photography (for example, Plates 14 & 15). I'Ons, who settled in Grahamstown in 1834, was also a prolific painter, known for his portraits, studies of Xhosa chiefs and tribesmen and landscapes. His order book, copies of which are lodged with the Africana and Albany Museums, shows that both military officers and Grahamstown citizens purchased his work.

Paintings and prints mentioned in household furniture sales in the Graham's Town Journal occasionally included the subject matter. Examples are hotel keeper William Ayton's set of original prints of the storming and taking of Seringapatam (9.5.1839, 1c1), and those belonging to Mr Penketh of the Royal Engineers (8.6.1843, 1c3). Penketh had "A superior drawing of fruit in burnished [sic] gold frame, a Map of London, large size in black frame, and many prettily executed needlework pieces enclosed in enamelled and gilt frames". The late W. Liddle's estate included two sets of hunting pictures in gilt frames (GTJ 21.9.1843, 1c3). Nathan Birkenruth, when selling his residence in 1849 (GTJ 3.2, 1c6) had six "very handsome Chinese Oil Paintings and two Chinese Paintings on glass". In his capacity as a merchant, Birkenruth also advertised intriguing "Paintings with eight day Clocks and moving Figures, playing also favored [sic] tunes" (GTJ 19.7.1851, 1c3).

EXTENSIVE AND PEREMPTORY SALE,

At the Residence of EDWARD NORTON, Esq.

DURING the first Week in January next, of Household Furniture, plate and plated Ware, a splendid Phaeton and pair, with Harness complete, saddle Horses; together with a superior stock of Wines, Ale and Porter, &c. &c. &c., consisting as follows, Drawing-room Furniture in Suit, consisting of 12 Rosewood Chairs, with stuffed seats, 2 Sofas, ditto, 2 Card Tables, and 1 Circular ditto, all to match, with extra Chintz Covers to Chairs and Sofas, 1 Rosewood Bookcase, Mahogany four-post Bedsteads, with Furniture and Horse-hair Mattresses to fit, Tent and Camp ditto., with Horse-hair Mattresses, Mahogany and other Chests of Drawers, Wardrobes, Mahogany and Stinkwood, Dining, Pier, Breakfast, and Toilet Tables, a Mahogany Sideboard, Stinkwood Dining and Bedroom Chairs, a Mahogany Easy Chair, with stuffed seat, Chimney, Pier, and Dressing Glasses, Mahogany and other Wash-hand Stands, with Ewers and Basins complete, Brussels and Kidderminster Carpets, Bedside do., 2 sets of Window Curtains, 1 eight-day Clock, a Suspension Lamp, with two burners, 2 Table do., Candlesticks, with glass shades, Fenders and Fire-irons, Chimney and other Ornaments, Cut-glass, consisting of Vases, Dessert Glasses, pint and quart Decanters, Tumblers, Champagne, Wine, Claret, and Liqueur Glasses, Salt Cellars, &c.; Earthenware and China, consisting of Dinner, Breakfast, Tea, and Dessert Services, complete, Wine and Water Coolers, Kitchen and Pantry Furniture, consisting of Dressers, Tables, with drawers, Butchers' Tray and Stand, Meat Safe, with a variety of other articles too numerous for insertion.

~~Plate and plated Ware, consisting of Table, Tea, Gravy, and Salt Spoons, Soup and Sauce Ladles, Table and Dessert Forks, Decanter Stands, plated Waiters, and Bread Tray.~~

The Wines consist of Port, Sherry, Claret, Champagne, Barsac, and very superior old Cape and Constantia; Ale and Porter, in bottles; a splendid double Phaeton, with hood, either for double or single Harness, with patent Springs and Axletrees, brass Boxes, and the Harness complete; a pair of very handsome black Horses, 6 years old, bred by Rademeyer, well trained and very quiet; also, 4 superior Saddle Horses.

At 2 o'clock precisely will be put up, if not previously disposed of, the neat and commodious Dwelling and Out-buildings, consisting of Dining, Drawing, and 3 Bed-rooms, 2 Pantries, a Loft the whole extent of the House, capable of being divided into Bed-rooms; Out-buildings, consisting of Coach-house and 2 Stables, Kitchen and 2 Servants' Rooms, Wine and Beer Cellars, a spare Bed-room, Fowl and Wood-house. The extent of the Ground is 2 Erven, the greatest part of which is tastefully laid out as a Garden, and abundantly stocked with every description of Fruit-trees and Vines. The whole well-secured by a bank. Also, three allotments of Ground, situated at the bottom of the Erven, fronting in the street leading to the residence of C. GRIFFITH, Esq. The above Property is deserving the attention of those persons who like retirement; not only for the convenience it possesses, but its locality, being not more than five minutes ride from town. The Buildings are in a thorough state of repair, and title free.

J. D. NORDEN, Auctioneer.
N.B. On application to the Auctioneer, the Premises may be viewed at any time previous to the Sale.

FIGURE 11

Extensive advertisement in the *Graham's Town Journal* for the Sale of Merchant Edward Norton's Household Effects and Property on the west (later elite) side of the town. In 1836 it was the largest private sale of its kind to be held in Grahamstown, far exceeding that of Col. Henry Somerset held in 1932. (Fig. 12 below)
17.11.1836, 1c3.

FIGURE 12

Advertisement in the *Graham's Town Journal* for the Sale of the whole of Colonel Henry Somerset's Household Furniture and Farming Stock prior to his departure for England on leave of absence for a year.
15.6.1832, 97c2.

PUBLIC SALE.

ON MONDAY and TUESDAY, the 2d. and 3d. of July next, will be sold, by Public Sale, on the Premises of Colonel Somerset, the whole of that Gentleman's household furniture and farming stock, all of which are of a very superior description; the stock are well bred. The household furniture consists of elegant wardrobes, double and single chests of drawers, dining, pembroke; and card tables, mahogany and other chairs, four posts and tent bedsteads, chimney piece and looking glasses and chandeliers, side-board, superb cut glasses, plate and plated ware; ivory balance-handled knives and forks; also two pianos, by Broadwood, and a harp, by Clementi; Kidderminster, Brussels carpets and rugs, with about 300 volumes of books, many of them standard works, and in good condition; one carriage, one gig; and a cart; harness and mules, well broke-in; eight set of horse harness, saddles and bridles: 1,300 merino sheep; three well bred bulls; about 50 breeding cattle, several spans of oxen, with many other articles, too numerous to mention. A liberal credit will be given, which will be made known at the time of sale.

Imported English 'In Suit' Furniture

'In Suit' drawing room furniture, as it was termed, was first advertised in the Graham's Town Journal in 1836 (Fig. 11). The advertisement was for an "Extensive and Peremptory Sale" to be held at the residence of the wealthy merchant, Edward Norton,³ who was moving to Cape Town. It was the largest furniture sale to be advertised in the Journal since its foundation in 1831, and was even more extensive than that of Col. Henry Somerset in 1832,⁴ providing an interesting pointer to the degree of sophistication which could be achieved on the frontier after the first decade or so of settlement. Norton's 'in suit' furniture consisted of twelve rosewood chairs and two rosewood sofas, with stuffed seats which were provided with extra chintz covers. Two rosewood card tables and a circular rosewood table matched the sofa and chairs.

³ Edward Norton, as Agent for Thomson, Watson & Co. (a Cape Town based firm), was one of the merchants responsible for early imports of English furniture into Grahamstown. One of his first advertisements was for "a quantity of new and elegant Household Furniture, just imported . . ." (GTJ 24.7.1834, 1c1). Norton moved in the first circles in Grahamstown where he was Secretary to the Albany and Somerset Turf Club (GTJ 12.6.1834, 1c2) and was also appointed a Justice of the Peace for Albany in July 1834 (GTJ 31.7, 1c3). He first indicated that he was leaving Grahamstown for Cape Town in October 1836 (GTJ 20.10, 1c3), where, inter alia, he became one of the directors of the Cape of Good Hope Fire Assurance Company (GTJ 20.9.1838, 1c3).

⁴ Lieut.-Col. Somerset, Commandant of Caffraria, received leave to proceed to England in June 1832. Storage of furniture was unheard of on the frontier in the precarious years of early settlement, and transport costs were too high, and the risks too great for moving any but a few most cherished possessions. It was customary to sell 'all' household furniture when leaving Grahamstown. In this instance, the advertisement in the Journal announced that "the whole of that Gentleman's household furniture and stock, all of which are of a very superior description" were to be sold (15.6.1832, 97c2, Fig. 12).

FIGURE 13 Advertisement in the *Graham's Town Journal* inserted by Joseph Hart, Proprietor of the Furniture Warehouse, Church Square, which includes Rosewood 'In Suit' Furniture. 4.12.1845, 1c4.

FIGURE 14 Advertisement in the *Graham's Town Journal* for the Intestate Sale of the Moveable Property of the Auctioneer Joshua D. Norden includes Rosewood 'In Suit' Furniture. 6.2.1847, 1c4.

JOSEPH HART,
Furniture Warehouse
Church-Square,
HAS just Received a few Sets of beautifully
 CARVED SOLID ROSEWOOD
DRAWING-ROOM CHAIRS,
 With COUCHES to match, of the most modern patterns
A splendid assortment of
SWING TOILET GLASSES,
 Cheval do., Shaving do., GILT FRAMES of all sizes;
 GILT MOULDINGS, which he will make up to order.
 Also, Mahogany Wardrobes, Ladies' Writing Tables,
 Ladies' Work Boxes, Brass Bedsteads, Portable Bed-
 steps, Burdets, Mahogany Chests Drawers, Coffee Ta-
 bles, Work do., Birch and Stained Chairs, American do.
 Windsor do., Horse-hair and Wool ~~Mattresses~~,
 do Bolsters, Feather Pillows, Wheel Barrows, Washing
 Tubs, &c. &c. &c.
 Graham's Town, Dec. 4th, 1845.

Fig. 13

EASTERN PROVINCE
TRUST COMPANY.
In the Intestate Estate of Joshua
D. NORDEN.
ON THURSDAY.
 The 11th FEBRUARY Next,
WILL BE SOLD, opposite the residence of
 the late J. D. NORDEN, on Settler's
 Hill, the undermentioned Moveable Property, viz:—
 10 Oil Paintings in Gilt Frames
 1 Large Pier Glass in do.
 3 do. Mirrors do.
 2 Smaller do. do.
 4 Curtain Poles, and—4 sets Elegant Drawing
 Room Curtains
 2 Glass Chandeliers
 1 Excellent Rosewood Loo Table
 3 do do Card and Sofa do
 1 Papier Mache Table
 2 Marble and Gilt do
 2 Very Elegant Rosewood Conches, covered with
 Crimson Damask
 10 Rosewood Chairs to match
 8 Mahogany Easy Chairs,
 1 Rosewood Cheffoneer
 1 Large Brussels Carpet
 3 Table Lamps
 A Very superior Eight Day Clock in Mahogany
 Case
 1 Book Case, and Set Drawers
 1 Very large and Elegant Or Molu Time Piece on
 Stand:
 2 do. do. Smaller
 Wash Stands,
 Drawers
 And a great variety of HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE,
 too numerous to mention.
PLATE:
 A large and very Elegant Service of PLATE,
 consisting of,—
 4 large and Elegantly Chased Silver Candlesticks
 Butter Coolers
 Bread Baskets
 Branch Candlesticks
 Dishes and Covers
 A large quantity of Queen's Pattern Massive Silver
 Spoons & Forks.
Glassware,
Crockeryware,
THE LONDON ENCYCLOPEDIA
 in 22 vols. Elegantly Bound, and
 A FEW STANDARD WORKS.

Fig. 14

In 1839 (GTJ 27.6, 1c2) James B. Barnes, an attorney in Chapel Street, was selling a large quantity of his household furniture, including a mahogany sofa with horse hair cover and six handsome chairs to match. Storekeeper William Wright, leaving Grahamstown for some years in 1841 (GTJ 25.3, 1c2), included his two new horsehair sofas with mahogany chairs to match when he advertised a few articles of furniture for private sale.

The first advertisement for new 'in suit' furniture imported from England was inserted in the Journal by Charles H. Caldecott⁵ in 1844 (3.10, 1c5). It was for two sets of handsome mahogany drawing room chairs, with two couches to match. In December 1845 Joseph Hart, proprietor of the Furniture Warehouse, Church Square (see Chapter 8) imported a set of twelve rosewood drawing room chairs with couches to match (Fig. 13). Auctioneer Joshua D. Norden's intestate sale also included a rosewood suit (Fig. 14). William Wright, returning to Grahamstown in 1849 (GTJ 30.6, 1c5), brought out a consignment of furniture from England "made expressly for this Colony . . . in most modern style", which included drawing room suites in rosewood, covered in rich crimson silk tabinette [sic], as well as mahogany suites covered in horsehair.

Textiles used to Cover Suites &c.

An analysis of the textiles used to cover drawing room suites, sofas, couches and ottomans advertised in the Graham's

⁵ Caldecott was trading as a wine merchant in Bathurst Street, Grahamstown in 1837, but by the end of 1838 had established himself in Port Elizabeth as a general shipping and commercial agent (GTJ 9.11.1837, 1c2, and 1.11.1838, 4c1).

TABLE 14

TEXTILES USED TO COVER DRAWING ROOM SUITES, SOFAS, COUCHES & OTTOMANS
GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL ADVERTISEMENTS 1831-53

Fabric	Year First Advertised	New	Second Hand	Total	No. of Adverts.	% of adverts in which each textile appeared
Horsehair	1837	17	25	42	66	63.6 = 64%
Damask	1843	4	8	12		18.2 = 18%
Chintz	1836	4	3	7		10.6 = 11%
Leather	1853	1	1	2		3.1 = 3%
Tabinet	1849	1		1		1.5 = 1%
Velvet	1853	1		1		1.5 = 1%
Brussels Carpet	1843		1	1		1.5 = 1%

SALE OF FURNITURE.

IN consequence of the death of Mrs. EATON, the Undersigned has received instructions to
SELL BY

Public Auction,
ON TUESDAY, THE 7TH NOVEMBER,
At 12 o'Clock precisely, a

Portion of Mr. Eaton's Furniture,

Consisting of—

Rosewood Occasional and Card Tables,
Do. Ladies Work Table,
Mahogany Dining Table,
Do. Cheffoniers,
Do. Easy Chairs, spring cushions,
Damask and Muslin Window Curtains,
So'fa and Ottoman to match curtains,
Imitation Rosewood Chairs,
Carpet 18 x 13,
Floor Cloth—Hearth Rug,
Harp, Flute, Double Flageolet,
Table and Candle Lamps, with Candles to fit,
Desks, Pictures, Books,
Chimney Ornaments,
Mahogany 4 Post Bedstead, with Curtains and Horse
Hair Mattress,
Iron do. do. with Curtains and Mattress,
Bed-room Window Curtains,
Washhand S ands,
Wardrobes,
Toilet Glasses, and Tables,
Chest of Drawers,
A few articles of Plate,
A very superior Shower Bath,
Wheelbarrow—Gardening Tools, and a variety of
other things.

**The Sale will be held at Mr.
Eaton's Residence, (Mr. Dyason's
house.)**

J. D. NORDEN, Auctioneer.

FIGURE 15 Advertisement in the
Graham's Town Journal for a
portion of Clerk of the Peace
Richard Eaton's Furniture
following the death of his wife,
Mary Anne.
2.11.1843, 1c4.

Town Journal between 1832 and 1853 (Table 14) shows that by far the greatest number were upholstered in horsehair. It was also observed that mahogany suites were more often upholstered in horsehair than those made of any other wood. An exception was High Street draper M.R. Every's "handsome Mahogany Sofa, covered with figured damask, with chairs to match", which was sold in 1850 (GTJ 13.4, 1c4).

Damask was used in less than one sixth of the advertisements. Its first mention in this context was in the Graham's Town Journal in 1843. The advertisement is particularly significant in that it was published under circumstances which make it possible to suggest with some certainty that damask was the fashionable drawing room fabric in Grahamstown in 1841.

On 3 February 1841 (GTJ 4.2, 1c5) Richard John Eaton, Clerk of the Peace for Albany, was married by Special Licence to Mary Anne, only daughter of George C. Sanford, Assistant Commissary General to Her Majesty's Forces at the Cape of Good Hope, who had been stationed in Grahamstown for a number of years. Mary Anne was sixteen years of age. The couple set up house, and as their social standing was high in Grahamstown society due to Eaton's position⁶ and that of his wife's father, added to which Mary Anne was a close friend of Col. Henry Somerset's daughters (see Chapter 3), it is reasonable to expect that they furnished their home in accordance with fashionable standards in Grahamstown,

⁶ As Clerk of the Peace, Eaton was earning £250 per annum in 1841, the third most remunerative post in the civil establishment of the eastern districts (see Chapter 3).

FIGURE 16

Advertisement in the
Graham's Town Journal
inserted by C. & H. Maynard,
Merchants. It was the first
substantial imported
furnishings advertisement
to be published in the
Journal.
24.3.1836, 1c2.

SPLENDID FURNITURE PER "COMET."

THE Undersigned expect to receive by the
brig, "COMET," Capt. PATERSON, early
in the month of April, direct from London, the
following assortment of elegant Furniture, which
will be for Sale at their Stores, either here or at
Port Elizabeth.

The attention of the Public is particularly
called to this Shipment, as it has been selected
with much judgment, and presents the first
opportunity that has offered here of House
keepers *en suite*; the arrival will consist of—

Mahogany Chairs, French Polished, Stuffed,
Horse-hair Seats, Brass Moulding, with two
Elbows; Sofa and Couch to match, Squabs loose.

Mahogany Sideboards, Wardrobes, Drawers,
and Cheffoniers.

Sets of Mahogany patent extending Dining
Tables, with loose Flaps and Brass Fastenings,
handsome turned Legs 8 ft. 9 in. and 4 ft. wide.
do. do. 8 ft 2 in. by 4 ft. wide.

Mahogany two flap Dining Tables on turned
Legs and Castors.

Do. Breakfast Tables on Pillar and Claw.

French polished Mahogany Card Tables.

Do. do. Occasional Tables, with two Drawers
in frame, &c.

Loo Tables, Dressing Tables, Washing
Stands, Bidettes, Bedsteps, Commodes, Mu-
sic Stools, Writing Desks, Hassocks, Ottomans,
Bell Ropes, Window Curtains of Moreen and
Chintz, Horse hair Mattresses, Straw Pallasses,
&c. &c.

Melbourne, Grafton, and Napoleon easy
Chairs, covered with Leather, blue and silver
Merino, Damask, Chintz, &c.

Handsome four-post French and other Bed-
steads, with Furniture of a suitable description
complete.

Kidderminster Carpeting, and Hearth Rugs to
match.

Elegant gilt framed Chimney, Pier, and
Dressing Glasses, of the following dimensions:

47 x 23,	44 x 27,	48 x 26,	45 x 24,	22 x 13,
24 x 14,	28 x 15,	26 x 15,	27 x 16,	31 x 18,
29 x 17,	33 x 20,	16 x 12,	17 x 13,	18 x 12,
19 x 14,	11 x 8,	10 x 8,	9 x 7,	&c. &c.

All of which will be offered on very rea-
sonable terms, and at liberal credits.

C. & H. MAYNARD.

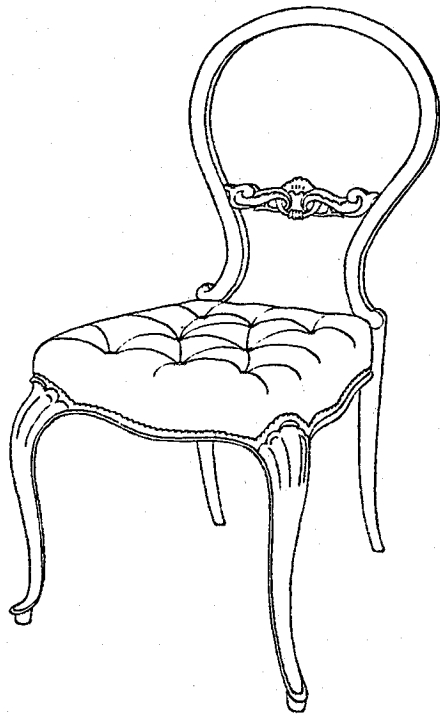
••• Designs of the Bedsteads and Window
Curtains may be seen.

dictated to a large extent by what was available on the market. On 17 October 1843, Mary Anne Eaton died on the same day as her eight day old daughter (GTJ 19.10.1843, 2c3). The shock killed her father who died of apoplexy that night (GTJ 19.10.1843, 2c3). Less than a month after Mary Anne's death, her husband sold their joint furniture (Fig. 15). A feature of the sale was the matching damask covered sofa and ottoman upholstered to match the damask window curtains.

Chintz sofa and chair covers were included in Edward Norton's sale in 1836 (Fig. 11), but chintz was also being imported new from London in March of that year (Fig. 16). The advertisement was inserted by C. & H. Maynard, merchant brothers, and was the first to appear in the Journal detailing the contents of a large consignment of imported English furniture. The consignment included chairs upholstered in chintz, as well as leather, merino and damask. Ready made curtains of chintz and moreen, designs of which were available before the consignment actually arrived in Grahamstown, were also advertised. J.D. Norden & Co., auctioneers, put up for sale a chintz covered sofa, probably new, in 1839 (GTJ 26.12, 1c2), but no further references appear until 1849 (GTJ 20.1, 4c3) when Thomas Shaw, carpenter and cabinet maker in Bathurst Street, included in his first advertisement two couches covered with chintz.

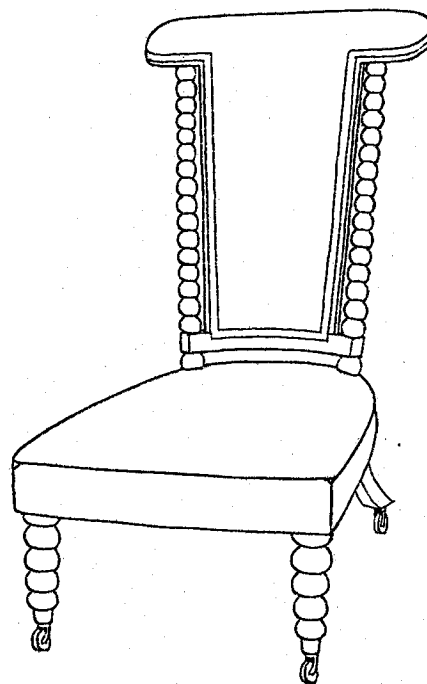
The use of chintz in the 1830s and late 1840s in Grahamstown is of particular interest. Chintz was a fabric which was in vogue in the late eighteenth century, and revived again in the

PLATE 30 Illustrations of Various Types of Chair Referred to in
Advertisements in the *Graham's Town Journal*, 1832-53.



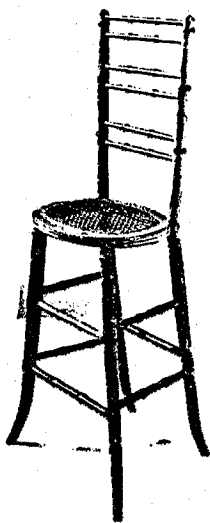
178 Balloon-back chair, c. 1850

(a)



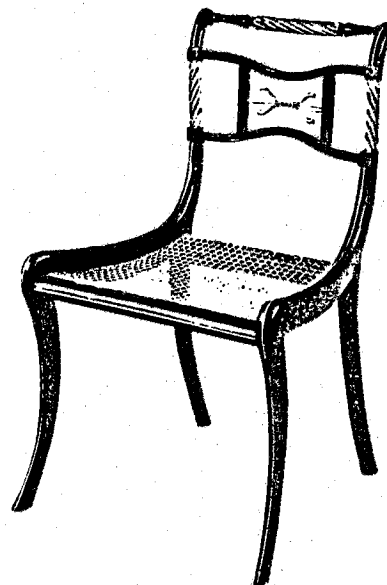
179 Prie-dieu chair, early Victorian

(b)



Astley-Cooper 'Corrective' Chair of painted wood, early 19th century. These chairs were designed to encourage children to sit upright. (Victoria and Albert Museum).

(c)



753 One of the supremely beautiful examples of Regency design was the 'Trafalgar' chair, so called because it reached the height of development in 1805, the year of Nelson's famous victory. The gilt cable-moulding of the back is a nautical emblem. The design derives from an ancient Greek model. Royal Pavilion, Brighton

(d)

Sources: a & b: Joy 1962, 72; c: Sparkes 1973, 100; d: Musgrave 1969, 203.

late nineteenth century. Its continued use may be seen as a measure of Grahamstown's isolation from fashionable trends. On the other hand, it may well have been due to the light, gay appearance of the fabric and the ease with which it could be laundered, both factors which could account for a degree of continued popularity in the more relaxed colonial atmosphere.

Imported English Furniture: Chairs

Chairs of various kinds were the main article of furniture in all domestic dwellings. It is appropriate to discuss this form of seating after the other furnishings as chairs were the main foreign imports sold in Grahamstown, and formed an important, dominant element of the market for local colonial made furniture.

The Grahamstown room inventories (Appendix C4.1-8) do not usually distinguish chair styles. Reference is made to 'arm chairs', 'common', 'easy' and 'painted' chairs, and more, often, simply 'chairs'.

The Graham's Town Journal is much more informative, but even in its columns there are no references to one of the most distinctive products of the early Victorian period, the balloon-back chair. In 1830 the balloon-back (Plate 30a) was unknown, but by 1860 it had become the most popular chair in both drawing- and dining rooms (Floud 1958, 43-44). It should not, however, be concluded that the balloon-back was not imported. Consignments simply listed as 'mahogany chairs', 'Spanish Mahogany chairs of the latest pattern', 'rosewood drawing room chairs', etc. etc. would certainly have included balloon-back chairs.

FIGURE 17 (below)
GTJ 27.2.1840, 1c5

FIGURE 18 (right)
GTJ 6.3.1845, 1c3

SPLENDID FURNITURE.

NOW unpacked and for sale on very moderate terms, some of the best Furniture that has recently reached this frontier.—viz

2 Handsome Mahogany Carved double headed Couches with Squabs and Bolsters stuffed with horse hair, covered in fine Sattin hair cloth, brass mouldings, good castors, french polished, made portable.

2 do. do. do. Sofas do. with 2 hair Bolsters, to each do. do.

2 Handsome Mahogany Recumbent Chairs with spring stuffed seats and Backs, covered in Claret coloured Leather finished with Gimp.

Handsome Honduras Mahogany dining Room Chairs, covered in hair cloth French polished, made portable do. do. do. Trafalgar do. with loose Seats.

Best improved Shower Baths, with force Pumps attached to throw the water into the Cisterns, conducting tubes and Curtains complete, Japaned Bamboo.

A large Mahogany patent fixed Water Closet, a Cistern and force Pump attached, with Earthen Basin, intended for a fixture, emptying itself into a drain or Cesspool, thus retaining all the advantages of a Water Closet, French polished, and corners brass bound.

Mahogany patent portable Water Closets, Cisterns and force Pumps attached with Earthen Basins, and receivers under, French polished.

Japaned do. do. finished with Black Straps.

A 3ft. 3 Mahogany handsomely finished Dressing Table.

A 3ft. 6 Stout Mahogany Chest of Drawers with tumbler Locks, fine wood best made with turned feet and wax polished.

A 3ft. do. do. do. with do. do.

Stout Mahogany 2 tier Bedsteads covered with Brussels carpet and Night convenience.

Stout Mahogany Biddets with Queen's ware Linnen and turned Legs.

A 4ft. 6 Elliptic top tent Bedstead with carved Mahogany Honduras Pillars Iron Castors complete.

Imitation rose wood Childrens Stools assorted sizes.

Imitation rose wood Walking Stools, 3 and 4 legs.

Rose wood Ottoman Stools, covered in green damask gold cord tassels.

Rose wood Ottoman Stools, covered in Crimson damask gold cord tassels.

Stout Mahogany Foot Stools covered in Brussels carpeting.

Hassecks covered with Brussels carpeting.

do. do. do. Printed Floor Cloth

Best Town made Glue.

Second quality Horse hair in the hard curl.

LOOKING GLASSES.

A fine brilliant Plate Chimney Glass richly carved and finished in Mat and burnished Gold frame, with stout paneled blind Frames, 48 x 26.

A do. do. do. do. 46 x 26.

A do. do. do. do. 44 x 24.

do. do. do. do. 42 x 22.

do. do. do. do. 40 x 21.

Fine brilliant plate, French polished, Cheval Glasses on handsome Mahogany turned frames with pannel backs, 38 x 20.

Fine brilliant plate pier Glasses in handsome carved Mat and burnished Gold frames, with backboards to do. 24 x 14.

do. do. do. do. 22 x 13.

Fine brilliant plate, french polished, Dressing Box Glasses elegantly furnished 18 x 14.

do. do. do. do. 16 x 11 & 13 x 10.

Fine brilliant plate, Mahogany Plateau Glasses handsomely furnished, 16 x 12, 15 x 11 & 14 x 10.

C. & H. MAYNARD

* In the event of orders from the Country, the Goods will be carefully repacked.

EXTENSIVE AND VALUABLE Household Furniture.

THE Undersigned has received Instructions from COLONEL SOMERSET, to Sell by PUBLIC AUCTION,

At his Residence, "OATLANDS," ON

TUESDAY Next,

The 11th instant,

WITHOUT THE LEAST RESERVE,

A handsome

Drawing-room Furniture IN SUIT,

Consisting of 12 Chairs, and 2 Rosewood Scroll Sofas, with blue silk damask Covers, Card, Loo, and Sofa Tables to match; solid Spanish Mahogany Pedestal Sideboards, do. Dining Table, with six extra Leaves, 12 handsome Mahogany Chairs with Morocco seats and backs, 3 Woburn Easy Chairs with spring seats, 2 solid Mahogany Dumb Waiters, 3 very splendid Pier & Chimney Glasses, plate 60 x 40 in. Maple Frames, one elegant white Marble Pedestal Table, one handsome Spar Pedestal do., two very splendid Rosewood Book-cases, one very splendid Piano Forte by Clemente & Co., a Music Stool to match, one Rosewood Work Table, very splendid; Washhand and Dressing Tables of solid Mahogany, with Marble Tops, one very handsome solid Mahogany Wardrobe, do. 7 foot Stinkwood do., one tall by Chest of Drawers, one Rosewood Couch, one splendid Cheval Glass, 3 Ormold 6-light Chandeliers, a one-Glass do.; Brussels and Kidderminster Carpets, 21 by 18.

Bed-room Furniture,

Consisting of 8 Japan French Bedsteads, 8 Dressing Tables, 8 Washhand Stands, 3 Chests of Drawers, and Dressing Glasses to match; one handsome Eight-Day Clock, 2 do. Alabaster Chimney Vases, one pair Chinese Screens,

ONE CAMERA OBSCURA,

Several sets of Drawing, Dining, and Bed-room Curtains, 3 very handsome Polish Steel Fenders, inlaid in gilt, with Fire Irons to match.

A NUMBER OF

RICH FRAMED PRINCELY PAINTINGS

Together with a variety of

Bedroom and other Furniture,

Too numerous to mention.

Plate and Plated Ware.

Consisting of one handsome plated, with silver edge,

DINNER SERVICE,

Consisting of 4 large centre Dishes and Covers, 4 corner Dishes do., to form 8, if necessary; one sett of do., consisting of 4 corner Dishes, to form 8, 4 Sauce Tureens, 1 Soup Tureen, 1 large Vegetable Dish with four divisions, 1 pair of splendid WINE COOLERS, silver edge; Cruet Stand, Egg and Pickle Stand, one splendid pair Plated Branch 6 Lights, two pair Drawing-room Candlesticks, with four Chamber do. to match; one pair Cut-glass Butter Pots, with Plated Covers and Stands.

400 OZ. OF SILVER PLATE,

Consisting of Table, Gravy, Dessert, and Tea Spoons, do. do. Forks, Soup and Gravy Ladles, Fish Slice, 3 pair Saltcellars, with Spoons, Drinking Cup, Bread Baskets, &c. &c. &c.

China and Crockery,

Consisting of one handsome Dresden China

DESSERT SERVICE,

Blue and Gold Enamelled Dinner and Dessert Plates, and Cut-glass Decanters, Claret Bottles, Water Jugs, Wine Glasses and Tumblers, Jelly and Custard Glasses, &c. &c.

500 VOLS. OF STANDARD WORKS,
A Catalogue of which will be published previous to the Sale.

SEVERAL DOZEN OF

PORT AND SHERRY, 30 years' old.

At the same time will be sold a small Lot of Choice Albany Bred Cows and Oxen,

THREE PAIR CART OXEN,

CARTS, WAGONS,

And a variety of useful Articles, which will be exhibited on the day of Sale.

J. D. NORDEN, Auctioneer

Specific mention is made of the other two distinctive chairs of the period, the prie-dieu and Sir Astley Cooper's straight backed children's chair (Plate 30b & c). The balloon-back was an indigenous English design, unlike the prieu-dieu which appears to have been derived from the high cane-backed Charles II chair which was introduced in England following the return of Charles II's court from the Continent in the 1660s (Hughes 1968, 69). The prieu-dieu had two versions, the less sophisticated being a chair with a long straight T-shaped back with a padded arm-rest top, and low padded seat, suitable for kneeling. It became a fashionable article of furniture in the early Victorian drawing room. The Astley Cooper chair was specially designed by anatomist Sir Astley Cooper (1798-1841). It had a much taller back than usual, and a wide crest rail. Its flared legs were well supported by stretchers, and it included a footrest (Hughes 1968, 91 and Sparkes 1973, 100-01).

Other chair styles which are mentioned in the Graham's Town Journal and appear from description or context to have been considered suitable for use in the reception room, include Melbourn, Grafton and Napoleon easy chairs, covered with leather, blue and silver merino, damask, chintz, etc. These were part of a consignment of furniture imported by merchants C. & H. Maynard in 1836 (Fig. 16). Such trade names are difficult to trace,⁷ unlike the Trafalgar chair (Plate 30d), a fashionable name given to various types of chairs made after the Battle of

⁷ Personal communication from the Deputy Keeper, Department of Furniture and Interior Design, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 11 July 1986.

Trafalgar in 1805. Mahogany Trafalgar chairs with loose seats covered in hair cloth and with brass mouldings were imported by C. & H. Maynard in 1839 (GTJ 24.10, 1c2), and advertised again in 1840 (Fig. 17). One set was made portable. Joseph Lawrence, owner of Grahamstown's first Furniture Repository, Church Square, in the early 1840s (see Chapter 8), was advertising imported Trafalgar chairs with cane seats in 1844 (GTJ 12.9, 1c3), and again in 1846 (14.2, 1c3), when he specified the wood as mahogany. Trafalgar chairs were still on the import market in 1852 (GTJ 25.12, 1c5), when Grahamstown chair and cabinet maker Joseph Hart (see Chapter 8) was advertising "Trafalgar, Lounge and Ashley [sic] Cooper's Chairs in mahogany". A year later he again had included mahogany Trafalgar chairs in hair cloth in an important consignment of furniture for sale at his London House premises in Church Square (GTJ 7.5.1853, 1c7).

Mahogany Woburn-Wobern chairs (the spelling varies), named after the Duke of Bedford's house, were advertised by auctioneers J.D. Norden & Co. in 1839 (GTJ 5.12, 4c4). They were covered in claret leather. When Col Henry Somerset was transferred to Post Victoria in 1845 Norden & Co. sold the bulk of the furniture at the Somersets' home Oatlands, and three Woburn easy chairs with spring seats were among the articles sold (Fig. 18). There are few other references to Woburn chairs, but numerous easy chairs of rosewood and mahogany are advertised in the Journal between 1832 and 1853. Easy chairs form just under a quarter of the seating found in the reception rooms of the inventory survey (Table 13).

PLATE 30 Illustrations of Various Types of Chair Referred to in
Advertisements in the *Graham's Town Journal*, 1832-53.

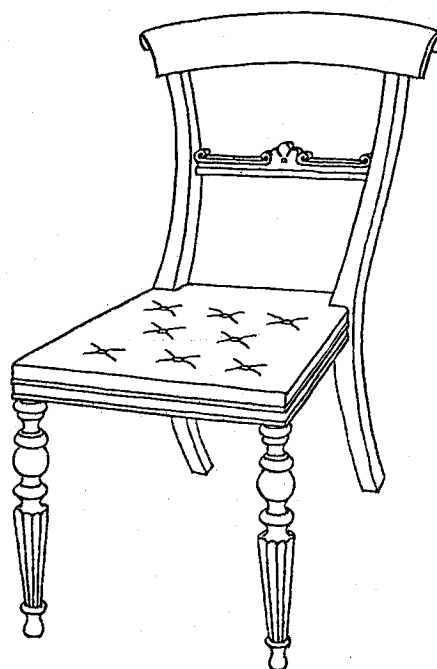


239 A much rounder version of the spoon back with later characteristics in its rococo style — the start of cranks appearing in the flowing curves of the back. Like the other chairs, it is low and would allow the easy spread of complicated garments around it without creasing them.

1850-1880

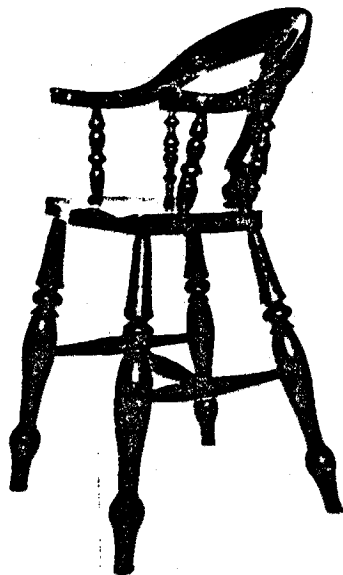
£160 — £250

(e)



177 'Grecian' chair, early Victorian
(from J. C. Loudon 1833)

(f)



Bergère bow Windsor high chair.

(g)



Two Elizabethan chairs of c. 1845 illustrating the incorporation of late Stuart features into what was supposed to be a Tudor style.

(h)

Sources: e: Andrews 1980, 103; f: Joy 1962, 72; g: Sparkes 1973, 100;
h: Joy 1977, 105.

In 1843 (GTJ 23.2, 1c3) Joseph Lawrence was carrying mahogany spoonbacks (Plate 30e) at his High Street premises. Spoonbacks originated in the early eighteenth century when the chair back was narrowed toward a round seat to enable gentlemen of fashion to drape their coat tails on either side. The spoonback was revived to accommodate the early Victorian crinoline and is also known as a compass-seat chair (Hughes 1968, 97-98).

Rosewood drawing room chairs with Grecian backs were "to be sold cheap . . . under the cost price in England", by George Willett at his Settlers' Hill home in 1844 (GTJ 1.8, 1c2). Willett was moving into the country and realizing his assets before leaving. Although the Grecian revival took place during the Regency, it persisted in the early Victorian furniture styles (Jolly 1958, 44-45). An early Victorian chair designed by London in 1833 reflects the classical simplicity of the Grecian revival (Plate 30f).

In 1845 (GTJ 13.3, 1c3) Levicks, Sherman & Kift, general merchants in Grahamstown (a branch of a Cape Town firm), imported the Astley Cooper children's chair. The 1844 Sanford inventory (Appendix C4.2) shows that a child's arm chair was to be found in the drawing room, but it is the only reception room inventory which does include one. Children's mahogany bergère chairs (Plate 31g), spelt variously as 'burgier' or 'bergier' in the Journal, were advertised on several occasions.⁸ These were

⁸ Bergère children's chair advertisements: GTJ 11.8.1842, 4c3 (C. & H. Maynard); GTJ 9.12.1848, 1c3 (Wm. Wright); GTJ 18.5.1850, 4c2 (Wm. Ogilvie).

FIGURE 19 Advertisement in the *Graham's Town Journal*
13.3.1845, 1c2.

Household Furniture, HORSES, CARRIAGE, &c.

MAJOR WORTHAM, R. E,

B EING about to leave the Frontier has au-
thorized the Undersigned to Sell by
Public Auction,

ON THE

22nd. March, 1845.

At the R. E. Quarters in Graham's Town,

THE WHOLE OF HIS

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE,

Of a Superior Description, and principally brought with him from England, consisting of Rosewood Occasional Tables, small and large Round do.; excellent Rosewood Piccolo Piano, Portable Easy-Chairs and Cushions fitting with Cases which form into Tables, Couches of different sizes, American Iron Rocking Chair a Set of Swiss Chairs, do. Cane Bottomed, Rosewood Screen Stands and Screens, Pridien Arm Chair, Arm Chairs, Music and Dressing Stools, a handsome Mirror in gilt frame, portable Washhand Stand fitting into cases, large and small Iron Bedsteads with brass ornaments, Bedding and muslin Bed Furniture, Muslin Curtains, handsome Brussels Carpets, Looking Glasses, portable Clothes Press, Childrens' Cribs, Mahogany and Cane Swinging Cot, Stinkwood Cellaret, Towel Horses, Commode, Mahogany Table, Rugs, Toilet Table, &c.

Also,

A handsomely-bound Edition of Rees's Cyclopaedia, 45 Vols 4to, fitting into a cedar Case, and various other BOOKS.

Crockery and Glass Ware,

Consisting of Dinner, Breakfast and Tea Services, hand some Argand Lamp, Gilt Lamp for Candlesticks with shades, Plated Candlesticks with shades.

Saddlery, Pistols,

A Cape-Spring Covered Cart with side curtains, lined with red Leather, stuffed Cushions.

FIVE HORSES,

A handsome bay Cape-bred Stallion, an excellent draft horse and charger.

A handsome black Gelding 4 off, got by Lottery, dam by Pompey, grand dam by Hans, as by Certificate of breeder, T. D. JOURNAL, Field Cornet of Hantam.

A good Lady's or Childrens Horse, as well as capital Hack.

And 2 other good Hacks.

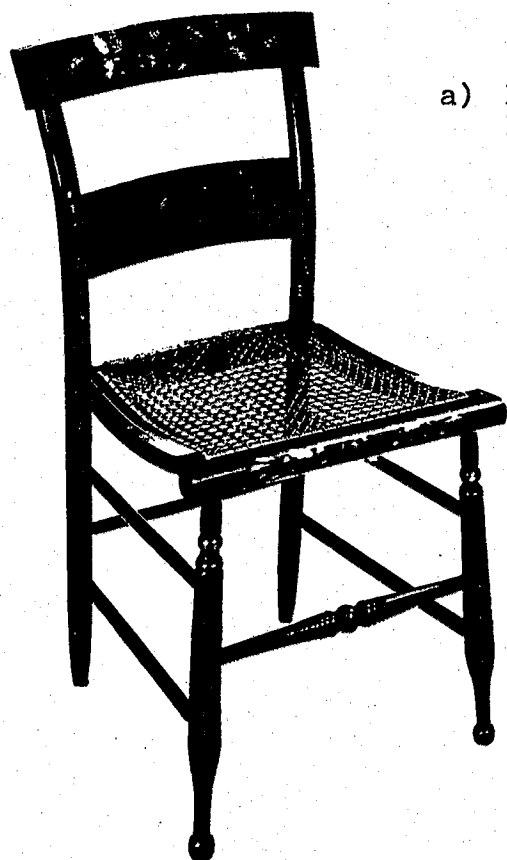
J. D. NORDEN, Auctioneer.

often made of mahogany and cane, mounted on a small table to form a high chair. This early nineteenth century child's bergère remained popular throughout the Victorian period (Gelles 1982, 69). Birch children's cane seated chairs were stocked by Joseph Hart in his Church Square Furniture Repository opposite St. George's Church, in 1845 (GTJ 8.5, 1c2).

Army officers made an important contribution to the range of furniture available on the frontier. Much of their furniture was portable, but certainly not all. Major Wortham of the Royal Engineers, when leaving the frontier in 1845 (GTJ 13.1, 1c3), included in his furniture sale a prieu-dieu arm chair and a set of Swiss chairs, another Regency fashion. The advertisement mentions that his household furniture was "Of a Superior Description, and principally brought with him from England" (Fig. 19).

There was a revival in popularity of cabriole⁹ chair legs in the mid-nineteenth century. Floud (1958, 44) comments that "after 1850 cabriole legs usually replaced the earlier straight legs for the drawing room versions of balloon-back chairs". In 1851 (GTJ 2.8, 1c3) Charles Maynard, a merchant and one of Grahamstown's most prominent citizens, returned to England. Among the furniture he sold was a rosewood cabriole lounge (a piece of furniture resembling a sofa) and cabriole chairs, covered with blue and white silk damask. As a major importer of

⁹ 'Cabriole' is derived from the French dancing term meaning to leap or caper. It describes a range of chair legs bent outwards at the knee (Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language, 1902). See Plate 30a.



a) Baltimore Hitchcock-type
Export Chair, 1825-45

Weidman 1984, Fig. 70



b) Hitchcock-type
Cape Chair

*Stellenbosch
Museum*

English furniture to Grahamstown and the eastern districts, Maynard would have been well abreast of fashion trends, and it is significant that he uses the term 'cabriole' as a selling point in the Journal. In fact, the general impression arising from a scrutiny of the inventories and Journal advertisements is, as one would expect, of a community following as closely as time lag and importers allowed, London trends.

Furniture Imported from Elsewhere

Although the bulk of furniture imports to the eastern districts of the Cape Colony were from England, a small percentage was imported from elsewhere. This included a few items imported directly from the United States. In 1848 (GTJ 1.12, 1c4) William Wright, a Grahamstown merchant, took pride in advertising an American cargo from Boston which included imitation rosewood chairs with solid or cane seats,¹⁰ as well as cane rocking chairs. In 1853 C. Andrews of neighbouring Port Elizabeth

¹⁰ According to Gregory R. Weidman (personal communication 10 July 1986), Curator of Furniture at the Museum and Library of Maryland History and author of Furniture in Maryland 1740/1940 (1984), the imitation rosewood chairs imported by Wright in 1848 were almost certainly a Baltimore Hitchcock-type export chair many of which had painted rosewood graining and stencilling (Plate 31a). In his book Weidman shows that throughout the 1820s and 1830s portable caned, rush and Windsor chairs painted in brilliant colours were advertised for export, principally for the Caribbean and South American markets (87). Some of the Baltimore chair makers' advertisements indicate that export chairs were decorated differently from those made for the local market, and some were constructed to be collapsible for easy packing. The latter was certainly characteristic of American chairs imported and sold in Grahamstown.

FIGURE 20 Advertisement from the *Graham's Town Journal* for Produce imported from the United States, including Furniture. Inserted by C. Andrews, Furniture Dealer, Port Elizabeth. 3.9.1853, 1c4.

UNITED STATES PRODUCE.

THE
UNDERSIGNED EXPECTS IMMEDIATELY,
PER

SILVER CLOUD,
FROM BOSTON,
800 BARRELS FLOUR,
Cavendish Tobacco, in 8, 10, and 18
sticks to the pound,
Do $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. lump in $\frac{1}{2}$ boxes,
Leaf Tobacco in hlds.

Pilot and Navy Bread,
Pork in barrels & half barrels,
Hams,
Water Soda and Sugar Crackers in tins
Pickled Salmon,
Dried Apples, in half Barrels,
200 boxes family Soap,
Chemical Olive Soap.



PLOUGHS,

Eagle and Self-sharpener, with extra
Points,

Hay Cutters, with spare hide Rollers,
Huut's Axes with handles, & Hatchets,
Iron Wheel Barrows,

50 dozen Painted Pails,

20 nests do. Tubs,

100 kegs Cut Nails,

Brass work Clocks,

100 cases Cider, in 1 doz. cases,

GARDEN SEEDS.

FURNITURE,

CONSISTING OF—

Mahogany and Walnut Bureaus, Mahogany
Chairs and Sofas, Horse Hair Seats, painted
Chests of Drawers, Walnut Rocking Chairs
with cane backs and seats, Walnut and
Maple Cane seat Chairs, Baltimore painted
cane seat Chairs, Ordinary wood and cane
seat Chairs.

ALSO,

TWO VERY SUPERIOR

6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Octave Pianos,

ONE ROSEWOOD, ONE MAHOGANY,

MANUFACTURED BY

CHICKERING OF BOSTON.

ON HAND—

Indian Corn Shellers, Hand or Horse Grain
Mills,

Blue Starch, Sperm and Composition Candles,
Candle Cotton, Spirits of Turpentine, Varnish,
Refined Lard Oil, Pipe and hhd. Staves, &c.

C. ANDREWS.

Port Elizabeth,

27th August, 1853

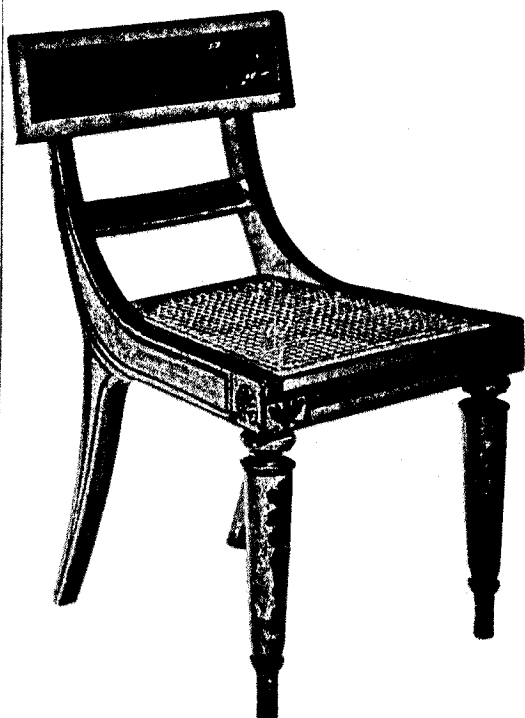
advertised in the Journal a variety of United States produce which had arrived on the Silver Cloud from Boston and included furniture (Fig. 20). Among the articles imported were mahogany chairs and sofas with horsehair seats, walnut rocking chairs with cane backs and seats, walnut and maple seat chairs, and Baltimore painted cane seat chairs (Plate 32).

A number of advertisements for 'American' chairs imported by Grahamstown merchants via England provide an interesting side light on the range of American chairs available at the Cape. Until now it has been supposed that American chairs were only imported at the Cape from the 1860s.¹¹ Fourteen advertisements for American chairs, however, have been noted from the Graham's Town Journal between 1843 and 1852 (Appendix D3), and they also appear in household inventories from 1836 (Appendix C5).

From correspondence with the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum and the Hitchcock Museum, as well as with Gregory R. Weidman, it would appear that 'American' chair was a

¹¹ Personal communication from Mrs S. von Maltzahn, former Chief Professional Officer, Stellenbosch Museum.

PLATE 32 American Chairs



a) *Left:*
Baltimore Painted Cane
Seat Chair, ca. 1820-30.
Fairbanks & Bates 1982,
257

b) Baltimore Export Chair,
Empire Style, ca. 1820-40.
Photographed in Queenstown,
Cape, late 1850s.



c) *Left:*
Decorated Baltimore
Side Chair, 1827-42.
Weidman 1984, Fig. 67

popular name outside the States for Baltimore and Hitchcock-type chairs.¹² The Journal advertisements (Appendix D3) show that American chairs were imported ready packed in sets of twelve, and included yellow, red or black (japanned) specimens with caned or solid 'plank' seats. No mention is made of stencilled decorations, arguing a plain export version. A sturdy example of a painted Baltimore export chair imported to the eastern districts is shown in Plate 32. The American chair was not to be confused with the Windsor, for an advertisement by Joseph Hart in 1845 clearly distinguished between the two. Hitchcock, however, certainly made Windsor chairs (Kenney 1971, 188-202), and it is this version which is to be found in a simplified Cape Hitchcock-type chair in the Furniture Collection at Stellenbosch Museum (Plate 31b). American chairs were an inexpensive range, selling in 1845 at £4 10s a dozen.

Tracing American chairs at the Cape would be an important contribution to the study of cross-cultural influences on locally

¹² Lambert Hitchcock of Hitchcocksville, Connecticut (fl. 1825-52), was one of America's foremost chair makers. His 'fancy' painted and stencilled chairs were the first known to have been mass-produced in America, as well as the first to have been exported on a large scale. They were decorated with stencilled motifs, a mechanical process Hitchcock had perfected and which was used with superb effect on large pieces of furniture (Fairbanks and Bates 1982, 273). The wooden chair seats were solid and well shaped, but rush was sometimes used, and the most sophisticated versions were caned (see Kenney 1971, esp. 166-203). Distinguishing characteristics of Hitchcock chairs are stencilled motifs on a rectangular slat-back or top rail, flared and tapered legs with front legs turned, and front and back stretchers positioned between double side stretchers, or single side stretchers lower than those at the front and back (Plates 32b & c).

crafted furniture, for stinkwood American chairs were included in Samuel Eley's Pepper Street parlour in Cape Town as early as 1836 (Appendix C5).

EASTERN PROVINCE TRUST COMPANY.



In the Intestate Estate of J. D. NORDEN.

On Thursday, 25th March, 1847.

WILL be sold opposite the office of the Eastern Province Trust Company, all that

Valuable Property.

on Settler's Hill, formerly the Residence of the late J. D. Norden, consisting of—

Lot 1:

**A LARGE AND COMMODIOUS
DWELLING HOUSE,**

with Out-houses, &c. attached, together with about **158 Rods of Garden Ground,** well stocked with fruit Trees. The portion of the Garden in front of the house laid out with great taste, and supplied with water from a highly

ORNAMENTAL FOUNTAIN, which may be kept constantly playing.

Lot 2:

A SMALL COTTAGE & GARDEN,

containing about **27 Rods of Land,** with entrance from Hill-street.

Lot 3:

A SMALL COTTAGE

and about **130 Rods of Garden Ground.**

J. STANDEN,

*Secretary E. P. T. C.,
For the Executor's Office.*

Graham's Town,
19th Feb., 1847.

FIGURE 21

Sale of the late Joshua D. Norden's Beaufort Street residence.

Auctioneer, Social Class III.

Graham's Town Journal

20.2.1847, 1c4.

FIGURE 22

Advertisement describing 'Eden Grove', substantial residence of Merchant James Howse, Social Class III.
Graham's Town Journal
20.3.1845, Supp. 1c4.

Leaving for England.

THE Undersigned will hold a SALE of his superior

Household Furniture,

about the middle of April next, the particulars of which will be given in a future advertisement.

THE PRESENT RESIDENCE,

"EDEN GROVE,"

Is now for Sale or to Let.

The House contains 9 Rooms, 1 Office, a Store, and 2 Servants' Rooms, a large Stable and Coach House, Corn Store; also a Wagon House. There is a large and excellent Garden, well stocked with a great variety of the choicest Fruit Trees; also a Cottage at the entrance of the gate. The present occupier will continue in the same at the rent now paid. Possession can be given about the middle of April. The above Premises are in excellent repair.

ALSO FOR SALE,

That large commodious House in Beaufort-street, containing 10 rooms, now occupied by Mr. Barber.

Also the House now occupied by Mr. J. G. Franklin, in Hill-street, and a small but convenient Cottage with a Garden near the road to Fort England, adjoining Mr. G. Jarvis's property, and now occupied by Mr. Streak. The last mentioned Houses may be sold at 8 years' credit,—that is in 8 annual instalments, bearing Interest.

Should this property not be sold privately, it will be offered on the day the Furniture is disposed of.

J. HOWSE.

5th March, 1845.

CHAPTER 7

GRAHAMSTOWN'S DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: SHAPES INSIDE II

Size and Type of Domestic Dwellings

In her study of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Cape House interiors, Carolyn Woodward (1982, 12-35) has divided the 39 household room inventories which she examined into groups based on the number of rooms detailed in the inventories. These range from one or two rooms plus kitchen, to five or more rooms plus kitchen. The five groups represent different types of houses.

In this study of early Victorian Grahamstown, associating the number of rooms with types of houses provides an indicator of the socially fluid nature of frontier society. Room inventories and house sale advertisements from the Graham's Town Journal show that size and type of dwelling cannot always be associated with membership of a particular social class, as in the far more rigid hierarchical structure of the mother country of the occupants. Auctioneer Joshua D Norden (Social Class III), for example, occupied prior to his death in 1849 a substantial stone and brick house in Beaufort Street which had six rooms, a kitchen and pantry (Fig. 21). Canteen keeper John Jolly (also Social Class III) owned a large house at Fort England. The ground floor appears to have been used as the canteen. Upstairs were a parlour, dining room and two bedrooms as well as at least two furnished attic rooms (Appendix C4.4). Houses of this size were

comparable with some of those occupied by members of Social Classes I and II.

Unlike the working classes in England, confined in general to terraced rows at the best, and tenements at the worst, where social class was built into the urban fabric of cities (see Introduction 65-68), some Grahamstown artisans (Social Class IV) had acquired sufficient means to own large properties. Ironmonger William Ogilvie's estate included a "comfortable & convenient Double-storied Dwelling House . . . containing Eight Rooms, exclusive of Halls, Pantry, Servants' Rooms, Cellar, Kitchen, Coach House, and Stables, and a Large Garden with Several Fruit Trees, well supplied with Water, and substantially enclosed by a stone wall" (GTJ 22.5.1852, 1c5). Ogilvie also owned a "Country Seat and Agricultural Estate" eight miles outside Grahamstown, known as 'Beggar's Bush'. In 1853 (GTJ 12.2, 1c3) saddler Thomas Stubbs put up for auction his family home on the south corner of High and Somerset Streets. It consisted of seven rooms "with Stabling and conveniences". On a smaller scale, but certainly in a very different social bracket from that which a working class man in a comparable occupation in England could have achieved, 27 year old William Stent, a painter, glazier, stenciller, colourer and paper hanger (GTJ 26.20.1843, 1c4) had taken transfer in 1841 of part of erf 250 with a frontage on Hill Street (Transfer Deed 2533, 18.6.1891). The double storeyed late Georgian town house which still stands on the site (Plate 20b) was almost certainly built by Stent soon afterwards. It appears in the Thornley Smith lithograph dated

ca. 1842 (Plate 8) and in Thomas Baines' oil painting of Hill Street from the south in 1848 (Plate 15b).

Dwelling houses of merchants, especially those who may be classified as Social Class II, were also substantial. The earliest described in the Graham's Town Journal was that of Edward Norton in 1836. The six roomed house was advertised as "most pleasantly situated on the Hill, on the West side of the Town, and consists of Dining Room, Sitting Room, four Bed Rooms, and two Pantries. The Out-buildings are a Bed Room, Kitchen, two Servants' rooms, Coach-House, Stable, Wine Cellar, Wood-house, &c." (GTJ 20.10.1836, 1c3: see also Chap. 6, Fig. 11). James Howse, an 1820 Settler (Sephton's Party), was a pioneer trader, particularly among the Dutch colonists. In 1831 he settled in Grahamstown where he added a butchery to his general trade. By 1836 Howse was also operating a bake-house and employed a tallow-chandler and melter (GTJ 15.5.1835, 1c1 and 31.12.1835, 4c4). At the end of 1836 he sold his business, including his retail store (GTJ 15.12.1836, 1c4 and 4c4), and by the end of 1837 had become "one of the most extensive landed proprietors" (Ayliff 1852, 30) in upper Albany and Somerset.¹ By the time Howse left on a visit

¹ The Rev. John Ayliff, pioneer missionary in the Eastern Cape, in his "Memorials of James Howse Esq." (Cory Library MS 7288) recalled that

Mr Howse's extensive acquaintance with the Dutch Colonists . . . was the cause of members of these applying to him to become the purchaser of their farms, several of which he bought, and as the Colonial Government had in the first instance granted the same land to the Dutch farmers, they were sold at a very low price to Mr Howse.

(Ayliff 1852, 34)

His losses in the 7th Frontier War (1846/47) were estimated at £32 000.

FIGURE 23 Advertisement from the *Graham's Town Journal* describing the élite New Street residence of Merchant Charles Maynard, Social Class II. 14.6.1851, 1c1.



Residence for Sale.

THE undersigned offers for Sale on Liberal Terms, his Residence, and full Erf of Garden Ground therewith, situate in New-street,

The Premises are well known as spacious, comfortable, and complete for a family; Water is laid on, and reaches the upper rooms of the house; the Garden is stocked with excellent fruit trees, and the situation and position of this property is in every respect convenient and desirable.

The House has an excellent Hall entrance, from which are dining and withdrawing rooms, opening by folding doors, 20 feet x 18; a lofty bed-room, 18 x 13.

A room used for School purposes.

A convenient Pantry and daily store-room.

Entrance to a large day Nursery with sleeping room adjoining.

Upstairs—five other airy Bed rooms—all under zinc roofing.

There is on the ground floor a man servant's pantry and sleeping room, a Kitchen fitted with hot plate and scullery.

Beneath the dining and other rooms is a Laundry and Store accommodation, with a separate Wine Cellar.

The Outbuildings consist of Coach house and Stabling for seven horses, with Harness-room and Knife house.

A residence for the Gardener is placed in the centre of the grounds.

C. MAYNARD

Parties desirous of viewing the Property will be readily met between the hours of three and five o'clock, on Mondays, the 16th and 23rd, and Wednesdays, the 18th and 25th instant, the family being in occupation.

to England in 1845, he was also the owner of a substantial nine roomed residence, 'Eden Grove', in Grahamstown, adjacent to the Drostdy Grounds (Fig. 22, facing p. 196). Socially, by 1835 it appears that James Howse had moved from Social Class IV to II. The size and type of his dwelling suggest this, but an entry in his Journal would seem to confirm his social position in Grahamstown society:

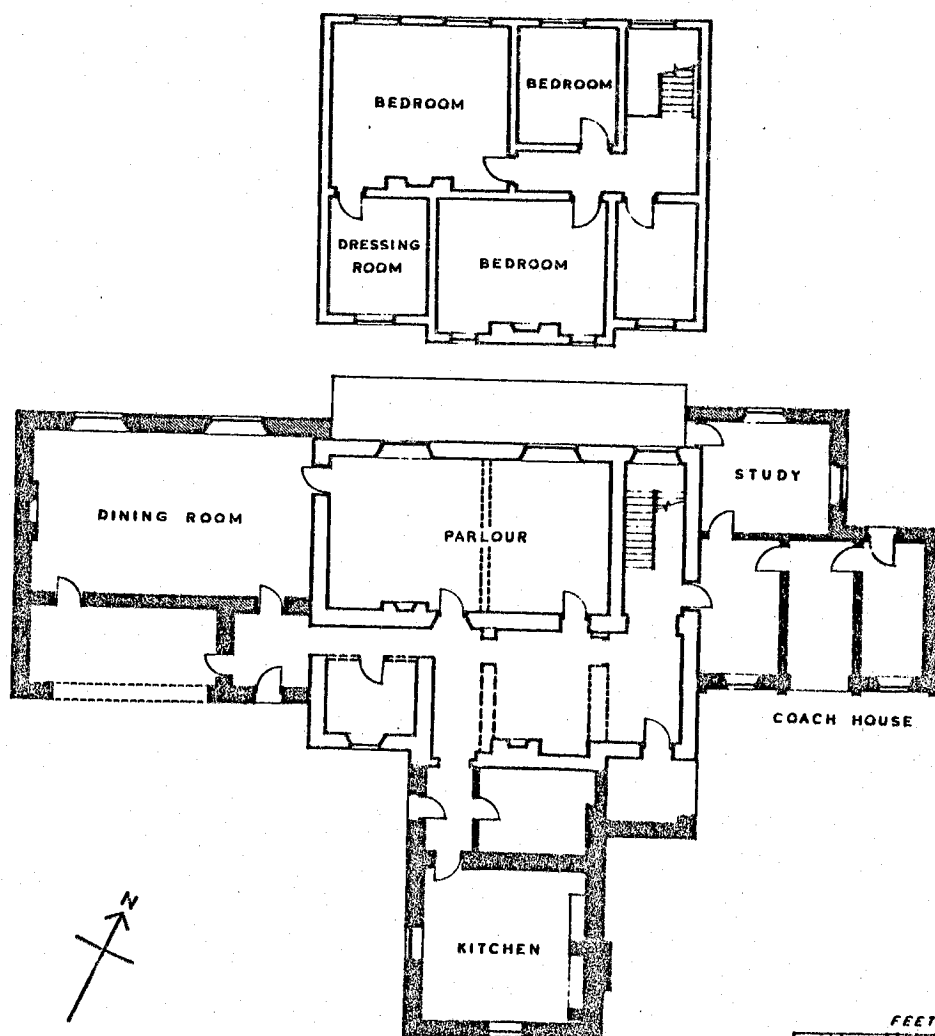
Saturday Dec, 19th, 1835. I went out of Town to the residence of Captain Campbell, Civil Commissioner of the District of Albany, for the benefit of a change of air, and returned yesterday much better for the change. Captain Campbell and his lady were most kind to me and my son. We had a nice room to ourselves. . . .

(Ayliff 1952, 27)

Merchants Charles Maynard, Charles Pakenham and James Black, all of whom may be classified as Social Class II, also occupied substantial houses. Of the three, Maynard appears to have made the most sophisticated use of his domestic space (Fig. 23) Pakenham's eight roomed double storeyed residence in upper Bathurst Street, Settler's Hill, comprised "four capacious Rooms and Pantry" on the ground floor, plus kitchen and servant's room, and "4 airy Apartments and Dressing Rooms" on the upper floor (GTJ 18.1.1853, 1c5). Selwyn Castle (Plate 23a) was the residence of James Black 1853. Despite its large size, it only had (and still has) two large rooms on the ground floor, the parlour and dining room, and a small study in addition to the kitchen and other domestic offices. Upstairs were three bedrooms and a dressing room (Fig. 24, facing p. 200).

While it is likely that type and size of house in early Victorian Grahamstown may be related to a predictable social

FIGURE 24 Domestic Spaces: Upper and Lower Floor Plans, Selwyn Castle, New Street, Grahamstown.



Reproduced from Lewcock 1963, 291.

class (as for example the flat roofed four roomed settler cottage, 9 Cross Street Artificers' Square, which belonged to labourer Joseph Trimble, Social Class V, Plate 19d & e), in the light of the examples above the association between size and type of dwelling should only be made when sufficient houses have been linked to their occupants for a possible pattern to emerge. As it is not easy to obtain the necessary data, for the purpose of this study five types of domestic dwelling in early Victorian Grahamstown have been suggested (Chap. 6, 154) and illustrated (Plates 19-23) as part of the general conceptual framework necessary for the consideration of the furnishings of domestic interior spaces in the town.

Differentiation of Function within Domestic Dwellings

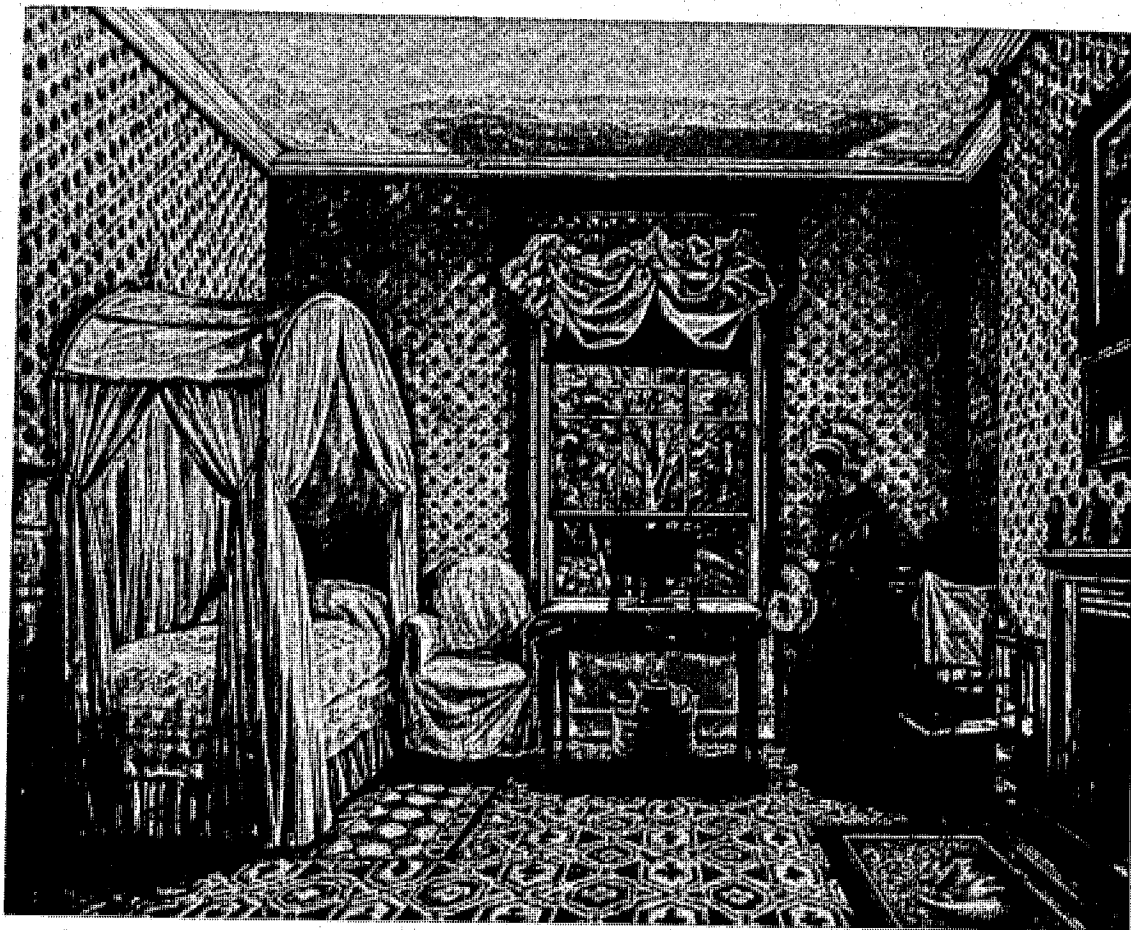
In retrospect it appears that in the nineteenth century the dominant principle of domestic interior design was differentiation of function (Muthesius 1982, 45, 143-46). It was, of course, a gradual, sometimes almost imperceptible change, but the allocation of rooms for specific purposes was becoming what by the twentieth century is an unquestioned norm in western society.

The Grahamstown room inventories show that the gradual separation of function was slowest at the lower end of the social spectrum. The distinction between drawing room, dining room, bedroom and kitchen is clear in the homes of Assistant Commissary General George Sanford (Social Class I), and those of merchants James Black and Charles Pakenham. The dining and withdrawing rooms of the Norden household, are not distinct despite the

presence of a dining room (Appendix C4.5). When the furnishings of the rooms are examined, there is only an old rosewood card table in the dining room, and no chairs. The two drawing rooms, on the other hand, contain six rosewood and mahogany tables and two marble side tables, ten pine and seven stinkwood chairs. The two tables and two forms in the kitchen indicate that some meals, certainly those of the children, could have been taken there. Baker John Jardine's Beaufort Street home (Appendix C4.3) boasted two parlours, a bedroom, pantry and kitchen and included the shop. Parlour No. 1 appears to have been used as parlour-dining room as it had a table and six chairs. Parlour No. 2 contained only a secretary, and the kitchen had a table but no seating of any kind. Canteen keeper John Jolly has a clearly furnished and named dining room, but included in his 'First Room up stairs' a wardrobe and set of dressing tables in addition to its parlour furnishings (Appendix C4.4). The Trimbles appear to have combined parlour and dining room in their 'Room to the right' (Appendix C4.6).

The need for privacy was a largely unconscious upper class Georgian tradition which was transplanted into frontier soil in the spatial form of domestic dwellings which distinguished between living and sleeping quarters. The simplest settler cottage contained two such rooms, frequently extended by a lean-to at the back of the house (Plate 19a & b).

For labourers and many artisans this offered very different living standards from the overcrowded urban tenement life. As the settlement became more prosperous, the standard of



Bedroom, Langton Hall, Yorkshire ca. 1835
Watercolour by Mary Ellen Best.

Private Collection

Reproduced from *The World of Mary Ellen Best*
by Caroline Davidson, London: Chatto & Windus, 1985

construction improved, and a larger number of rooms became the norm. A more substantial version of the settler cottage was the house in Artificers' Square advertised in 1840, but probably built some ten or more years before, described as being "under double Store [sic], containing a Shop, two Parlours, and a Kitchen on the Ground Floor, with Fixtures, and three Bed Rooms up Stairs" (GTJ 4.6.1840, 1c3).

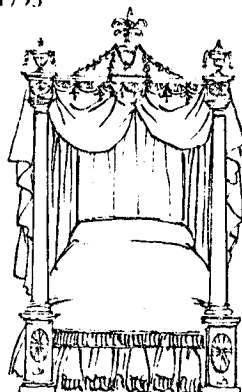
Bedrooms

In early Victorian Grahamstown bedrooms were in general recognizable as distinctive rooms. A study of Grahamstown room inventories suggests that basic bedroom furnishings included a four poster bed which probably had bed furniture (curtains, bands, and other drapery), a chest of drawers, wash stand with ewer and basin, and a looking glass. Bedding consisted of a horsehair mattress, feather bed, feather pillows, bolster, sheets and blankets. Clothes were kept in a clothes press, wardrobe or box, but this was not necessarily in the bedroom. These items appear in Trimble's Cross Street cottage bedroom as well as in Assistant Commissary General Sanford's Bell Street home (Social Class I), although clearly the quality of the furnishings differed. Mary Ellen Best's watercolour of a bedroom at Langton Hall, Yorkshire ca. 1835 (Plate 33) is an exact and charming study which not only includes the basic bedroom furnishings, but conveys as sense of the vibrant, yet restrained, early Victorian sense of interior design and decoration.

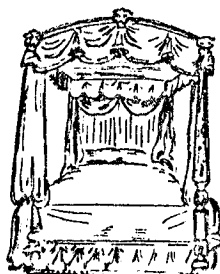
Room inventories, however, provide only a small window through which one can glimpse past furnishings. Examination of

FIGURE 25 Illustrations of Four Poster and Tent Bedsteads Referred to in Grahamstown Advertisements and Inventories 1832-53.

Mahogany four-poster bed
c. 1795

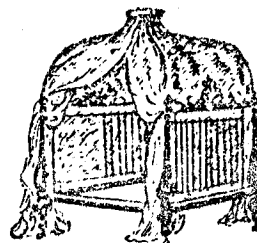
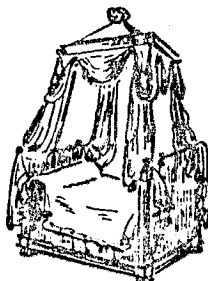


(i)



Early 19th-century beds.

(ii)



Victorian
metal tent bed with its furnishings.

(iii)

Splendid Furniture.
JOSEPH HART is now unpacking a splendid assortment of the most
Modern Furniture,
Just arrived direct from London,
 Consisting of -
 Loo Tables, various sizes, Card do., Dining and Pembroke do., Toilet do. and Washhand Stands,
Mahogany Four-post Bedsteads
 with Cornices,
 Tent and patent brass Bedsteads, Mahogany Sofas and Chairs with horse hair bottoms, Birch Chairs with cane seats, Children's do.
Handsome Work Boxes,
 Looking Glasses, Picture frames, Gilt Cornices, Music Stools, &c. &c.
 J. H. can warrant the above as being of first-rate manufacture, it having been ordered by him expressly for this market.
Furniture Warehouse, Church-square, and at the Upper stores of Mr. W. Ogilvie.

(iv)

Graham's Town Journal
 9.1.1847, 4c3

Sources: (i) Yarwood 1983, 109; (ii & iii) Hughes 1968, 336, 338.

the 36 Grahamstown inventories shows that in 1834 trader Charles Breeze (Social Class III), also of Cross Street, Artificers' Square, owned only a stump bedstead, a mattress and small quantity of bedding. An oak chest presumably held his clothes (MOIB 2/686 No. 86, 8.8.1848). John Wilson, a mason in Beaufort Street who owned his own house, appears only to have had a bedstead, bedding and two boxes in his bedroom when he died in 1838. Two tables, a chair, a form and "sundry other articles and household utensils" completed his household furnishing (MOOC 7/1/147, Inv. 19, 1838).

Advertisements in the Graham's Town Journal give a far wider perspective on bedroom furnishings than do the inventories. Out of 145 bedstead advertisements nearly 39% (56/145) were for four posters, mainly made of mahogany (Fig. 25). Bed furniture appears to have been in greater use between 1832 and 1845 than later, as over 60% (21/34) of the four poster advertisements for these years included bed curtains. There is a marked drop off after this.

Tent bedsteads (Fig. 25 and Plate 33), a lighter version of the four poster with a "domed or arched canopy" resembling a tent when the bed curtains were drawn (Hughes 1968, 341) were also advertised frequently in the 1830s and 1840s. The first advertisement for new Tent bedsteads is for "Japan, drab and green Tent bedsteads" imported by J.D. Norden in 1839 (GTJ 9.5, 1c3). These would have been painted iron, and the preponderance of advertisements for metal tent beds over wooden versions is understandable if design is considered to be 'lighter'.

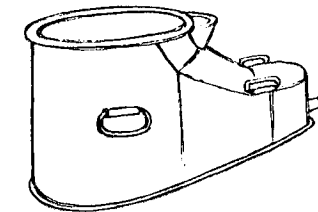
It is Elizabeth Aslin's contention that four poster and tent

bedsteads were "in almost universal use" in the early 1830s, but that by the mid-1850s 'French' bedsteads "with a single pole projecting from the wall above at a right angle over which the fabric was draped" had become all the rage (Aslin 1962, 35). As far as British imports to Grahamstown's nearest port, Algoa Bay, are concerned, the Graham's Town Journal shows a scattering of French beds from 1839, mingled with the steady flow of four posters, tent and brass bedsteads.

The earliest mention of brass bedsteads is in 1834. Various second hand brass beds were advertised until 1844 when the first new brass bedsteads "of superior quality" were imported by James Black & Co (GTJ 28.3, 1c2). In 1845 Joseph Hart was the next to advertise new brass bedsteads (Chap. 6, Fig. 13). Brass beds were manufactured in quantity by Birmingham foundries from about 1845 (Floud 1958, 49). It was a product which soon became popular on the colonial market, and the Journal reflects a steady import trade from 1847. S.W. Dell and Joseph Hart, two of Grahamstown's main furniture dealers, imported more brass and iron beds in the early 1850s than mahogany, as, in fact, did W.R. Thompson Jun., Birkenruth & Kift, and J. Douglas.

No prices of new beds and bed furniture have been traced, although in June 1853 Charles Pote, Auctioneer, advertised a "Carved Four Post Mahogany Bestead which originally cost in London £18 (CFT 7.6, 1c2). In 1850 a double storeyed house in New Street was let for £36 per annum (GTJ 23.2, 4c4), and a York Street cottage "suitable for a Batchelor or small family" was let for £18 a year (GTJ 23.2.1850, 4c4). Another yardstick is the cost of a passage to the United States in 1852: £30 sterling on

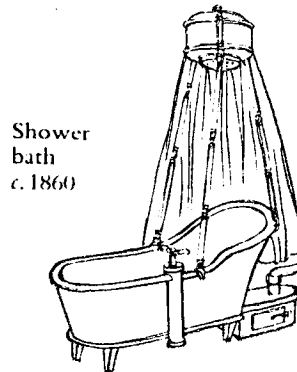
FIGURE 26 Some Bathing Facilities in Early Victorian Grahamstown



Slipper bath

(a)

Yarwood 1983, 156



Shower bath
c. 1860

(b)

Yarwood 1983, 155

(c)

Shower Baths.
FOR SALE at the Stores of the Undersigned,
a few best improved SHOWER BATHS,
with force Pump attached, to throw the water into
the Cistern, conducting tube and Curtains complete.
C. & H. MAYNARD.
20th October. 1840.

Graham's Town Journal
29.10.1840, 1c3

(d)

TO BE SOLD
BY
Private Contract
A MOST Eligible Residence and full Erf, situated in
the healthiest part of Graham's Town, and suitable
for a respectable family, with the choice of immediate pos-
session; comprising a
substantial Dwelling House,
Containing a drawing-room, 20 by 18 feet; a dining-room
20 by 15 feet; a hall 20 by 7 feet; 2 bed-rooms, each 14
by 14 feet; a room 18 by 16 feet, containing a
Shower and Cold Bath
with the water laid on; a passage by the drawing-room,
roofed with zinc and paper, 18 by 6 feet; two rooms for
servants, with kitchen, store-house and cellar, coach-house
and stables for six horses, and a
WELL
With an inexhaustible flow of WATER,
and a valuable
FORCING PUMP
attached—the whole in excellent condition.
Also,
A large Garden
well stocked with a choice assortment of fruit trees, a stone
kraal, and the whole of the property surrounded by a
stone wall.
One half of the purchase may remain on mortgage.
Terms may be known, and permission to inspect the
premises may be had, by applying at the Agency Office of
Benjamin Hadley, next door to the Agricultural and Com-
mercial Bank, Hill-street.

Graham's Town Journal
9.1.1847, 4c3

the fast sailing barque Springbok (GTJ 16.10, 4c6). If one looks at salaries, the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate Robert Graham who earned £500 per annum could certainly have purchased an expensive bed, but it would have taken a fifth of the annual £80 salary of his 2nd clerk, Mr P. de Smidt.

Bathing and Toilet Facilities

A particularly noticeable gap in the majority of Grahamstown inventories is the lack of commodes, bidets, water closets and baths. It is quite possible that chamber pots and tin baths were included among "sundry minor household articles" in several of the inventories. Bedsteps could form night commodes (GTJ 24.7.1845, 1c2), but even in this guise only one possibility presents itself in the Pakenham household (Appendix C4.8). The only 'night stool' and 'night commode' mentioned were in Sanford's dressing room and Jolly's front bedroom respectively (Appendices C4.2 and C4.4). Jolly also had a chamber set in his bedroom. Richard and Ann Daniels of Sidbury Park, 31 miles from Grahamstown, had a bidet in the 'Gent's Dressing Room' (MOOC 7/1/155 Inv. 74, 1839). The Norden's had two bidets in their bedroom, and in the Coach House, among the old figureheads, garden engine, harness, saddles and flower pots were a slipper bath and shower bath along with two water casks (Appendix C4.5 and Fig. 26a & b). General dealer G.D. Scott also had a shower bath in his estate, valued at 15/- (MOOC 7/1/196 Inv. 95, 1849), and the Pakenhams had a "Patent Shower Bath, with Pump and Curtains" in what appears from its furnishings to be the main bedroom (Appendix C4.8).

Shower baths were advertised by C. & H. Maynard (Fig. 26c), as were patent water closets, portable or fixtures, which they were importing by 1839 (GTJ 24.10, 1c2). Their advertisement in 1840 describes these in detail (Appendix D2, 227). Commodes were frequently chastely disguised as chests of drawers (GTJ 26.10.1837, 1c2 and 24.7.1845, 1c2), and it is possible that among the chests of drawers listed in the inventories lurked the odd commode.

Furrows and wells supplied Grahamstown residents with water until the mid-1840s when piped water was made available by the Municipal Commissioners (Hunt 1976, 10-11). Enterprising citizens also utilized water from streams. House sale advertisements rarely mentioned baths, although "water laid on" was a selling point. The first bath advertisement noted in the Graham's Town Journal was at 'The Erf', property of Mrs Knight, Fort England which had a stream flowing through it. The wording of the advertisement is somewhat ambiguous, stating that the building consisted of a "Cottage containing three Rooms, boarded, Kitchen, Pantry, Bath, Servant's Rooms, Stable and Fowl House detached. . ." (GTJ 11.8.1842, 4c3). Only one other reference to a bath room was traced, not even Charles Maynard's impressive room distinctions allowing space for this basic facility although water was laid on in the upper rooms. An advertisement published in 1847 (Fig. 26d), was inserted by an agent and no other references in the Journal could be linked to it, so the owner and position of this remarkable house with its 18' x 16' bath room remain an enigma. Water was advertised as laid on to a number of



Dining Room in the home of Mary Ellen Best, York 1838
Watercolour by Mary Ellen Best.

Private Collection

Reproduced from *The World of Mary Ellen Best* by Caroline
Davidson. London; Chatto & Windus, 1985.

houses from the late 1840s, one specifying that it was laid on to the kitchen (GTJ 3.3.1848, 1c2).

Dining Rooms, Parlour-Dining Rooms and Hall-Dining Rooms

Five of the Grahamstown room inventories include a dining room. This is in fact a higher percentage (62.5%, 5/9) than that of the room inventories studied for the whole Cape Colony where only 41% (16/39) specify dining rooms. The remainder have dining tables and chairs, sideboards, &c., but they are either in a room described by position (15.4%, 6/39) or this function is not distinguished by a separate room. The most common combination of these remaining 17 inventories is the Parlour-Dining Room (23%, 9/39) and then the Hall-Dining Room (12.8%, 5/39); the remaining 7.7% (3/39) are not clear. The English combination with which emigrants to the Cape Colony would have been most familiar, the Parlour-Kitchen, is not in evidence at all, arguing the established presence of black servants in the household.

In Grahamstown the basic dining room furnishings were similar to those for the rest of the colony: a set of dining tables, or single large table, six to eighteen chairs, sideboard(s), and either an oil cloth or carpet on the floor. The Sanfords, Nordens and Blacks also had window curtains. A watercolour by Mary Ellen Best (Plate 34) captures the simplicity and yet richness of an early Victorian Social Class I dining room of a type with which the Sanfords would have been familiar and to which Grahamstown householders from other social classes probably would have aspired. Inventories can never convey the ambience of interiors from an earlier generation. The china, glass, silver

SALE OF FURNITURE.

Mr. JAMES BLACK
INTENDING shortly to leave the colony, will cause to be sold at his Residence in New-street, on

FRIDAY,
18th Instant.

The WHOLE of his FURNITURE,
Dining-room, Drawing-room,
and Bed-room, Suites,
Plate and Platedware,

China, Crockery & Glassware,
CARRIAGE,
etc. etc. etc.,

the whole of which will be found of very superior quality, having been selected by himself a few years ago when in England.

DRAWING ROOM—Rosewood Conches and chairs, in Damask, to match, do. Loo-ables and ladies work table, do. handsome demi-cabinet piano, by Broadwood, Canterbury, and music stool, do. easy and Elizabethan chairs, do. Ottomans, with seat of rich embroidery, papier mache table, chairs, Accacorets, card basket and port folios, A very large pier glass in gilt frame, A set of blue damask curtains and gilt cornices, a handsome 14 day clock, chandeliers, vases, and other ornaments.

DINING ROOM—Mahogany telescope, dining table of large size, mahogany sideboard with celloret, do. chairs, covered in dark red morocco, etc. etc., do. easy chairs do. to match, large pier glass in gilt frame, a lot of crimson damask curtains with gilt cornices, a superior carpet, 22 feet by 18, etc.

BED-ROOM SUITES—In brass and iron bedsteads, wash hand stands with marble tops, mahogany and other dressing tables, toilet glasses, cheval do., mahogany chests of drawers, and a very handsome mahogany wardrobe with wings—A mahogany book case with excruciation.

CHINA WARE—In Tea and coffee sets, breakfast set, dessert service, Dinner and gold dinner service, and others of stone and crockery ware.

GLASSWARE—In rich cut decanters, champagne, claret and other wine glasses, wine coolers, finger glasses, water and claret jugs, etc. etc.

BEST SHEFFIELD PLATED WARE—In dishes and dish covers, liqueur, cruet, and pickle stand, wine coolers, waiters in sizes, bran ch and plate candlesticks, chamber do., toast racks, a very handsomely chased tea and coffee set, with large tea urn to match.

QUEEN'S PATTERN PLATE—A complete set in stout oak chest, balance ivory handled knives in mahogany case, plated dessert knives and forks in do., etc.

KITCHEN RANGE COMPLETE, and other kitchen furniture in great variety.

CARRIAGE—His very handsome double seated carriage, which has been little used, and is in perfect order, made by Horse & Co., London. Until the above date this will be for sale privately.

A TRAVELLING GIG, in good order, with shafts and pole, so as to be drawn by one or two horses.

A strong-built MAIL PHETON with shafts and pole.

SADDLERY—2 stuffed flap saddles in good order, made by Frost & Peckham do. old do.
1 Girl's and 1 boy's saddle
1 set of carriage harness, horse mounted, in good order.
1 set Gig do do do
1 Double set of alum leather harness for travelling
Saddle Bags, large cutter, etc. etc.

REMAINS OF WINES—In Port, Sherry, Champagne, Claret and Rusterns.

Small lot select Assortment of Books.

Left

FIGURE 27

Sale of Household Furniture belonging to Merchant James Black, Social Class II. Selwyn Castle, New Street.

Graham's Town Journal
8.2.1853, 1c5.

Right

FIGURE 28

Sale of Household Furniture belonging to Merchant Charles Pakenham, Social Class II, Bathurst Street, Settler's Hill.

Graham's Town Journal
Extra 22.2.1853, 1c4.

SALE FURNITURE.

Mr. C. W. PAKENHAM
INTENDING shortly to leave the colony, will cause to be sold,
At his residence, Bathurst-street, (SETTLER'S HILL),

WEDNESDAY,
22nd MARCH,

THE WHOLE OF HIS FURNITURE,
Dining-Room, Drawing-Room

Bed-Room Suites,
PLATE AND PLATEDWARE,
CHINA,
CROCKERY AND GLASSWARE,

The whole of which will be found of VERY SUPERIOR QUALITY.

Drawing Room—

- 1 Brussels Carpet and Rug,
- 1 set of Drawing Room Chairs,
- 2 Easy Chairs,
- 2 Card Tables (mahogany),
- 1 do. Loo,
- 1 Japan Loo Table,
- 1 Stinkwood Couch (damask)
- 1 PIANO—Broadwood,
- 1 Pier Glass,
- 1 Inkstand,
- 1 Ladies' Work Box,
- 1 set Prints (framed)
- Brass Fender and Irons.

Dining Room—

- 1 Brussels Carpet,
- 1 set Dining Room (6 & 2) Chairs,
- Stinkwood, horse-hair Seats,
- 2 children's Table Chairs,
- 1 Tea Caddy and Stand.

1st Bed-room—

- 1 Brass Bedstead,
- 1 Child's Crib (ironwood),
- 1 mahogany Wardrobe,
- 1 Kacrotins do.
- 1 mahogany Washstand,
- 1 Looking Glass,
- 3 Clothes Baskets,
- 1 mahogany Bedstepe.

2nd Do.—

- 1 Iron Bedstead,
- 1 large mahogany Sofa,
- 1 Dressing Table,
- 1 patent Shower Bath, with Pump and Curtains,
- 1 Chest Drawers (mahogany),
- 1 Clothes Press,
- 1 Boot Rack,
- 1 mahogany Wash-stand,
- 1 Looking Glass,
- 1 mahogany Writing Desk.

3rd Do.—

- 1 Iron Bedstead,
- 1 Dressing Table,
- 1 Chest Drawers (stinkwood)
- 1 Wash-stand,
- Book Shelves.

4th Do.—

- 1 large mahogany four-post Bedstead with crimson Damask Furni-ture,
- 1 Chest Mahogany Drawers,
- 1 Deal Table,
- 1 Bronze Fender and Fire Irons,
- 2 sets Window Curtains.

Pantry—

- 1 Dinner Set,
- 1 China Dessert Set—blue and gold,
- 1 do. Tea and Coffee Set,
- Glassware,
- 10 real China Cups and Saucers, with Covers.

Kitchen—

- 3 Deal Drawers with drawers,
- 2 Earthenware Filters,
- Kitchen Utensils,
- Pots and Pans, &c.
- Iron Buckets and Mills.

- PORTABLE COUCH with 8 drawers,
- 1 ROCKING HORSE.



Saddlery—

- 1 Gent's Saddle (Peckham)
- 1 Ladies' Side Saddle,
- 1 Grain Chest,
- Handy Bridles, Halters and Cin-ches,
- etc.

and plate associated with the dining room could be kept in the sideboard(s), pantry or even the parlour. Dinner, dessert, tea and coffee sets and a wide variety of glass and plated ware were detailed in the Black and Pakenham sale advertisements (Figs. 27 & 28) and also widely advertised in the Graham's Town Journal (Appendix D2 includes some examples). Children's table chairs were also used in the Pakenham dining room.

Other furnishings could include a chiffonier, as did the dining room at No. 7 Castle Hill, in neighbouring Port Elizabeth (MOOC 7/1/216 Inv. 63, 1853). John Jolly's dining room held a sofa and clothes press. A mahogany butler's tray and stand, looking glass, bookcases and cellarets were all to be found in one or another Grahamstown dining room.

While rosewood was de rigueur in the fashionable English drawing room, at all social levels mahogany characterized the dining room. The Graham's Town Journal advertised patent extending dining tables with loose flaps, brass fastenings and handsome turned legs (24.3.1836, 1c2), sets of telescope dining tables 4' x 8' of Honduras mahogany (4.10.1838, 1c2), mahogany dining tables on turned legs and castors (9.5.1839, 1c3), portable mahogany dining tables with five leaves and case complete (7.1.1841, 1c1), sets of mahogany sliding dining tables 8,9 and 12 feet in length (11.8.1842, 4c3) etc. etc. Mahogany dining room chairs were usually upholstered in prickly horse hair, but leather and cane have also been noted. Sideboards were almost invariably of mahogany, the single exception being a colonial stinkwood sideboard advertised by Joseph McMaster in 1852 (GTJ 10.4, 2c1). Floud (1958, 45-46) comments that it was

the changing shape of the early Victorian sideboard, the softening of its angles, which reflected most clearly the new style of the period. It is at a point like this that the lack of three dimensional artefacts and visual records is most acutely felt. The documentary record and artefact complement each other, each adding a dimension without which the other is incomplete.

Kitchens and Other Domestic Offices

House sale advertisements do not detail any special purpose rooms other than kitchen, pantry and servant's room(s). Kitchen furnishings in the Grahamstown inventories are remarkably sparse. The most conspicuous gap in the kitchen is the lack of seating, probably on the principle that its presence would induce laziness in the servants. The Norden kitchen alone includes seating, as noted above under Dining Rooms. Neither the Armstrong or Pakenham kitchens had tables (Appendices C4.1 and C4.8), although the three deal dressers with drawers in the Pakenham kitchen would have provided counter surfaces.

The earliest settler cottages had only one fireplace, used both for cooking and heating, although the risk of fire as well as the heat in a southern hemisphere climate often moved the kitchen area to a lean-to at the back of the house (Lewcock 1963, 144-45). Later houses in Grahamstown had large recesses in the kitchen to accomodate the fire and kitchen spits, and later the kitchen range. Yarwood (1979, 206) comments that cast iron ranges were commonly in use by the 1860s. Cottage and colonial stoves were advertised in the Journal in the 1840s, as were camp ovens (a round, three legged portable oven with lid). Oven doors

were frequently advertised for built in ovens adjacent to the kitchen fire. The first kitchen ranges, hot plates and register stoves advertisement noted was by Heideman, Cock & Co. in 1849 (GTJ 21.4, 1c2). Later the same year the firm was importing "Double Perpetual Ovens" (GTJ 20.10.1849, 1c5), and in 1850 announced the arrival of "Iron Cooking Stoves, with Oven, Boiler, &c., complete. A most useful article for a Family, a great saving of labor, and not requiring more than half the quantity of wood consumed in the usual method of cooking" (GTJ 23.7, 1c2). The Dutch oven was first advertised in 1850, as were wrought iron stoves, both by the enterprising Heideman, Cock & Co. (GTJ 26.10, 1c4). A Dutch oven was a metal box with a door, inside which a small roast or fowl could be turned on a spit by means of a handle outside the oven. The oven could either be put in front of an open fire or hung on the iron grating (Yarwood 1983, 90).

Victorian technological ingenuity also reached the frontier in 1848 when Patent Refrigerators by Lings & Keith, Ice Machinists, London, were advertised (GTJ 19.8, Suppl. 1c6). Two months later John Tucker of Staffordshire House, Graham's Town, announced a "Wedgewood Porus Water Cooler, Admirably adapted for a Tropical Climate" (GTJ 28.10.1848, 1c2).

Another item missing from the kitchen inventories is any form of basin, bucket or tub for washing dishes, suggesting that this function was performed outside.

Pantries, it seems, had much the same function in the early nineteenth century as they do now.

The contents of a single servant's room have been preserved in the household inventory of baker John Jardine. The only

relevant items are a mattress and form which appear in a miscellany of bricks, boards, yellow wood planks, dressing machine, bin and spade. Four casks, probably containing water, and a stool furnished the remainder of the room. The entry stands as a mute witness of the generally careless approach of colonists towards the well being of their servants, black or white.

British householders from all social classes in early Victorian Grahamstown not only had greater opportunities of occupying detached dwellings (a middle class distinctive in England), but also of choosing from a wide selection of imported furnishings, both on the new and second hand markets. A further dimension, however, is the contribution made by local craftsmen to that market. How significant this was in the face of the fashion conscious and nostalgic 'Direct from London' appeal of the Journal advertisements is the question posed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8

GRAHAMSTOWN'S DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE: SHAPES INSIDE III

Cape Colonial Furniture Ousted?

After examining the volume of furniture and furnishings imported from England and elsewhere which was sold in Grahamstown between 1832 and 1853, an important question remains to be considered. Did English imported furniture swamp the local market to the extent that Cape colonial pieces were ousted from the drawing room, parlour or other rooms in English domestic dwellings at the Cape? What was the effect of the growing import trade with Britain on the production of colonial made furniture on the eastern frontier?

The urban situation in Cape Town is described by Dr Mary Alexander Cook in her introduction to Baraitser and Obholzer's work on Cape country furniture. She comments that after the first British occupation of the Cape in 1795,

The trickle of imported English furniture soon became a flood; and this flood in Cape Town brought to an end the production of hand-made, hand-carved, and traditionally designed furniture. . . . Old furniture remained in people's houses but when they bought new furniture, it was imported.

(Baraitser and Obholzer 1978, 11)

In country districts of the Western Cape, however, handcrafted furniture developed a distinctive Cape style because the area escaped the inundation of imported English furniture for almost seventy years.

If Cook's observations are correct, in theory the situation in Grahamstown, hub of the British settlement and second only to Cape Town in importance, should reflect an even greater dominance of English imports, with no market at all for local craftsmen.

The Grahamstown inventories (including vendue rolls and household inventories which do not have a room breakdown) on the contrary show that more than a third of the households included Cape colonial furniture (38%, 14/36). This is, however, less than in the Cape as a whole, for overall virtually half the households contained locally crafted pieces (49%, 48/98). It is, of course, impossible to know when the Cape furniture was purchased and whether it was new or second hand, and so from these sources to test the validity of Cook's conclusions in this respect.

Newspaper advertisements are another matter, for it is usually possible to tell from wording or context whether the furniture offered for sale was new or second hand.

Grahamstown Chair and Cabinet Makers¹

Whatever the situation in Cape Town, research in the Graham's Town Journal shows that there were active chair and cabinet makers in Grahamstown during the first half of the nineteenth century who were more than just carpenters making the odd item of furniture in addition to the general carpentry and undertaking, which latter was so often a feature of the trade.

¹ Appendix D4 lists references to the advertisements noted in the Graham's Town Journal between 1831-53, which were inserted by Grahamstown chair and cabinet makers. Arrangement is chronological, under the surname of the maker concerned.

Joseph Lawrence was one of the 'Chair and Cabinet Makers', as members of the trade often styled themselves, who advertised his own furniture in the Journal in addition to the imported furniture which he sold. In 1839 (GTJ 2.5, 1c5) Lawrence announced that he had taken over Mr Rathbone's premises in Beaufort Street. Although this appears to be Lawrence's first advertisement, he had evidently been in business for some time. By 1840 (Fig. 8, Chap. 6) his address was Church Square, where he owned what he variously termed a 'Furniture' or 'Chair and Cabinet' Repository. From 1843 (GTJ 23.3, 1c3), until his advertisements cease in 1846, Lawrence gives his address as High Street.

The only furniture made from indigenous wood advertised by Lawrence were "Stinkwood Chairs, with Hair Bottoms", mentioned in 1843 (GTJ 9.3, 1c2). His main business appears to have been importing furniture from England, and his advertisements in general pertain to this. In 1844 (GTJ 12.9, 1c3), however, in order to raise sufficient capital for a new venture, Lawrence sold "a quantity of Cabinet Makers' and Carpenters' Tools, Benches with stinkwood top, Iron Hand Cramps, Hand Screws, Also a few hundred feet Stinkwood Plank. . . ." This suggests that Lawrence was making colonial furniture, but did not consider it worth the expense of advertising, as he did English imports.

Joseph Hart is particularly remembered as the chair maker responsible for the 'Adderley' and 'Wodehouse' chairs.²

² The Adderley and Wodehouse chairs have been written up by Rita Snyman (1959). Some additional details are included below.

Grahamstown had the distinction of having a locally designed and crafted chair exhibited at the 1851 Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations held in London. The designer was Thomas Baines, and the carver Joseph Hart, despite the fact that the Illustrated London News (March 1851, 181) stated that "The Chair had been designed and carved by J. Hart, of Graham's Town".³

The Adderley Chair (Plate 35a) was described at some length in the Graham's Town Journal⁴ as well as in the 1851 Illustrated London News. The stinkwood library chair was a gift from the colonists of the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope to Charles Bowyer Adderley who, in 1849-50, had so ably supported the colonists in their refusal to allow the Cape to be turned into a penal settlement. Before it was sent to England the chair was on exhibition at Joseph Hart's Furniture Warehouse in Bathurst Street. The upholstered seat was embroidered by the Sisters of the Convent de l'Assumption, a Catholic order founded in Grahamstown in 1849.

³ W.A. Thorpe, Deputy Keeper, Department of Woodwork, Victoria and Albert Museum in a letter to the Head of the History Department, Albany Museum 4 June 1959, commented that "it is beyond question that these two men both had a hand . . . in the production of the chair. Baines devising and designing it, and Hart doing the cabinet-making and carving. It was quite commonly claimed by 18th-century and other early craftsmen that the person who did the work was as much entitled to the 'reputation of the piece' as he who 'merely gave the design,' though art-history now does not always take the same view.

The emblematics of the chair, outside the classical paradigm, and in terms of the new country, are conspicuously skilful. Baines had been bound to a coachbuilder at King's Lynn, a trade necessarily versed in heraldic painting, as well as widely familiar with the South African scene".

⁴ GTJ 25.5.1850, 2c6; 1.6.1850, 3c2; 22.6.1850, 3c3.

PLATE 35

- a) **The Adderley Chair.** Designed by Thomas Baines, made by Grahamstown Chair and Cabinet Maker Joseph Hart in 1850. Presented to C.B. Adderley Esq. Exhibited at the Great Exhibition, London in 1851.



- b) **The Wodehouse Chair.** Carved by Joseph Hart for use by the Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Philip Wodehouse, when Parliament met in Grahamstown in 1864.

*1820 Settlers'
Memorial Museum,
Division of the
Albany Museum
Grahamstown*



A controversy developed, for J. Rooke, or Rorke,⁵ who appears to have been employed to work on the Adderley Chair as an upholsterer and French polisher, also claimed to be its maker, and advertised himself as such in the Graham's Town Journal in June 1850 (29.6, 1c1). His claim was disputed by 'An Upholsterer and Polisher' in the Journal of 29 June (4c2), who bitingly referred to the work of an upholsterer and polisher as analagous to that of a labourer "who, because he had carried the bricks and mortar, might claim to be the architect of the building". The writer also criticised the workmanship displayed in the upholstery and French polishing. Despite this exposure, Rorke continued to operate as a cabinet maker in High Street, two doors from the Wesleyan Chapel, from 1851 to 1853.

In 1864 the Cape Parliament gathered for the first and only time outside Cape Town, in Grahamstown. It was natural that Hart, with his established reputation as a chairmaker, should carve the rosewood chair and footstool to be used by the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse (1862-70). The 'Wodehouse Chair' (Plate 35b) was presented by the Grahamstown Municipality to the Albany Museum, and is housed in the 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum, part of the Cultural History Division of the Albany Museum.

Joseph Hart first makes his appearance in the Graham's Town Journal in November 1843 (23.11, Supp. 1c1), when Hart and Lang, Carpenters, Joiners and Cabinet Makers, established their partnership at the back of Mrs Blee's fashionable ladies' store

⁵ The Cape Alamanac Grahamstown directories list "J. Rorke, Cabinet Maker, High Street" between 1852 and 1854.

FIGURE 29 Advertisements Inserted in the *Graham's Town Journal* by Chair and Cabinet Maker Joseph Hart

J. HART,
Furniture Warehouse
 CHURCH-SQUARE.
 Mahogany chest of drawers
 Mahogany Wardrobes
 10fo. mahogany extending dining
 tables
 Mahogany secretary book cases with
 glass doors
 Ladies' work tables
 Brass and iron bedsteads
 American chairs already packed for
 the country
 Birch cane chairs
 Washstands
 Mahogany butler's trays with stands
 &c. &c.

a) *Graham's Town Journal*
 11.12.1847, 2c2

J. HART,
Furniture Warehouse,
 CHURCH-SQUARE. GRAHAM'S TOWN.
 IS daily expecting to receive of Johanna, from England,
 direct.
 Sets of mahogany dining tables, with
 screw movement legs
 Mahogany pedestal sideboards
 Mahogany and rosewood loo tables.
 Ladies work tables
 Sheffioneers with marble tops and
 plate glass backs
 Mahogany sheffioner
 Mahogany and rosewood chairs cover-
 ed in Morocco, green, drab, crim-
 son, silk, tabinet, and in hair
 seating
 Mahogany sofas
 Lounge chairs with reading desk at-
 tached
 Chest of Drawers
 Mahogany Wardrobes
 Satin, rosewood, and mahogany writ-
 ing desks
 Portable leather travelling writing
 desks
 Music stools
 Cane chairs, American chairs, 12 in
 a case ready packed,
 Brass bedsteads,
 Looking glasses,
 &c. &c.

b) *Graham's Town Journal*
 15.1.1848, 1c6

J. HART,
Furniture Warehouse
 CHURCH-SQUARE,
 HAS ON HAND,
 Excellent Rosewood & Mahogany
FURNITURE.
 CONSISTING OF,—
 Telescope and loo tables,
 Cheffioneers
 Side boards,
 Chairs,
 Wardrobes
 Writing desks
 Work boxes
 Brass and iron bedsteads
 Hair Mattresses
Colonial made Furniture,
 Tables, Wash hand stands
 &c., &c., &c.

c) *Graham's Town Journal*
 21.10.1848, 1c3

in Bathurst Street, advertising "Chairs, Sofas &c. Carved to the most chaste pattern". The partnership was dissolved within four months, Joseph Hart continuing on his own account (GTJ 7.3.1844, 4c2).

Hart was the most prolific advertiser among the Grahamstown Chair and Cabinet Makers, twenty-eight advertisements being traced between 1843 and 1853, as compared with the ten inserted by Joseph Lawrence. For typical Hart advertisements see Fig. 29a-c.

In May 1845 (GTJ 8.5, 1c2), Hart opened his Furniture Warehouse in Church Square, at the premises recently occupied by tailor James Lamont opposite St. George's Church. He remained in Church Square for four and a half years, moving to Staffordshire House, Bathurst Street, in November 1849 (GTJ 24.11, 4c4), but was back in Church Square barely a year later, at London House, formerly occupied by shopkeeper P.F. Gatonby (GTJ 24.8.1850, 1c4).

Although from 1844 Hart regularly advertised his address as the 'Furniture Warehouse' in Church Square, the Grahamstown Directory entries from 1844 to 1846 list his address as "High Street, near the Barracks" which were at the west end of High Street, some distance from Church Square at the east end. He is also referred to from 1848 to 1853 as an upholsterer, with no hint given as to his furniture business.

The first Graham's Town Journal reference to Joseph Hart's cabinet making was in October 1848 (Fig. 29c), when, after his list of imported English furniture, attention is drawn to "Colonial made Furniture, Tables, Wash hand stands &c., &c., &c."

FIGURE 30 Advertisements Inserted in the *Graham's Town Journal* by Chair, Cabinet Maker, Undertaker and Builder James Brilliant Temlett

Stinkwood Furniture

FOR SALE,

ONE Handsomely Carved SOFA, and Two Setts of CHAIRS, Stuffed and covered with Horse-hair, and French Polished; One good large CHEST OF DRAWERS, consisting of seven, two deep Drawers for Bonnets, with Pilasters and Plinth, and French Polished. Apply to Mr. JOYCE, Saddler, or
J. B. TEMLETT,
Chair and Cabinet Maker.

a) *Graham's Town Journal*
2.1.1845, 1c3

J. B. TEMLETT, CHAIR AND CABINET MAKER,

RETURNS his most grateful thanks to his Friends and the Public in general for the most liberal support he has received since his commencement in the above Line, and begs to inform them that he is now carrying on the Business of

Carpenter & Builder,

in connection with Chair and Cabinet Making, and hopes by strict attention to Business, and by employing good workmen and using good materials, combined with moderate charges, still to merit a share of public support.

Portable Mangles made to order, suitable for private families.

N B. Country Orders punctually attended to.

b) *Graham's Town Journal*
13.3.1845, 1c3

Right

c) *Graham's Town Journal*
17.10.1846, 1c3

J. B. TEMLETT

BUILDER, CABINET MAKER,

AND

UNDERTAKER,

BEGS to inform his Friends and the Public, that he has on hand and expecting shortly to receive, the undermentioned Articles, (which he has selected for his own use and for sale,—

200 Yellow Deals 9 x 3

FIFTY ditto ditto, 11 x 3, 12 x 3, 13 x 3,—16 to 21 feet long.

Stinkwood Planks & Sneezeewood Posts,

Raw and boiled Oils, Spirits of Turpentine,
White and Red Lead, Dutch Pink, do. Spruce,
Turkey Umber and Seanna, Vermillion,
Yellow and Red Ocre, White-wash Brushes,
Paint and Lettering Brushes,
Camels Hair Pencils, French Polish,
Horse Hair and Hair Cloth,
French Bed and other Castors,
Glass Papers and Glue, Pit and Hard-saw Files,
Screw Drivers assorted,

COFFIN FURNITURE

Common Woollen Shrouds,
Rocks' Patent Blind Ends,
do. do. Blind Wracks,
do. do. Locks,
Carpenters' Improved Door Locks,
Superior Patent Outside Door Locks,
Iron Rim Locks,
Mortice, Cupboard, Till, and Desk Locks,
Hinges, Parliament, Chest, LH, T and Brass and
Iron Bolt, and Desk Hinges,
Slating and other Nails assorted,
Brads assorted,
Pannel and Long Smoothing Planes,
Screws, Bed and Wood assorted,
Blinds, Imitation Venetian,
Blind Cord and Tassels,

J. B. T. has commenced a QUARRIE IN GOODWIN'S KLOOF,

Where a good road for Horse and Ox Wagons will be found, and Builders may be supplied with the best Building, Flag, and Step Stones, on moderate terms in any quantity.

Lime, Bricks, Plaster Paris, Slates, Yellowwood of any dimensions will be obtained at a short notice.

COFFINS MADE & FUNERALS attended on the shortest notice,

And other Orders punctually attended to.

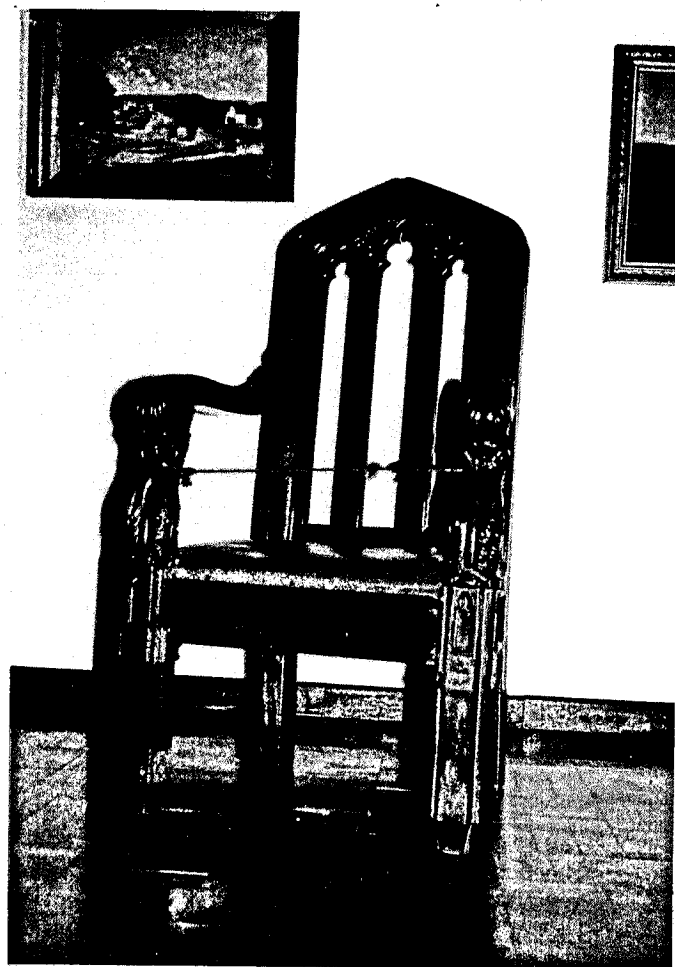
And has for Sale in his Store,

English Hams, Red Herrings and Bloaters,
Oatmeal in Jars, Kitchen Bellows,
Basins and Jugs, Cups and Saucers,
Tea Pots, Plates, Dishes,
Sugar, Tea and Coffee,
Flour, Meal, Rice,
Cane Hand Baskets,
Willow Baskets, with Trunk Lids to lock up with
Padlock,
Miller's Moleskins, Corderov. &c.

As the first extensive advertisement for a wide range of colonial made furniture had been placed in the Journal by S.W. Dell in July 1848 (see Fig. 9), one senses a spirit of competitiveness which was aroused by the prominence given by Dell to local furniture manufacture as distinct from the 'Direct from London' approach favoured by furnishings advertisers. As Hart consistently includes colonial made furniture in his advertisements from 1848 onwards, it does suggest that colonial furniture was an increasingly important aspect of local marketing.

James Brilliant Temlett advertised himself as a Chair and Cabinet Maker in the Graham's Town Journal for the first time in 1844 (17.10, 1c3). The advertisement was for "A Set of Stinkwood Chairs, consisting of 6 and 2 Arms, stuffed and covered with Horse Hair, and French Polished". Temlett was the son of James and Ann Temlett, born on the Brilliant on the voyage from England to Algoa Bay in 1820. James Temlett Senior was listed as a shepherd in Sephton's party (Theal 1902, 12: 477). He took to trading and built up a considerable business as a trader, storekeeper and merchant from his home and premises in Market Square (Plate 22a). He is not to be confused with his son James Brilliant Temlett, who traded as a builder in addition to his work as a chair and cabinet maker, as well as undertaker (Fig. 30a-c).

In 1845 (Fig. 30a) Temlett Jr. advertised a "Handsomely Carved" stinkwood sofa, and two sets of stinkwood



'Gothic' stinkwood chair made by James Brilliant Temlett for Trinity Baptist Church, Grahamstown, 1843.

*1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum,
Division of the Albany Museum, Grahamstown*

chairs, stuffed and covered with horsehair, as well as "One good large Chest of Drawers, consisting of seven, two deep Drawers for Bonnets, with Pilasters and Plinth, and French Polished".

The 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum in Grahamstown has in its furniture collection a massive stinkwood Gothic chair (Plate 35c) and table made by James Brilliant Temlett for the Grahamstown Baptist Church, of which he was a member. It was presented to the church in 1843. Gothic style was a Regency revival particularly favoured by the middle classes, and furniture such as the Temlett Chair with its Gothic motif of window tracery was increasingly popular in England from the mid-1830s. Temlett's Gothic furniture is another indication, together with Gothic architecture, of English influence on the shape of religious artefacts in Grahamstown.

Samuel Dell, the youngest son of 1820 Settler Edward Dell, was three when he emigrated with his family to the Cape. He is well known as the co-founder with Thomas Stubbs of the Grahamstown Sporting Club, formed in 1843 "to give young men an enjoyable alternative to the billiard tables which were usually to be found in or near canteens" (Maxwell & McGeogh, 1977, 29). The Sporting Club formed the nucleus of a volunteer fighting force which operated under that name in the 7th Frontier War (1846/47). Dell was appointed Captain of the infantry unit raised, known as the Guffies. The Dell family farmed at Barville Park, a fortified farmhouse in the Bathurst district, and with his brother Edward Samuel founded the Farmers' Mutual Protection Association in 1851 to protect and recover stock, as

FIGURE 31 Advertisements from the *Graham's Town Journal* including Colonial Made Furniture for Sale at S.W. Dell's Furniture Warehouse, Bathurst Street.

S. W. DELL
HAS for Sale at his Store in BATHURST-STREET,
FURNITURE,
 Stinkwood, Sneezeewood, and Yellowwood
BEDSTEADS,
 Stinkwood Wardrobes,
 do. chests Drawers,
 do. Bookcases,
 do. Sofas, Couches, hair, damask, and
 chintz seats,
 do. carved and plain polished Chairs,
 hair and cane seats,
 do. Children's Chairs,
 do. do. Cribs and Cots,
 do. Cottage Sofas,
 do. Washstands,
 Stinkwood and Satin wood
FANCY TOILET TABLES,
 Dining, kitchen, and side Tables,
 Yellowwood Wardrobes,
 Chests Drawers,
 Cupboards,
 Clothes Presses,
 Glass cases,
 Secretaries,
 Writing desks,
 Counters and office stools,
 Yellow, red, and black cane bottom
 Chairs, American, solid seats,
 French bedsteads,
 Work boxes,
 Dressing cases,
 ———
 Mattresses, bolsters and pillows,
STRETCHERS,
Pictures & Picture Frames.
 Chimney & Toilet Glasses,
HASSOCKS,
 &c. &c. &c.
 ———
TIMBER.
 A great quantity of excellent
STINKWOOD PLANK,
 Fit for furniture, gunstocks, wagon sides and backs,
 Beams,
 Plank and quartering,
 Wagon bottoms.
 ———
Teakwood & Oak Palls,
 Casks,
 Churns,
 Tubs,
 &c. &c.
 ———
Turn, Turning, Coopering, and Cabinet-
making
 Carried on in all their different branches.
 S. W. DELL.

Left

- a) *Graham's Town Journal*
 15.7.1848, 1c2

Below

- b) *Graham's Town Journal*
 12.1.1850, 1c5

FOR SALE
 AT THE
Furniture Warehouse
 of the Undersigned,—
 Stinkwood, mahogany, sneezeewood, and plain bedsteads
 " " chests drawers,
 " chairs, American do.
 " couches, sofas, and toilet tables
 " cottage sofas and wash stands
 Dining, kitchen, and other tables
 Trunks, clothes boxes, wagon boxes
 Ottomans, ottoman trunk, damask covered
 Stretchers, hair, wool, and straw mattresses, &c.
 N.B.—Furniture made to order, renewed, repaired, and
 French polished. Picture frames made to order.
 S. W. DELL,
 Bathurst-street.

well as give whatever assistance they could during the war of 1851/53. Samuel wrote the sensitive Ode In Memoriam to Thomas Stubbs, published in the Graham's Town Journal on 21 Dec. 1876 (mistakenly attributed to Stephen Dell in Maxwell & McGeogh 1977, 229).

What is less well known is Samuel Dell's role in the growth of Grahamstown's colonial furniture trade. The two advertisements which give the greatest insight into the range of Cape colonial furniture made in Grahamstown are among those of S.W. Dell (Figs. 31a & b). The furniture generally advertised by Grahamstown chair and cabinet makers consisted mainly of chairs, but Dell was also making stinkwood, mahogany and sneezewood bedsteads, stinkwood and mahogany chests of drawers, stinkwood American chairs, stinkwood couches, sofas and toilet tables, stinkwood wardrobes, chests of drawers and bookcases, stinkwood cottage sofas and washstands.

Although Dell's first advertisement in the Journal appears to have been that of 15 July 1848 (Fig. 31a) (the advertisement which seems to have provoked Joseph Hart into advertising that he too sold colonial made furniture), two years later (Fig. 31c overleaf) Dell was thanking carpenters, builders and cabinet makers for "their long continued custom and upright dealing with him. . . ." At the close of the survey period (1853) Dell was still advertising a wide range of imported furniture for sale at his Furniture Warehouse in High Street (GTJ 9.4, 1c7), and concludes, "N.B. - Stinkwood & other Colonial wood furniture made to order".

The only definite reference traced to English styles which influenced the design and crafting of Grahamstown chairs is one inserted by Samuel Dell as a footnote to a lively advertisement be placed in the Graham's Town Journal (Fig. 31c opposite). A possible second reference to English styles followed by Grahamstown chairmakers is that which was inserted into the Journal by Dr. A.G. Campbell in 1845 (Fig. 32 overleaf). His advertisement includes "a handsome set of Stinkwood Chairs, carved after the Elizabethan order, with Morocco stuffed seats, two large Arm Chairs, and Table to match, French polished. . . ." The Elizabethan style was a Regency revival, popular in England from about 1835. Elizabethan chairs continued to be used in the eastern districts at least until the 1870s as elaborate chairs suitable for use in photographic studios.⁶ While there is nothing to state that the chairs were made in Grahamstown, and the next item, a set of mahogany chairs, is explicitly stated to have been made in Cape Town, Campbell nevertheless does not include the Elizabethan chairs in the attribution. Atmore (1970, 72-75), in his discussion of nineteenth century Cape chairs, does not give any examples of Elizabethan revivals, nor is there any evidence of this among Cape country chairs as exemplified by Baraitser and Obholzer (1978). The chances are therefore strong that the chairs and table were made by an English cabinet maker in Grahamstown, where Campbell had

⁶Evidence for this is from a studio portrait in in the author's possession.

commenced his practice as a surgeon and accoucheur in 1831 (GTJ 30.12.1831, 1c1).

Other Grahamstown chair and cabinet makers advertising in the Graham's Town Journal included J. & P. Rogers, D. McMahon, Thos. E. Passmore and Thomas Shaw (see Appendix D4 for references). Three who were doing particularly well warrant special mention, as their success at this time is significant.

William S. Streak, an 1820 Settler farmer who emigrated in Thornhill's party, was thriving in the colonial made furniture trade in the early 1850s. He had previously spent many years in partnership with undertaker James White, also an 1820 Settler. After moving to more commodious premises in Bathurst Street near the bridge, opposite Mr Geard's, from his well-supported Beaufort Street shop, Streak offered "A great variety of Colonial-made Furniture. Allways [sic] on hand, or made to order of the best materials on the shortest notice. . . ." (GTJ 6.7.1850,1c2). By October 1853, Streak's business was doing so well that he inserted a notice in the Journal (1.10, 1c7) "To Cabinetmakers. WANTED by the undersigned, a CHAIR AND CABINET MAKER, to whom constant employment can be given".

James Style was six when his father Thomas, a carpenter, emigrated to the Cape with his wife Mary and their six children. James initially followed his father's trade, and at the age of 28 was still working as a carpenter, as was his father, from a Hill Street address (1843 Directory). Shortly thereafter, however, James Style was well enough off to open Style's Hotel, next to



Stinkwood Side Table made by Thomas Style, Grahamstown
Cabinet Maker, ca. 1840.

*1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum
Division of the Albany Museum, Grahamstown*

Dr. A. G. CAMPBELL

HAS authorized Mr. J. D. NORDEN
to sell

WITHOUT RESERVE,
on the Premises, the whole of his
MOVEABLE

AND
Immoveable Property.
ON SATURDAY,

the 23rd of August, 1845.

Consisting of a handsome set of Stinkwood Chairs,
carved after the Elizabethian order, with Morocco
stuffed seats, two large Arm Chairs, and Table to
match, French polished a set of

**8 FRENCH POLISHED
MAHOGANY CHAIRS,**

made in Cape Town, with Horse-hair seats,
A handsome French polished round Table, in claw,
A handsome Rosewood Piccolo Piano, warranted
a good Instrument.

A grand Piano, new, and a superior instrument.
An excellent Eight-day Clock, in polished Mahogany
case, Lamps, Pier Glasses, Carpet Rugs, Chisney
Ornaments, a choice selection of

**Paintings of the Natives of the
Colony.**

Music Stand, two Flutes; handsome DINNER, DES-
SERT, and TEA SETS, &c.

Two handsome Mahogany Wardrobes, Marble Wash-
han-Island, Mahogany carved four-post Bedsteads, Iron
Bedsteads, Iron Sofa, Bedroom Chairs, Commode
Looking Glasses, Yellow-wood Presses, &c. &c.

Crockery and Kitchen Utensils,
and every other necessary for Housekeeping.

SILVER—Silver Tea Pot, Silver Table Spoons, silver
Dessert Spoons, Silver Forks, large and small, &c.

PLATED—Ivory-handled Knives and Forks, Cruet
Stands.

GLASS—Decanters, Wine Glasses, Tumblers,

ALSO,

A G I G.

built expressly to order for the bad roads of the Fron-
tier, adapted for one or two Horses,

A set of white Alum-leather Harness, for 2 Horses,
Do. for 1 Horse,

A set of English Harness, for one Horse,
Saddlery,

A one-horse Cart,

An old Wagon,

25 SPLENDID

VADERLAND COWS,

bred in the Zuurveldt, the pick of seventy.

AT TWO O'CLOCK PRECISELY,
WILL BE PUT UP, THE

HOUSE AND PREMISES,

situated in a healthy part of the Town, near the market.
The House consists of 3 Bedrooms, a large Drawing
Room and Vestibule, Dining Room and Breakfast Room,
Kitchen, large Cellar, Store Room, Servant's Room,
Saddle Rooms, Stabling for ten Horses, Coach House,
an enclosed Poultry Yard.

There is also a

LARGE GARDEN,

well stocked with the choicest Fruit Trees, walled in,
A WELL, with an inexhaustible supply of Water, with
a Forcing Pump fitted into it, by which the whole
Garden can be irrigated.

J. D. NORDEN, Auctioneer.

An extensive Credit will be given, and should the
weather prove unfavorable, the Sale will take place on
the first subsequent fine day.

Premises and Furniture may be viewed early on the
day of Sale.

FIGURE 32

Dr. A.G. Campbell's Household &
House Sale Advertisement including
a Set of Elizabethan Stinkwood
Chairs with Matching Table.

Graham's Town Journal.

14.8.1845, 1c2.

the Commissariat Yard in New Street.⁷ Style's Hotel became the venue for performances of the Graham's Town Amateur Theatrical Society between 1848 and 1850.⁸ When James Style had to sell the hotel in September 1850 due to ill health, the household furniture belonging to the hotel included stinkwood chairs (GTJ 14.12.1850, 1c6). Style was back in Grahamstown by November 1853 (GTJ 26.11, 1c7) and seems to have returned to his original trade, for he was then selling stinkwood and other chairs in front of his New Street premises.

Thomas Style seems to have shared in James Style's prosperity, for he too owned a small hotel in High Street. In 1851 (GTJ 7.6, 1c5) he moved it to Bathurst Street, and the George Hotel took its place in High Street (GTJ 13.1, 2c4). The 1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum has in its Furniture Collection a

⁷ James Style described the hotel as containing "upwards of 17 Rooms exclusive of a large Ball and Billiard Room, Servants Rooms, Pantry, Coach House, Stabling for 20 Horses, Wine Vault. The whole enclosed with a Stone Wall. Attached to the House there is also . . . a Canteen & Retail Wine Store. . . ." (GTJ 28.9.1850, 1c5).

The position of Style's Hotel is described in an advertisement inserted in the Journal by William Knowles of the Koonap Inn, who was removing Knowles' Hotel (formerly Potter's) from its site on the corner of New and Hill Streets to the more extensive premises of James Style's former hotel, at that time in the possession of William Yelling (GTJ 15.2.1853, 1c3; GTJ 8.2.1851, 1c6). The site appears from Hoggar's 1863 Plan of Grahamstown to have been at the New Street end of Scott's Barracks.

⁸ Advertisements inserted in the Journal by the Society include those of 22.7.1848, 1c1; 18.11.1848, 1c1; 10.2.1849, 1c2; 16.6.1849, 1c6 and 16.2.1850, 1c5. Performances ranged from Sheridan's The Rivals and Goldsmith's She Stoops to Conquer to the farce How to Settle Accounts with your Laundress!

stinkwood side table made by Thomas Style (Plate 36).

As has been demonstrated, locally made furniture was certainly not ousted from the Grahamstown market throughout the period under review. The evidence given above from household inventories and the Graham's Town Journal suggests that although a wide range of furniture was imported, there was sufficient demand for colonial made pieces in Grahamstown for capable chair and cabinet makers to earn a comfortable, and even a good living. Remarkably few pieces of Grahamstown made furniture have been documented, and tracing such artefacts and establishing their provenance would add a significant visual dimension to our knowledge of shapes inside domestic dwellings on this frontier of the empire.

CHAPTER 9

CLASS AND THE INTERIORS OF DOMESTIC DWELLINGS IN GRAHAMSTOWN: INTERPRETING LINKS BETWEEN SHAPES INSIDE AND SHAPES IN SOCIETY

Having examined the material culture of domestic dwellings in early Victorian Grahamstown, what do the interior furnishings available to the inhabitants of the town tell us about the shape of that society? In other words, how do we interpret the documentary evidence which we have?

Approaches to the Interpretation of Artefacts

Over the last two decades American material culturists and historical archaeologists have made a number of significant contributions towards understanding the historical evidence presented by a community's material culture. Artefacts are dumb, and unless interpreted can make little meaningful contribution to serious historical enquiry, a point raised by Hesselstine in 1957 (see above Chap. 5, 164). Since material culture is the product of a culture, not the culture itself, by its very nature it must provide indicators as to the values, aspirations and abilities of those communities of which it is a product. Influenced by the research findings of historical archaeologist James Deetz' seminal contribution In Small Things Forgotten (1977), a number of American material culturalists have moved towards a more catholic approach to the definition of material culture. In his

study of the archaeology of early American life, Deetz suggests that in order to understand life as it was lived in the past, it is necessary to move from the simple study of artefacts to grasping the concept that the world about us is the product of our thoughts. Our physical environment is literally shaped by our culturally determined behaviour (Deetz 1977, 24-25). He takes the study of material culture far beyond the simple examination of a pin or even of complex interplanetary space ships, and sees cuts of meat as material culture since the way we cut it is culturally determined. The type of furrow, the horse that pulls the plough (breeding is a product of our culture) as well as the plough itself, and even the language of the ploughman are all part of the Deetzian perception of material culture which sees even words as "air masses shaped by the speech apparatus according to culturally acquired rules" (Deetz 1977, 25). The advantages of such a broad approach are analogous to those which motivated Dyos to see urban history as a legitimate historical field of enquiry. The theoretical framework and methodology of various disciplines outside the field of the material culturist can then be drawn upon in the effort to understand and interpret a past way of life.

The broad analytical approach to the study of material culture which continually asks questions of its subjects is also favoured by Thomas J. Schlereth whose synthesis of material culture studies in America (Schlereth 1982) has placed him in the forefront of theorists in the field. In an earlier work, Artifacts and the American Past (1980), a text which in essence

is a collection of teaching and research techniques, Schlereth argues that whatever the artefact, "a stereographic view, a historical house interior, an Osago orange hedge-row, a mail-order catalog, or a White Tower restaurant", it is a cultural statement. As such it is the task of the material culturist to attempt to explain "why such things were made, why they took the forms they did, and what social, functional, aesthetic or symbolic needs they served" (Schlereth 1980, 3).

There is no doubt that in order to obtain answers to such questions the historian needs not only to study the documentary evidence pertaining to the artefact and the cultural, social, economic and political background of which it was a product, but the object itself. In order to do this first hand experiential involvement with locales other than the traditional archives and libraries beloved of the historian is necessary. Cultural history, historic house and open air museums, houses, suburbs, towns, cities, become the laboratory of the historian of material culture. The illustrations contained within this study are not 'pretty pictures' but part of that laboratory, depicting some of the evidence of spatial structures (shapes on the ground) and furnishings (shapes inside) which remain for historical encounter. Streetscapes, cityscapes and landscapes are cultural documents of "the way we were and are" (Schlereth 1980, 4), providing a vast laboratory not only for urban historians and urban geographers but also for material culturists. Of data there is no lack, although the gaps within them after the passage of years and the changing cultural perceptions of one generation after another may hinder or even prevent valid historical

explanation.

Studying material culture has another most important dimension. Not only must the historian come into contact with and study the tangible, three dimensional remains of earlier generations. The artefacts that survive are frequently the only record we have of the multitudes of 'common' people who left no written documents to mark their lives for later generations to study. They passed on unknown to history, but left silent witnesses of their contribution to the community of which they were a part and which became the heritage of their descendants. Their tools, their furnishings, their houses, their towns, their cities are cultural documents, historical evidence, which offer some clues to their personal history and that of their community.

Traditionally, research on artefacts has been, and continues to be, descriptive: classification, chronology and typology preoccupy perhaps the majority of material culturists in Britain and many of her former colonies as well as in the United States. Schlereth dates the breakthrough into what he terms 'the Age of Analysis' in the United States from the mid-1960s. There is danger in oversimplification, but it does seem that Schlereth's 'Age of Collecting', 1876-1948, in which the fascination of artefacts lay in their uniqueness (real or reputed) and historical associations (particularly élite), has lingered on in many an institution. Schlereth's 'Age of Description', 1948-1965, can almost certainly be extended to the 1980s in Britain and South Africa. The broad understanding of material culture advocated by both Deetz and Schlereth with its analytical

approach and interrelationship with other disciplines, seems only to have been introduced in recent years to the curriculum of the Dept of Museum Studies at Leicester University (Pearce 1986) and the first formal conference on Material Culture Studies is to be held in March 1987.

For the purposes of this study it seemed most relevant to alert the reader to the current trends within the field of material culture studies, and to ask whether the goal of urban historians, historical archaeologists and material culturists is not the same. All, it would seem, are asking the same basic question: what does the evidence tell us about the way that life was lived in a particular society in a given period of time? The answers which are given, however, will depend on what questions are asked and on the way in which they are framed. Discovery and collection of artefacts, their classification and documentation is an essential and enjoyable facet of material culture research, but it is only the first part of a complex process. Analysis and interpretation of artefacts is a skill which needs to be learned, which should open windows on the past, bring new facets to light and challenge basic assumptions concerning communities and the various groups within them. It is to be hoped that as the analytic approach which draws on the methodology, insights and theory of other disciplines which impinge on material culture studies becomes more widely known, South African as well as British cultural historians will take up the challenge of the wider interdisciplinary approach to material culture studies. This venture in urban history, with its focus on the interiors of domestic dwellings and their material culture is an initial

movement in this direction. The validity and relevance of such studies, and the time necessary for their implementation, will undoubtedly be questioned and debated, much as in the field of urban history. Concern lest the primacy of the artefact be lost sight of will be expressed. If, however, it is seen that the interpretation arrived at provides a valid historical explanation, and that artefacts are no longer purely illustrative, but become a window through which life as it was lived in the past is more clearly seen, material culture studies will take a meaningful and honourable position within recognized historical scholarship. The works of Demos (1970) and Deetz (1977) have pioneered this approach. Papers such as those by Cowan (1976), Ames (1978) and Cohen (1980) are among shorter studies in this tradition.

Ruth Schwartz Cohen, in her study of the 'Industrial Revolution' in the twentieth century home, focuses on the relationship between technological and societal change. Is it technology which influences the way we live, or our changing social attitudes which initiate inventions or adaptations to existing technology in the home?

Kenneth L. Ames in his "Meaning in Artifacts: Hall Furnishings in America" insists that art history research must be within the wider context of cultural history, and where appropriate, borrow models and methods from the social sciences. His observations are particularly relevant for this study. Stressing the primacy of the artefact, he is adamant that valuable though deceased estate inventories, bills and receipts

for furnishings (and, we may add, furnishing advertisements) may be, until their results have been tabulated and correlated, few conclusions be drawn (Ames, 1978, 1982 rpt, 210). He makes use of literary references, pictorial records, trade catalogues and domestic space usage as the framework necessary for the interpretation of furniture and its arrangement with any degree of historical accuracy. In the final analysis, interpretation, he maintains, hinges on intimate knowledge of artefacts in order to interpret accurately the visual, spatial and written records relating to them.

Lizabeth A. Cohen, a social historian, in her interpretation of the material culture of American working class homes, 1855-1915, has approached her analysis by examining the revealing choices made by members of the working class in organizing their domestic setting. As does Ames, Cohen makes use of domestic spaces and furnishing, but supplements her research by popular magazines, home decoration manuals, diaries, notebooks, architectural journals and autobiographies. She draws on the work of contemporary sociologists and fellow social historians, as well as cultural anthropologists in her analysis and interpretation.

This analytical, interpretive, inter-disciplinary approach has implications both for this chapter which seeks to explore the possible links between class and furnishings, and for the study as a whole. It has become clear during the course of this research that when the historian is confronted with a wealth of detail, such as has been gathered from newspaper advertisements and inventories, the greatest problem faced is how to analyse and

interpret the data so that meaningful generalizations can be formulated.

Before interpretation can be commenced, the data wherever possible, have to be linked to specific families and individuals so that one can then obtain a reasonably accurate reconstruction of the daily life of different sections of the community. This is possible, although much research may be needed, in relation to some at least of the inventories and house sale advertisements, but there is no way of telling who were the purchasers of the furnishings advertised in the Graham's Town Journal. In fact, at first sight it seems that the difficulties envisaged by Cannadine in linking shapes on the ground to shapes in society (see Chap. 4 above, 134-39), may have a parallel when it comes to linking shapes inside to shapes in society. The problem, as he saw it, turns on the apparent ambiguity which arises from attempts to interpret the data. Depending on the methodological approach from which the analysis is made, the interpretation can either prove or contradict the point at issue. Patterns of residential differentiation, for example, may be proved by one method and contradicted by another.

Urban geographer Pooley does not share Cannadine's conclusion that no methodology exists at present by which links between social structure and spatial form may be meaningfully assessed, and that there may even be no direct connection at all between the two (Cannadine 1982c, 247-49). Pooley instead has urged urban geographers to expand their sources in order to perceive how the Victorians themselves viewed residential

patterns. While it is highly probable that shapes inside have close links to shapes in society, economic and political factors, social status (determined by birth and/or wealth), and personal idiosyncracies as well as cross cultural interaction are all known to play a role in the shaping of domestic settings.

Early to late Victorian interior décor and furnishings manufactured in England show strong gentrification influences as far as the middle classes were concerned. Recent research on working class culture, however, shows that in England political and religious factors had a greater impact on 'popular culture' than the upwardly mobile privatized culture of the middle and upper 'leisured' classes (see above Chap. 1, 68-72). Different methodological approaches to the analysis of domestic material culture need to be assessed before any substantive conclusions can be drawn as to the way in which Victorians themselves perceived the relationship(s) between class and artefacts in the home. It is possible, as Cannadine suggests, to misinterpret data through using different methodological approaches. Pooley's safeguard of expanding the scope of data collection to include other contemporary, related data (Pooley 1984, 136-42) should, however, obviate the problem raised by Cannadine. The discovery and use of objective additional sources such as unpublished diaries and letters, as well as sketch books which may contain drawings of interiors, and the class related links which these should bring, are in line with the Deetz-Demos-Cowan-Ames-Cohen-Schlereth approaches to material culture studies.

Some Implications of the American Analytical Approach

The implication of the American analytical approach for this study of domestic material culture in early Victorian Grahamstown as a whole, is that a pioneering, preliminary project such as this cannot within its present confines go beyond raising issues and suggesting a number of areas for on-going research. The collection and correlation of data regarding artefacts, as Ames has pointed out, is an immense task and basic to the analysis and interpretation of their role in the interior of domestic dwellings. Trade catalogues, which are a vital visual adjunct to interpretation, have been impossible to trace in this country, despite efforts to do so. Correspondence with the Victoria & Albert Museum showed that such do exist which are relevant to the period of this study, but that it is beyond the reasonable duties of their staff to scan them for researchers, although specific questions are willingly answered. The result, however, is that an important primary source is beyond the scope of this study in terms of what can reasonably be expected of a master's dissertation, where funding for overseas research is out of the question. Ames' most important point, however, is that an intimate knowledge of the artefacts concerned is necessary for historically valid analysis and interpretation. This presupposes many years of experience in the handling and study of domestic artefacts, as well as knowledge of their provenance (who owned them). In the finality, therefore, it will be understood that only very general, tentative conclusions as to the relationship between shapes inside and shapes in society can be drawn at this stage.

It has also become clear that any meaningful conclusions must be within a wider context than a single town. Grahamstown was part of the Cape Colony, and it is within the ambit of Cape colonial society that the links between different social classes and the possessions with which they surrounded themselves must be examined. Tables 15, 16 and 17 (following p. 247), show the domestic spaces as they appear in English room inventories drawn from the colony as a whole. Ames (1987, 1982 rpt, 212) has stressed that in order to understand hall furniture, "one needs to know something about the hall, for this space and its relationship to other spaces in the home had an influence on the objects placed within it". While it is possible to draw very general conclusions from Tables 15 to 17 (broadly speaking they suggest that dining rooms were unlikely to be found in working class homes, as none appear in the room inventories, and that the hall or parlour was used for that purpose), without studying the architectural development of domestic space design in some detail, observations remain at a very basic level.

What does emerge from the observations above is the need for a more widely based study of English interiors at the Cape. An analytical and interpretive study of the Cape house and its furnishings for the early Victorian period would be a contribution not only to material culture studies in South Africa, but should also be of considerable interest on a comparative level to scholars in the same and related fields in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. The same would be true for similar studies of the interiors of mid- and late Victorian Cape

houses. The quantity of data required as a base line for such studies, however, suggests that further research at master's level for mid- to late Victorian Grahamstown, and Regency to late Victorian Cape Town, as the two centres of British settlement with the richest resources, is needed. There is room for innovative exploration particularly at Ph.D level for a multi-disciplinary approach, and the eclectic field of urban history, it is suggested, presents the most relevant framework for studies so immediately related to the structure of society and its explanation and evocation of life as it was lived in the past.

Interpreting Links between Shapes in Society and Shapes Inside

The cautions given above having been made, it is the link with individuals whose social standing in the community can be traced which is essential to contextualise the rich record of furnishings detailed in newspaper advertisements and listed in household inventories. Such links between shapes in society and shapes inside can authoritatively challenge or confirm our assumptions about the domestic settings created by the various classes in society.

FIGURE 33 Advertisement in the *Graham's Town Journal* Inserted by Merchant James Howse for the Sale of the Whole of his Household Furniture, Plate, &c. 3.4.1845, 1c3.

EXTENSIVE
AND
PEREMPTORY SALE
OF
VALUABLE
Household Furniture,
PLATE, CARRIAGE, HORSES, CAT-
TLE, HOUSES, FARMS, &c.

MR. JAMES HOWSE, being about to leave this Colony for Europe, has instructed the Undersigned to Sell by **PUBLIC AUCTION,**
ON MONDAY,
The 21st inst.,
THE WHOLE OF HIS
HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE,
PLATE, &c.,
Consisting of as follows:—
12 Spanish Mahogany Chairs, with Horse-hair Seats, handsome double scroll Horse hair Sofa, and Stools to match, 1 set of 12 feet solid Mahogany Dining Tables do. Sofa Table, side do., handsome Work Table, with Writing Desks, Mahogany Book Case, with Chest Drawers under, Eserutoire, with Drawers, solid Mahogany round Table, 2 splendid Mahogany carved four-post B.dstead, one Mahogany Portable Chest Drawers, 3 solid Mahogany do, 2 small do, 2 handsome solid Mahogany Wash-hand Stands, 1 set Stinkwood Dining Tables, do' Sofa, side and pier do. Tables, do. Dining Room Chairs, with cane bottoms, Bed-room do., solid Stinkwood Chest Drawers, one do. Wardrobe, with sliding Shelves, Ladies' handsome Book-case, do. Writing Desks, Gilt and Mahogany framed Chimney, Pier, and Dressing Glasses, 1 handsome Cheval Glass, French and Tent Bedsteads, Feather Bed and Bedding, Mattresses, Dressing Tables, Children's Bath, Brussels and Kidderminster Carpets, Rugs, handsome Easy Chair, Screen Stands, a number of Paintings and Prints, handsomely framed, one set of Churchly's Maps, on Rollers, 1 pair 16 inch Globes, 1 Barometer, Musical Box, 1 do. Picture, 1 eight light Or Mulu Chandelier, 1 Bronze Lamp, 1 Hall do, 1 eight-day Clock, mahogany case, 1 Time-piece, several Fenders and sets Fire Irons.
1 splendid full-toned **SQUARE PIANO-FORTE,** by Broadwood and Sons, with Music-stool, nearly new.
Plate and Plated Ware.
1 set of Queen's pattern Silver, consisting of Table, Dessert, Gravy, Tea, and Salt Spoons, Table and Dessert Forks, Salad and Gravy Ladles, Sugar Tongs, and several Silver Watches,
Plated ware with Silver edges, consisting of Tea and Coffee Pots, Cream Jugs, Toast Racks, Cruet and Pickle Stands, Decanter do., Candlesticks, Sauvers and Trays, balance-handle Knives and Forks.
Glass and China.
Consisting of Dinner, Tea, Breakfast, and Dessert Sets, 1 handsome Glass Dessert Set, Cut Glass Decanters, Tumblers, Wine Glasses, Custard, Jelly Cups, &c. &c.

Kitchen and Pantry Utensils,
Large Boiling Bots, Pans, Kettles, Jars, &c. &c.
ONE HANDSOME
TRAVELLING GIG,
and pair Horses, with Harness complete, 1 Cart and Horse, 1 Mare and Foal, a quantity of Saddlery, 2 superior double-barrelled Guns, 1 pair Pistols, 1 Iron Chest, &c.
A quantity of Piece Goods.
A splendid collection of Standard, Biographical, Theological, Historical, and other Works, amongst which are, Dr. A. Clarke's, Wesley's, Watson's, Matthew's, and Russel's Works, a Catalogue of which will be published.
No. 1. On the same day will be offered for Sale the Farm
BRAAK RIVER,
known as one of the best Grazing and Agricultural Farms in Albany, only 1½ hours ride from Graham's Town. This Farm possesses an inexhaustible supply of Fire-wood, and from its proximity to Graham's Town, parties residing on it have been enabled to attend the Graham's Town Market daily with Butter and other Farm productions.
The Farming Implements are also for Sale, consisting of a Wagon, Plough, Harrow, &c., &c.
Also from the same Farm, 100 head of Breeding and other Cattle, including 3 spans of good Working Oxen. These cattle have been residing on the Farm for some time past, and many of them bred there.
2. A **DOUBLE-STORY HOUSE,** in the occupation of Mr. Barber, at the corner of Hill & Beaufort-streets, one of the most healthy situations in Town for a private Family.
3. A **DWELLING HOUSE,** occupied by G. Franklin, Esq., situated in Hill-street,
4. A **COTTAGE,** situated on the main road to Fort England, near the property of Mr. Reynolds.
5. **TWO PLOTS OF GROUND,** situate adjoining the new Baptist Chapel.
The Landed Property will be Sold with an extended Credit, and put up at Two o'Clock.
Should the weather prove unfavorable the Sale will take place the first fine day, and should the whole of the Property not be Sold the first day, the Sale will be continued the following day.
J. D. NORDEN, Auctioneer.

Certain generalizations are, of course, evident from the inventories and advertisements. The distinction between 'trade' and the professions, the former excluding those who practised it from upper class society, drawn so clearly in England, seems to have disappeared rapidly on the colonial frontier, and indeed, Bradlow suggests in Cape colonial society as a whole (Bradlow 1986, 390). There would, however, always be those who considered trade to be unacceptable within even colonial society. In many cases wealth not birth provided an entree into society at the Cape, and Grahamstown was no exception. In fact, if anything, upward social mobility on the frontier was more rapid where trading opportunities with the interior and government contracts for provisioning the British troops ensured for some at least the wealth which could be invested in property and household furnishings, the visible passport into society. In 1845, for example, the nature of the furnishings within 'Eden Grove', the home of James Howse, a Social Class IV artisan who rose to be a Social Class II merchant (Fig. 33) appear to be fully equal to those of Assistant Commissary George Sanford, Social Class I (Appendix C4.2).

Social Classes I & II

Type and size of dwelling, or furnishings, were not necessarily an indication of social status. Houses occupied by army officers (Social Class I) and their families ranged from Oatlands, the home of Col. Henry Somerset, Commandant of the Frontier, to whatever was available. In a letter 'home' to England in 1846, Capt. Arthur Stormont Murray wrote:

" . . . managed to get Lily a nice little house, for about five pounds a month . . . in Graham's Town, where she will, I trust, be as comfortable as this wretched town will allow of. Everything is ruinously expensive . . . The house Lily has taken is unfurnished, and nearly the only one to be had, as the people coming in from the country have occupied everything since the war."

(Murray 1859, 145-46)

Household furnishings available to Lily Murray in post war Grahamstown would have been extremely scarce, and her best opportunity would probably have been to attend vendues (auctions) of the household furniture of officers and others leaving the frontier.

The unsatisfactory accomodation and makeshift arrangements with which officer's wives had to make do, were very different from the opportunities which were available to permanent residents in Grahamstown. Sixteen year old Mary Anne Sanford (Social Class I) who married Clerk of the Peace Richard Eaton (Social Class II) in 1841 (see above Chap. 6, 185-86 and Fig. 15 facing p. 185) provide a glimpse of the fashionable military and civil establishment house interior in early Victorian Grahamstown. It must be remembered, though, that Grahamstown had a predominantly working class population in the early and mid-nineteenth century (see above Chap. 3, 128-29), and so élite interiors were not typical of the town as a whole.

The Eaton drawing room contained fashionable rosewood tables, one of which would certainly have been circular. The chairs were imitation rosewood, less expensive than genuine rosewood. The sofa and ottoman were upholstered in damask to match the window curtains. The size of the 18 x 13 foot carpet

suggests a 'planned to room' fitment, probably of fashionable Brussels in either a mid-Victorian stylized diamond pattern, such as 'Haddow House' (dark blue, light blue and cream) or the softer early nineteenth century 'Aynsworth' in five colours with its basic diamond pattern expressed in looped ribbons and wreaths of rose leaves framing a naturalistic rose spray, and bordered with an intricate spiral design (Plate 28, facing p. 175). There is no hint as to the style of curtain drapes preferred by the Eatons, but brass and gilt cornices were available, and a fashionable style was to embellish the simple fabric panels looped up by brass curtain bands, with a matching fabric valance caught up to resemble a swag, cascades of material falling gracefully to either side of the window embrasure (see for example Plate 5, between pp. 83 & 84). The muslin curtains would have been hung behind the damask ones.

The rosewood tables in the Eaton drawing room included card tables as well as Mary Anne's work table. A variety of imported portable rosewood and mahogany writing desks were available for sale in Grahamstown in the 1840s, and the writing desks on the Eaton sale would probably have been portable, and placed on two rosewood occasional tables, alongside a table lamp, space permitting.

It was no accident that Mary Anne Eaton's harp was being sold with a flute and double flageolet. In fashionable English society in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the flute as an instrument for men on which they accompanied the harp, a ladies' instrument, was a great social success (Scholes

1970, 363). In 1837 (GJT 29.6, 4c2) a fine tone double action harp by Sebastian Erard, with music stand, was advertised in the Graham's Town Journal an indication as to the type of harp which would have been a feature in the room.

Pictures and books gave the Eaton drawing room that personal touch, as did their chimney ornaments ranged along the mantelpiece. No mirror is mentioned, which does not preclude its presence, but makes it unlikely.

Wall finishes are not indicated in any house sale advertisements. The Journal did, however, carry advertisements for "superior English Paper Hangings of the latest Fashions" as early as 1834 (GTJ 31.7., 1c3), and there were paper hangers advertising their trade at intervals from the 1830s. Borders for stencilling were also for sale, which could be applied to cheaper papers (GTJ 18.2.1836, 1c1). William Stent, paper hanger and stenciller, was also a 'colourer' who plastered both interiors and exteriors of houses, colouring them with lime or distemper (GTJ 5.9.1846, 4c4; Plate 20b shows the Georgian style town house which Stent built and owned, although he moved from Hill Street to New Street in 1846 (GTJ 28.3, 1c2)). In 1848 satin room and staircase paper hangings were available at the Store of James Howse (GTJ 15.4, 1c2). Wall paper became increasingly available to all social classes in England from 1839 when a firm of calico printers, C.H. & E. Potter of Darwen, Lancashire, adapted a calico printing machine to use rollers instead of a hand press to print the designs (de Bono 1974, 143). By the mid-nineteenth century wall paper was both cheap and popular. Wall paper and richly coloured curtain drapes effectively furnished a room

containing comparatively little furniture, as is well illustrated in Mary Ellen Best's York dining room in 1838 (Plate 34 facing p. 207).

Mary Anne Eaton's dining room was furnished with typical, heavy mahogany furniture which was favoured by all social classes for eating purposes whether they had a separate dining room or not. The domestic spaces of Social Classes I and II shown in Table 15, indicate that dining rooms were generally to be found in upper and upper middle class homes. Although the Eaton sale advertisement does not specify rooms, it is highly probable that the Eatons had a dining room, not a parlour-dining room, which would have been the alternative. Mary Anne's father, George Sanford's Bell Street home certainly included a dining room (Appendix c4.2), furnished in mahogany.

The Eaton's bedroom contained a curtained mahogany four poster bed with horsehair mattress. The iron four post bedstead with curtains may well have been in a different room. In 1838 C. & H. Maynard were advertising imported four post and French bedsteads with fine white full drapery furniture (GTJ 4.10, 1c2). The tent bedstead at Langton Hall, Yorkshire c. 1835 with its full white bed curtains (Plate 33 facing p. 202), was not so far removed from a colonial frontier as might appear at first sight. Mahogany wardrobes and washstands, toilet glasses and tables, and a chest of drawers formed part of the basic bedroom furniture of a Social Class I or II home, as much as Social Classes III to V (see Chap. 7, 202-03). Candle lamps for soft illumination were probably from the main bedroom, in which the 'very Superior

Shower Bath' could have stood.

No mention is made of china or glass, but the few articles of plate could have included items similar to those in the Sanford inventory: plated candlesticks, snuffers and tray, plated toast basket, toast rack, bottle coasters, fruit knives and forks, and the ubiquitous cruet stand which was found in the houses of all social classes. Neither is the Eaton kitchen mentioned, but it would have certainly have contained a large fire place and oven of some kind, a table (and chairs, as in the Sanford kitchen?), some kind of storage facilities, and the usual range of kitchen utensils: saucepans, pots, tin basins, cutlery, as well as smoothing irons, trays and other necessary articles. The pantry appears in a number of house sale advertisements for larger houses, and in the Sanford Bell Street home housed their silver table spoons and forks, cream jug, sauce ladles, and dishes. Wine glasses and finger glasses, claret jugs and wine decanters, china dinner and dessert services were all kept in the pantry by the Sanfords.

The overall impression of the upper and upper middle class interior in Grahamstown is one in which taste, fashion consciousness and utility combined to create an environment not unlike that which they would have had in England. Colonial made furniture was also to be found in upper class homes. Lt. Col. England, for example, sold his stinkwood dining and bedroom chairs when he left the frontier in 1835 (GTJ 22.10, 1c1), and when merchant John Norton left the colony in 1838, he sold his stinkwood drawing room chairs, some with horse hair seats, and others caned (GTJ 1.11, 1c2). Dr Ambrose Campbell's set of

stinkwood 'Elizabethan' chairs with matching table (Fig. 32 facing p. 222) is also not be overlooked. Merchant Charles Pakenham owned a set of stinkwood dining room chairs (Appendix C4.8 and Fig. 28 facing p. 208), and Robert Godlonton even owned a stinkwood Grecian couch (GTJ 6.6.1844, 1c3). In fact, as one reads through the list of locally made furniture advertised in the Journal (Appendix D5), it suggests that stinkwood was a popular addition to the furnishings of a number of Grahamstown's élite establishments.

Social Class III

As has been discussed above (Chap. 7, 196-200), size and type of domestic dwellings in early Victorian Grahamstown were not necessarily directly class related. Neither were furnishings (shapes inside) in so far as actual artefacts were concerned (arrangements are another matter as they tend to reflect subconscious cultural perceptions as well as aspirations). Evidence from inventories and advertisements suggests that Social Class III furnishings closely paralleled those of Social Class II where the householder was sufficiently affluent. Joshua D. Norden, auctioneer, in terms of the size and furnishings of his house alone, should be classified as Social Class II. The same could be said of ironmonger William Ogilvie. Where, however, links between householder, size and type of dwelling, as well as with furnishings exists, these constitute a valuable addition to what are usually regarded as the main indicators of social class: birth, occupation, social connections and income. The furnishings of the Norden drawing rooms and bedrooms (Appendix

C4.5) are much more akin to those of merchants Black, Pakenham and Howse. On the other hand, canteen keeper John Jolly's wardrobe and dressing tables housed in his parlour (Appendix C4.4), would not have been found in a Social Class I or II drawing room. Trader John Armstrong's parlour-dining room (Appendix C4.1) would not have been acceptable in upper middle class circles.

In addition, domestic spaces may on occasion tell us more about social class at this distance than furnishings. Furnishings need to be linked to specific individuals about whom something is known; preferably their occupation and social circle. Income is more problematic (see above Chap. 3, 120-22). Without this personal link, knowledge about the type of furnishings available on the frontier (or anywhere) is of interest, but does not necessarily contribute to our understanding of life as it was lived in the past by different groups of people.

Data as to the use to which domestic spaces are put have been extracted from the room inventories selected for this study from the Cape Archives, and form Tables 15 to 17 (following p. 247). Collated and compared, they have a further dimension to add to our knowledge of distinctions between the social classes. Table 15, for instance, shows that dining rooms were usual among Social Class I householders. Tables 16 and 17 reveal that only two Social Class III householders from the data extracted had dining rooms, and none in Social Classes IV and V. If this is indeed part of a pattern, it suggests a less privatized life

style, more akin to the communal working, and often lower middle class way of life left behind in England. The apparent lack of use of their dining room space was one of the reasons (the others were occupation and nationality) which prompted the tentative allocation of auctioneer Joshua D. Norden to Social Class III rather than Social Class II, despite the size of his domestic establishment and two drawing rooms.

The use of the term 'parlour' and the designation of room by position rather than by function, is also shown by Tables 16 and 17, and emerges as a characteristic of Social Classes III to V. The term 'hall' and the lack of any designated parlour in three instances in Table 17 (Eley, Seijffert and Obermeyer) is undoubtedly linked to their Dutch connections (see above Chap. 2, 96-100).

The overall impression gained of the interiors of Social Class III domestic dwellings is one of upward mobility, tempered by economic circumstances, based on an English upper class model. Gentrification was taking place as much on the eastern Cape frontier, it appears, as in the increasingly middle class mother country.

Social Classes IV & V

As far as the working class interior is concerned, there appears to be no evidence that the large working class population in Grahamstown was consciously responding to a gentrification process. Rather, the Social Class II and III merchant importers of furnishings were introducing goods designed and manufactured by an increasingly gentrified, prosperous English middle class.

The furnishings reflected their values and aspirations, and these were of course exported to Britain's colonies.

The inventories show that in working class homes in the Cape Colony in general, and in Grahamstown in particular, interiors were more recognizable for the generally haphazard inclusion of extraneous items in the rooms, suggesting that utility rather than specific function was uppermost in their minds. Usually, however, one room was furnished as a parlour-dining room, with basic sofa, table and chairs, possibly a carpet, rarely curtains, ladies' work box, mirror and clock, together with other incidental items. Not all working class houses even had as many possessions as those just listed, as has been noted in an earlier chapter (7, 201-02).

As the use of domestic space is a reflection of social and cultural values, conscious or unconscious, the little we know of domestic space or room usage in early Victorian Grahamstown may at times tell us more about social class than do the furnishings. The same house, with, for example four rooms, occupied by members of Social Class I at one time, and Social Class IV at another (a typical army officer accommodation pattern), will be used for different purposes, for "the meaning and use of domestic space are not intrinsic to a set of physical characteristics" (Lawrence 1982, 104).

To what extent, then, does environment as well as social class affect the use of domestic space and furnishing styles within it? The Graham's Town Journal carried regular articles on the progress of British settlements in Australia and New Zealand. All three societies had a common Anglo-Saxon heritage. To what

extent did Australian interiors, for example, resemble those on the eastern Cape frontier? As we bring this study of the interiors and material culture of domestic dwellings in Grahamstown to a close, comparisons with another colonial, though not frontier, British settlement should provide a perspective from which to assess the extent to which British settlers in Grahamstown created 'another England' within their domestic settings, or whether an embryonic 'Cape English' style may have emerged, even as an Australian character was being given to houses at the Antipodes of the empire.

TABLE 15

DOMESTIC SPACES IN SOCIAL CLASS I & II DWELLING HOUSES, CAPE COLONY 1832-53
DATA FROM ENGLISH ROOM INVENTORIES EXTRACTED FROM THE CAPE ARCHIVES

Year	Householder	Occupation & Place of Residence	Social Class	Domestic Spaces
1834	Wentworth	District Surgeon Uitenhage	II	Lobby Parlour Bedroom Room on left hand Room under flat Roof Room on right hand Pantry Loft
1839	Daniells Ann	Wife of Wool Farmer Lt. Richard Daniels R.N. Sidbury Park	I	Dining Room Sitting Room School Room Mangle Room Kitchen 5 Bedrooms Gents Dressing Room
1839	Frazer	Minister Simon's Town	II	No. 1 Room No. 2 Room Dining Room 3 Bedrooms Store Room Pantry Kitchen
1844	Sanford	Assistant Commissary General Bell Street Graham's Town	I	Drawing Room Dining Room Bed Room No. 1 Bed Room No. 2 Dressing Room Nursery Pantry Kitchen Loft
1843	Bridekirk	Publisher <u>SA Chronicle & Mercantile Advertiser</u> Cape Town	II	Drawing Room Dining Room Hall Pantry Kitchen Wine Cellar First Floor: Dressing Room Bedroom Small Front Room Another Small Room
1845	Philip	LMS Missionary Hankey Uitenhage	II	Room on right hand Bedroom on left hand Passage Pantry Bedroom (upstairs) Study Kitchen Rooms above Kitchen
1844	Becker	Merchant 'Wolmunster' Rondebosch	II	Stoep Room to right Bedroom Passage Bedroom Stoep Room to left (used as Sitting Room) Dining Room Bed Room Pantry

TABLE 15 (contd.)

Year	Householder	Occupation & Place of Residence	Social Class	Domestic Spaces
1844	Becker <u>contd.</u>		II	Entrance Hall Drawing Room Stoop Kitchen outside in Yard, with Outside Pantry
1849	Pearson	Physician/ Surgeon Wynberg	II	Dining Room Drawing Room Study Room Bedroom Dressing Room Kitchen Store Room

TABLE 16

DOMESTIC SPACES IN SOCIAL CLASS III DWELLING HOUSES, CAPE COLONY 1832-53
DATA FROM ENGLISH ROOM INVENTORIES EXTRACTED FROM THE CAPE ARCHIVES

Year	Householder	Occupation & Place of Residence	Domestic Spaces
1835	Berrington	Inn/Storekeeper Port Frances Bar & Store in house	Front Parlour Lower bed room Upper bed room Upper bed room & Passage Entrance Hall Front Kitchen Pantry Servants Bed-room Bed Room Back Kitchen
1835	Armstrong	Trader Hill Street Graham's Town Shop in House	Parlour to Right of Shop Back Room leading out of the Parlour Upstairs Bed Room Back Room leading out of Shop Kitchen
1837	Perry	Apothecary 3 Market Square Graaff-Reinet	Hall or fore house Room to the left of Pantry Room to the right Kitchen
1844	Jolly	Canteen Keeper Fort England Graham's Town	First Room upstairs Front Bed Room Children's Bed Room Dining Room Top Rooms Back Store
1846	Norden	Auctioneer Beaufort Street Graham's Town	Drawing Rooms Hall Dining room Bedroom No. 1 Bedroom No. 2 Bedroom No. 3 Dreßing Rooms Kitchen Pantry
1846	Nourse	Farmer Farm on Koonap River Albany	End Room Middle Room Sitting Room Kitchen Small Store Bed Room
1847	Naude	Retail Shopkeeper Dorp Street Stellenbosch	Hall Drawing Room (on right hand side) Gallery Pantry Bedroom Storeroom Kitchen
1851	Gray	Field Cornet Farm 'Walsingham' Lower Albany	Parlour Kitchen Bedroom

TABLE 17

DOMESTIC SPACES IN SOCIAL CLASS IV & V DWELLING HOUSES, CAPE COLONY 1832-53
DATA FROM ENGLISH ROOM INVENTORIES EXTRACTED FROM THE CAPE ARCHIVES

Year	Householder	Occupation & Place of Residence	Social Class	Domestic Spaces
1832	Thwaites	Cabinet Maker Cape Town	IV	Hall below Bed Room below Upstairs Hall Bedroom of Lodger Kitchen
1836	Eley	Chief Artificer & Turn Cock to Cape Town Water Works 12 Pepper Street Cape Town	IV	Hall Room on right hand Room on left hand Back Room Kitchen
1836	Seijffert	Tanner Worcester	IV	Hall Bedroom Pantry Kitchen
1838	Hunter	Blacksmith	IV	Parlor & Hall Bed-Rooms Kitchen
1837	Leatt	Boot & Shoemaker Cape Town Shop in House	IV	Parlour Bed Room Hall Kitchen
1837	Becker	Tailor 61 Long Street Cape Town		Hall Kitchen Landing Place Upstairs Front Room
1840	Obermeyer	Widow of Carpenter Cape Town Shop in House	IV	Hall First Front Room Second Front Room Back Room Kitchen
1844	Jardine	Baker Beaufort Street Graham's Town		Parlour No. 1 Parlour No. 2 Bed Room Pantry Kitchen Servant's Room Frederich's Room
1844	Cato	Rondebosch Cape Carpenter's Shop in House		Room on left hand Room on right hand Bed Room on left hand Bed Room on right hand Kitchen
1848	Trimble	Labourer 9 Cross Street Graham's Town		Room to the Right Bed Room No. 1 Bed Room No. 2 Loft Back Room Kitchen

CHAPTER 10

TOWARDS A LOCAL CHARACTER

Australian Comparisons

Even as spatial structures are culturally determined (see above Chap. 4, 139ff.), so domestic spaces within house forms are equally a product of the cultural values of their occupants. Environment also shapes the distinctive character of domestic dwellings, and it is this which forms the theme of Australia's most recent volume on domestic architecture, The History and Design of the Australian House (Irving 1985).

Published studies on early Victorian domestic interiors and material culture for Australia and Canada proved to be virtually non-existent. As the earliest British settlement in New Zealand was only established in Wellington in 1840, and George Wakefield's immigration schemes only deposited the first British settlers in Auckland in 1850 (Sinclair & Harvey 1978, 12), the embryo settlement records cannot be meaningfully compared with the relatively well established British settlement of the eastern Cape frontier, and in any event, no published secondary sources on domestic interiors could be traced. In so far as Canadian settlements are concerned, London, Ontario, founded in 1826, was considered a possible parallel settlement to Grahamstown, but once again it appears that nothing on domestic interiors has

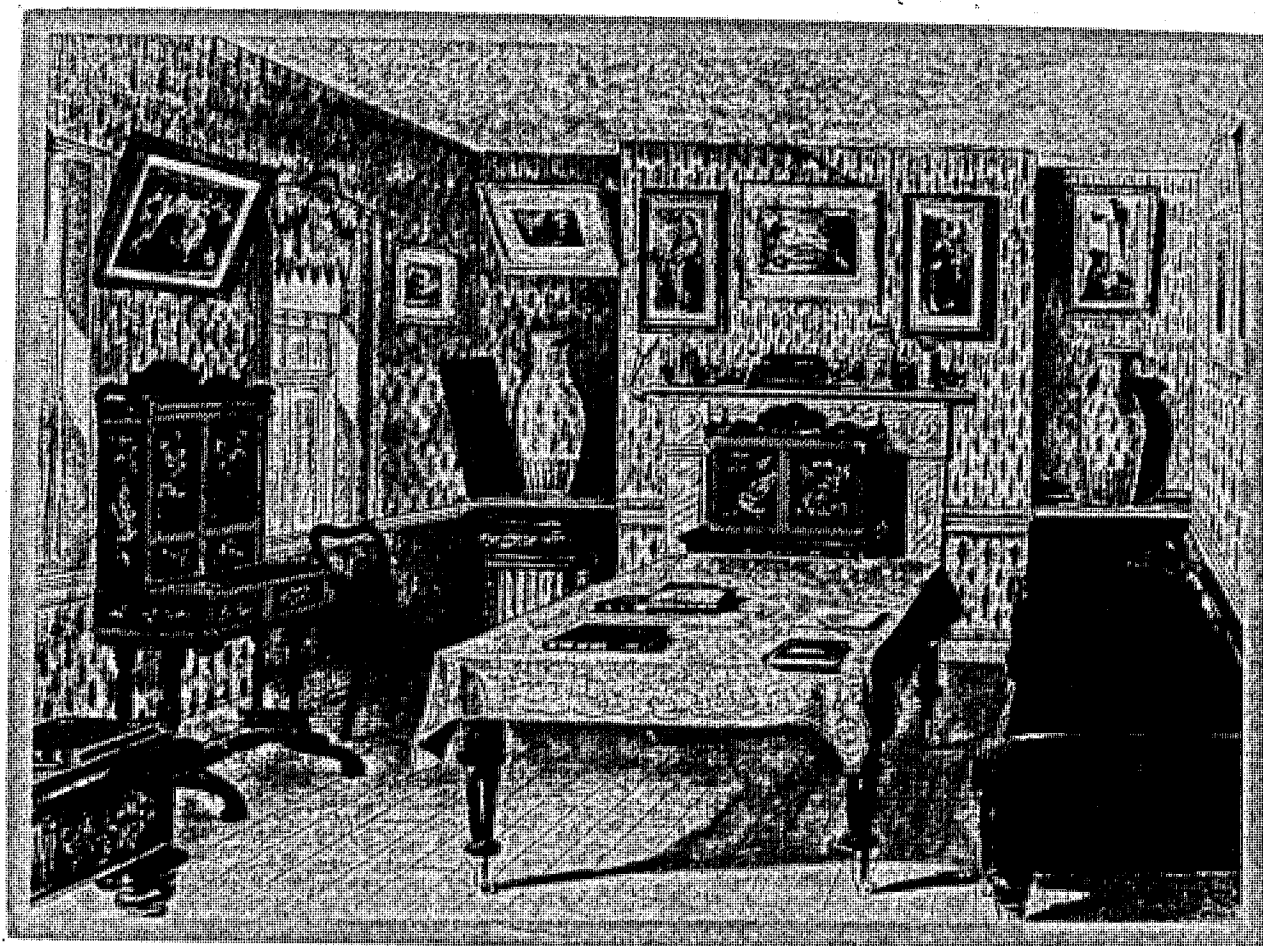
been published for Canada as a whole, let alone London.¹ Consultation of archival records for any of the three countries is well beyond the requirements for this dissertation, so available secondary sources dictated the final choice for comparisons.

To be meaningful comparisons must be made between town and town, and the parallels between early Sydney Cove and Grahamstown appeared in theory at least, to offer some scope for comparison with the British settlement at the Cape.

Emigration to Australia commenced in the period after 1820 (Rosecrance in Hartz 1964, 281), although Australia had been a British penal settlement since the late eighteenth century. The social character of Sydney Cove was, however, shaped by very different factors from those affecting English Grahamstown. There had been a steady trickle of assisted emigrants to New South Wales since 1792 (Cannon 1971, 177), but from about 1838 the first wave of assisted migration reached Australia. Most of those who arrived between 1838 and 1841 were artisans and labourers. It was only when a further assisted emigration scheme was implemented in 1847 that the majority of emigrants were from the middle classes (Cannon 1971, 115-16).

Interwoven with the development of New South Wales was the dark, twisted strand of Australia's history, the convict presence. Little reference is made in The History and Design of the Australian House to the initial convict and working class

¹ My thanks to Prof. Fred. H. Armstrong, History Dept, University of Western Ontario, Canada, for his clarification of the situation and photocopies of relevant extracts from Artibise and Stelter's bibliography, Canada's Urban Past (1981).



Merchant M. Henri Noufflard's Drawing Room, Bligh Street, Sydney
Early 1850's.

*Historic Houses Trust
New South Wales
Australia*

character of New South Wales in the early nineteenth century. It was a combination which shaped Australian society until the mid-nineteenth century when the balance of emancipists to free settlers in New South Wales was at last in favour of the latter. Prior to that, in, for example 1837, the free population numbered some 50,000 as against about 25,000 convicts. More than a quarter of the free settlers, however, some 17,000, were former convicts. So in actual fact the free settlers lived alongside some 42,000 former and present convicts (Cannon 1971, 42). Different, and with far deeper long term cultural implications, and yet parallel in its shaping of the character of the eastern Cape frontier, was the proximity of a large black indigenous people, interacting with the strongly working class British emigrants of 1820.

Despite the promising title of Suzanne Forge's Victorian Splendour: Australian Interior Decoration 1837-1901 (1981), and her contribution to The History and Design of the Australian House, early Victorian interiors are scarcely mentioned. After the research undertaken for this study, it hardly comes as a surprise, as records from a pre-photography era are slender indeed by comparison with the resources available on mid- and particularly late Victorian interiors.

The only illustration of an early Victorian Australian interior traced, is included by Forge in the chapter "Interiors and Decoration" in the 1985 Australian House volume. The watercolour is of merchant Monsieur Henri Noufflard's drawing room in Sydney in the early 1850s (Plate 37), and is considered by Forge to reflect "the emergence of late Colonial sparkle . . .

its happy combination of random objects helps to dispel the idea of colonial rooms following a hard and fast formula. Indeed, it seems that they rejoiced in the unpredictable!" (Forge in Irving 1985, 224). Forge does not draw attention to any specific features in the Noufflard drawing room as typically Australian. The lack of floor covering and lacquered cabinet in front of the fireplace suggest to the Cape eye a summer arrangement. The somewhat odd fabric valance and absence of window drapes suggest outside shutters to keep out the heat, but Forge offers no comment on this. The low ceiling and lack of cornice give the room a constricted, lowering appearance, and there is no sense of the high ceilinged proportioned elegance of Cape Regency houses, or even those of the earlier years of Victoria's reign in both Cape Town and Grahamstown where spacious rooms seem designed for coolness.

Forge suggests that the drawing room could also have been used as a dining room, considering the size and shape of the table. The restrained cream and blue wall paper and light table cloth are not typical of the strong colours in use in England and advertised in the columns of the Graham's Town Journal, but stylistic non-conformity was part of the Australian colonial sparkle discerned by Forge, and which certainly later in Victoria's reign gave to Australian interiors a vibrancy of strong colour combinations, never seen at the Cape. Settlers in Australia and New Zealand, whatever their nationality, were largely dependent upon British imports which, due to the vast distances between the antipodes and mother country, meant

improvisation and looking to the oriental market. It is the inclusion of lacquered oriental furniture which, perhaps more than any other feature, gives the Noufflard room its colonial air.

Although the available records of interiors are sparse, a brief examination of some of the spatial characteristics of Sydney Cove is relevant.

Within a few years of its inception as a settled community, houses at Sydney Cove were, under the initial direction of the military, planned and built with distinctive domestic spaces (Lawrence 1982, 112). Even though the small Georgian houses were often erected in rows, with a single line formation, as in Grahamstown, the houses were privately owned and in no way resembled the working class terraced rows which had been left behind in England. In fact, from the start of the settlement, the preference was for detached houses in large grounds where a cow, horses, poultry and other livestock could be kept, and fresh vegetables and fruit grown, a typical settler subsistence pattern, as much a characteristic of Grahamstown as Sydney Cove.

Although at first, as in Grahamstown, the houses in Sydney Cove were not adapted in any way to the Australian climate but were instead identical to the cottages many had left behind in England, gradually environment linked modifications were made to the structure. With alternating heavy rains and heat such as the settlers had not before experienced, roofs were increasingly designed with wider eaves to improve and control the water run off in heavy rains, and the shaded verandah was introduced. Louisa Meredith, author of Notes and Sketches of New South Wales,

published in London in 1844, referred to the 'verandah or piazza' which was to be found in front of all the houses in Sydney in the early 1840s. It will be recalled that in Grahamstown, however, the verandah does not appear to have become a feature of the town until after the mid-1860s (Chap. 4, 155-56). As in Sydney, it was grafted on to the Georgian houses which were still the preferred architectural style in both towns (see Lewis in Irving 1985, 69, for details on the persistence of the Georgian form in New South Wales).

One of the most distinctive contributions to colonial architecture which was made by early Victorian Australia was the extension of interior domestic living spaces outside the house to incorporate the verandah (Lewis in Irving 1985, 67). This was a further development of the encircling verandah already familiar in the Southern States of America and the Dutch East Indies, from whence it was exported to the Cape by the Dutch (Irving 1985, 51). In the eastern Cape, however, when verandahs were introduced, they were used to provide coolness and shelter.

The principle of separate houses with rooms for special functions was introduced into Australia at Sydney Cove by the colonial officials and free settlers in the 1830s. As has been noted above (Chap. 7, 200-02), special function rooms were to be found in Grahamstown among the upper and upper middle classes, and to some extent among the lower middle class (Social Class III). A distinctive Australian adaptation, particularly in the outback, was the pattern of detaching the kitchen from the dwelling house. Reasons suggested for this are fire hazard, heat

in an already stifling climate, flies, and the desire to keep a distance between employer and convict servants (Lawrence 1982, 112).

The town kitchen, however, according to Australian architect and conservationist Phyllis Murphy in her chapter on colonial kitchens in The Australian House (1985, 223), was initially created by the early settlers to resemble as closely as possible the familiar kitchen-parlour/living room to which they were accustomed. In the earliest single room structures a curtain might separate the kitchen area from the living space, but more often than not it was removed to make the kitchen the whole house. The position of the kitchen in later Australian town and country house plans seems to have varied according to social and economic factors (Murphy in Irving 1985, 241), but the preference for external kitchens despite the early communal custom, appears to have emerged as characteristic of early and later Victorian houses in Sydney and elsewhere.

It is this distinctive Australian feature which highlights a revolution in domestic space usage which appears to have been occurring in English lower middle and working class homes in the Cape Colony.

The furnishing of one room as a parlour-dining room by members of the working classes has been touched on above (Chap. 9, 244-46). This can now be taken further. Examination of selected English Cape room inventories and their domestic space allocations (Tables 15-17), together with their furnishings, suggests that a distinctive Cape colonial kitchen pattern was emerging. Although not normally physically separated at some



A Cottage by Firelight, York ca. 1836
Watercolour of an Urban Kitchen-Parlour
by Mary Ellen Best

Private Collection

Reproduced from *The World of Mary Ellen Best* by Caroline Davidson. London: Chatto & Windus, 1985.

distance from the back of the house as in Australia, the furnishings as discussed above (Chap. 7, 207, 209) show little sign of family usage of the kitchen as was the pattern in working class households in England where the kitchen-parlour was the centre of family living and used for several functions.

Paintings of cottage interiors in the early nineteenth century are rare, and the four kitchen-parlour studies published in The World of Mary Ellen Best (Davidson 1985, pl. 19, 59-61) record in authentic detail this most English characteristic of working class households (Plate 38). The shift in Cape working class domestic dwellings from the kitchen-parlour to the parlour-dining/living room, parallels the Australian shift of emphasis, and in so far as Grahamstown is concerned, the connecting link lay in the contiguity of a large black population, even as Sydney's was attributable to the convict presence.

Although advertisements for white servants appeared in the Graham's Town Journal from time to time, it is evident from the many references in court cases covered by the Journal that black servants, Mfengu and Khoi, were frequently employed. This is confirmed by the accounts of various visitors to Grahamstown (Kay 1833, 447, Dobbs 1840, 162, Backhouse 1844, 309, Bunbury 1848, 171 are all cases in point, although Kay stresses the difficulty of obtaining servants at that early stage of the settlement).

It is suggested that with the move from a kitchen-parlour to a parlour-dining/living room, even in this embryonic and elemental fashion, a distinctive Cape English feature of domestic space utilization was emerging in Grahamstown. It was not a move

towards the Cape Dutch multi-purpose parlour, even though on the surface it might have had this appearance, for Cape Dutch influence in Grahamstown was minimal, as we have seen. It may rather, when taken together with the spatial pattern of detached dwellings, be seen as an upwardly mobile move in terms of the cultural norms of frontier society. Domestic servants were necessary for the emergence of a more leisured, gentrified life style (see above Chap. 3, 112), and while there is at present no empirical evidence to suggest that the working classes in Grahamstown were consciously moulding themselves on a middle class model, it is an inescapable fact that the presence of a growing black population on the periphery of the town (Chap. 4, 144-45), gradually took the place of the English labouring class (Social Class V), and contributed to the upwardly mobile white spiral which was to emerge as an indelible feature of white colonial society on the frontier.

The aspirations of the British settlers to become masters of their own land and houses, had been met early on in the settlement, even though in difficult and dangerous circumstances, and these could still be taken from them by the sudden tide of war. Despite this, the cultural model which the better off members of the working classes brought with them from Britain, with its kitchen-parlour pattern of domestic space usage, seems to have been being unconsciously replaced by a potentially more élite lifestyle. Ironically, it was the lack of white domestic servants which spelt the downward social movement of the Albany gentry in the first years of the settlement (Chap. 3, 111-12).

Spatial segregation in white Grahamstown may thus be discerned in domestic furnishing arrangements, and, more sharply, in patterns of room usage in working class homes. At the same time, yet ultimately for very different reasons, the distinctive Australian exterior kitchen was forging a similar parlour-dining/living room pattern in Australian society.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the evidence of Grahamstown's domestic material culture shows that the British settlers imported from England not only their furnishings, but brought with them also their cultural perceptions. These were continually fed and nourished by the stream of English imports, while the small but distinctive contribution of colonial furniture (in use at all social levels), made by Grahamstown chair and cabinet makers imparted a distinctive Cape character to rooms furnished in English style. That style, as did that of their houses, remained closer in affinity to Georgian England until the late 1840s, when the distinctive early Victorian furniture designs on the English market were making their appearance in the colonies (balloon back chairs, prieu-dieus, Astley Cooper childrens' chairs, brass beds, etc.). At the same time there was a strong admixture of second-hand furniture on the Grahamstown auctions which would have contributed a conservative element to interior furnishings.

Turning to domestic space usage, one catches glimpses of spatial dimensions in regard to racial segregation which extend from separate physical living zones to a distinctive change in domestic space usage with the parlour-dining/living room being

substituted for the English kitchen-parlour. This appears as an adumbration of the later distinctive Cape English domestic pattern, when the kitchen became the domain of the servants, whether white or black.

Finally, it is suggested that while from an occupational viewpoint early Victorian Grahamstown had a predominantly working class population, the town may nevertheless be classified as middling rather than working class in character. This is evidenced by the size and type of dwellings (separate though semi-detached row houses, and detached town houses and villas), as well as in a considerable increase in the range of furnishings. This is particularly noticeable at a time when in England working and middle class distinctions were spatially perceived in terraced row houses and detached suburban dwellings respectively.

Fragmentary and tantalizing as the glimpses of the shapes of Grahamstown's early Victorian urban past are, they nevertheless suggest that for all social groups the English cultural pattern was being modified towards an emerging Cape English colonial life style. This was to harden in its spatially segregated domestic space pattern, and yet adapt to climatic factors and accommodate individual social aspirations towards a more egalitarian white society than that from which the settlers had come. The emigrant's dream of 'another England' and his nostalgic recollections of home, were fed by English imports, but ultimately shaped by his response to the realities of the cross-cultural society which was an inescapable part of his new environment.

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Established 30 December 1831 by Louis Henri Meurant as Grahamstown's first newspaper. Edited by L.H. Meurant 1831 to June 1834, and from July 1834 to 1839 by Robert Godlonton in partnership with Meurant -- the former as editor. In July 1839 Godlonton purchased the whole business from Meurant and continued as editor until his retirement in 1866.

The Colonial Times

The Cape Frontier Times

Commenced in January 1840 by Dr. Ambrose George Campbell as The Colonial Times. Taken over in May 1840, continuing as The Cape Frontier Times, edited by John George Franklin, printed by Louis Henri Meurant. Incorporated into The Anglo-African in 1864.

Consulted at intervals, but as the advertisement coverage in the Graham's Town Journal was similar in corresponding years, and it commenced in 1831, the Journal was used extensively in this study.

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**AN APPROACH TO THE URBAN HISTORY
OF EARLY VICTORIAN GRAHAMSTOWN 1832-53
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE
INTERIORS AND MATERIAL CULTURE
OF DOMESTIC DWELLINGS**

THESIS
Submitted in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
of Rhodes University

by

PATRICIA ELENA SCOTT

Volume II

The writer wishes to express her gratitude to the
Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust
whose Scholarship for
1820 Settler and Eastern Cape History
has made this work possible.

March 1987

Volume II

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Facsimile of the "Directory of Graham's Town, 1843" [1842]
Chase (1843)

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DIRECTORY OF GRAHAM'S TOWN, 1843.

In 1820, on its site, there were but three cottages. This list numbers 544 English housekeepers.

Wardmasters . . . { Messrs. S. Loxton, J. C. Hoole, T. Jarman, T. Nelson, J. Powell, T. King, W. Elliott, and W. Chadwick.

Inhabitants of Graham's Town.

Abbott, blacksmith, Hill-street	Beck, A. W., clerk, Fair-lawn
Abram, Malay, mason, African-st	Behrens, J. C., cabinet-maker, Beaufort-street
Accledien, M., tailor, African-st	Bell, E. R., agent, High-street
Adams, Miss, schoolmistress, Market-square	Benjamin, widow, shopkeeper, High-street
Adams, T. P., agent, Chapel-st	Bennett, brickmaker, Futter's-row
Allen, Sam., constable, African-st	Berry, Thomas, Smith's-avenue
Allison, Samuel, mason, New-st	Berry, Wm., tinsmith, African-st
Anderson, carpenter, Chapel-st	Bertram, J., shopkeeper, High-st
Anderson, Geo. Wm. and Ben., carpenters, Lawrence-street	Bezzant, C. A., clerk, Beaufort-st
Anderson, Wm., Sen. and Co., merchants, High-street	Biggs, widow, schoolmistress, Somerset-street
Andries, Theunis, mason, African-street	Biles, John, labourer, African-st
Antony, M., tailor, rear of New-st	Black, James, merchant, New-street and High-street
Appollos, M., tailor, Allen's-row	Blackbeard, R., shopman, Beaufort-street
Armstrong, J. mason, Bathurst-st	Blaine, Henry, merchant, High-street and Beaufort-street
Armstrong, widow, shopkeeper, Hill-street	Blakemore, George, labourer, Lawrence-street
Arrowsmith, J., agent, Chapel-st	Blee, Mrs., shopkeeper, Bathurst-street
Atherstone, Guybon, physician, 1, High-street	Blue, Wm., clerk, Cross-street
Atherstone, John, districtsurgeon, 1, High-street	Boardman, J., dealer, Chapel-st
Attwell, Brook, shoemaker, Bathurst-street	Boardman, W., upholsterer, Beaufort-street
Austin, Miss, sempstress, Artificer's-square	Bond, W., bitmaker, Artificer's-sq
Austin, William, Artificer's-sq	Booth, Ben., baker, New-street
Aveline, Rev. John, baptist minister, Bell-street	Botthomly, George, carpenter, Somerset-street
Ayton, Mrs., lodging-house-keeper, New-street	Botton, J., tailor, Artificer's-sq
Abdol, B., mason, African-street	Boucher, R., thatcher, York-st
August, mason, African-street	Boucher, R., mason, Beaufort-st
Bagshaw, R., tinsmith, Bathurst-st	Boyce, Rev. W. B., Wesleyan missionary, High-street
Bailie, J., clerk in the commissariat office, Hill-street	Boys, Capt. R., barrack master, Beaufort-street
Bailie, John, clerk, Hill-street	Bradfield, turner, New-street
Barnett, Somerset-street	Bradfield, Thomas, shopkeeper, Somerset-street
Beale, G., carpenter, Campbell-st	Brigade Major's Office, New-st

Facsimile of the "Directory of Graham's Town", 1843 [1842]
Chase (1843)

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APPENDIX.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Brislin, James, mason, Beaufort-st
Brown, adjutant 91st Regt., Hill-st
Brown, mason, Beaufort-street
Brown, Miss, sempstress, Lawrence-street

Cadle, J., wheelwright, Beaufort-street
Caffyn, R. H., stationer, Hill-st
Caldecot, A. T., grocer, High-st
Caldecot, Mrs., Beaufort-street
Campbell, Ambrose G., physician, Market-square
Campbell, lieutenant, Bell-street
Campbell, W., clerk, Artificer's-square
Carlisle, Frederik, deputy sheriff, Beaufort-street
Castania, Mrs., sempstress, rear of New-street
Castings, J., labourer, Fitters-row
Castray, Luke R., clerk in the commissariat office, Cross-st
Cawood, J., butcher, High-street
Chadwick, William, carpenter, Dundas bridge
Chapman, J., shoemaker, Chapel-street
Clarke, T., gunsmith, Hill-street
Clarke, Sen., T., thatcher, Hill-st
Clogg, W., labourer, African-st
Coba, laundress, rear of African-st
Cockroft, Thomas, waggon-maker, Bathurst-street
Cockroft, W., carpenter, Market-square
Cole, F. H., chemist and druggist, High-street
Collins, J., tailor, Chapel-street
Cook, Wm., merchant, Beaufort-st
Comely, John, carrier, New-st
Comely, W., gardener, New-st
Commissariat Offices, High-street
Conner, Patrick, labourer, African-street
Copeland, Moses, gardener, D'Urban-street
Cornelius, Capt., Beaufort-street
Costello, rear of High-street
Cowie, J., labourer, Fitters-row
Crause, Major Henry, New-st
Cross, T., baker, New-street
Crouch, Richard, tanner, High-st
Croude & Wheeler, bakers, Hill-st</p> | <p>Crout, E., shopkeeper, Chapel-st
Cummins, Niman, carpenter, Beaufort-street
Cyrus, George, Kaffr Interpreter, Cross-street
Cyrus, S., mangler, Artificer's-sq

Dale, Chris., musician, Hill-st
Daniel, H., labourer, African-st
Daniell, John, shoemaker, Hill-st
Daniell, P. C., jeweller, Chapel-st
Daniells, P., mason, Campbell-st
Daniels, Jun., rear of New-street
Daunt, Dr. R. G., Bathurst-street
Davis, H. L., coffee-house, &c., High-street
Davis, J. shoemaker, Somerset-st
Dawson, Miss S., bonnetmaker, Chapel-street
Dawson, serjeant, Smith-street
Deaken, B., labourer, Beaufort-st
Dean, E., carpenter, Artificer's-sq
Dell, John, cooper, New-street
Delmege, Dr., East barracks
Denham, Stephen, carpenter, rear of Hill-street
Dennie, tailor, rear of New-street
Dennis, P., labourer, African-st
Dennis, shoemaker, rear of New-street
Devine, T., carpenter, York-st
Devine, Wm., clerk, Somerset-st
Dick, tailor & draper, Bathurst-st
Dicks, Ben., baker, Somerset-st
Dixie, P., shopkeeper, Bathurst-st
Dixon, John Henry, storekeeper, Bathurst-street
Dogherty, N., tanner, William-st
Dold, J., sempstress, African-st
Donovan, Capt. Thomas, C.M.R., New-street
Douglass, John, saddler, High-st
Dredge, Sam., labourer, York-st
Drennan, serjeant major, New-st
Duffy, Charles, shoemaker, Bell-st
Dunbar, Mrs. schoolmistress, African-street
Dunford, Mrs., schoolmistress, Campbell-street
Dutton, J. H., mason, Bell-street

Eady, Dr., C.M.R., New-street
Eagan, Patrick, poundmaster, rear of Hill-street</p> |
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Facsimile of the "Directory of Graham's Town", 1843 [1842]
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APPENDIX.

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Earle, William John, chemist and druggist, Hill-street	Gardener, Thomas B., shopkeeper, Beaufort-street
Eastment, William, storekeeper, Dundas-bridge	Gibbs, printer, Beaufort-street
Eaton, R. J., clerk of the peace, East barracks	Gilbert, George, builder and brewer, Somerset-street
Edkins, J., carpenter, Campbell-st	Gilliland, poundmaster, York-st
Edkins, J., carpenter, Beaufort-st	Glass, J., agriculturist, New-st
Edkins, T., carpenter, Chapel-st	Glass, T., shopkeeper, Hill-street
Elliott, Mrs., rear of Hill-street	Glass, T., carrier, African-street
Elliott, William, smith, Market-square and York-street	Goddard, R., carpenter, Toll-bar
Esaw, servant, Allens-row	Godfrey, Henry, blacksmith, Somerset-street
Evans, John, carpenter, Chapel-st	Godlonton, Robert, proprietor and editor of the Graham's Town Journal, High-street, and in ward No. 6
Evans, labourer, Chapel-street	Golding, G., butcher, Laurence-st
Everley, James, eating-house, Beaufort-street	Golding & Pike, butchers, High-st
Fair, Mrs., sempstress, Hill-st	Goodes, J., sexton, African-st
Faircloth, John, constable, Laurence-street	Gorrie, James, printer, New-st
Fancutt, J., butcher, Somerset-st	Gradwell, A., blacksmith, Laurence-street
Fancutt, T., carrier, New-street	Gradwell, Stephen, wagon-maker, Laurence-street
Farley, Wm., shoemaker, New-st	Gradwell, William, wagon-maker, Laurence-street
Feagan, Mrs. Elizabeth, shopkeeper, New-street	Graham, George, carpenter, rear of New-street
Fearon, R., carpenter, Beaufort-st	Griffin and Botthomly, builders, Hill-street
Featherstone, Mrs., East-barracks	Griffith, Charles, Beaufort-street, near C. C. barracks
Ferreira, carrier, Cross-street	Griffith, Miss, sempstress, Beaufort-street
Finlayson, Mrs., hotel keeper, High-street	Grubb, Charles, Market-square
Finnerty, J., smith, Laurence-st	Gunn, Captain, Bell-street
Fitchet, D., mason, Campbell-st	Gunn, J., clerk, Laurence-street
Fitzgerald, J., mason, New-st	Gush, R., builder, Beaufort-street
Flannaghan, John, tailor, New-st	Hare, Colonel John, lieut.-governor, New-street
Flannagan, Mrs., sempstress, Hill-street	Hall, R., labourer, African street
Fletcher, W. A., confectioner, High-street	Hanger, E., canteen, Somerset-st
Flookes, Geo., baker, New-street	Halse, J. H., clerk, Hill-street
Foley, J., mason, rear of Hill-st	Han, Christian, shoemaker, rear of New-street
Ford and Son, storekeepers, Bathurst-street	Hannan, John, builder, New-st
Francis, T., tailor, Smith's-avenue	Harewood, Christian, Sr., labourer, Somerset-street
Franklin, Geo., editor of Cape Frontier Times, Hill-street	Harper, H., cooper, Bathurst-st
Freemantle, Samuel, painter and glazier, Beaufort-street	Hart, Jabez, clerk, Hill-street
Freyne, P., carpenter, Market-square	Hart, Joseph, High-street
Fry, L., carpenter, Chapel-street	Hartley, John, plumber, Artificer's-square
Fuller, C., storekeeper, High-st	
Futler, G., shoemaker, William-st	
Futter, G., shoemaker, Beaufort-st	

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APPENDIX.

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| Hartley, Wm., baker, Bathurst-st | Jeffries, E., trader, Beaufort-st |
| Hartman, J. G., cabinet-maker,
New-street | Jeffries, G., tinsmith, Barrack-st |
| Harvey, John, shopkeeper, Ba-
thurst-road | Jenkinson, Mrs., sempstress,
Chapel-street |
| Harvey, R., carpenter, Chapel-st | Jennings, J., attorney, rear of
High-street |
| Haupt & Brothers, wine & spirit
merchants, High-street | Jennings, H. T., shopkeeper, Ba-
thurst-street |
| Haw, Simon, Hill-street | Jewson, T., gardener, African-st |
| Hayhurst, R., builder, York-st | Johnson, J., labourer, Somerset-st |
| Hazell, William, labourer, Beau-
fort-street | Johnstone, Mrs., dealer, High-st |
| Heath, J. H., attorney, Chapel-st | Jolly, J., canteen-keeper, East-bar |
| Heavyside, Rev. J., episcopalian
minister, High-street | Jones, gardener, above Bathurst-st |
| Heddle, Lieutenant, Hill-street | Jones, H. S., dep. assistant com.
gen., Somerset-street |
| Helicott, B., mason, African-st | Keene, widow, Artificer's-square |
| Hewson, F., gunsmith, Hill-st | Keevy, J., mason, Hill-street |
| Hewson, T., gunsmith, Hill-st | Keevy, M., brickmaker, Hill-st |
| Hickman, C., labourer, African-st | Keightly, A., sempstress, York-st |
| Higgins, E., mason, Somerset-st | Kemp, J., gardener, New-street |
| Hill, J., wheelwright, York-st | Kew, Henry, storekeeper, corner
of Hill and New-street |
| Hockly, Mrs., schoolmistress,
Beaufort-street | Kew, P., tailor, Somerset-street |
| Holmes, T., carpenter, Artifi-
cer's-square | Kidson, W., dealer in wines and
spirits, Bathurst-st. & York-st |
| Hoole, A. W., baker, New-street | Kift, E. L., storekeeper, High-st |
| Hoole, J. B., wardmaster of ward
No. 2 | King, A., mason, Beaufort-street |
| Hope, Wm., baker, High-street | King, T. sen., gardener, Lau-
rence-street |
| Horne, R., labourer, Chapel-st | King, T., jun., builder, Market-sq |
| Howae, J., merchant, Drostdy-gr | King, C. R., agent, High-street |
| Hudson, Hougham, Secretary to
Government, New-street | Kingsley, George, veterinary sur-
geon, late the brewery |
| Hyde, Alex., mason, New-street | Kock, J. W., clerk, High-street |
| Iles, widow, sempstress, African-st | Knight, Mrs., Chapel-street |
| Innes, W., carpenter, Beaufort-st | Keaton, T., labourer, New-street |
| I'ons, F., portrait painter, New
East-barracks | Kestle, carpenter |
| Jackson, J., canteen-keeper, Ba-
thurst-street | Kean, Mrs., sempstress, Chapel-st |
| Jacob, mason, Smith-street | Lamont, W., carpenter, East-bar |
| Jaffray, J., bookbinder, Beaufort-st | Lamont, James, tailor, High-st |
| Jaffray, W. M., merchant, Beau-
fort-street | Lance, J., shoemaker, Hill-street |
| Jaffray, printers, Bathurst-street | Lanham, T., mason, below Dun-
das-bridge |
| Jansen, labourer, Barrack street | Latham, Henry, carpenter, So-
merset-street |
| Jansen, J., labourer, African-st | Latham, J., town clerk, High-st |
| Jardine, J., baker, Beaufort-st | Lawlor, widow, sempstress, Afri-
can-street |
| Jarman, T., agent, Beaufort-st | Lawrence, John, chair-maker,
High-street |
| Jarvis, George, notary public and
attorney, High-street | Lee, Frederick, butcher, East-bar-
racks, and Hill-street |

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|---|--|
| Lee, G., storekeeper, Bathurst-st | McMaster & Lamont, tailors & habitmakers, High-street |
| Lee, W., sen., gen. agent, High-st | McMaster & Pakenham, store-keepers, High-street |
| Lee, W., jun., butcher, High-st | McNaughton, widow, High-street |
| Lee, E., wheelwright, Campbell-st | Meurant, L. H., merchant, High-street |
| Levick, Sherman, and Kift, merchants, High-street | Mewett, carpenter, Bathurst-st |
| Lewis, J., sawyer, Beaufort-st | Mitchel, mason, King-street |
| Lewis, D., labourer, Somerset-st | Mitchelly, T., sawyer, William-st |
| Levy, John, clerk, Chapel-street | Miller, Mrs., laundress, Hill-st |
| Levy, Joseph, tailor, Hill-street | Moorcroft, sen., tanner, New-st |
| Locke, Rev. John, independent minister, Beaufort-street | Moorcroft, R., tanner, African st |
| Loxton, S., hairdresser, New-st | Morgan, widow, shopkeeper, New-street |
| Lucas, C., constable, Somerset-st | Moss, S., chairmaker, High st |
| Lucas, W., carrier, East-barracks | Mostyn, T., physician, William-st |
| Lucas, P. W., cashier of the E. P. Bank, Church-square | Muir, J., tailor, Chapel-street |
| Lucas, F., York-street | Munro, G., druggist, Bathurst-st |
| Legg, H. J., carpenter, High-st | Murphy, Rev. Thomas, Catholic priest, Beaufort-street |
| Leba, laundress, Hill-street | Murray, labourer, Campbell-st |
| Lonsdale, Miss, dressmaker, Chapel-street | |
| Lonsdale, Capt., 27th Regiment | Neat, Miss, dressmaker, Market-place |
| Lowen, Major, C.M.R., Beaufort-street | Neil, E., carrier, Beaufort-street |
| Lowen, P., messenger of the Court | Nelson, E., merchant, High-st |
| Louw, D., tailor, Artificer's-sq | Nelson, T., merchant, Hill-street |
| Long, Wm., carpenter, Bathurst-street | Newton, Wm., carpenter, Market-place |
| | Nichol, widow, storekeeper, High-street |
| M'Kenzie, rear of New-street | Nichols, J. G., merchant, Somerset-street |
| M'Namara, James, carrier, Somerset-street | Norden, Benjamin, jun., notary public, Market-street |
| Mahmouh, labourer, African-st | Norden, J. D. & Co., auctioneers, Beaufort-street |
| Mallett, mason, Campbell-street | Norden, Marcus, storekeeper, Bathurst-street |
| Mandy, Stephen, wine merchant, Chapel-street | Norton, John & Co., merchants, High-street |
| Mansfield, servant, Somerset st | Norton, L., merchant, Beaufort-st |
| Marsh, T., watchmaker, Chapel-st | Norton, widow, King-street |
| Martin, C., sawyer, Hill-street | Nourae, H., gen. agent, High-st |
| Maskell, John, storekeeper, Bathurst-street | |
| Maynard, C., merchant, New-st | Ogilvie, W., ironmonger, High-st |
| Maynard, C. & H., merchants, High-street | Oghan, D., mason, York street |
| M'Cormick, Wm., carrier, Beaufort-street | Okes, Thomas, sworn surveyor |
| M'Graw, Wm., farrier, York-st | Oniel, John, clerk royal engineer dept., Somerset-street |
| M'Kallah, J., shopkeeper, Beaufort street | Openshaw, Esther, sempstress, Beaufort-street |
| McDonald, Mrs., Beaufort-street | Orchard, Henry, tailor, High-st |
| M'Lean, Captain, East-barracks | |
| M'Master, James, wine & spirit merchant, High-street | |

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|---|---|
| O'Reilly, Major A. A., brigade major, Beaufort-street | Reynolds, J., shoemaker, New-st |
| Orsmond, Elizabeth, storekeeper, Bathurst-street | Reynolds, R., shopkeeper, African-street |
| Orsmond, R., clerk, Artificer's-sq | Reynolds, W., Barrack-street |
| Packenham, C., storekeeper, Hill-street | Rhodes, C., watchmaker, High-st |
| Page, T., brickmaker, East bar | Rhodes, E., watchmaker, New-st |
| Paine, J., carpenter, Artificer's-sq | Rhodes, J., watchmaker, New-street and High-street |
| Paine, J., schoolmaster, Market-st | Richards, widow, Beaufort-street |
| Painter, Mrs., storekeeper, Hill-st | Roberts, D., shoemaker, Smith's-avenue |
| Pankhurst, F., cowkeeper, suburbs | Roberts, J., William-street |
| Parker, T., shopkeeper, Beaufort-street | Roberts, R., attorney, Bathurst-st |
| Parr, W., shopman, Settler's-hill | Roberts, S., shoemaker, Hill-st |
| Paskin, J., shoemaker, Bathurst-st | Robertson, R., blacksmith, Somerset-street |
| Passmore, widow, sempstresses, New-street | Robinson, C., mason, Market-sq |
| Patrick, B., carrier, Beaufort-st | Roman, Miss, ladies school, Market-place |
| Paxton, D., High-street | Roulston, R., watchmaker, High-street |
| Paxton, W., tinmith, Bathurst-st | Rowe, R., carpenter, African-st |
| Pearce, printer, New-street | Rowles, S., printer, Bathurst-st |
| Pennell, J., mason, Chapel-street | Rudman, S., carpenter, Beaufort-st |
| Phillips, Mrs., sempstress, Market-place | Rudman, widow, King-street |
| Phillipson, W. mason, Hill-street | Russell, G., carpenter, Somerset-st |
| Pike, W., shopkeeper, Market-pl | Rutherford & Brothers, merchants, Hill-street |
| Pinnock, Miss, bonnetmaker, Beaufort-street | |
| Pinnock, P., carrier, York-street | Sanford, George C., assistant commissary-general, Bell-street |
| Pitt, J., shoemaker, Beaufort-st | Sansome, G., labourer, King-st |
| Pitt, R., messenger, Chapel-st | Saunders, J. C., deputy ordnance storekeeper, Beaufort-street |
| Pitt, W., shoemaker, Bathurst-st | Saunders, E., butcher, Bathurst-rd |
| Poole, T., shopkeeper, Beaufort-st | Saunders, T., butcher, Hill-street |
| Pote, C., storekeeper, High-st | Savage, Lieut., New east-barracks |
| Potter, W., storekeeper, Hill-st | Scanlan, William, shoemaker, Bathurst-street |
| Poulton, C., mason, Beaufort-st | Scanlan, Thomas, shoemaker, Bathurst-street |
| Poulton, J., gardener, Somerset-st | Schonnfeldt, quartermaster, C. M. R., Old Toll Bar |
| Powell, J., jun., blacksmith, Beaufort-street | Schryber, shopkeeper, Hill-street |
| Powell, James, wagon-maker, near Market-square | Shaw, W., minister, High-street |
| Powell, P., wheelwright, King-st | Shepherd, J., shopkeeper, Hill-st |
| Price, widow, East-barracks | Shepherd, William, tallow-chandler, High-street |
| Prynn, W., sen., warehouseman, Campbell-street | Shepherd and Harley, tallow-chandlers, High-street |
| Quinn, J., miller, Government-mill | Shepperson & Co., store-keepers, Bathurst-street |
| Radford, F., York-street | Shepperson, senior, Chapel-street |
| Rawlinson, T., clerk, Cross-st | Shone, widow, Bathurst-street |
| Ray, Mrs., shopkeeper, Bathurst-street | |

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- Short, J., blacksmith, Market-pl.
Simpson, Ann, sempstress, Bathurst-street
Simpson, B., shopkeeper, Hill-st.
Simpson, widow, Bathurst-street
Simpson, W., butcher, Bathurst-st.
Slater, Charles, tallow-chandler, Beaufort-street
Slater, H., carpenter, Laurence-street
Slater, I. F., attorney, Beaufort-street
Slater, Miss, school, Beaufort-st.
Smith, John Hanco, field-cornet, near the Pound
Smith, Mrs., William-street
Smith, Richard, canteen, High-st.
Smith, Richard J., High-street
Smith, widow, near the Pound
Smith, W. C., shoemaker, High-street
Smith, William, agent and auctioneer, Hill-street
Smit, Rev. N., Artificer's-square
Smit, widow, African-street
Somerset, Colonel Henry, C.M.R. Outlands
South, W., shopkeeper, New-st.
Spurkes, H., carpenter, High-st.
Stanton, R., wagonmaker, New-st.
Stanton, William, junior, butcher, High-street
Stanton and Co., High-street
Stapleton, Capt., New East Barks.
Stein & Kilian, merchants, High-street
Stent, William, painter & glazier, Beaufort-street
Stevens, Jo., labourer, Bell-street
Stevens, Mrs., Chapel-street
Stirk, W., mason, King-street
Stillwell, Thomas, carpenter, Market-place
Stone, James, clerk, High-street
Streak, Wm., carpenter, Hill-st.
Stroud, widow, Artificer's-square
Stubbs, T., saddler, High-street
Surmon, —, carpenter, Scott's Barracks
Swanson, —, serjeant 91st Regiment, Somerset-street
Stringfellow, Thos., chief clerk to the Civil Commissioner, suburbs
Styles, James, carpenter, Hill-st.
Styles, T., sen., carpenter, Hill-st.
Styles, T., jun., carpenter, Hill-st.
Sullivan, Mrs., East Barracks
Symmons, John, shopkeeper, High-street
Tarr, James, carpenter, near East Barracks
Teeling, Christopher Peter, clerk R. E. department, New-street
Temlett, Jas., storekeeper, Beaufort-street
Temlett, J., junior, shopkeeper, New Dundas Bridge
Thompson, W., clerk, Hill-street
Thompson, William Rowland, High-street
Todd, widow, Bathurst-street
Tildersly, hotel-keeper, New-st.
Tildersly, goldsmith, Beaufort-st.
Trollip, Alf., butcher, Beaufort-st.
Trollip, J., junior, wheelwright,
Trotter, William, brewer, Market-square
Trimble, Joseph, deputy messenger, Cross street
Turner, R., carpenter, Somerset-street
Thomas, Mrs. —, New-street
Turvey, Edward, senior, painter, African-street
Thomas, J., carrier, Beaufort-st.
Thomas, Joseph, carpenter, William-street
Talbot, John, mason, Beaufort-st.
Taylor, Ed., apothecary, High-st.
Tudhope, F., government schoolmaster, near the mill
Tancred, Rev. Dr. —, Chapel-st.
Ulyate, George, wheelwright, Lawrence-street
Urry, Mrs., shopkeeper, High-st.
Upton, Wm., mason, William-st.
Umphries, J., shopkeeper, Beaufort-street
Venables, John, Beaufort-street
Vice, John, canteen-keeper, East Barracks
Waite, widow, dress-maker, New-street
Wallace, Charles, Cross-street

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Wallace, William, 91st Regiment, Beaufort-street	Wienand, J. H. B., clerk to resi- dent magistrate, Artificer's-sq.
Walker, J., carpenter, Chapel-st.	Wienand, widow, New-street
Walker, Joseph, storekeeper, Ba- thurst-street	Wood, G., storekeeper, New-st.
Webb, C., shoemaker, Chapel-st.	Wright, widow, shopkeeper, New street
Webb, Robert, New-street	Wright, John Cecil, storekeeper, High-street
Webb, Charles, painter & glazier, Bathurst-street	Whiley, J., shopkeeper, Hill-st.
Webb, Joshua, ditto, Chapel-st.	Whiley, G., printer, High-street
Webb, R., builder, York-street	Welsford, agent of Anderson, sen. and Co., New-street
Webb, Robert, butcher, near East Barracks	Wells, Leo, shoemaker, Hill-st.
Welbeloved, shoemaker, Bathurst Road	Wynn, James, tanner, William- street
Weakly, Joseph, storekeeper, Som- merset-street	Wynn, widow, near Dundas-brid.
Wedderburn, James, tailor, New- street	Warren, T., clerk, Bathurst-st.
West, Martin, Civil Commissioner, East Barracks	Warren, widow, junior, Beaufort- street
West, widow, storekeeper, High- street	Williams, Mrs., sempstress
Wheldon, John, blacksmith, High- street	Webster, W., wagon-maker, Mar- ket-place
Whetheridge, J., mason, Bathurst street	Watson, R., hotel-keeper, New-st.
Whitnall, Robert M., clerk R. E. department, Beaufort-street	Watson, W., carpenter, Bathurst- street
White, James, undertaker, Ba- thurst-street	Watson, Charles, near Bathurst Road
	Yelling, Joseph, canteen-keeper, Hill-street
	Young, Ann, Market-place.

Braf Reinet.

Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate	{ W. C. van Ryneveld, Esq., 500 <i>l</i> . House allowed, and travelling expenses when on public duty.
Chief Clerk	. C. B. Ziervogel, Esq., 200 <i>l</i> .
Second Clerk	. Mr. H. J. Borchers, 80 <i>l</i> .
Messenger	. C. Wagner, 50 <i>l</i> .
Clerk of the Peace	. A. Berrangé, Esq., 250 <i>l</i> .
Gaoler	. J. J. Schindehutte, 50 <i>l</i> .
Justices of the Peace	{ W. C. van Ryneveld, C. B. Ziervogel, and J. L. Leeb, Esqrs.
District Surgeon	. J. G. H. Krebs, Esq., M.D., 150 <i>l</i> .
Deputy Sheriff	. C. H. Grisbrook, Esq.

Dutch Reformed Church:—

Minister	. Rev. W. R. Thompson, 200 <i>l</i> .
Elders	. Messrs. N. Eckhardt and Hendrick Gyman.
Deacons	. Messrs. Gabriel Loots and M. Appel.
Clerk	. Mr. David Rensberg.

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Cape Almanac (1854)

ALBANY.

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Directory of Graham's Town.

- Assurance Society, eastern province fire and life, high-street
Assurance society, mutual life, high-street
Albany library, high-street
Anderson, Wm. Kennelly & Co., merchants, high-street
Atherstone, John, physician, beaufort-street
Anthoine, —, hill-street
Attwell, Brooke, bootm., bathurst-st
Aldum, Aaron, sen., lawrence-street
Armstrong, widow, hill-street
Armstrong, Robert, carp., bathurst-st
Alleot, J. coachmaker, beaufort-st
Annon, John, mason, suburbs
Albany lodge, high-street
Armond, R. farmer, suburbs
Alms houses, st. george's, rear of high-street
Attwell, Mrs. W., dundas-street
Amos, H., farmer, suburbs
Austen, R., collector, bathurst-st
Ayliff, J., notary, high-street
Aspinall, John, carp., near Oatlands
Allison, Samuel, farmer, somerset-st
Ashinton, St., labourer, chapel-street
Andries, Thos., shoem., worcester-st
Ashley, John, quarryman, african-st
- Bank, frontier com. and agricultural, high-street
Bank, E. P., high-street
Bank, branch savings', high-street
Benefit society, united albany brethren, dundas'-bridge
Brigade major's office, somerset-st
Black, James, & Co., merchants, bathurst-street
Birkenruth, N., merchant, church-sq
Brislin, C., mason, settler's-hill
Blaine Brothers, merchants, high-st
Benjamin, M., shopkeeper, high-st
Benjamin & Marcus, retail dealers, church-street
Blake, W., ordn. clerk, beaufort-st
Blaine, Henry, african-street
Berry, Thos., mason, rear of new-st
Berry, Wm., campbell-street
Brislin, J., mason, beaufort-street
Belfield, Geo., mason, artificer's-sq
Booth, Edward, clerk, bathurst-st
Blackbeard, Robert, clerk, bathurst road
Blackbeard, W., carp., bathurst road
Bowker, Thomas, labourer, back-lane
Boles, Maria, laundress, artificer's-sq
Beadle, William, farrier, market-sq.
Bezant, widow, shopk., bathurst-st
- Beck, Andrew William, town clerk and general agent, somerset-st
Bruce, —, butcher, artificer's sq.
Boys, captain, barrackmaster, near cape corps barracks
Bertram, widow, african-street
Brummage, —, householder
Bent, W., architect, new-street
Brooks, Bernard, canteen-keeper, dundas' bridge
Bowker, wid., laundress, settler's hill
Bradfield, J., bathurst-street
Burns, E. J., printer, bathurst-st
Baker, Mrs., nurse, new-street
Barnfather, W., surveyor, bathurst-st
Barr, E., piano-forte tuner, bathurst-street
Boulton, Rev. Thos., baptist minister, market-square
Biggar, Miss, governess, beaufort-st
Bright, J., storeman, high-street
Best, R., canteen-k., Fort England
Boyle, James, trader, bathurst-st
Barrath, Thomas, mason, somerset-street
Briggs, James, wagonmaker, suburbs
Brown, William Thomas, surveyor, dundas-street
Bodily, John, labourer, african-st
Bowen, Henry, tailor, beaufort-st
Burgess, G., labourer, rear of pound
Bent, Richard, builder, dundas'-bridge
Baker, Richard, king-street
Brooks, Henry, king-street
Bowles, William, farmer, chapel-st
Brookshaw, blacksmith, market-s.
Best, William, york-street
Bishop, John, gaoler, somerset-st
Brummager, Samuel, junr., carrier, market-square
Best, Robert, fort england, hotelk
Baggot, Jonas, storeman
Booy, Galant, servant, high-street
Batten, M., labourer, beaufort-street
Box, Stephen, storeman, high-st
Brenner, James Grindly, saddler, bertram-street
Blakemore, Ruben, sawyer, beaufort-street
- Court house, high-street
Commissariat Offices, high-street
Cape Corps Barracks, west entrance
Charlton, —, baker, new-street
Carney, G., carrier, market-square
Cape Frontier Times Office, high-st
Church, st. george's (episcopalian), high-street

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Cape Almanac (1854)

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COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

- Chapel (independent), hill-street
Chapel, wesleyan (commemoration), high-street
Chapel, wesleyan (native), high-st
Chapel, baptist, bathurst-street
Chapel, baptist, hill-street
Chapel, st. patrick's (roman catholic) hill-street
Chapel, independent (native), 'bathurst-street
Cumming, G., merchant, high-st
Campbell, Ambrose Geo., physician, lawrence-street
Cole, P. H., apothecary and post-master, high-street
Carlisle, P., deputy-sheriff, west hill
Croft, C. T., beaufort-street
Cross, widow, baker, high-street
Crouch & son, tanners, high-street
Campbell John, clerk of the peace, market-square
Cockroft, Thomas, coach and wagon maker, bathurst-street
Cockroft, Wm., wagonm., market-at
Clapperton, H., shopk., high-street
Cawood Brothers, high-stre
Clough, G. C., shopk., bathurst-at
Crout, W. E., chapel-street
Chadwick, W., carpenter, dundas' bridge
Cyrus, Geo., interpreter, settlers' hill
Cyrus, Sam., tallow-eh., settlers' hill
Currin, R., pound-master
Clack, butcher, artificer's-square
Cock, hon. W., west hill
Campbell, C. T., notary, high-street
Carlisle, J., farmer, Fort England
Chapel, Ebenezer, baptist, hill-st
Croft, C. T. jun., farmer, hill-street
Chapman, Rev. G. wesleyan minister high-street
Carney, J., carpenter, top of hill-st
Colonist newspaper office, bathurst-street
Crozier, Mrs., teach. of music, hill-st
Crump, H., clerk, high-street
Copeland, W., clerk, high-street
Collier, J., shopman, high-street
Cumming, brazier, chapel-street
Copley, W., coach builder new-st
Currie, Joseph, suburbs, farmer
Carey, J., artificer's-square, wagonm.
Cogan, James, new-street, gardener
Comby, William, new-st., gardener
Cousins, Thomas, hill-street, mason
Copeling, J., bathurst-st., salesman
Curling, Richard, Beaufort, labourer
Clarke, Geo., Beaufort, farmer
Crause, John, chapel-st., freeholder
Cawood, Samuel, high-st., merchant
Cross, Jno., artificer's-sq., labourer
Cockroft, Chas., york-st., freeholder
Currie, Walter, suburbs, comdnt
Cowie, Wm., dundas-st., labourer
Coughlin, Jer., new-street, labourer
Corner, Cornelius, new-st., carpenter
Collins, Alfred, new-street, tailor
Drostdy Barracks, head of high-st
District Prison, somerset-street
Devereux, Rev. Dr., R. C. Bishop, beaufort-street
Douglas, J., saddler, high-street
Dicker, W., gunsmith, new-street
Dicker, Mrs., midwife, new-street
Dick, John, tailor, high-street
Dell, Edward H., farmer, queen-at
Dell, S., furniture wareh, high-street
Deane, C., carpenter, king-street
Daniel, widow, chapel-street
Daniel, J. N., bootmaker, hill-street
Dawson, Miss, bonnetm., chapel-st
Dold, Mrs. B. S., bathurst-street
Denham, J., tanner, artificer's-sq
Dennis, widow, new-street
Dennison, G., tailor, artificer's-sq
Doyle, widow, bathurst-street
De Beer, J. H., commissariat clerk, hill-street
Duffield, G., new-street
Dunbar, Miss, milliner, rear of new-street
Dicks, E., baker, bathurst-street
Dyke, J., canteen-k., somerset-street
De Smidt, A. C. Gen., somerset-st
Dewberry, water overseer, chapel-st
Durney, H., shopkeeper, high-street
De Smidt, clk., C. Office somerset-st
Dold, Wm., labourer, african-street
Downing, Thos. mason, african-st
Dicks, Samuel, bootm., somerset-st
Dutton, Daniel, mason somerset-st
Dicks, James, somerset-street
Dawkins, labourer, chapel-street
Dixie, Phillis, carrier, market-square
Dogherty, Neile, carrier, george-st
Dugmore, Henry H., Wesleyan minister, market-street
Deley, Wm., labourer, somerset-st
Dallas, sen., John, superintendent, goodwin's kloof
Dallas, jun., John, tinsmith, high-st
Engineer Office, Royal, new-street
Bedes, Mrs., seminary, new-street
Edwards, J., hill-street
Erskine, A., stone cutter and carrier beaufort-street
Evans, Mrs., mangler, york-street
Evans, —, labourer, chapel-street
Edkins, Mrs., king-street
Edkins, Joseph, carp., market-sq.
Everley, J., brewer and shopkeeper, beaufort-street

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- Eddie, surgeon, chapel-street
 Estment, W., shopkeeper, beaufort-street
 Eedes, J., librarian, new-street
 Eedes, butcher, new-street
 Earles, W., bootmaker, settlers'-hill
 Edwards, widow, nurse, artificer's-sq
 Edkins, John, rear of queen-street
 Edkins, H., shopk., beaufort-st
 Edwards, Thomas, collector, hill-st
 Edmunds, J., labourer, somerset-st
 Edwards, Rich., blacksmith, hill-st
 Eesles, Edm., sr., storeman, Ft. Eng.
 Elliott, —, back of beaufort-st
 Emms, Thomas, labourer, bathurst-street
 Emis, W., farmer, settler's-hill
- Fort England, east barracks
 Fletcher, W. A., baker and confectioner, high-street
 Farley, W., shoemaker, high-street
 Farley, George, tailor, new-street
 Ford, Mrs., schoolmistress, settler's-h
 Faircloth, J., shoemaker, chapel-st
 Frontier Fire Insurance Company, high-street
 Front. Com. & Agr. Bank, high-st
 Forrester, —, farmer, suburbs
 Foley, J., clerk, high-street
 Feagan, Mrs., shopkeeper, new-st.
 Freemantle, Sam., painter, bathurst-street
 Fitzgerald, James, mason, artificer's-square
 Franklin, J. G., editor of the Frontier Times, hill-street
 Finnaughty, J., smith, lawrence-st.
 Frayne, widow, market-square
 Frames, G. C., market-square
 Featherstone, Mrs., east-barracks
 Putter, J., shoemaker, near Fort England
 Putter, J., innkeeper, beaufort-street
 Friedlander, M., tailor, new-street
 Fordred, J., draper, high-street
 Fuller, H., farmer, high-street
 Francis, T., farmer, new-street
 Finn, W., mason, settler's-hill
 Ford, wid., shopkeeper, artificer's-sq.
 Fuller, W., farmer, settler's-hill
 Fitzgerald, Michael, beaufort-street, clerk
 Fray, Charles, chapel-street, smith
 Fielding, —, hill-street, shoemaker
 Faircloth, James, back new-street, constable
 Faddy, Peter Pickmore, Fort England, Capt., R.A.
 Ferreira, Andries, Hercules, Fort England, carrier
 Ford, Wm., new-street, clerk
- Farrel, John, beaufort-st., labourer
 Fifield, Francis, hill-street, dyer
 Feagen, Patrick, suburbs, sawyer
 Frost, Wm., market-square, labourer
 Fitzgerald, John, beaufort-st., clerk
- Graham's Town Journal Office, high-street
 Goddinton & White, printers and publishers, high-street
 Goddinton, R., editor of Graham's Town Journal, beaufort-street
 Glass, John, new-street
 Glass, J., carpenter, beaufort-street
 Glass, Thomas, new-street
 Gowie, Charles Ross, clerk, bathurst-street
 Graham, George, carp., east-barracks
 Gorrie, James, printer, hill-street
 Gunn, G., coachmaker, lawrence-st.
 Gilbert, George, somerset-street
 Goodes, J. W., storeman, african-st.
 George, G., schoolmaster, hill-street
 Grubb, C., wagonmaker, market-st.
 Green, J., baker, beaufort-street
 Gradwell, widow, shopk., chapel-st
 Gradwell, W., wagonman, settler's-hill
 Goold, J., storeman, high-street
 Griffin, Wm., storeman, chapel-st.
 Gardner, J. S., worm doctor, behind government school
 Geech, —, blacksmith, market-street
 Galpin, C., watchmaker, high-street
 Gallagher, J., watchm., bathurst-st
 Gunn, W., shoemaker, settler's hill
 Graham, R., Civil Com. and Resident Magistrate, bathurst-street
 Gatonly, Peter, york-street, clerk
 Glass, Wm., new-street, mason
 Glass, Benjamin, new-st., mason
 George, Wm., high-st, hotel-keeper
 Goodwin, Wm., new-st., carpenter
 Goldswain, Jeremiah, beaufort-street farmer
 Gradwell, John, george-street, shop-keeper
 Godfrey, Robert, york-street
 Gowie, Charles Ross, bathurst-st., salesman
 Gaskell, Thomas, fort england, wool sorter
 Green, Wm., high-street, storeman
 Green, Wm., suburbs, brickmaker
 Gaw, Wm., allen's-row, labourer
 Geoghegan, Jas., clerk, beaufort-st
 Grant, Richard, bathurst-st., cooper
 Griffiths, James, west hill, coachman
 Gallagher, Mrs., boarding house, beaufort-street
- Haw, S., top of hill-street
 Haw, E., general agent, high-street

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COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

- Harley, J., soap boiler, bathurst-st.
Hay, Rev. A., bapt. min., market-st.
Hyde, Alexander, inn, high-street
Hartley, Wm., baker, bathurst-street
Hartley, John, plumber, cape corps barracks
Hewson, F., gunsmith, hill-street
Hewson, Miss, schoolm., lawrence-street
Hancock, E., coach painter and carrier, bathurst-street
Hancock, R., stonem., rear of high-st.
Hoole, Mrs., sen., new-street
Hoole, A. W. & J. C., kaffir traders, new-street
Hockey, B., shopk., bathurst-st
Hockey, W., shopkeeper, bathurst-st.
Holland, T., clerk, bathurst-street
Harvey, Mrs., shopk., artificer's-sq.
Honey, J., farmer, market-square
Hart, Joseph, upholsterer, high-st.
Huntley, C. H., clerk to the resident magistrate, high-street
Hoggan, D., mason, york-street
Hill, John, wagonmaker, york-street
Hall, R., carpenter, african-street
Heddlie, lieutenant, beaufort-street
Hayton, John, storek., somerset-st.
Hartman, S., cabinetmaker, new-st.
Healy, Jas., blacksmith, chapel-st.
Haw & Co., ironmongers, high-st.
Hartley, W., sen., chapel-street
Hartley, D., clerk, E. P. Bank, bathurst-street
Hume, D., trader, market-square
Hogben, G., farmer, somerset-street
Hallier, widow, mangler, chapel-st.
Hill, P., tailor, market-square
Heideman & Co., merchants, high-st.
Hutchinson, H., Fort England
Holland, R., general agent, high-st
Hinds, G., shopk., bathurst-street
Holesgrove, W., butcher, new-street
Holdstock, labourer, bathurst-st
Hubbard, Isaac, shopk., bathurst-st
Harding, John, labourer, african-st
Hewson, Wm., gardener, african-st
Hall, Benj., carpenter, worcester-st
Hewson, John, baker, new-street
Higgins, Edmund, mason, new-st
Hughes, Joseph, tailor, new-st
Heath, Alexander, labourer, african-street
Hendrick, John, labourer, settler's-hill
Hayland, Wm. cauteenk., bathurst-st
Howarth, Wm., carpenter, scott-st
Holmes, Henry, mason, beaufort-st
Hutchinson, Henry, general agent, Fort England
Herholdt, Gerrit, clerk, suburbs
Hannon, John, mason, somerset-st
Heavyside, Jno., C. chaplain, high-st
Haw, Wm., shopkeeper, high-street
Herbert, W., labourer, rear of pound
Hosie, Alex., pensioner, chapel-st.
Horn, Robert, labourer, chapel-st
Hayward, Thos., farmer, king-st
Holstock, Ths., labourer, bathurst-st
Harvey, John, trader, beaufort-st
Hamilton, James, saddler, back beaufort-street
Hayward, Thos., mason, new-street
Henry, John, labourer, new-street
Healy, Pat., blacksmith, artificer's-sq
Impey, widow, S.P., bathurst-st
Impey, G., accountant, bathurst-st
P'Ons, F., artist, york-street
Irving, E., clerk, new-street
Ingle, W., coachb., dundas-bridge
Impey, G., clerk, bathurst-street
Irvine, Alexander Napier, gunsmith, new-street
Impey, senr., George, accountant, bathurst-street
Ironmonger, John, clerk, som.-st
Jarvie & Co., merchants, hill-street
Jaffray, W. M., merchant, hill-st
Jaffray, John L., bookbinder, high-st
Jarvis, George, attorney, high-st
Jewson, W., gardener, african-st
Jones, James, carpenter, new-street
Jackson, J., innkeeper, new-street
Jennings, J., milkman, lawrence-st
Jaffray, J., schoolm., rear high-street
Jacobs, G., printer, chapel-street
Johnson, —, shoemaker, bathurst-st
Jerome, Joseph, tailor, artificer's-sq
Johnstone, George, gardener, york-st
Janson, Jos., groom, Graham's Town
Jacobs, Joseph, printer, artificer's-sq
Jones, Charles, carpenter, high-st
Jones, James Griffith, carpenter, bathurst-street
Jamieson, Alex., clerk, settler's hill
Kennelly, D. H., merchant, hill-st
Keightly, Wm., painter, market-sq
Kensit, Wm., high-street
Keene, widow, artificer's-square
King, T. F., market-square
King, A., carpenter, lawrence-st
King, P., wesleyan chapel keeper, rear of high-street
Kemp, J., gardener, new-street
Kock, J. W., accountant, settler's-h
Krohn, N. P., merchant, high-st
King & Son, builders, market-sq
King, F., builder, bathurst-street
Knott, K., farmer, high-street
Kettles, D., beaufort-street
Keene, T., baker, rear of beaufort-st

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- Kidwell, Thos., wagonn., market-st
 Kidwell, A., tinsplatew, bathurst-st
 Knowles, H., apothec., bathurst-street
 Knowles, W., hotelkeeper, hill-st
 Kemp, —, shopkeeper, top of new-st
 Kelley, —, shoemaker, bathurst-st
 Kaple, Thomas, farmer, beaufort-st
 Kemp, James, carrier, beaufort-st
 Kingsley, John Cross, surgeon
 C.M.R., beaufort-street
 Kempton, John Tonkin, bricklayer,
 chapel-street
 Krohn, Peater, storeman, high-st
 Keightly, Joseph, mason, hill-st
 Kelly, Wm., labourer, york-street
 King, Benj., carrier, beaufort-street
 Kock, Dantje, shoemak., new-st
 Kelley, Michael, wool-sorter, Gra-
 ham's Town
- Levey, J. B., tailor, hill-street
 Lucas, P. W., cashier E. P. Bank,
 high-street
 Lucas, F., secretary E. P. T. Com-
 pany, african-street
 Lamont, Mrs., settler's-hill
 Lamont, Mrs., bathurst-street
 Lee, F., storekeeper, hill-street
 Lee, Mrs., shopkeeper, bathurst-st
 Lawrence, J., wine merchant & auc-
 tioneer, high-street
 Latham, Joseph, gen. agent, som.-st
 Leary, Miss, dressmaker, high-st
 Leonard, Timothy, collector, hill-st
 Long, P., blacksmith, settler's hill
 Lowe, D., tailor, artificer's-sq
 Langford, T., clerk, settler's hill
 Laing, James, labourer, beaufort-st
 Larter, Samuel, clubman, high-st
 Lamb, Frederick, labourer, high-st
 Latham, Henry, carpenter, som.-st
 Lucas, John, sawyer, chapel-st
 Levey, Charles, carpenter, king-st
 Larney, John, labourer, high-st
 Locker, Phillip, labourer, beaufort-st
 Lerham, T., bricklayer, market-sq
 Lenord, John, carrier, market-sq
 Liddle, Wm. Frederick, Priv. Sec. to
 Governor, bathurst-street
 Lynch, Mychel, labor., market-sq
 Lyons, John, labourer, dundas'-st
 Leonard, Hugo, labourer, new-st
 Latham, Charles, carpenter, high-st
- Masonic lodge, high-street
 Market Office, bathurst-street
 Mackallah, J., beaufort-street
 McMaster, Joseph, merch., high-st
 Mandy, J. F., market-square
 Mallett, C., clerk, artificer's-square
 Marsh, J. P., watchm., rear of queen-
 street
- Miller, James, butcher, bathurst-st
 Miller, farmer, rear of queen-st
 Miller, W., shopkeeper, settler's hill
 Miller, widow, shopk., Fort England
 Miller, J., carpenter, queen-st
 Miller, G., confectioner and bird-
 stuffer, beaufort-street
 Morgan, Mrs., shopk., new-street
 Moore, R. T., clerk, high-street
 Moore, Widow, beaufort-street
 Muir, —, tailor, chapel-street
 Mansfield, Joseph, officekeeper com-
 missariat, somerset-street
 Mundy, S., shopkeeper, high-st
 Mandy, S. D., wine merch., high-st
 Merriman, Rev., archdeacon, new-st
 Marsh, G., rear of bathurst-street
 McColl, J., clerk, artificer's-square
 Mandy, Widow, beaufort-street
 Meadway, W., clerk, beaufort-street
 Mills, J., carpenter, settler's hill
 Murton, R., hotelkeeper, market-sq
 McKeen, C., labourer, dundas'-bridge
 McDermid, J., labor., african-street
 McAlonan, David, labourer, som.-st
 McKay, George, labourer, somer-st
 Manley, Wm., farmer, hill-street
 McKeating, James, bootm., new-st
 McKelly, John, labourer, somer-st
 McZwart, Alex., labourer, scott-st
 McCormick, Pat., car., beaufort-st
 McCall, James, collectr., artificers-sq
 McClean, Charles, car., artificer's-sq
 McCabe, John, clerk, cross-street
 Macdonald, Alex., carpenter, new-st
 Maidwell, Robt., labourer, new-st
 Murphy, Thos., labourer, african-st
 Miller, Joseph, farmer, hill-street
 Martin, John, labourer, beaufort-st
 Martin, George, barman, new-street
 Murfin, Joseph, carpenter, chapel-st
 Mortimer, John, weaver, chapel-st
 Mathews, Servingt., milkm., queen-st
 Murray, Rich., tanner, queen-street
 Miller, Wm., farmer, queen-street
 Midgley, Jas., mason, chapel-street
 Munfort, Wm., farmer, king-street
 Marshall, Edward, farmer, high-st
 Menrant, Lewis, H., farmer, hill-st
 Miller, Thomas, farmer, hill-street
 Midgley, Thos. labor., Fort England
 Marcus, Frederick, shopk., hill-st
 Mathews, Anthony, constable, arti-
 ficer's-sq
 Murray, Wm., bricklayer, new-st.
 Mitchell, Peter, wagonn., new-st
 Marshall, Arnoldus, wagonn., mar-
 ket-square
 Marshall, John, labourer, african-st
 McLean, D., D.A.C. Gen., beaufort-st
 Nicholls, G. J., merchant, high-st

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- Nicoll, widow, shopkeeper, hill-st
 Nelson, Thomas, merchant, hill-st
 Nelson & Son, merchants, hill-st
 Norton, Mrs. Louis, beaufort-street
 Nelson, C. H., hill-street
 Norden, Mrs. M., settler's hill
 Noble, W., shoemaker, artificer's-sq
 Nourse, Henry, freeholder, high-st
 Norton, Thomas, carrier, chapel-st
 Oates, S., shoem., rear of hill-street
 Orsmond, R., hotelkeeper, new-st
 Orsmond, Mrs., shopk., bathurst-st
 Orsmond, C., market-m., market-sq
 Orsmond, G., shopk., bathurst-st
 Orsmond, Mrs. G., (late Pett), shoe-maker, bathurst-street
 Orsmond, J., wagonm., bathurst-st
 O'Donnell, H., innkeeper, new-st
 Ogilvie, W., ironmonger, high-street
 Ogilvie, Mrs., hill-street
 Ogilvie, Alfred, clerk, new-street
 O'Brien, John, skopkeeper, new-st
 O'Reilly, John, tailor, hill-street
- Pakenham & Frames, mer. high-st
 Paine, widow, artificers'-square
 Powell, J., sen., wagonm., market-sq
 Powell, J., jun., wagonm., market-sq
 Powell, Philip, wagonm., market-sq
 Pinnock, Mrs., behind gov. school
 Parker, T. H., shopk., beaufort-st
 Parker, J., ironmonger, high-street
 Pitt, widow, market-square
 Pitt, Mrs. John, nurse, bathurst-st
 Penny, Charles, shopkeeper, high-st
 Penny, A. B., blacksm., dunda's br.
 Pote, C., auctioneer, high-street
 Pote, Peter, ditto, market-street
 Price, widow, Fort England
 Pike, A., shopkeeper, market-sq
 Phillips, Mrs., laundress, market-sq
 Potter, W., high-street
 Paxton, Wm., carpenter and undertaker, beaufort-street
 Patrick, Ben., carrier, beaufort-st
 Patrick, S., blacksmith, settler's hill
 Passmore, widow, sempstress, new-st
 Passmore, T. E., builder, high-street
 Pankhurst, John, agricult., suburbs
 Poulton, Chas., mason, hill-st
 Poulton, John, gardener, somer.-st
 Preston, W., shoemaker, rear hill-st
 Palmer, George, farmer, som.-st
 Palmer, Mrs., board.-sch., beauf.-st
 Phillips, T., J.P., somerset-street
 Parker, James, somerset-street
 Paine, R., carpenter, britain-street
 Poole, J., labourer, beaufort-street
 Puckle, W., clerk, settler's hill
 Paskin, John, shopkeeper, new-st
 Powell, Wm., saddler, high-st
 Passmore, T. E., carpenter, britain-st
- Pearson, Chas., labourer, worcest.-st
 Parkins, Wm., carp., near Oatlands
 Prior, Joshua, farmer, dundas' bridge
 Patrick, M., king-street
 Pike, —, clerk, high-street
 Prendergrast, —, labourer, high-st
 Phillips, George, farmer, chapel-st
 Phillips, John, cabinetm., market-st
 Peel, Thomas, farmer, beaufort-st
 Pearce, Joseph, carrier, lawrence-st
 Penny, Phillip, farmer, market-st
 Patrick, —, brewer, somerset-street
 Pollard, Thomas, freeholder, new-st
 Philip, Daniel, mason, african-st
 Parker, Rich., porter, Graham's Tn.
 Pieterse, Arie, mason, Graham's T
 Pearce, Henry, clerk, artificer's-sq
 Parsons, James, labourer, dunda's-st
 Perrin, Thomas, mason, beaufort-st
- Quinn, John, sen., miller, gov. mill
 Quinn, John, printer, bathurst-st
 Quirt, Dan., sheriff's officer
- Roberts, R. M., merchant, hill-st
 Roberts, Sam., shoemaker, hill-st
 Roberts, John, builder, campbell-st
 Roberts, widow, campbell-street
 Roberts, widow, mangler, rear of new-street
 Roberts, John, clerk, york-street
 Rhodes, Charles, watchm., hill-st
 Rhodes, J., sen., watchm., new-street
 Rorke, M., quarter-master, c.m.a. new-street
 Rowles, S. E., printer, bathurst-st
 Rowles, Mrs. H., bathurst-street
 Read, Robt., apothecary, hill-street
 Ray, Mrs. dressmaker, artificer's-sq
 Reynolds, widow, african-st
 Richards, G., car., cape corps camp
 Roberts, R., storeman, hill-street
 Roberts, W., carpenter, campbell-st
 Roberts, H., carpenter, african-st
 Roberts, B., clerk, market-square
 Richards, Rev. R. C., hill-street
 Ravenall, W., shoemaker, settler's h
 Richards, W. A., printer, bathurst-st
 Rorke, J., cabinetmaker, high-street
 Russell, Mrs., school mistress, rear of new-street.
 Rawstorne, J. G., B. Major, worcester-street
 Robinson, Wm., messenger, som.-st
 Roberts, Henry, mason, som.-street
 Randon, back beaufort-street
 Reynolds, Rich., labourer, hill-st
 Retallick, Chas., smith, new-street
 Reynolds, R. H., shoemaker, high-st
 Reynolds, Wm., labourer, york-st
 Rousue, Wm., gardener, beaufort-st
 Roberts, James, salesm., bathurst-st

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- Russell, Rich., carpenter, chapel-st
 Russell, Edward, labourer, suburbs
 Somerset, Lieut.-Col. C. H., high-st
 Shaw, Rev. W., superintendent wes-
 leyan missions, high-street
 Shepperson, B. M., draper, high-st
 Shepperson, B. M., sen., settler's hill
 Stone, J. J. H., attorney, high-street
 Stone, R. G., general agent, high-
 street and beaufort-street
 Stanger, S., clerk, beaufort-street
 Sanson, Mrs., nurse, market-square
 Scott, W. H. H. chief clerk ordnance
 department, high-street
 Standen, J., cashier, F. C. and A.
 Bank, high-street
 Standen, widow, bathurst-street
 Smith, W. C., shoem., bathurst-st.
 Smit, widow M., suburbs
 Smit, Rev. N., pastor native con.
 union chapel, beaufort-street
 Stanton, W., field-cornet, somerset-st
 Stanton, Robert, blacksmith, hill-st.
 Stubbs, Thos. and William, saddlers,
 and governm. contractors, high-st.
 Stubbs & Wallis, saddlers, high-st
 Shepherd, W., tallow-ch., high-st
 Shepherd, J., do., rear of high-st
 Sparks, R., shopkeeper, high-street
 Sparks, H., sen., carpenter, high-st
 Scanlen, W., shoemaker, bathurst-st
 Slater, C., tallow-ch., beaufort-street
 Slater, I. F., attorney, hope garden
 Streak, W., sen., thatcher, hill-st
 Streak, W., jun., carp., bathurst-st
 Shepherd, W., clerk, beaufort-street
 Stead, Geo., tin plate worker, beau-
 fort-street
 Scott, J., clerk, artificer's-square
 Scanlan, widow T., bathurst-street
 Swain, W., painter, chapel-street
 Smith, Walter, painter and glazier,
 hill-street
 Sampson, D., farrier, bathurst-st
 Sanson, W., carpenter, market-sq
 Sellers, J., settlers hill
 Siddons, J., carpenter, bathurst-st
 Short, Francis, cross-st., messenger
 Sturt, Samuel, bathurst-st., stationer
 Scott, David, somerset-street, shopk
 Surmon, Wm., graham's town police
 force
 Surmon, Ths., scott's barracks, carp
 Smith, Robert Henry, albert-street,
 shoemaker
 Stewart, M., back new-street
 Strachan, Sam, somerset-st., carrier
 Swan, John, high-street, butcher
 Sanders, Thomas G., high-street,
 saddler
 Shaw, Thos., bathurst-st., carpenter
 Styles, T. Gratt, bathurst-st., hotelk
 Sanson, James, beaufort-st., carrier
 Shepherd, B., hill-street, carpenter
 Short, John, lawrence-street, farmer
 Stratford, A. W., york-st., freeholder
 Smith, J. Croford, york-st., carrier
 Sole, Alfred, york-street, storeman
 Shone, Thomas, york-st., shoemaker
 Samson, Crist, Grim's T, coachman
 Sanders, Alex., artificer's-sq., saddler
 Stack, Thomas, bathurst-st., clerk
 Smith, Wm., bathurst-st., storeman
 Style, James, new-street, carrier
 Shear, Thomas, market-sq., labourer
 Sandford, Henry, high-st., carpenter
 Smyth, Robert Edward, market-sq.,
 blacksmith
 Sellars, Wm., market-st., blacksmith
 Smith, Benjamin, market-street
 Slinger, Christian, high-st., servant
 Sanderson, Edward, bathurst-street,
 carpenter
 Stephens, Jos., mason, Graham's T.
 Taylor, A., clerk, high-street
 Town Office, bathurst-street
 Trust Company, E. P., high-street
 Taylor, Joseph, grocer, high-street
 Taylor, E. T., apothecary, high-street
 Talbot, J., sen., market-street
 Talbot, J., mason, settlers-hill
 Thomas, J., carpenter, william-st
 Temlett, J., sen., storek., market-sq
 Trotter, W., market-square
 Thompson, W. R., sen., merchant,
 high-street
 Thompson, W. R., jun., merchant,
 Fort England
 Thomson, W. Y., pastor independent
 chapel, lawrence-street
 Tudhope, F., gov. teacher, hill-street
 Trollip, —, sen., chapel-street
 Tildesley, widow, artificer's-square
 Thackwray, James, baker, new-street
 Temlett, John, storem., beaufort-st
 Thompson, D., shopk., bathurst-st
 Topper, T., printer, settler's hill
 Treadway, J., clerk, settler's hill
 Trumble, J., chapel keeper, rear of
 high-street
 Thompson, Rev. G. (English church)
 new-street
 Thomas, J., shopkeeper, hill-street
 Trumble, W., labor., rear of high-st
 Thompson, Robert, suburbs, sailm
 Tribe, Dan., Fort England, clerk
 Tabb, John, labourer, chapel-street
 Tuffly, John, suburbs, gardener
 Thomas, James, york-st., carpenter
 Tildesley, Samuel, hill-st., jeweller
 Tharratt, John, back new-street,
 wagonmaker

Facsimile of the "Directory of Graham's Town", 1853
Cape Almanac (1854)

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COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

- Turner, Charles, rear of pound, blacksmith
 Urry, Robert, tailor, artificer's-sq
 Upton, Mrs., shopkeeper, market-sq
 Usher, J., sen., lawrence-street
 Usher, James, farmer, lawrence-st
 Ulyate, H., farmer, lawrence-street
 Vaccine Institution, high-street
 Vice, widow, east barracks
 Vice, James, butcher, new-street
 Vice, John, market-square, carrier
 Venables, T., mason, settler's hill
 Van Plaster, John, settler's hill, labourer
 Van d. Vent, Adam location, carrier
 Walker, Joseph, storek., bathurst-st
 Walker, T., carpenter, campbell-st
 Watson, G., carpenter, york-street
 Watson, W., carpenter, hill-street
 Watson, Charles, craggy burn, near fort england
 Watson, J., tailor, new-street
 Whitehead, S., tailor, church-square
 Webb, C., shoemaker, chapel-street
 Webb, Robert, butcher, high-street
 Webb, Mrs., hotelk., fort england
 Webb, C., painter and glazier, bathurst-street
 Webb, John, currier, new-street
 Webb, W., currier, york-street
 Weakley, John, shopk., somerset-st
 Webber, W., storeman, artificer's-sq
 Wedderburn, W., tailor, new-street
 Welman, R. E., storeman, high-st
 Welbeloved, R., shoemaker, york-st
 Wheldon, John, blacksmith, hill-st
 Wardhaugh, J., tailor, bathurst-st
 Whitnal, Widow, beaufort-street
 Webster, W., wagonm., market-place
 Webster, T., chief constable, back of gaol
 White, Robert, printer, beaufort-st
 Wood & Sons, merchants, high-st
 Woodland, H., thatcher, new-st
 Wright, W., high-street
 Wright, J., butcher, chapel-street
 Williams, John, draper, bowker-st
 Wallace, J., brigade-sergt.-major, somerset-street
 Woodland, J., baker, bathurst-st
 Wallis, Widow J., rear of queen-st
 Watson, R., carpenter, east-barracks
 Webber, —, labourer, settler's hill
 Willett, Mrs., settler's hill
 Wiggett, W., clerk, artificer's-sq
 Wood, Geo., junr., new-street
 Wood, John, rear of high-street
 Wood, Geo., sen., high-street
 Wood, W., shoemaker, settler's hill
 Wright, C., clerk, artificer's-sq
 Wright, J., blacksmith, rear of bathurst-street
 Wink, H., innkeeper, bathurst-st
 Wilks, J., painter, chapel-street
 Wyde, —, printer, somerset-street
 Weakley, Joseph, farmer, som.-st
 Wallace, J., farmer, rear of beaufort-street
 Wheeler, J., blacksmith, settler's hill
 Webster, George, wagonm., suburbs
 Weel, Wm., carrier, queen-street
 Welsh, John, constable, scott-st
 Wedderburn, Wm., jr., turner, new-st
 Wheeldon, James, blacksth, new-st
 Whittle, Wm., tailor, dundas'-bridge
 Wicks, George, wheelright, king-st
 Wakeford, Henry, carrier, chapel-st
 Wicks, Wm., carrier, york-street
 Webster, John, mason, lawrence-st
 Wilson, E., labourer, chapel-street
 Wade, Thomas, carrier, hill-street
 Wallace, James, farmer, york-st
 Warren, Robert, clerk, york-street
 Wild, Thomas, carrier, Ft. England
 Wells, George, shoemk., settler's hill
 Willmore, Gregory, storek., high-st
 Whitehead, Step., tailor, high-street
 White, Andrew, storem., high-street
 Willows, Thos., butcher, Gr.'s Town
 Wallis, William, clerk, somerset-st
 Waters, Wm., labourer, chapel-st
 Walter, Henry, labourer, african-st
 Whibdy, Wm., labourer, high-st
 Walker, J. V., salesm., bathurst-st
 Ward, Henry, clerk, beaufort-st
 Wallis, Geo., saddler, somerset-st
 Wenigroth, Jas., blacks., settler's hill
 Wild, John, printer, new-street
 Wedderburn, John, wagonmaker, new-street
 Warren, Thos. Hemlitt, clerk, Fort England
 Wood, Wm., ironmonger, high-st
 Welbeloved, James, tailor, smith-st
 Yelling W., hotelkeeper, new-street
 Yelling, Joseph, hotelk., hill-street

District of Bathurst.

1852 J. H. B. Wienand, Esq., *Resident Magistrate*, Aug. 19, 1852,
 306/.
 Mr. S. V. Cloete, *Clerk*, 4th May, 1853, 80/.

APPENDIX A3

OCCUPATIONS OF GRAHAMSTOWN HOUSEHOLDERS 1842

OCCUPATION	SURNAME	INIT./FNAME	STREET
	Austin	William	artificers square
	Barnett		somerset street
	Berry	Thomas	smiths avenue
	Caldecot	Mrs	beaufort street
	Campbell	Lieut	bell street
	Cornelius	Capt	beaufort street
	Costello		high street rear
	Crause	Major Henry	new street
	Daniels jun.		new street rear
	Elliott	Mrs	hill street rear
	Featherstone	Mrs	east barracks
	Griffith	Charles	beaufort street
	Haw	Simon	hill street
	Heddle	Lieut.	hill street
	Hoole	J.B.	
	Keene	Widow	artificers square
	Knight	Mrs	chapel street
	Lucas	F.	york street
	McKenzie		new street rear
	McDonald	Mrs	beaufort street
	McNaughton	Widow	high street
	Norton	widow	king street
	Paxton	David	high street
	Price	widow	east barracks
	Radford	Francis	york street
	Richards	Widow	beaufort street
	Roberts	J.	william street
	Rudman	Widow	king street
	Savage	Lieut.	new east barracks
	Shepperson snr		chapel street
	Shone	Widow	bathurst street
	Simpson	widow	bathurst street
	Smith	Mrs	william street
	Smith	Richard J.	high street
	Smith	Widow	near the pound
	Smit	Widow	african street
	Stapleton	Capt	east barracks, near
	Stevens	Mrs	chapel street
	Stroud	Widow	artificers square
	Sullivan	Mrs	east barracks
	Todd	Widow	bathurst street
	Thomas	Mrs	new street
	Tancred	Rev. Dr	chapel street
	Venables	John	beaufort street
	Wallace	Charles	cross street
	Webb	Robert	new street
	Wienand	Widow	new street
	Wynn	Widow	dundas bridge near
	Warren	Widow jun.	beaufort street

APPENDIX A3 (contd.)

	Watson	Charles	bathurst road near
	Young	Ann	market place
27th Regt	McLean	Capt John	east barracks
91st Regiment	Brown	Adjutant	hill street
91st Regt	Swanson	Serjeant	somerset street
91st Regt	Wallace	William	beaufort street
CMR	Dawson	Serj. James	smith street
CMR	Donovan	Capt Thomas	new street
CMR	Gunn	Capt John	bell street
CMR	Lowen	Major	beaufort street
CMR quartermaster	Schonnfeldt		old toll bar
Catholic priest	Murphy	Rev. Thomas	beaufort street
Commandant CMR	Somerset	Col. Henry	Oatlands
agent	Adams	T.P.	chapel street
agent	Arrowsmith	J.	chapel street
agent	Bell	E.R.	high street
agent	Jarman	T.	beaufort street
agent	King	C.R.	high street
agent & auctioneer	Smith	William	hill street
agent Anderson Sen.	Welsford	C.M.	new street
& Co			
agent, general	Lee	W. snr	high street
agent, general	Nourse	H.	high street
agriculturist	Glass	John	new street
apothecary	Taylor	Ed.	high street
attorney	Heath	J.H.	chapel street
attorney	Jennings	J.	high street rear
attorney	Roberts	R.	bathurst street
attorney	Slater	I.F.	beaufort street
attorney & notary	Jarvis	George	high street
public			
auctioneers	Norden	J.D. & Co.	beaufort street
baker	Booth	Ben	new street
baker	Cross	T.	new street
baker	Dicks	Ben	somerset street
baker	Flookes	Geo.	new street
baker	Hartley	William	bathurst street
baker	Hoole	A.W.	new street
baker	Hope	William	high street
baker	Jardine	J.	beaufort street
bakers	Croude & Wheeler		hill street
baptist minister	Aveline	Rev. John	bell street
barrack master	Boys	Capt R.	beaufort street
bitmaker	Bond	William	artificers square
blacksmith	Abbott		hill street
blacksmith	Elliott	William	market sq & york st
blacksmith	Finnaughty	John	lawrence street
blacksmith	Godfrey	Henry	somerset street
blacksmith	Gradwell	A.	lawrence street
blacksmith	Powell	J. jun.	beaufort street
blacksmith	Robertson	R.	somerset street
blacksmith	Short	J.	market place

APPENDIX A3 (contd.)

blacksmith	Wheldon	John	high street
bonnetmaker	Dawson	Miss S.	chapel street
bonnetmaker	Pinnock	Miss	beaufort street
bookbinder	Jaffray	J.	beaufort street
brewer	Trotter	William	market square
brickmaker	Bennett	Thomas?	futters row
brickmaker	Keevy	M.	hill street
brickmaker	Page	Thomas	east barracks
brigade major	O'Reilly	Major A.A.	beaufort street
builder	Gush	R.	beaufort street
builder	Hannan	John	new street
builder	Hayhurst	Richard	york street
builder	King	T. jun.	market square
builder	Webb	R.	york street
builder & brewer	Gilbert	George	somerset street
builders	Griffin & Botthomly		hill street
butcher	Cawood	James	high street
butcher	Fancutt	J.	somerset street
butcher	Golding	George	lawrence street
butcher	Lee	Frederick	east barr. & hill st
butcher	Lee	W. jun.	high street
butcher	Saunders	E.	bathurst road
butcher	Saunders	T.	hill street
butcher	Simpson	W.	bathurst street
butcher	Stanton	William jun.	high street
butcher	Trollip	Alf	beaufort street
butcher	Webb	Robert	east barracks near
butchers	Golding & Pike		high street
butchers	Stanton & Co		high street
cabinet maker	Behrens	J.C.	beaufort street
cabinet maker	Hartman	J.G.	new street
canteen keeper	Hanger	Edward	somerset street
canteen keeper	Jackson	J.	bathurst street
canteen keeper	Jolley	J.	east barracks
canteen keeper	Reynolds	William	barrack street
canteen keeper	Smith	Richard	high street
canteen keeper	Vice	John	east barracks
canteen keeper	Yelling	Joseph	hill street
carpenter	Anderson	James	chapel street
carpenter	Anderson	Geo.	lawrence street
carpenter	Anderson	William	lawrence street
carpenter	Anderson	Ben	lawrence street
carpenter	Beale	G.	campbell street
carpenter	Botthomly	George	somerset street
carpenter	Chadwick	William	dundas bridge
carpenter	Cockroft	W.	market square
carpenter	Cummins	Niman	beaufort street
carpenter	Dean	E.	artificers square
carpenter	Denham	Stephen	hill street rear
carpenter	Devine	T.	york street
carpenter	Edkins	Joseph	campbell street
carpenter	Edkins	J.	beaufort street

APPENDIX A3 (contd.)

carpenter	Edkins	T.	chapel street
carpenter	Evans	John	chapel street
carpenter	Fearon	R.	beaufort street
carpenter	Freyne	P.	market square
carpenter	Fry	L.	chapel street
carpenter	Goddard	R.	toll-bar
carpenter	Graham	George	new street rear
carpenter	Harvey	R.	chapel street
carpenter	Holmes	T.	artificers square
carpenter	Innes	W.	beaufort street
carpenter	Lamont	W.	east barracks
carpenter	Latham	Henry	somerset street
carpenter	Legg	H.J.	high street
carpenter	Long	William	bathurst street
carpenter	Mewett		bathurst street
carpenter	Newton	William	market place
carpenter	Paine	J.	artificers square
carpenter	Rowe	R.	african street
carpenter	Rudman	Samuel	beaufort street
carpenter	Russell	George	somerset street
carpenter	Slater	H.	lawrence street
carpenter	Sparks	Henry	high street
carpenter	Stillwell	Thomas	market place
carpenter	Streak	William	hill street
carpenter	Surmon	William Henry	scotts barracks
carpenter	Styles	James	hill street
carpenter	Styles	T. sen.	hill street
carpenter	Styles	T. jun.	hill street
carpenter	Tarr	James	east barracks near
carpenter	Turner	R.	somerset street
carpenter	Thomas	Joseph	william street
carpenter	Walker	J.	chapel street
carpenter	Watson	W.	bathurst street
carrier	Comely	John	new street
carrier	Fancutt	Thomas	new street
carrier	Ferreira		cross street
carrier	Glass	T.	african street
carrier	Lucas	William	east barracks
carrier	McNamara	James	somerset street
carrier	McCormick	William	beaufort street
carrier	Neil	E.	beaufort street
carrier	Patrick	B.	beaufort street
carrier	Pinnock	P.	york street
carrier	Thomas	J.	beaufort street
cashier EP Bank	Lucas	P.W.	church square
chairmaker	Lawrence	John	high street
chairmaker	Moss	S.	high street
chemist & druggist	Cole	F.H.	high street
chemist & druggist	Earle	William John	hill street
civil commissioner	West	Martin	east barracks
clerk	Bailie	John	hill street
clerk	Bezant	A.C.	beaufort street
clerk	Blue	William	cross street

APPENDIX A3 (contd.)

clerk	Campbell	W.	artificers square
clerk	Devine	William	somerset street
clerk	Gunn	J.	lawrence street
clerk	Halse	J.H.	hill street
clerk	Hart	Jabez	hill street
clerk	Kock	J.W.	high street
clerk	Levy	John	chapel street
clerk	Orsmond	Richard	artificers square
clerk	Rawlinson	.	cross street
clerk	Stone	James	high street
clerk	Thompson	W.	hill street
clerk	Warren	Thomas	bathurst street
clerk RE depot	O'Neill	John	somerset street
clerk RE dept	Teeling	Christopher P.	new street
clerk RE dept	Whitnall	Robert M.	beaufort street
clerk, commissariat office	Bailie	J.	hill street
clerk, commissariat office	Castray	Luke R.	cross street
clerk of the peace	Eaton	R.J.	east barracks
clerk to RM	Wienand	J.H.B.	artificers square
clerk, 2nd to CC	Beck	A.W.	fair-lawn
clerk, chief to CC	Stringfellow	Thomas	suburbs
coffee-house keeper	Davis	H.L.	high street
commissary general, deputy assistant	Jones	H.S.	somerset street
commissary general, assistant	Sanford	George C.	bell street
confectioner	Fletcher	W.A.	high street
constable	Allen	Sam	african street
constable	Faircloth	John	lawrence street
constable	Lucas	C.	somerset street
cooper	Dell	John	new street
cooper	Harper	H.	bathurst street
cowkeeper	Pankhurst	F.	suburbs
dealer	Boardman	James	chapel street
dealer	Johnstone	Mrs Margaret?	high street
deputy ordnance storekeeper	Saunders	J.C.	beaufort street
dressmaker	Lonsdale	Miss	chapel street
dressmaker	Neat		market place
dressmaker	Waite	Widow	new street
druggist	Munro	G.	bathurst street
eating house keeper	Everley	James	beaufort street
editor CFT	Franklin	George	hill street
editor GTJ	Godlonton	Robert	high street
episcopalian minister	Heavyside	Rev. J.	high street
farrier	McGraw	William	york street
field cornet	Smith	John Hancorne	near the pound
gardener	Comely	W.	new street
gardener	Copeland	Moses	d'urban street
gardener	Jewson	T.	african street

APPENDIX A3 (contd.)

gardener	Jones		bathurst st., above
gardener	Kemp	J.	new street
gardener	King	T. snr	lawrence street
gardener	Poulton	J.	somerset street
garrison serjeant	Drennan	Henry	new street
major			
goldsmith	Tildersly		beaufort street
grocer	Caldecott	Alphonse T.	high street
gunsmith	Clarke	Thomas	hill street
gunsmith	Hewson	F.	hill street
gunsmith	Hewson	T.	hill street
hairdresser	Loxton	S.	new street
hotel keeper	Finlayson	Mrs	high street
hotel keeper	Tildersly		new street
hotel keeper	Watson	Robert	new street
independent minister	Locke	Rev. John	beaufort street
interpreter	Cyrus	George	cross street
ironmonger	Ogilvie	W.	high street
jeweller	Daniell	P.C.	chapel street
labourer	Biles	John	african street
labourer	Blakemore	George	lawrence street
labourer	Castings	J.	futter's row
labourer	Clogg	W.	african street
labourer	Conner	Patrick	african street
labourer	Cowie	J.	futter's row
labourer	Daniel	H.	african street
labourer	Deaken	B.	beaufort street
labourer	Dennis	P.	african street
labourer	Dredge	Sam	york street
labourer	Evans	Henry	chapel street
labourer	Hall	R.	african street
labourer	Harewood	Christian snr	somerset street
labourer	Hazell	William	beaufort street
labourer	Hickman	C.	african street
labourer	Horne	R.	chapel street
labourer	Jansen		barrack street
labourer	Jansen		african street
labourer	Johnson	J.	somerset street
labourer	Keaton	T.	new street
labourer	Lewis	D.	somerset street
labourer	Mahmouh		african street
labourer	Murray		campbell street
labourer	Sansome	G.	king street
labourer	Stevens	Jo	bell street
laundress	Coba		african street rear
laundress	Leba		hill street
laundress	Miller	Mrs	hill street
lodging house keeper	Ayton	Mrs	new street
mangler	Cyrus	Samuel	artificers square
mason	Abram		african street
mason	Allison	Samuel	new street
mason	Andries	Theunis	african street
mason	Armstrong	J.	bathurst street

APPENDIX A3 (contd.)

mason	Abdol	B.	african street
mason	Brislin	James	beaufort street
mason	Brown		beaufort street
mason	Daniells	P.	campbell street
mason	Dutton	J.H.	bell street
mason	Fitchet	D.	campbell street
mason	Fitzgerald	J.	new street
mason	Foley	John	hill street rear
mason	Helicott	B.	african street
mason	Higgins	Edmund	somerset street
mason	Hyde	Alex	new street
mason	Jacob		smith street
mason	Keevy	J.	hill street
mason	King	A.	beaufort street
mason	Lanham	T.	dundas bridge below
mason	Mallett		campbell street
mason	Mitchel		king street
mason	Oghan	D.	york street
mason	Pennell	J.	chapel street
mason	Philipson	W.	hill street
mason	Poulton	C.	beaufort street
mason	Robinson	Charles	market square
mason	Stirk	William	king street
mason	Talbot	John	beaufort street
mason	Upton	William	william street
mason	Whetheridge	J.	bathurst street
merchant	Black	James	new street & high st
merchant	Blaine	Henry	high & beaufort st
merchant	Cock	William	beaufort street
merchant	Howse	J.	drostdy grounds
merchant	Jaffray	W.M.	beaufort street
merchant	Maynard	Charles	new street
merchant	Meurant	L.H.	high street
merchant	Nelson	E.	high street
merchant	Nelson	T.	hill street
merchant	Nichols	J.G.	somerset street
merchant	Norton	Louis	beaufort street
merchant	Thompson	William Rowland	high street
merchants	Anderson	William Sen.Co.	high street
merchants	Levick, Sherman, & Kift		high street
merchants	Maynard	C. & H.	high street
merchants	Norton	John & Co	high street
merchants	Rutherfoord & Bros		hill street
merchants	Stein & Killian		high street
messenger	Pitt	Robert	chapel street
messenger, court	Lowen	P.	
messenger, deputy	Trimble	Joseph	cross street
miller	Quinn	J.	government mill
minister	Shaw	Rev William	high street
minister	Smit	Rev. N.	artificers square
musician	Dale	Christopher	hill street

APPENDIX A3 (contd.)

notary public	Norden	Benjamin jun.	market street
painter	Turvey	Edward snr	african street
painter & glazier	Freemantle	Samuel	beaufort street
painter & glazier	Stent	William	beaufort street
painter & glazier	Webb	Charles	bathurst street
painter & glazier	Webb	Joshua	chapel street
physician	Atherstone	Guybon	high street, 1
physician	Campbell	Ambrose G.	market square
physician	Daunt	Dr R.G.	bathurst street
physician	Delmege	Dr	east barracks
physician	Mostyn	T.	william street
physician CMR	Eady	Dr	new street
plumber	Hartley	John	artificers square
portrait painter	I'ons	Frederick T.	east barracks, near
poundmaster	Eagen	Patrick	hill street rear
poundmaster	Gilliland		york street
printer	Gibbs		beaufort street
printer	Gorrie	James	new street
printer	Pearce		new street
printer	Whiley	G.	high street
printer & publisher	Rowles	Solomon	bathurst street
printers & publishers	Jaffray		bathurst street
saddler	Douglass	John	high street
saddler	Stubbs	Thomas	high street
sawyer	Lewis	J.	beaufort street
sawyer	Martin	C.	hill street
sawyer	Mitchelly	T.	william street
schoolmaster	Paine	J.	market street
schoolmaster	Tudhope	F.	govt. mill near
schoolmistress	Adams	Miss	market square
schoolmistress	Biggs	Widow	somerset street
schoolmistress	Dunbar		african street
schoolmistress	Dunford		campbell street
schoolmistress	Hockly	Mrs	beaufort street
schoolmistress	Roman	Miss	market place
schoolmistress	Slater	Miss	beaufort street
secretary to government	Hudson	Hougham	new street
sempstress	Austin	Miss	artificers square
sempstress	Brown	Miss	lawrence street
sempstress	Castania	Mrs	new street rear
sempstress	Dold	J.	african street
sempstress	Fair	Mrs	hill street
sempstress	Flannagan	Mrs	hill street
sempstress	Griffith	Miss	beaufort street
sempstress	Iles	Widow	african street
sempstress	Jenkinson	Mrs	chapel street
sempstress	Keightly	A.	york street
sempstress	Kean	Mrs	chapel street
sempstress	Lawlor	Widow	african street
sempstress	Openshaw	Esther	beaufort street
sempstress	Passmore	Widow	new street

APPENDIX A3 (contd.)

sempstress	Phillips	Mrs	market place
sempstress	Simpson	Ann	bathurst street
sempstress	Williams	Mrs	
servant	Esaw		allen's row
servant	Mansfield		somerset street
sexton	Goodes	J.	african street
sheriff, deputy	Carlisle	Frederik	beaufort street
shoemaker	Atwell	Brook	bathurst street
shoemaker	Chapman	J.	chapel street
shoemaker	Daniell	John	hill street
shoemaker	Davis	J.	somerset street
shoemaker	Dennis	John?	new street rear
shoemaker	Duffy	Charles	bell street
shoemaker	Farley	William	new street
shoemaker	Futter	G.	william street
shoemaker	Futter	G.	beaufort street
shoemaker	Han	Christian	new street rear
shoemaker	Lance	J.	hill street
shoemaker	Paskin	J.	bathurst street
shoemaker	Pitt	James	beaufort street
shoemaker	Pitt	W.	bathurst street
shoemaker	Reynolds	J.	new street
shoemaker	Roberts	Daniel	smith's avenue
shoemaker	Roberts	Samuel	hill street
shoemaker	Scanlan	William	bathurst street
shoemaker	Scanlan	Thomas	bathurst street
shoemaker	Smith	William Collins	high street
shoemaker	Webb	Christopher	chapel street
shoemaker	Welbeloved	Richard	bathurst road
shoemaker	Wells	Leo	hill street
shopkeeper	Armstrong	Widow	hill street
shopkeeper	Benjamin	Widow	high street
shopkeeper	Bertram	J.	high street
shopkeeper	Blee	Mrs	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Bradfield	Thomas	somerset street
shopkeeper	Crout	E.	chapel street
shopkeeper	Dixie	Philip	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Feagan	Mrs Elizabeth	new street
shopkeeper	Gardener	Thomas B.	beaufort street
shopkeeper	Glass	T.	hill street
shopkeeper	Harvey	John	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Jennings	H.T.	bathurst street
shopkeeper	McKallah	J.	beaufort street
shopkeeper	Morgan	Widow	new street
shopkeeper	Parker	T.	beaufort street
shopkeeper	Pike	William	market place
shopkeeper	Poole	T.	beaufort street
shopkeeper	Ray	Mrs	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Reynolds	Robert	african street
shopkeeper	Schryber		hill street
shopkeeper	Shepherd	J.	hill street
shopkeeper	Simpson	B.	hill street
shopkeeper	South	W.	new street

APPENDIX A3 (contd.)

shopkeeper	Symmons	John	high street
shopkeeper	Temlett	J. jun.	dundas bridge new
shopkeeper	Urry	Mrs	high street
shopkeeper	Umphries	J.	beaufort street
shopkeeper	Wright	Widow	new street
shopkeeper	Whiley	J.	hill street
shopman	Blackbeard	R.	beaufort street
shopman	Parr	W.	settlers hill
stationer	Caffyn	R.H.	hill street
storekeeper	Dixon	John Henry	bathurst street
storekeeper	Eastment	William	dundas bridge
storekeeper	Fuller	Charles	high street
storekeeper	Kew	Henry	cor. hill & new sts
storekeeper	Kift	E.L.	high street
storekeeper	Lee	G.	bathurst street
storekeeper	Maskell	John	bathurst street
storekeeper	Nichol	widow	high street
storekeeper	Norden	Marcus	bathurst street
storekeeper	Orsmond	Elizabeth	bathurst street
storekeeper	Pakenham	Charles	hill street
storekeeper	Painter	Mrs M?	hill street
storekeeper	Pote	C.	high street
storekeeper	Potter	W.	hill street
storekeeper	Temlett	James	beaufort street
storekeeper	Walker	Joseph	bathurst street
storekeeper	Weakly	Joseph	somerset street
storekeeper	West	Widow	high street
storekeeper	Wood	George	new street
storekeeper	Wright	John Cecil	high street
storekeepers	Ford & Son		bathurst street
storekeepers	McMaster & Pakenham		high street
storekeepers	Shepperson & Co		bathurst street
surgeon, district	Atherstone	John	high street, 1
surveyor, sworn & land	Okes	Thomas	
tailor	Accledien	M.	african street
tailor	Antony	M.	new street rear
tailor	Appollos	M.	allen's row
tailor	Botton	J.	artificers square
tailor	Collins	Joseph	chapel street
tailor	Dennie		new street rear
tailor	Flannaghan	John	new street
tailor	Francis	T.	smiths avenue
tailor	Kew	P.	somerset street
tailor	Lamont	James	high street
tailor	Levy	Joseph	hill street
tailor	Louw	D.	artificers square
tailor	Muir	James	chapel street
tailor	Orchard	Henry	high street
tailor	Wedderburn	James	new street
tailor & draper	Dick		bathurst street

APPENDIX A3 (contd.)

tailors & habitmakers	McMaster & Lamont		high street
tallow chandler	Shepherd	William	high street
tallow chandler	Slater	Charles	beaufort street
tallow chandlers	Shepherd & Harley		high street
tanner	Crouch	Richard	high street
tanner	Dogherty	N.	william street
tanner	Moorcroft snr		new street
tanner	Moorcroft	R.	african street
tanner	Wynn	James	william street
thatcher	Boucher	R.	york street
thatcher	Clarke	T. sen.	hill street
tinsmith	Bagshaw	R.	bathurst street
tinsmith	Berry	William	african street
tinsmith	Jeffries	G.	barrack street
tinsmith	Paxton	William	bathurst street
town clerk	Latham	J.	high street
trader	Jeffries	Edward	beaufort street
turner	Bradfield	Edmund?	new street
undertaker	White	James	bathurst street
upholsterer	Boardman	W.	beaufort street
veterinary surgeon	Kingsley	George	late the brewery
wagon maker	Cockroft	Thomas	bathurst street
wagonmaker	Gradwell	Stephen	lawrence street
wagonmaker	Powell	James	near market street
wagonmaker	Webster	W.	market place
wagonmaker & wheelwright	Stanton	Robert	new street
warehouseman	Prynn	W. sen.	campbell street
watchmaker	Marsh	Thomas	chapel street
watchmaker	Rhodes	Charles	high street
watchmaker	Rhodes	Edward	new street
watchmaker	Rhodes	J.	new street & high
watchmaker	Roulstone	Nelson?	high street
wesleyan missionary	Boyce	Rev. W.B.	high street
wheelwright	Cadle	J.	beaufort street
wheelwright	Grubb	Charles	market square
wheelwright	Hill	J.	york street
wheelwright	Lee	E.	campbell street
wheelwright	Powell	Philip	king street
wheelwright	Trollip	J. jun.	high street
wheelwright	Ulyate	George	lawrence street
wine & spirit dealer	Kidson	W.	bathurst & york sts
wine & spirit merchant	McMaster	James	high street
wine & spirit merchants	Haupt & Brothers		high street
wine merchant	Mandy	Stephen	chapel street

OCCUPATIONS OF GRAHAMSTOWN HOUSEHOLDERS 1853

OCCUPATION	SURNAME	INIT./FNAME	STREET
	Anthoine		hill street
	Aldum	Aaron sen.	lawrence street
	Armstrong	Widow	hill street
	Attwell	Mrs W.	dundas street
	Bertram	Widow	african street
	Bradfield	J.	bathurst street
	Baker	Richard	king street
	Brooks	Henry	king street
	Best	William	york street
	Croft	C.T.	beaufort street
	Daniel	Widow	chapel street
	Dold	Mrs B.S.	bathurst street
	Dennis	Widow	new street
	Doyle	Widow	bathurst street
	Duffield	G.	new street
	Dicks	James	somerset street
	Edkins	Mrs	king street
	Edkins	John	queen street rear
	Frayne	Widow	market square
	Frames	G.C.	market square
	Featherstone	Mrs	east barracks
	Glass	Thomas	new street
	Hoole	Mrs snr	new street
	Hartley	W. snr	chapel street
	Hutchinson	H.	fort england
	Impey	Widow S.P.	bathurst street
	Kensit	William	high street
	Keene	Widow	artificers square
	King	T.F.	market square
	Kettles	D.	beaufort street
	Lamont	Mrs	settlers hill
	Lamont	Mrs	bathurst street
	Mackallah	J.	beaufort street
	Mandy	J.F.	market square
	Moore	Widow	beaufort street
	Mandy	Widow	beaufort street
	Norton	Mrs Louis	beaufort street
	Nelson	C.H.	hill street
	Norden	Mrs M.	settlers hill
	Ogilvie	Mrs	hill street
	Paine	Widow	artificers square
	Pinnock	Mrs	govt school behind
	Pitt	Widow	market square
	Price	Widow	fort england
	Potter	W.	high street
	Parker	James	somerset street
	Patrick	M.	king street
	Roberts	Widow	campbell street
	Rowles	Mrs H.	bathurst street

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

	Reynolds	Widow	african street
	Rawstone	Major J.G.B.	worcester street
	Shepperson	B.M. snr	settlers hill
	Standen	Widow	bathurst street
	Smit	Widow M.	suburbs
	Scanlan	Widow T.	bathurst street
	Sellers	J.	settlers hill
	Stewart	M.	new street back
	Talbot	J. sen.	market street
	Trotter	W.	market square
	Trollip snr		chapel street
	Tildesley	Widow	artificers square
	Usher	J. sen.	lawrence street
	Vice	Widow	east barracks
	Whitnal	Widow	beaufort street
	Wright	W.sen.	high street
	Wallis	Widow J.	queen street rear
	Willet	Mrs	settlers hill
	Wood	Geo. jnr	new street
	Wood	John	high street rear
	Graham	Robert	bathurst street
	Somerset	Lieut.-Col. H.	high street
	Rorke	M.	new street
	Kingsley	John Cross	beaufort street
	Phillips	T.	somerset street
	Faddy	Peter Pickmore	fort england
	Devereux	Rev. Dr	beaufort street
	Impey	G.	bathurst street
	Impey	George snr	bathurst street
	Kock	J.W.	settlers hill
	Haw	E.	high street
	Holland	R.	high street
	Hutchinson	Henry	fort england
	Latham	Joseph	somerset street
	Stone	R.G.	high & beaufort sts
	Pankhurst	John	suburbs
	Knowles	H.	bathurst street
	Read	Robert	hill street
	Taylor	E.T.	high street
	Cole	F.H.	high street
	Merriman	Rev. N.J.	new street
	Bent	W.	new street
	Heddle	Lieut.	beaufort street
	I'Ons	Frederick	york street
	Jarvis	George	high street
	Stone	J.J.H.	high street
	Slater	I.F.	hope garden
	Pote	Charles	high street
	Pote	Peter	market street
	Charlton		new street
	Cross	Widow	high street
	Dicks	E.	bathurst street
CC & RM			
CMR Commandant			
CMR quartermaster			
CMR surgeon			
Justice of the Peace			
RA Capt.			
RC Bishop			
accountant			
accountant			
accountant			
agent, general			
agent, general			
agent, general			
agent, general			
agent, general			
agriculturist			
apothecary			
apothecary			
apothecary			
apothecary &			
postmaster			
archdeacon			
architect			
army officer			
artist			
attorney			
attorney			
attorney			
auctioneer			
auctioneer			
baker			
baker			
baker			

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

baker	Green	J.	beaufort street
baker	Hartley	William	bathurst street
baker	Hewson	John	new street
baker	Keene	T.	beaufort street rear
baker	Thackwray	James	new street
baker	Woodland	J.	bathurst street
baker & confectioner	Fletcher	W.A.	high street
baptist minister	Boulton	Rev. Thos.	market square
baptist minister	Hay	Rev. A.	market street
barman	Martin	George	new street
barrackmaster	Boys	Capt.	cape corps barracks
blacksmith	Brookshaw		market street
blacksmith	Edwards	Richard	hill street
blacksmith	Finnaughty	John	lawrence street
blacksmith	Geech		market street
blacksmith	Healy	James	chapel street
blacksmith	Healy	Patrick	artificers square
blacksmith	Long	P.	settlers hill
blacksmith	Penny	A.B.	dundas bridge
blacksmith	Patrick	S.	settlers hill
blacksmith	Stanton	Robert	hill street
blacksmith	Smyth	Robert Edward	market square
blacksmith	Sellars	Wm	market street
blacksmith	Turner	Charles	pound rear of
blacksmith	Wheldon	John	hill street
blacksmith	Wright	J.	bathurst street rear
blacksmith	Wheeler	J.	settlers hill
blacksmith	Wheeldon	James	new street
blacksmith	Wenigroth	Jas.	settlers hill
boarding house keeper	Gallagher	Mrs	beaufort street
boardingschool owner	Palmer	Mrs	beaufort street
bonnetmaker	Dawson	Miss	chapel street
bookbinder	Jaffray	John L.	high street
bootmaker	Attwell	Brooke	bathurst street
bootmaker	Daniel	J.N.	hill street
bootmaker	Dicks	Samuel	somerset street
bootmaker	Earles	W.	settlers hill
bootmaker	McKeating	James	new street
brazier	Cumming		chapel street
brewer	Patrick	John	somerset street
brewer & shopkeeper	Everley	James	beaufort street
bricklayer	Kempton	John Tonkin	chapel street
bricklayer	Lerham	T.	market square
bricklayer	Murray	Wm	new street
brickmaker	Green	William	suburbs
brigade sergt major	Wallace	J.	somerset street
builder	Bent	Richard	dundas bridge
builder	Gilbert	George	somerset street
builder	King	F.	bathurst street
builder	Passmore	T.E.	high street
builder	Roberts	John	campbell street
builders	King & Son		market square

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

butcher	Bruce		artificers square
butcher	Clack		artificers square
butcher	Eedes		new street
butcher	Holesgrove	W.	new street
butcher	Miller	James	bathurst street
butcher	Swan	John	high street
butcher	Vice	James	new street
butcher	Webb	Robert	high street
butcher	Wright	J.	chapel street
butcher	Willows	Thos.	graham's town
cabinet maker	Hartman	S.	new street
cabinet maker	Phillips	John	market street
cabinet maker	Rorke	J.	high street
canteen keeper	Brooks	Bernard	dundas bridge
canteen keeper	Best	R.	fort england
canteen keeper	Dyke	J.	somerset street
canteen keeper	Hayland	William	bathurst street
carpenter	Armstrong	Robert	bathurst street
carpenter	Aspinall	John	Oatlands, near
carpenter	Blackbeard	W.	bathurst road
carpenter	Chadwick	William	dundas bridge
carpenter	Carney	J.	hill street, top of
carpenter	Corner	Cornelius	new street
carpenter	Deane	C.	king street
carpenter	Edkins	Joseph	market square
carpenter	Glass	J.	beaufort street
carpenter	Graham	George	east barracks
carpenter	Goodwin	William	new street
carpenter	Hall	Robert	african street
carpenter	Hall	Benjamin	worcester street
carpenter	Howarth	William	scott street
carpenter	Jones	James	new street
carpenter	Jones	Charles	high street
carpenter	Jones	James Griffith	bathurst street
carpenter	King	Andrew	lawrence street
carpenter	Latham	Henry	somerset street
carpenter	Levey	Charles	king street
carpenter	Latham	Charles	high street
carpenter	Miller	J.	queen street
carpenter	Mills	J.	settlers hill
carpenter	MacDonald	Alex	new street
carpenter	Murfin	Joseph	chapel street
carpenter	Paine	Robert	britain street
carpenter	Passmore	T.E.	britain street
carpenter	Parkins	Wm	Oatlands near
carpenter	Roberts	W.	campbell street
carpenter	Roberts	H.	african street
carpenter	Russell	Richard	chapel street
carpenter	Sparks	H. snr	high street
carpenter	Streak	W. jun.	bathurst street
carpenter	Sanson	W.	market square
carpenter	Siddons	J.	bathurst street
carpenter	Surmon	Thos	scotts barracks

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

carpenter	Shaw	Thos	bathurst street
carpenter	Shepherd	B.	hill street
carpenter	Sandford	Henry	high street
carpenter	Sanderson	Edward	bathurst street
carpenter	Thomas	James	william street
carpenter	Thomas	James	york street
carpenter	Walker	T.	campbell street
carpenter	Watson	G.	york street
carpenter	Watson	W.	hill street
carpenter	Watson	R.	east barracks
carpenter & undertaker	Paxton	Wm	beaufort street
carrier	Brummager	Samuel jun.	market square
carrier	Carney	G.	market square
carrier	Dixie	Phillis	market square
carrier	Dogherty	Neile	george street
carrier	Ferreira	Andries H.	fort england
carrier	Godfrey	Robert	york street
carrier	Kemp	James	beaufort street
carrier	King	Benjamin	beaufort street
carrier	Lenord	John	market square
carrier	McCormick	Patrick	beaufort street
carrier	McClean	Charles	artificers square
carrier	Norton	Thomas	chapel street
carrier	Patrick	Ben	beaufort street
carrier	Pearce	Joseph	lawrence street
carrier	Richards	George	cape corps camp
carrier	Strachan	Sam	somerset street
carrier	Sanson	James	beaufort street
carrier	Smith	J. Croford	york street
carrier	Styles	James	new street
carrier	Vice	John	market square
carrier	van de Vent		adam location
carrier	Weel	Wm	queen street
carrier	Wakeford	Henry	chapel street
carrier	Wicks	Wm	york street
carrier	Wade	Thomas	hill street
carrier	Wild	Thomas	fort england
cashier, EP Bank	Lucas	P.W.	high street
cashier, FC & A Bank	Standen	J.	high street
catholic priest	Ricards	Rev. James D.	hill street
chapel keeper	Trumble/Trimble	J.	high street rear
chapel keeper, wesleyan	King	P.	high street rear
clerk	Booth	Edward	bathurst street
clerk	Blackbeard	Robert	bathurst road
clerk	Crump	H.	high street
clerk	Copeland	W.	high street
clerk	Foley	J.	high street
clerk	Fitzgerald	Michael	beaufort street
clerk	Ford	William	new street
clerk	Fitzgerald	John	beaufort street
clerk	Gowie	Charles Ross	bathurst street

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

clerk	Gatonly	Peter	york street
clerk	Geoghegan	James	beaufort street
clerk	Holland	T.	bathurst street
clerk	Herholdt	Gerrit	suburbs
clerk	Irving	E.	new street
clerk	Impey	G.	bathurst street
clerk	Ironmonger	John	somerset street
clerk	Jamieson	Alex.	settlers hill
clerk	Langford	T.	settlers hill
clerk	Mallett	C.	artificers square
clerk	Moore	R.T.	high street
clerk	McColl	J.	artificers square
clerk	Meadway	W.	beaufort street
clerk	McCabe	John	cross street
clerk	Ogilvie	Alfred	new street
clerk	Puckle	W.	settlers hill
clerk	Pike		high street
clerk	Pearce	Henry	artificers square
clerk	Roberts	John	york street
clerk	Roberts	B.	market square
clerk	Stanger	S.	beaufort street
clerk	Shepherd	W.	beaufort street
clerk	Scott	J.	artificers square
clerk	Stack	Thomas	bathurst street
clerk	Taylor	A.	high street
clerk	Treadway	J.	settlers hill
clerk	Tribe	Dan	fort england
clerk	Wiggett	W.	artificers square
clerk	Wright	W.	artificers square
clerk	Warren	Robert	york street
clerk	Wallis	William	somerset street
clerk	Ward	Henry	beaufort street
clerk	Warren	Thos Hemlitt	fort england
clerk of the peace	Campbell	John	market square
clerk to RM & JP	Huntley	C.H.	high street
clerk, EP Bank	Hartley	D.	bathurst street
clerk, chief,	Scott	W.H.H.	high street
ordnance			
clerk, commissariat	De Beer	J.H.	hill street
clerk, commissariat	De Smidt		somerset street
office			
clerk, ordnance	Blake	W.	beaufort street
clubman	Larter	Samuel	high street
coach & wagonmaker	Cockroft	Thomas	bathurst street
coachbuilder	Copley	W.	new street
coachbuilder	Ingle	W.	dundas bridge
coachmaker	Alcott	James	beaufort street
coachmaker	Gunn	G.	lawrence street
coachman	Griffiths	James	west hill
coachman	Samson	Crist.	graham's town
coachpainter &	Hancock	Edward	bathurst street
carrier			
collector	Austen	R.	bathurst street

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

collector	Edwards	Thomas	hill street
collector	Leonard	Timothy	hill street
collector	McCall	James	artificers square
colonial chaplain	Heavyside	Rev. John	high street
commandant	Currie	Walter	suburbs
commissariat	Mansfield	Joseph	somerset street
officekeeper			
commissary general,	McLean	D.	beaufort street
deputy assistant			
commissary general,	de Smidt		somerset street
assistant			
confectioner &	Miller	G.	beaufort street
birdstuffer			
constable	Faircloth	James	new street back
constable	Mathews	Anthony	artificers square
constable	Welsh	John	scott street
constable, chief	Webster	William	goal, back of
cooper	Grant	Richard	bathurst street
currier	Webb	John	new street
currier	Webb	W.	york street
draper	Fordred	J.	high street
draper	Shepperson	B.M.	high street
draper	Williams	John	bowker street
dressmaker	Leary	Miss	high street
dressmaker	Ray	Mrs	artificers square
dyer	Fifield	Francis	hill street
editor, CFT	Franklin	J.G.	hill street
editor, GTJ	Godlonton	Robert	beaufort street
farmer	Armond	R.	suburbs
farmer	Amos	H.	suburbs
farmer	Allison	Samuel	somerset street
farmer	Bowles	William	chapel street
farmer	Carlisle	J.	fort england
farmer	Croft	C.T. jun.	hill street
farmer	Currie	Joseph	suburbs
farmer	Clarke	George	beaufort street
farmer	Dell	Edward H.	queen street
farmer	Ennis	W.	settlers hill
farmer	Forrester		suburbs
farmer	Fuller	H.	high street
farmer	Francis	T.	new street
farmer	Fuller	W.	settlers hill
farmer	Goldswain	Jeremiah	beaufort street
farmer	Honey	J.	market square
farmer	Hogben	G.	somerset street
farmer	Hayward	Thomas	king street
farmer	Knott	K.	high street
farmer	Kaple	Thomas	beaufort street
farmer	Miller		queen street rear
farmer	Manley	William	hill street
farmer	Miller	Joseph	hill street
farmer	Miller	Wm	queen street
farmer	Munfort	Wm	king street

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

farmer	Marshall	Edward	high street
farmer	Meurant	Lewis H	hill street
farmer	Miller	Thomas	hill street
farmer	Palmer	George	suburbs
farmer	Prior	Joshua	dundas bridge
farmer	Phillips	George	chapel street
farmer	Peel	Thomas	beaufort street
farmer	Penny	Phillip	market street
farmer	Penny	Phillip	market street
farmer	Short	John	lawrence street
farmer	Usher	James	lawrence street
farmer	Ulyate	H.	lawrence street
farmer	Weakley	Joseph	somerset street
farmer	Wallace	J.	beaufort street rear
farmer	Wallace	James	york street
farrier	Beadle	William	market square
farrier	Sampson	D.	bathurst street
field cornet	Stanton	W.	somerset street
freeholder	Crause	John	chapel street
freeholder	Cockroft	Charles	york street
freeholder	Nourse	Henry	high street
freeholder	Pollard	Thomas	new street
freeholder	Stratford	A.W.	york street
furniture warehouse proprietor	Dell	S.	high street
gardener	Cogan	James	new street
gardener	Comby	William	new street
gardener	Hewson	William	african street
gardener	Jewson	W.	african street
gardener	Johnstone	George	york street
gardener	Kemp	J.	new street
gardener	Poulton	John	somerset street
gardener	Rousue	William	beaufort street
gardener	Tuffly	John	suburbs
goaler	Bishop	John	somerset street
governess	Biggar	Miss	beaufort street
graham's town	Surmon	William	
policeforce officer			
grocer	Taylor	Joseph	high street
groom	Janson	Jos.	graham's town
gunsmith	Dicker	W.	new street
gunsmith	Hewson	F.	hill street
gunsmith	Irvine	Alex. Napier	new street
hotel keeper	Best	Robert	fort england
hotel keeper	George	William	high street
hotel keeper	Knowles	W.	hill street
hotel keeper	Murton	R.	market square
hotel keeper	Orsmond	R.	new street
hotel keeper	Style	Thomas Grant	bathurst street
hotel keeper	Webb	Mrs	fort england
hotel keeper	Yelling	W.	new street
hotel keeper	Yelling	Joseph	hill street

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

inn keeper	Futter	J.	beaufort street
inn keeper	Hyde	Alexander	high street
inn keeper	Jackson	J.	new street
inn keeper	O'Donnell	H.	new street
inn keeper	Wink	H.	bathurst street
interpreter	Cyrus	George	settlers hill
ironmonger	Ogilvie	W.	high street
ironmonger	Parker	J.	high street
ironmonger	Wood	Wm	high street
ironmongers	Haw & Co		high street
jeweller	Tildesley	Samuel	hill street
labourer	Ashington	Stephen	chapel street
labourer	Bowker	Thomas	back lane
labourer	Bodily	John	african street
labourer	Burgess	G.	pound rear of
labourer	Batten	M.	beaufort street
labourer	Curling	Richard	beaufort street
labourer	Cross	John	artificers square
labourer	Cowie	William	dundas street
labourer	Coughlin	Jeremy	new street
labourer	Dold	William	african street
labourer	Dawlins		chapel street
labourer	Deley	William	somerset street
labourer	Evans		chapel street
labourer	Edmunds	J.	somerset street
labourer	Emms	Thomas	bathurst street
labourer	Farrel	John	beaufort street
labourer	Frost	William	market square
labourer	Gaw	William	allen' row
labourer	Holdstock		bathurst street
labourer	Harding	John	african street
labourer	Heath	Alexander	african street
labourer	Hendrick	John	settlers hill
labourer	Herbert	W.	pound rear of
labourer	Horn	Robert	chapel street
labourer	Holstock	Thomas	bathurst street
labourer	Henry	John	new street
labourer	Kelly	William	york street
labourer	Laing	James	beaufort street
labourer	Lambs	Frederick	high street
labourer	Larney	John	high street
labourer	Locker	Phillip	beaufort street
labourer	Lynch	Mychel	market square
labourer	Lyons	John	dundas street
labourer	Leonard	Hugo	new street
labourer	McKeen	C.	dundas bridge
labourer	McDermid	J.	african street
labourer	McAlonan	David	somerset street
labourer	McKay	George	somerset street
labourer	McKelly	John	somerset street
labourer	McZwart	Alex	scott street
labourer	Maidwell	Robert	new street
labourer	Murphy	Thos	african street

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

labourer	Martin	John	beaufort street
labourer	Midgley	Thos	fort england
labourer	Marshall	John	african street
labourer	Poole	T.	beaufort street
labourer	Pearson	Chas	worcester street
labourer	Prendergrast		high street
labourer	Parsons	James	dundas street
labourer	Reynolds	Richard	hill street
labourer	Reynolds	William	york street
labourer	Russell	Edward	suburbs
labourer	Shear	Thomas	market square
labourer	Trumble	W.	high street rear
labourer	Tabb	John	chapel street
labourer	van Plaster	John	settlers hill
labourer	Webber		settlers hill
labourer	Wilson	E.	chapel street
labourer	Waters	Wm	chapel street
labourer	Walter	Henry	african street
labourer	Whibdy	Wm	high street
laundress	Boles	Maria	artificers square
laundress	Bowker	Widow	settlers hill
laundress	Phillips	Mrs	market square
librarian	Eedes	John	new street
mangler	Evans	Mrs	york street
mangler	Hallier	Widow	chapel street
mangler	Roberts	Widow	new street rear
market master	Orsmond	Charles	market square
mason	Annon	John	suburbs
mason	Brislin	C.	settlers hill
mason	Berry	Thomas	new street rear
mason	Brislin	J.	beaufort street
mason	Belfield	George	artificers square
mason	Barrath	Thomas	somerset street
mason	Cousins	Thomas	hill street
mason	Downing	Thos	african street
mason	Dutton	Daniel	somerset street
mason	Fitzgerald	James	artificers square
mason	Finn	William	settlers hill
mason	Glass	William	new street
mason	Glass	Benjamin	new street
mason	Hoggan	D.	york street
mason	Higgins	Edmund	new street
mason	Holmes	Henry	beaufort street
mason	Hannon	John	somerset street
mason	Hayward	Thomas	new street
mason	Keightly	Joseph	hill street
mason	Midgley	James	chapel street
mason	Poulton	Chas	hill street
mason	Philip	Daniel	african street
mason	Pieterston	Arie	graham's town
mason	Perrin	Thomas	beaufort street
mason	Roberts	Henry	somerset street
mason	Stephens	Jos.	graham's town

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

mason	Talbot	J.	settlers hill
mason	Venables	T.	settlers hill
mason	Webster	John	lawrence street
merchant	Birkenruth	N.	church square
merchant	Blaine	Henry	african street
merchant	Cumming	George	high street
merchant	Cock	William, hon.	west hill
merchant	Cawood	Samuel	high street
merchant	Jaffray	W.M.	hill street
merchant	Kennelly	D.H.	hill street
merchant	Krohn	N.P.	high street
merchant	McMaster	Joseph	high street
merchant	Nicholls	G.J.	high street
merchant	Nelson	Thomas	hill street
merchant	Roberts	R.M.	hill street
merchant	Thompson	W.R.	high street
merchant	Thompson	W.R. jun.	fort england
merchant	Wood	Geo. snr	high street
merchants	Anderson	Wm Kennelly & Co	high street
merchants	Black	James & Co	bathurst street
merchants	Blaine Bros		high street
merchants	Cawood Bros.		high street
merchants	Heideman & Co		high street
merchants	Jarvie & Co		hill street
merchants	Nelson & Son		hill street
merchants	Pakenham & Frames		high street
merchants	Wood & Sons		high street
messenger	Robinson	William	somerset street
messenger	Short	Francis	cross street
midwife	Dicker	Mrs	new street
milkman	Jennings	J.	lawrence street
milkman	Mathews	Servington	queen street
milller	Quinn	John snr	govt mill
milliner	Dunbar	Miss	new street rear
minister, English church	Thompson	Rev. G.	new street
music teacher	Crozier	Mrs	hill street
notary	Ayliff	J.	high street
notary	Campbell	Colin Turing	high street
nurse	Baker	Mrs	new street
nurse	Edwards	Widow	artificers square
nurse	Pitt	Mrs John	bathurst street
nurse	Sanson	Mrs	market square
painter	Freemantle	Samuel	bathurst street
painter	Keightly	William	market square
painter	Swaine	William	chapel street
painter	Wilks	J.	chapel street
painter & glazier	Smith	Walter	hill street
painter & glazier	Webb	C.	bathurst street
pastor, union chapel	Smit	Rev. N.	beaufort street
pastor, independent chapel	Thomson	Rev. W.Y.	lawrence street

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

physician	Atherstone	John	beaufort street
physician	Campbell	Ambrose George	lawrence street
pianoforte tuner	Barr	E.	bathurst street
plumber	Hartley	John	cape corps barracks
porter	Parker	Richard	graham's town
poundmaster	Curran	R.	pound
printer	Burns	E.J.	bathurst street
printer	Gorrie	James	hill street
printer	Jacobs	G.	chapel street
printer	Jacobs	Joseph	artificers square
printer	Quinn	John	bathurst street
printer	Richards	W.A.	bathurst street
printer	Topper	T.	settlers hill
printer	White	Robert	beaufort street
printer	Wyde		somerset street
printer	Wild	John	new street
printer & publisher	Rowles	S.E.	bathurst street
printers & publishers	Godlonton & White		high street
private sec. to Governor	Liddle	Wm Frederick	bathurst street
quarryman	Ashley	John	african street
retail dealers	Benjamin & Marcus		church street
saddler	Bremner	James Grindly	bertram street
saddler	Douglas	J.	high street
saddler	Hamilton	James	beaufort street back
saddler	Powell	Wm	high street
saddler	Sanders	Thomas G.	high street
saddler	Sanders	Alex.	artificers square
saddler	Wallis	Geo.	somerset street
saddler & govt contractor	Stubbs	Thomas	high street
saddler & govt contractor	Stubbs	William	high street
saddlers	Stubbs & Wallis		high street
sailmaker	Thompson	Robert	suburbs
salesman	Copeling	J.	bathurst street
salesman	Gowie	Charles Ross	bathurst street
salesman	Roberts	James	bathurst street
salesman	Walker	J.V.	bathurst street
sawyer	Blakemore	Ruben	beaufort street
sawyer	Feagen	Patrick	suburbs
sawyer	Lucas	John	chapel street
schoolmaster	George	G.	hill street
schoolmaster	Jaffray	J.	high street rear
schoolmaster, government school	Tudhope	F.	hill street
schoolmistress	Ford	Mrs	settlers hill
schoolmistress	Hewson	Miss	lawrence street
schoolmistress	Russell	Mrs	new street rear
secretary, EP Trust Co	Lucas	F.	african street

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

seminary principal	Eedes	Mrs	new street
sempstress	Passmore	Widow	new street
servant	Booy	Galant	high street
servant	Slinger	Christian	high street
sheriff's officer	Quirt	Dan	
sheriff, deputy	Carlisle	F.	west hill
shoemaker	Andries	Thomas	worcester street
shoemaker	Farley	W.	high street
shoemaker	Faircloth	J.	chapel street
shoemaker	Futter	J.	fort england near
shoemaker	Fielding		hill street
shoemaker	Gunn	W.	settlers hill
shoemaker	Johnson		bathurst street
shoemaker	Kelley		bathurst street
shoemaker	Koch	Dantje	new street
shoemaker	Noble	W.	artificers square
shoemaker	Oates	S.	hill street rear
shoemaker	Orsmond	Mrs G.	bathurst street
shoemaker	Preston	W.	hill street rear
shoemaker	Roberts	Sam	hill street
shoemaker	Ravenall	W.	settlers hill
shoemaker	Reynolds	R.H.	high street
shoemaker	Smith	W.C.	bathurst street
shoemaker	Scanlan	W.	bathurst street
shoemaker	Smith	Robert Henry	albert street
shoemaker	Shone	Thomas	york street
shoemaker	Webb	C.	chapel street
shoemaker	Welbeloved	R.	york street
shoemaker	Wood	W.	settlers hill
shoemaker	Wells	George	settlers hill
shopkeeper	Benjamin	M.	high street
shopkeeper	Bezant	Widow	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Clapperton	H.	high street
shopkeeper	Clough	G.C.	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Crout	W.E.	chapel street
shopkeeper	Durney	H.	high street
shopkeeper	Estment	William	beaufort street
shopkeeper	Edkins	H.	beaufort street
shopkeeper	Feagan	Mrs	new street
shopkeeper	Ford	Widow	artificers square
shopkeeper	Gradwell	Widow	chapel street
shopkeeper	Gradwell	John	george street
shopkeeper	Hockey	B.	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Hockey	W.	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Harvey	Mrs	artificers square
shopkeeper	Hinds	G.	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Hubbard	Isaac	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Haw	William	high street
shopkeeper	Kemp		new street, top of
shopkeeper	Lee	Mrs	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Miller	W.	settlers hill
shopkeeper	Miller	Widow	fort england
shopkeeper	Morgan	Mrs	new street

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

shopkeeper	Munday	S.	high street
shopkeeper	Marcus	Frederick	hill street
shopkeeper	Nicholl	Widow	hillstreet
shopkeeper	Orsmond	Mrs	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Orsmond	G.	bathurst street
shopkeeper	O'Brien	John	new street
shopkeeper	Parker	T.H.	beaufort street
shopkeeper	Penny	Charles	high street
shopkeeper	Pike	A.	market square
shopkeeper	Paskin	John	new street
shopkeeper	Sparks	R.	high street
shopkeeper	Scott	David	somerset street
shopkeeper	Thompson	D.	bathurst street
shopkeeper	Thomas	J.	hill street
shopkeeper	Upton	Mrs	market square
shopkeeper	Weakley	John	somerset street
shopman	Collier	J.	high street
smith	Retallick	Charles	new street
smith	Smith	Benjamin	market street
soap boiler	Harley	J.	bathurst street
stationer	Sturt	Samuel	bathurst street
stonecutter & carrier	Erskine	A.	beaufort street
stonemason	Hancock	R.	high street rear
storekeeper	Hayton	John	somerset street
storekeeper	Lee	F.	hill street
storekeeper	Temlett	J. snr	market square
storekeeper	Walker	Joseph	bathurst street
storekeeper	Willmore	Gregory	high street
storeman	Berry	William	campbell street
storeman	Bright	J.	high street
storeman	Baggot	Jonas	
storeman	Box	Stephen	high street
storeman	Eesles	Edmund snr	fort england
storeman	Goodes	J.W.	african street
storeman	Goold	J.	high street
storeman	Griffin	William	chapel street
storeman	Green	William	high street
storeman	Krohn	Peter	high street
storeman	Roberts	R.	hill street
storeman	Sole	Alfred	york street
storeman	Smith	Wm	bathurst street
storeman	Temlett	John	beaufort street
storeman	Webber	W.	artificers square
storeman	Welman	R.E.	high street
storeman	White	Andrew	high street
surgeon	Eddie	Dr	chapel street
surveyor	Barnfather	W.	bathurst street
surveyor	Brown	William Thomas	dundas street
tailor	Bowen	Henry	beaufort street
tailor	Collins	Alfred	new street
tailor	Dick	John	high street
tailor	Dennison	G.	artificers square

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

tailor	Farley	George	new street
tailor	Friedlander	M.	new street
tailor	Hill	P.	market square
tailor	Hughes	Joseph	new street
tailor	Jerome	Joseph	artificers square
tailor	Levey	J.B.	hill street
tailor	Lowe	D.	artificers square
tailor	Muir		chapel street
tailor	O'Reilly	John	hill street
tailor	Urry	Robert	artificers square
tailor	Watson	J.	new street
tailor	Whitehead	S.	church square
tailor	Wedderburn	W.	new street
tailor	Wardhaugh	J.	bathurst street
tailor	Whittle	Wm	dundas bridge
tailor	Whitehead	Stephen	high street
tailor	Welbeloved	James	smith street
tallow chandler	Cyrus	Samuel	settlers hill
tallow chandler	Shepherd	W.	high street
tallow chandler	Shepherd	J.	high street rear
tallow chandler	Slater	C.	beaufort street
tanner	Denham	J.	artificers square
tanner	Murray	Richard	queen street
tanners	Crouch & Son		high street
thatcher	Streak	W. sen.	hill street
thatcher	Woodland	H.	new street
tinplate worker	Kidwell	A.	bathurst street
tinplate worker	Stead	George	beaufort street
tinsmith	Dallas	John jun.	high street
town clerk & general agent	Beck	Andrew William	somerset street
trader	Boyle	James	bathurst street
trader	Hume	D.	market square
trader	Harvey	John	beaufort street
traders	Hoole	A.W. & J.C.	new street
turner	Wedderburn	Wm jun.	new street
upholsterer	Hart	Joseph	high street
wagonmaker	Briggs	James	suburbs
wagonmaker	Cockroft	William	market street
wagonmaker	Carey	J.	artificers square
wagonmaker	Grubb	C.	market street
wagonmaker	Gradwell	W.	settlers hill
wagonmaker	Hill	John	york street
wagonmaker	Kidwell	Thos	market street
wagonmaker	Mitchell	Peter	new street
wagonmaker	Marshall	Arnoldus	market square
wagonmaker	Orsmond	J.	bathurst street
wagonmaker	Powell	J. snr	market square
wagonmaker	Powell	J. jun.	market square
wagonmaker	Powell	Philip	market square
wagonmaker	Tharratt	John	new street back
wagonmaker	Webster	George	suburbs
wagonmaker	Wedderburn	John	new street

APPENDIX A4 (contd.)

wagonmaker & wheelwright	Webster	W.	market place
watchmaker	Galpin	Henry Carter	high street
watchmaker	Gallagher	J.	bathurst street
watchmaker	Marsh	J.P.	queen street rear
watchmaker	Marsh	George	bathurst street rear
watchmaker	Rhodes	Charles	hill street
watchmaker	Rhodes	J. sen.	new street
water overseer	Dewberry		chapel street
weaver	Mortimer	John	chapel street
wesleyan minister	Chapman	Rev. G.	high street
wesleyan minister	Dugmore	Rev. Henry H.	market street
wesleyan missions superintendent	Shaw	Rev. William	high street
wheelwright	Wicks	George	king street
whitesmith	Fray	Charles	chapel street
wine merchant	Mandy	S.D.	high street
wine merchant & auctioneer	Lawrence	J.	high street
wool sorter	Gaskwell	Thomas	fort england
wool sorter	Kelley	Michael	graham's town
worm doctor	Gardner	J.S.	govt school rear
yeoman	Haw	Simon	hill street, top of

APPENDIX A5

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDERS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 & 1853
Based on Booth's Classification of Industrial Occupational Groups
1841-91

	1842	% of 514	1853	% of 715
AGRICULTURAL SECTOR				
1. Farming (AG 1)				
Agriculturists	1		-	
Farmers	-		39	
Gardeners	7		9	
Yeomen	-		1	
3. Breeding (AG 3)				
Farriers	1		2	
TOTAL	9	1.8%	51	7.1%
MINING SECTOR				
2. Quarrying (M2)				
Stonecutters	-		-	
3. Brickmaking (M3)				
Brickmakers	3		1	
TOTAL	3	.6%	2	.3%
BUILDING SECTOR				
1. Management (B1)				
Architects	-		1	
Builders & Contractors	7		6	
Land Surveyors	1		2	
2. Operative (B2)				
Bricklayers	-		3	
Carpenters	48		47	
Coach painters	-		1	
Masons	30		29	
Painters	1		4	
Painters & Glaziers	4		2	
Plumbers	1		1	
Stone Masons	-		1	
Thatchers	2		2	
TOTAL	94	18.3%	99	13.9%
MANUFACTURE SECTOR				
2. Tools, etc. (MF2)				
Gunsmiths	3		3	
3. Shipbuilding (MF3)				
Sailmakers	-		1	
SUB-TOTAL CARRIED FORWARD	3		4	

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDERS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 & 1853

MANUFACTURE SECTOR (contd.)			
	SUB-TOTAL CARRIED FORWARD	3	4
4. Iron and steel (MF4)			
Bitmakers	1	-	
Blacksmiths	9	18	
5. Copper, tin, lead, etc. (MF5)			
Braziers	-	1	
Tinplate Workers	-	2	
Tinsmiths	4	1	
Whitesmiths	-	1	
10. Furs and leather (MF10)			
Curriers	-	2	
Tanners	5	3	
11. Glue, tallow, etc. (MF11)			
Soap Boilers	-	1	
Tallow Chandlers	3	4	
13. Woodworkers (MF13)			
Coopers	2	1	
Sawyers	3	3	
Turners	1	1	
14. Furniture (MF14)			
Cabinet Makers	2	3	
Chair Makers	2	-	
Upholsterers	1	1	
Undertakers	1	-	
15. Carriages and Harness (MF15)			
Coach Builders/Makers	-	5	
Saddlers	2	9	
Wagon Makers	5	17	
Wheelwrights	7	-	
18. Woolens (MF18)			
Woolsorters	-	2	
19. Cotton and Silk (MF19)			
Weavers	-	1	
22. Dyeing (MF22)			
Dyer	-	1	
23. Dress (MF23)			
Bonnet Makers	2	1	
Boot Makers	-	5	
Dressmakers	3	2	
Habit Makers	1	-	
Milliners	-	1	
Sempstresses	17	1	
Shoemakers	23	24	
Tailors	17	21	
25. Food Preparation (MF25)			
Millers	1	1	
	SUB-TOTAL CARRIED FORWARD	115	137

APPENDIX A5 (contd.)

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDERS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 & 1853

MANUFACTURE SECTOR (contd.)

SUB-TOTAL CARRIED FORWARD		115		137	
26.	Baking (MF26)				
	Bakers	10		9	
	Baker and Confectioner	-		1	
	Confectioners	1		-	
	Confectioner and Bird Stuffer	-		1	
27.	Drink Preparation (MF27)				
	Brewers	2		2	
29.	Watches, Instruments, Toys (MF29)				
	Pianoforte Tuners	-		1	
	Watchmakers	5		6	
30.	Printing (MF30)				
	Bookbinders	1		1	
	Printers	6		11	
TOTAL		140	27.2%	169	23.6%

TRANSPORT SECTOR

5.	Roads (T5)				
	Carriers	11		26	
TOTAL		11	2.1%	26	3.6%

DEALING SECTOR

4.	Dress (D4)				
	Drapers	-		3	
5.	Food (D5)				
	Butchers	12		11	
	Cowkeepers	1		-	
	Grocers	1		1	
	Milkmen	-		2	
7.	Wines, Spirits, Hotels (D7)				
	Canteen Keepers	7		4	
	Hotel Keepers	3		9	
	Innkeepers	-		5	
	Wine & Spirit Merchants	3		2	
8.	Lodging and Coffee Houses (D8)				
	Coffee-House Keeper	1		-	
	Eating-House Keeper	1		-	
	Lodging-House Keeper	1		-	
9.	Furniture (D9)				
	Furniture Warehouse Proprietor	-		1	
10.	Stationery & Publications (D10)				
	Librarians	-		1	
	Printers (firms)	1		-	
SUB-TOTAL CARRIED FORWARD		31		39	

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDERS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 & 1853

DEALING SECTOR (contd.)				
SUB-TOTAL CARRIED FORWARD		31		39
	Publishers (firms)	-		1
	Stationers	1		1
11.	Household Utensils, Ornaments, (D11)			
	Goldsmith	1		-
	Ironmonger	1		4
	Jeweller	1		1
12.	General Dealers (D12)			
	Dealers	2		1
	Shopkeepers (undefined)	29		40
	Shopmen	2		1
	Storekeepers (undefined)	23		5
	Storemen	-		17
	Traders	2		4
	Warehousemen	1		-
13.	Unspecified			
	Agents	9		5
	Auctioneers	2		2
	Brokers	1		-
	Collectors	-		4
	Merchants	18		23
	Salesmen	-		4
TOTAL		124	24.1%	152 21.3%
INDUSTRIAL SERVICE SECTOR				
1.	Banking, Insurance, Accountancy (IS1)			
	Accountants	-		3
	Cashier, EP Bank	1		1
	Cashier, FC & A Bank	-		1
	Clerk, EP Bank	1		1
	Clerks (unspecified)	15		42
	Notaries Public	2		2
	Secretary, EP Trust Co.	-		1
2.	Labour (IS2)			
	General Labourers	25		61
TOTAL		43	8.4%	112 15.7%
PUBLIC SERVICE & PROFESSIONAL SECTOR				
1.	Central Administration (PP1)			
	Civil Commissioner (CC) and Resident Magistrate (RM)	1		1
	Clerk of the Peace	1		1
	Clerk, Chief to CC	1		-
	Clerk, 2nd to CC	1		-
SUB-TOTAL CARRIED FORWARD		4		2

APPENDIX A5 (contd.)

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDERS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 & 1853

PUBLIC SERVICE & PROFESSIONAL SECTOR
(contd.)

	SUB-TOTAL CARRIED FORWARD	4	2
	Clerk to RM	1	1
	Secretary to Government	1	1
2.	Local Administration (PP2)		
	Deputy Sheriff	1	1
	Sheriff's Officer	-	1
	Town Clerk	1	1
	Water Overseer	-	1
	Pound Master	2	1
	Market Master	-	1
	Goaler	-	1
	Field Cornet	1	1
	Superintendent, Convict Labour	-	1
	Messengers	2	2
4.	Army (PP4)		
	Army Officers	5	5
	Others Connected with Army:		
	Assnt. Commissary General	1	-
	Deputy Assnt. Commissary General	1	-
	Commissariat Clerks	2	2
	Commissariat Office Keeper	-	1
	Ordnance Office:		
	Chief Clerk	-	1
	Clerks	-	1
	Deputy Storekeeper	1	-
	Royal Engineers Depot:		
	Clerks	3	-
	CMR Physician/Surgeon	1	1
	NCOs and Soldiers	8	2
5.	Police and Prisons (PP6)		
	Chief Constable	1	1
	Constables	3	3
	Police Force Officer	-	1
7.	Law (PP7)		
	Attorneys	4	3
	Messengers to the Court	1	-
	Deputy Messenger	1	-
8.	Medicine (PP8)		
	Apothecaries	1	4
	Chemists and Druggists	2	-
	Druggists	1	-
	Midwives	-	1
	Nurses	-	4
	Physicians	5	2
	Surgeons	1	1
	SUB-TOTAL CARRIED FORWARD	55	48

APPENDIX A5 (contd.)

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDERS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 & 1853

PUBLIC SERVICE & PROFESSIONAL SECTOR

(contd.)

SUB-TOTAL CARRIED FORWARD		55		48	
9.	Art and Amusement (Painting) (PP9)				
	Artist	1		-	
	Portrait Painter	-		1	
10.	Art and Amusement (Music) (PP10)				
	Musician	1		-	
11.	Literature (PP11)				
	Newspaper Proprietors & Editors	2		2	
12.	Science (PP12)				
	Interpreter	1		1	
13.	Education (PP13)				
	Boarding School Owner	-		1	
	Governess	-		1	
	Music Teachers	-		1	
	Schoolmasters	2		3	
	Schoolmistresses	7		3	
	Seminary Principal	-		1	
14.	Religion (PP14)				
	Archdeacon	-		1	
	Catholic Bishop	-		1	
	Catholic Priest	-		1	
	Chapel Keeper	-		1	
	Colonial Chaplain	-		1	
	Ministers	5		5	
	Missionary	1		-	
	Pastors	-		2	
	Sexton	1		-	
	Superintendent, Wesleyan Missions	-		1	
TOTAL		76	14.8%	75	10.5%

DOMESTIC SERVICE SECTOR

1.	Indoor (DS1)				
	Barman	-		1	
	Clubman	-		1	
	Domestic Servants	2		2	
2.	Outdoor (DS2)				
	Coachman	-		2	
	Gardeners	7		9	
	Groom	-		1	
3.	Extra Services (DS3)				
	Hairdresser	1		-	
	Laundresses	3		3	
	Manglers	1		3	
	Porters	-		1	
TOTAL		14	2.7%	23	3.2%

APPENDIX A5 (contd.)

PROPERTY OWNING & INDEPENDENT			
Freeholders	-	5	
Justice of the Peace	-	1	
TOTAL	-	6	.8%
GRAND TOTAL	514	715	

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDERS, GRAHAMSTOWN 1842 & 1853
Based on Patten's Pre-Industrial Classification, 1977

	1842	% of Total	1853	% of Total
Clergy and Gentry				
Clergy (PP14) from Booth's Public Service and Professional Sector	6		13	
Booth's Property Owning and Independent Sector	-		6	
	6	1.2%	19	2.7%
Professions and Services				
Booth's Public Service and Professional Sector, less Clergy (PP14)	70		61	
Booth's Industrial Service Sector Less Labourers (IS2)	18		51	
Added from Booth's Dealing Sector:				
D7 : Wines, Spirits, Hotels	13		20	
D8 : Lodging & Coffee Houses	3		-	
D13 : Agents, Auctioneers, Broker Collectors	12		7	
	-		4	
Added Booth's Transport Sector	11		26	
Added Booth's Domestic Service Sector	14		23	
	141	27.4%	192	27.0%
Distributors, Distributor-processors, & Distributor-manufacturers				
Booth's Dealing Sector less D7, D8 and D13	96	18.7%	121	16.9%
Artisans and Artisan-retailers Booth's Manufacture Sector	140	27.2%	169	23.6%
Builders Booth's Building & Mining Sectors	97	18.9%	101	14.1%
Labourers IS2 from Booth's Industrial Service Sector	25	4.9%	61	8.6%
Rural Booth's Agricultural Sector	9	1.7%	51	7.1%
TOTALS	514	100	715	100

TYPOLOGY OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN MID-VICTORIAN ENGLAND

Based on Mayhew, 1861-62

Extracted and summarized from Harrison 1971

-
1. **Labour aristocracy:** a small group of highly skilled artisans earning 30s to 40s a week. Masters of their craft, members of a trade society. Known as 'society men', comprising some one tenth of their trade. Comprised printing compositors, breeches-makers, jewellers, watchmakers, scientific instrument makers, some cutlery workers, hatters, ironmoulders, shipwrights, and carpenters. From the new industry came the locomotive engineers, first class fine cotton spinners, calico printers and dyers.

There is no hard and fast line which can be drawn between the labour aristocracy and the lower middle class. The economic and social position of a small shopkeeper or independent master was very close to that of a skilled or experienced artisan.

2. **Ordinary skilled workers:** these were at the lower end of the labour aristocracy, and earned 20s to 30s a week. Many building trades craftsmen, tailors, shoemakers, skilled engineers and lower grade spinners fell into this category.
3. **Artisans:** educated handicraftsmen. Members of trade unions which protected their interests against the unskilled labourers.
4. **Semi- and unskilled workers:** a large group which it is difficult to define. Included factory operatives, railway navvies, handloom weavers, framework knitters, stockings, bagmen. Agricultural labourers formed part of this group, and comprised farm servants and regular outdoor agricultural labourers. Urban labourers included dock workers, labourers in gasworks, brickyards, breweries, ironworks; hodmen and helpers on building sites; carters, draymen, porters, and sweepers. Domestic workers were the largest group of labouring people employed after those in agriculture. Irish emigrants. Street traders. Army, navy and merchant marine.

WORKING CLASS WAGES IN GRAHAMSTOWN AND ALBANY 1831-53

A8.1 Average rates paid for labour in Albany:

Mechanic 5s per diem)	
Labourer (European) 3s 9d per diem)	Without food
Labourer (Free coloured) 1s 6d ditto)	or clothes
House Servant (European) £2 5s per month)	
House servant or Wagon Driver (Free coloured) 15s per month)	With Food & Lodging

Cape Almanac 1831: 185

A8.2 Extract from the Appendix to the Report of the Emigration Committee adopted by a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Albany:

Quest.- What are the rates of wages paid to Masons, Bricklayers and Carpenters?

Answer. £3 15s per month, with board and lodging, and £6 6s without.

Quest.- What are the rates of wages paid to labourers to attend the above trades?

Answer. £1 15s per month with board and lodging, and £3 12s without.

Quest.- What are the wages paid to common labourers and domestic servants?

Answer. £1 5s per month with board and lodging. Female servants 18s do., Hottentots 7s 6d to 15s do.

GTJ 23 Mar. 1832: 50c1

A8.3 Extract from Original Correspondence "Emigration to Albany -- Present State of its Inhabitants," by An Emigrant of 1820.

"Many young men have just completed their terms of apprenticeship, and as but few masters can afford to employ journeymen at the present rate of wages (say £6 per month) they will commence the world on their own account; other apprentices will be taken by both parties, and by this means the deficiency in the number of mechanics now complained of, will soon be supplied".

GTJ 13 Apr. 1832: 62c2,3.

A8.4 Advertisement: Wanted a pair of Sawyers, who may have constant employment and seven Rix-Dollars n10s 6d° per 100 feet for wages. Also wanted a person to take charge of a Wagon and Oxen for Town work, half the earnings for wages.

GEORGE GILBERT, Graham's Town

GTJ 26 May 1836: 1c3.

A8.5 Advertisement: Wanted by the Undersigned, Two good steady Carpenters, to whom constant employ will be given, and Six Shillings per day each for Wages.

D. MAHONY.

GTJ 18 Aug. 1836: 1c4

APPENDIX A8 (contd.)

WORKING CLASS WAGES IN GRAHAMSTOWN AND ALBANY 1831-53 (contd.)

A8.6 Advertisement: Wanted a steady, active, sober MAN to be employed as STREET KEEPER, upon a Salary of £1 1s per week.

J. LATHAM, Town Clerk

GTJ 29 June 1837: 1c2

A8.7 Wages for Labour Return (first to include entry for Albany)

	CT	Stel.	Geo.	Uitnge.	Albany	Grafrnt
Domestic, per Month	52/6	22/6	12/-	22/6	45/-	9/-
Predial, do.	39/6	20/-	15/-	45/-	45/-	30/-
Trades, per Diem	4/2	3/-	3/-	3/6	5/6	4/6

Cape Blue Book 1838: 249

A8.8 Advertisement: Wanted. Four hardworking sober Men to complete a large Dam on a Farm, 15 miles from Graham's Town. Wages £2 5s or Rds 30 per months with Rations will be given. Apply to HENRY NOURSE

GTJ 21 Apr. 1842

A8.9 Advertisement: To Masons. Wanted a good Journeyman Mason, to whom 6s 6d per diem will be given. Also a good strong lad, not under 14 years of age, as an Apprentice to the above business.

Apply to M. BERRY, Committees Drift

GTJ 5 Jan. 1843: 3c5.

A8.10 Average rates of wages in Albany:

Mechanics, from 5s to 7s 6d per day

European labourer, or farm servant, from £20 to £40 per annum, or 3s to 4s 6d per day.

Colored native laborer, 12s to 20s per month, or 1s 6d to 2s 6d per day.

Mechanics in the receipt of the before-stated wages, provide their own provisions and lodging: the other classes are provided with both.

Eastern Province Directory and Almanac 1848: 56.

A8.11 Advertisement: Wanted a steady European, to act as Guard over a flock of sheep grazing on "Hilton Farm," (Mr G. Cummings) near Graham's Town. Terms, 1s 6d per diem, with usual rations.

GTJ 16 Aug. 1851: 1c4.

A8.12 Advertisement: Wanted. Two men who are accustomed to farm work. Rations of 2 lbs meat, 1 lb. bread daily, and 6lbs sugar and 4 lbs coffee a month, and wages £1 10s Apply to COL. REILLY.

GTJ 30 Aug. 1851: 2c1.

APPENDIX A8 (contd.)

WORKING CLASS WAGES IN GRAHAMSTOWN AND ALBANY 1831-53 (contd.)

A8.13 Advertisement: Wanted by the Undersigned, THREE OR FOUR
 STEADY ENGLISHMEN as Wagon Drivers To whom £3 per
 month each, and rations will be given.
 W. WEBB.
 GTJ 18 Oct. 1851: 1c2.

A8.14 Advertisement: To Carpenters -- Wanted,
 A Good Carpenter, to whom 7s per diem will be
 given.
 Apply to W. KENT, Fort Beaufort.
 GTJ 10 Sept. 1853: 1c8.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN EARLY VICTORIAN GRAHAMSTOWN 1832-53

Occupational Terms from Grahamstown Directories, 1842 and 1853
 Episcopalian (Anglican) Marriage and Baptismal Registers 1848-53
 Catholic Marriage Register 1838-53
 Wesleyan Methodist and Baptist Marriage Registers 1839-53

I Upper Class (1951 Class I : Professional etc. occupations)
 Army Officers, Assnt and Deputy Assnt Commissary General, 'Gentleman', 'Gentlewoman', 'Lady'.

II Upper Middle Class (1951 Class I)
 Accountant, Archdeacon, Attorney, Catholic Bishop & Priest, Chief Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Clerk of the Peace, Clerk to RM & CC, Colonial Chaplain, Deputy Sheriff, Editor, Merchant elite, Minister, Physician, Secretary to Government, Surgeon, Wesleyan Missionary & Missions Superintendent.

III Middling Class, Non-manual. (1951 Class II : Intermediate occupations)
 Agent/General Agent, Agriculturist, Apothecary/Chemist/Druggist, Architect, Artist/Portrait Painter, Auctioneer, Bailiff, Brewer (proprietor), Boarding School Owner, Broker, Builder and Contractor, Canteen Keeper, Cashier (EP Bank, FC & A Bank), Catechist, Chief Clerk to CC, Chief Clerk, Ordnance Dept., 1st Clerk to RM, Commissariat Clerk, Ordnance Office Clerk, Clerk (unspecified), Clubman, Coffee House Keeper, Collector, Chief Constable, Constable, Dealer, Diplomatic Agent, Draper, Eating House Keeper, Farmer, Field Cornet, Freeholder, Furniture Warehouse Proprietor, Goaler, Governess, Grocer, Hotel Keeper, Innkeeper, Interpreter, Librarian, Lodging House Keeper, Market Master, Merchant, Messenger/Court Messenger, Midwife, Milkman, Music Teacher, Musician, Non-Commissioned Officer, Notary Public, Nurse, Pastor, Police Force Officer/Constable, Postmaster, Pound Master, Printer and Publisher, Salesman, Schoolmaster/Schoolmistress, Secretary (EP Trust), Seminary Principal, Sexton, Sheriff's Officer, Shopkeeper/Tradesman, Shopman, Stationer, Storekeeper, Ordnance Storekeeper, Storeman, Superintendent, Surveyor, Town Clerk, Trader, Tutor, Warehouseman, Water Overseer, Wine and Spirit Merchant, Worm Doctor, Writer, Yeoman.

IV Skilled Manual Workers/Artisans/Mechanics (1951 Class III : Skilled Occupations)
 Baker/Confectioner, Bird Stuffer, Bitmaker, Blacksmith, Bonnet Cleaner/Maker, Bookbinder, Bootmaker, Bricklayer, Butcher, Cabinet Maker, Carpenter, Chair Maker, Clock/Watchmaker, Coach Builder/Maker, Coach Painter, Cooper, Currier, Dressmaker, Farrier,

SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN EARLY VICTORIAN GRAHAMSTOWN 1832-1853

Goldsmith, Gunsmith, Habitmaker, Hairdresser, Hatter, Ironmonger, Jeweller, Joiner, Mason, Miller, Milliner, Miner, Painter, Painter and Glazier, Pianoforte Tuner, Plasterer, Plumber, Printer, Saddler, Sailmaker, Sausage Maker, Sawyer, Sempstress, Shoemaker, Soap Boiler, Stone Mason, Tailor, Tallow Chandler, Tanner, Thatcher, Town Assizer and Tinsplate Worker, Tinman, Tinsmith, Turner, Upholsterer, Undertaker, Wagon Maker, Weaver, Wheelwright, Whitesmith.

- V Unskilled Manual Workers** (1951 Classes IV and V : Partly Skilled Occupations and Unskilled Occupations
 Barman, Brazier, Brewer (employee), Brickmaker, Carrier, Chapel Keeper, Coachman, Cowkeeper, Domestic Servant, Dyer, Gardener, Groom, Huckster, Labourer, Laundress, Livery Servant, Mangler, Office Keeper (Commissariat), Porter, Quarryman, Shepherd, Shop Girl, Soldier, Stonecutter, Waiter, Woolsorter.

**LIST OF OCCUPATIONAL TERMS USED IN THE GRAHAMSTOWN DIRECTORIES OF
HOUSEHOLDERS 1843 AND 1853**

Classified as Closely as Possible to the British Registrar-General's 1951 "Classification of Occupations"

Based on the "List of Occupational Terms Encountered in Samples Drawn from the York Enumerators' Books in 1841 and 1851" (Armstrong 1972, 215-23)

Cross-Referenced to Booth's Occupational Classification as Set Out in Appendix A5

CLASS I : Professional, etc. Occupations.

Accountant (IS 1)
Archdeacon (PP 14)
Architect (B 1)
Army Officer (PP 4)
Attorney (PP 7)
Bishop, Catholic (PP 14)
Civil Commissioner & Resident Magistrate (PP 1)
Clerk of the Peace (PP 1)
Colonial Chaplain (PP 14)
Commissary General, Assnt (PP 4)
Commissary General, Deputy Assnt (PP 4)
Editor (PP 11)
Librarian (D 10)
Merchant elite (D 13)
Minister (PP 14)
Physician (PP 8)
Priest, Catholic (PP 14)
Secretary to Government (PP 1)
Sheriff, Deputy (PP1)
Superintendent Wesleyan Missions (PP 14)
Surgeon (PP 8)
Surveyor (B 1)
Wesleyan Missionary (PP 14)

CLASS II : Intermediate Occupations

Agent, General Agent (D 13)
Agriculturist (AG 1)
Apothecary (PP 8)
Artist (PP 9)
Auctioneer (D 13)
Brewer (proprietor) (MF 27)
Boarding School Owner (PP 13)
Broker (D 13)
Builder and Contractor (B 1)
Canteen Keeper (D 7)
Cashier, EP Bank (IS 1)
Chemist (PP 8)
Clerk, Chief to CC (PP 1)
Clerk, Chief, Ordnance Dept (PP 4)
Clerk, 1st to RM (PP1)

APPENDIX A10 (contd.)

LIST OF OCCUPATIONAL TERMS USED IN THE GRAHAMSTOWN DIRECTORIES OF
HOUSEHOLDERS 1842 & 1853

CLASS II : Intermediate Occupations (contd.)

Coffee House Keeper (D 8)
Collector (D 13)
Constable, Chief (PP 6)
Dealer (D 12)
Draper (proprietor) (D 4)
Druggist (PP 8)
Eating House Keeper (D 8)
Farmer (AG 1)
Freeholder (PO)
Furniture Warehouse Proprietor (D 9)
Goaler (PP 2)
Governess (PP 13)
Grocer (proprietor) (D 5)
Hotel Keeper (D 7)
Innkeeper (D 7)
Interpreter (PP 12)
Lodging House Keeper (D 8)
Market Master (PP 2)
Messenger (PP 2)
Messenger, Court (PP 7)
Music Teacher (PP 13)
Notary Public (IS 1)
Pastor (PP 14)
Portrait Painter (PP 9)
Poundmaster (PP 2)
Printer & Publisher (D 10)
Schoolmaster/Schoolmistress (PP 13)
Secretary, EP Trust (IS 1)
Seminary Principal (PP 13)
Sheriff's Officer (PP 2)
Stationer (D 10)
Storekeeper (D 12)
Storekeeper (Ordnance) (PP 4)
Superintendent, Convict Labour (PP 2)
Town Clerk (PP 2)
Trader (D 12)
Water Overseer (PP 2)
Wine and Spirit Merchant (D 7)
Worm Doctor (AG 3)
Yeoman (AG 1)

CLASS III : Skilled Occupations

Baker (MF 26)
Bird Stuffer (PP 9)
Bitmaker (MF 4)
Blacksmith (MF 4)
Bonnet Maker (MF 23)

APPENDIX A10 (contd.)

LIST OF OCCUPATIONAL TERMS USED IN THE GRAHAMSTOWN DIRECTORIES OF
HOUSEHOLDERS 1842 & 1853

CLASS III : Skilled Occupations (contd.)

Bookbinder (MF 30)
Bootmaker (MF 23)
Bricklayer (B 2)
Butcher (D 5)
Cabinet Maker (MF 14)
Carpenter (B 2)
Chair Maker (MF 14)
Clerk (unspecified) (IS 1)
Clerk, Commissariat (PP 4)
Clerk, Ordnance Office (PP 4)
Coach Builder (MF 15)
Coach Maker (MF 15)
Coach Painter (B 2)
Confectioner (MF 26)
Constable (PP 6)
Cooper (MF 13)
Currier (MF 10)
Dressmaker (MF 23)
Farrier (AG 3)
Field Cornet (PP 2)
Goldsmith (D 11)
Gunsmith (MF 2)
Habitmaker (MF 23)
Hairdresser (DS 3)
Ironmonger (D 11)
Jeweller (D 11)
Mason (B 2)
Midwife (PP 8)
Miller (MF 25)
Milliner (MF 23)
Musician (PP 10)
Nurse (PP 8)
Painter (B 2)
Painter & Glazier (B 2)
Pianoforte Tuner (MF 29)
Plumber (B 2)
Police Force Officer (PP 6)
Printer (MF 30)
Saddler (MF 15)
Sailmaker (MF 3)
Sawyer (MF 13)
Sempstress (MF 23)
Shoemaker (MF 23)
Shopman (D 12)
Soap Boiler (MF 11)
Soldier (PP 4)
Stonecutter (M 2)

APPENDIX A10 (contd.)

LIST OF OCCUPATIONAL TERMS USED IN THE GRAHAMSTOWN DIRECTORIES OF
HOUSEHOLDERS 1842 & 1853

CLASS III : Skilled Occupations (contd.)

Stone Mason (B 2)
Storeman (D 12)
Tailor (MF 23)
Tallow Chandler (MF 11)
Tanner (MF 10)
Thatcher (B 2)
Tinplate Worker (MF 5)
Tinsmith (MF 5)
Turner (MF 13)
Undertaker (MF 14)
Upholsterer (MF 14)
Wagon Maker (MF 15)
Warehouseman (D 12)
Watchmaker (MF 29)
Weaver (MF 19)
Wheelwright (MF 15)
Whitesmith (MF 5)

CLASS IV : Partly Skilled Occupations

Barman (DS 1)
Brazier (MF 5)
Brewer (employee) (MF 27)
Brickmaker (M3)
Carrier (T 5)
Chapel Keeper (PP 14)
Clubman (DS 1)
Coachman (DS 2)
Cowkeeper (D 5)
Domestic Servant (DS 1)
Dyer (MF 22)
Gardener (AG 1 or DS 2)
Groom (DS 2)
Laundress (DS 3)
Mangler (DS 3)
Office Keeper, Commissariat (PP 4)
Porter (DS 3)
Sexton (PP 14)
Woolsorter (MF 18)

CLASS V : Unskilled Occupations

Labourer (IS 2)
Stone Cutter (M 2)

SOCIAL MOBILITY ON THE FRONTIER AS REFLECTED IN WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS
Data from Entries in St. Patrick's Catholic Church
Marriage Register, Grahamstown 1838-53

Reg. No	Year	Name	Cond.	Occupation	Class	Literacy
A Women who improved their social standing						
6	1840	Selwin, Fanny	W	Laundress	V	X
		Niland, John	W	Farmer	III	X
13	1841	McDermott, Jane	S	House Servant	V	Signed
		Wright, Malcolm	B	Shopman	III	Signed
29	1845	Pendegast, Mary	S	Servant	V	Signed
		Croker, Edward	B	Shopkeeper	III	Signed
30	1846	Gelnogh, Anne	W	Huckster	V	X
		Cahil, Martin	B	Writer, Brigade Office	III	Signed
31	1847	Brown, Elizabeth		Soldier's daughter	V	Signed
		Stewart, John		Sergt 91st Regt	III	Signed
35		Wellbeloved, Mary Anne	S	Shoemaker's daughter	IV	X
		Ingram, William	B	Farmer	III	Signed
40	1848	McDonnel, Margaret	S	Shop girl	V	X
		Marshall, Chas.	B	Sergt CMR	III	X
43	1849	Wright, Caroline	W	Servant	V	Signed
		Martin, John	B	Constable	III	Signed
44		Sullivan, Joanna	S	Servant	V	Signed
		Selfe, William	B	Bootmaker	IV	Signed
45		Murphy, Bridget	S	Servant	V	Signed
		O'Sullivan, Michael	B	Stone Mason	IV	Signed
51		Body, Anne	W	Laundress	V	Signed
		Donohey, Charles	B	Farmer	III	Signed
52		Fisher, Maria	S	Servant	V	Poor sig.
		O'Brien, John	W	Farmer	III	Poor sig.

W = Widow/Widower S = Spinster B = Bachelor X = Signed register with X

APPENDIX A11 (contd.)

SOCIAL MOBILITY ON THE FRONTIER AS REFLECTED IN WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS
 Data from Entries in St. Patrick's Catholic Church
 Marriage Register, Grahamstown 1838-53

Reg. No	Year	Name	Cond.	Occupation	Class	Literacy
A Women who improved their social standing (contd.)						
54		Weldon, Mary	S	Domestic Servant	V	X
		Ironmonger, James	B	Writer	III	Signed
55	1850	O'Reily, Rosetta	S	Laundress	V	X
		McKeating, Jas.	B	Bootmaker	IV	Signed
58	1850	Monaghan, Margaret	S	Servant	V	X
		Sheean, Michael	B	Sergt Kaffir Police	III	Signed
63		Marriot, Elizabeth	S	Servant	V	X
		Drake, Edward	B	Carpenter	IV	Signed
73	1851	Niele, Mary	S	Dressmaker	IV	Signed
		Godard, Fred.	B	Sergt CMR	III	Signed
79	1852	Maher, Margaret	W	Servant	V	Signed
		McGonigal, Charles	W	Shoemaker	IV	Signed
84	1853	Murray, Bridget	S	Servant	V	X
		Maynes, Patrick	B	Clerk, Commissary Office?	III	Signed
B Women who married 'below' their 'station in life'						
28	1845	Harkins, Anne	W	Shopkeeper	III	Signed
		Donohoe, Richd.	W	Carrier	V	Signed
33	1847	Devine, Mary Anne	S	Farmer's daughter	III	Signed
		Harris Thomas	B	Smith	IV	Signed
37	1848	Devine, Mary Anne	S	Shopkeeper's daughter	III	Signed
		Quin, John	B	Printer	IV	Signed
38		Preston, Elizabeth	S	Shopkeeper	III	Signed
		Webster, George Robert	B	Wagonmaker	IV	Signed
39		Pierce, Catherine	W	Seamstress	IV	X
		Murphy, Thos.	B	Labourer	V	X
42		Dougherty, Kate	S	Gentlewoman	I	Signed
		Williams, John	B	Tutor	III	Signed

SOCIAL MOBILITY ON THE FRONTIER AS REFLECTED IN WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS
 Data from Entries in St. Patrick's Catholic Church
 Marriage Register, Grahamstown 1838-53

No	Year	Name	Cond.	Occupation	Class	Literacy
C Women who retained their social status						
14	1842	Williams, Margaret	S	House Servant	V	Signed
		Connors, Edward	B	Soldier	V	Signed
21	1843	Coyle, Susan	S	Servant	V	Signed
		Gunne, Philip	B	Soldier	V	Signed
32	1847	Reynolds, Maria	W	Washerwoman	V	X
		Cox, Cormont	B	Labourer	V	X
34		Fitzgerald, Joanne	S	Shopkeeper	III	Signed
		Murray, Ralph	B	Farmer	III	Signed
36	1848	Newberry, Charlotte	S	Domestic Servant	V	Signed
		Woods, Alexander	B	Soldier 27th Regt	V	Signed
41		Flood, Bridget	S	Servant	V	Poor sig.
		Hynes, John	B	Labourer	V	Poor sig.
46	1849	Keaton, Jane	S	Servant	V	?
		Heagan, Timothy	B	Soldier	V	Signed
50		Murray, Margaret	S	Servant	V	X
		Molony, John	B	Servant	V	X
53		Roberts, Rose	W	Laundress	V	?
		Dick, John	B	Labourer	V	Signed
56	1850	Shanahan, Margt.	S	Servant	V	Signed
		Maker, Kearan	B	Servant	V	Signed
57		Ford, Jane M.	S	Lady	I	Signed
		Scott, Wm G.	B	Brigade Major	I	Signed
64		Evans, Bridget	W	Householder	III	Signed
		Cahill, Martin	W	Sergt CMR	III	Signed
67		Ford, Bridget	S	Servant	V	X
		Aylmore, Thos.	B	Soldier RA	V	Signed

? = Unclear as husband signed for both parties

A	Women who improved their social standing	50%	(19/38)
B	Women who married 'below' their 'station in life'	15.8%	(6/38)
C	Women who retained their social status	34.2%	(13/38)

APPENDIX A12

OCCUPANTS OF STREETS INDEXED BY OCCUPATION TO REFLECT SOCIAL CLASS
GRAHAMSTOWN 1842

OCCUPATION	STREET	SURNAME	CLASS
messenger, court		Lowen	III
sempstress		Williams	IV
surveyor, sworn & land		Okes	III
veterinary surgeon	late the brewery	Kingsley	III
Commandant CMR	Oatlands	Somerset	I
	african street	Smit	
carpenter	african street	Rowe	IV
carrier	african street	Glass	V
constable	african street	Allen	III
gardener	african street	Jewson	V
labourer	african street	Biles	V
labourer	african street	Clogg	V
labourer	african street	Conner	V
labourer	african street	Daniel	V
labourer	african street	Dennis	V
labourer	african street	Hall	V
labourer	african street	Hickman	V
labourer	african street	Jansen	V
labourer	african street	Mahmouh	V
mason	african street	Abram	IV
mason	african street	Andries	IV
mason	african street	Abdol	IV
mason	african street	Helicott	IV
painter	african street	Turvey	IV
schoolmistress	african street	Dunbar	III
sempstress	african street	Dold	IV
sempstress	african street	Iles	IV
sempstress	african street	Lawlor	IV
sexton	african street	Goodes	III
shopkeeper	african street	Reynolds	III
tailor	african street	Accledien	IV
tanner	african street	Moorcroft	IV
tinsmith	african street	Berry	IV
laundress	african street rear	Coba	V
servant	allen's row	Esaw	V
tailor	allen's row	Appollos	IV
	artificers square	Austin	
	artificers square	Keene	
	artificers square	Stroud	
bitmaker	artificers square	Bond	IV
carpenter	artificers square	Dean	IV
carpenter	artificers square	Holmes	IV
carpenter	artificers square	Paine	IV
clerk	artificers square	Campbell	III
clerk	artificers square	Orsmond	III
clerk to RM	artificers square	Wienand	II
mangler	artificers square	Cyrus	V

APPENDIX A12 (contd.)

minister	artificers square	Smit	II
plumber	artificers square	Hartley	IV
sempstress	artificers square	Austin	IV
tailor	artificers square	Botton	IV
tailor	artificers square	Louw	IV
canteen keeper	barrack street	Reynolds	III
labourer	barrack street	Jansen	V
tinsmith	barrack street	Jeffries	IV
wine & spirit dealer	bathurst & york sts	Kidson	III
butcher	bathurst road	Saunders	IV
shoemaker	bathurst road	Welbeloved	IV
	bathurst road near	Watson	
gardener	bathurst st., above	Jones	V
	bathurst street	Shone	
	bathurst street	Simpson	
	bathurst street	Todd	
attorney	bathurst street	Roberts	III
baker	bathurst street	Hartley	IV
butcher	bathurst street	Simpson	IV
canteen keeper	bathurst street	Jackson	III
carpenter	bathurst street	Long	IV
carpenter	bathurst street	Mewett	IV
carpenter	bathurst street	Watson	IV
clerk	bathurst street	Warren	III
cooper	bathurst street	Harper	IV
druggist	bathurst street	Munro	III
mason	bathurst street	Armstrong	IV
mason	bathurst street	Whetheridge	IV
painter & glazier	bathurst street	Webb	IV
physician	bathurst street	Daunt	II
printer & publisher	bathurst street	Rowles	III
printers & publishers	bathurst street	Jaffray	III
sempstress	bathurst street	Simpson	IV
shoemaker	bathurst street	Atwell	IV
shoemaker	bathurst street	Paskin	IV
shoemaker	bathurst street	Pitt	IV
shoemaker	bathurst street	Scanlan	IV
shoemaker	bathurst street	Scanlan	IV
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Blee	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Dixie	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Harvey	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Jennings	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Ray	III
storekeeper	bathurst street	Dixon	III
storekeeper	bathurst street	Lee	III
storekeeper	bathurst street	Maskell	III
storekeeper	bathurst street	Norden	III
storekeeper	bathurst street	Orsmond	III
storekeeper	bathurst street	Walker	III
storekeepers	bathurst street	Ford & Son	III
storekeepers	bathurst street	Shepperson & Co	III
tailor & draper	bathurst street	Dick	III
tinsmith	bathurst street	Bagshaw	IV

APPENDIX A12 (contd.)

tinsmith	bathurst street	Paxton	IV
undertaker	bathurst street	White	IV
wagon maker	bathurst street	Cockroft	IV
	beaufort street	Caldecot	
	beaufort street	Cornelius	I
	beaufort street	Griffith	
	beaufort street	McDonald	
	beaufort street	Richards	
	beaufort street	Venables	
	beaufort street	Warren	
91st Regt	beaufort street	Wallace	V
CMR	beaufort street	Lowen	I
Catholic priest	beaufort street	Murphy	II
agent	beaufort street	Jarman	III
attorney	beaufort street	Slater	II
auctioneers	beaufort street	Norden	III
baker	beaufort street	Jardine	IV
barrack master	beaufort street	Boys	I
blacksmith	beaufort street	Powell	IV
bonnetmaker	beaufort street	Pinnock	IV
bookbinder	beaufort street	Jaffray	IV
brigade major	beaufort street	O'Reilly	I
builder	beaufort street	Gush	III
butcher	beaufort street	Trollip	IV
cabinet maker	beaufort street	Behrens	IV
carpenter	beaufort street	Cummins	IV
carpenter	beaufort street	Edkins	IV
carpenter	beaufort street	Fearon	IV
carpenter	beaufort street	Innes	IV
carpenter	beaufort street	Rudman	IV
carrier	beaufort street	McCormick	V
carrier	beaufort street	Neil	V
carrier	beaufort street	Patrick	V
carrier	beaufort street	Thomas	V
clerk	beaufort street	Bezant	III
clerk RE dept	beaufort street	Whitnall	III
deputy ordnance	beaufort street	Saunders	III
storekeeper			
eating house keeper	beaufort street	Everley	III
goldsmith	beaufort street	Tildersly	IV
independent minister	beaufort street	Locke	II
labourer	beaufort street	Deaken	V
labourer	beaufort street	Hazell	V
mason	beaufort street	Brislin	IV
mason	beaufort street	Brown	IV
mason	beaufort street	King	IV
mason	beaufort street	Poulton	IV
mason	beaufort street	Talbot	IV
merchant	beaufort street	Cock	II
merchant	beaufort street	Jaffray	III
merchant	beaufort street	Norton	II
painter & glazier	beaufort street	Freemantle	IV
painter & glazier	beaufort street	Stent	IV
printer	beaufort street	Gibbs	IV

APPENDIX A12 (contd.)

sawyer	beaufort street	Lewis	IV
schoolmistress	beaufort street	Hockly	III
schoolmistress	beaufort street	Slater	III
sempstress	beaufort street	Griffith	IV
sempstress	beaufort street	Openshaw	IV
sheriff, deputy	beaufort street	Carlisle	II
shoemaker	beaufort street	Futter	IV
shoemaker	beaufort street	Pitt	IV
shopkeeper	beaufort street	Gardener	III
shopkeeper	beaufort street	McKallah	III
shopkeeper	beaufort street	Parker	III
shopkeeper	beaufort street	Poole	III
shopkeeper	beaufort street	Umphries	III
shopman	beaufort street	Blackbeard	III
storekeeper	beaufort street	Temlett	III
tallow chandler	beaufort street	Slater	II
trader	beaufort street	Jeffries	III
upholsterer	beaufort street	Boardman	IV
wheelwright	beaufort street	Cadle	IV
	bell street	Campbell	I
CMR	bell street	Gunn	I
baptist minister	bell street	Aveline	II
commissary general, assistant	bell street	Sanford	I
labourer	bell street	Stevens	V
mason	bell street	Dutton	IV
shoemaker	bell street	Duffy	IV
carpenter	campbell street	Beale	IV
carpenter	campbell street	Edkins	IV
labourer	campbell street	Murray	V
mason	campbell street	Daniells	IV
mason	campbell street	Fitchet	IV
mason	campbell street	Mallett	IV
schoolmistress	campbell street	Dunford	III
warehouseman	campbell street	Prynn	III
wheelwright	campbell street	Lee	IV
	chapel street	Knight	
	chapel street	Shepperson snr	III
	chapel street	Stevens	
	chapel street	Tancred	II
agent	chapel street	Adams	III
agent	chapel street	Arrowsmith	III
attorney	chapel street	Heath	III
bonnetmaker	chapel street	Dawson	IV
carpenter	chapel street	Anderson	IV
carpenter	chapel street	Edkins	IV
carpenter	chapel street	Evans	IV
carpenter	chapel street	Fry	IV
carpenter	chapel street	Harvey	IV
carpenter	chapel street	Walker	IV
clerk	chapel street	Levy	III
dealer	chapel street	Boardman	III
dressmaker	chapel street	Lonsdale	IV

APPENDIX A12 (contd.)

jeweller	chapel street	Daniell	IV
labourer	chapel street	Evans	V
labourer	chapel street	Horne	V
mason	chapel street	Pennell	IV
messenger	chapel street	Pitt	III
painter & glazier	chapel street	Webb	IV
sempstress	chapel street	Jenkinson	IV
sempstress	chapel street	Kean	IV
shoemaker	chapel street	Chapman	IV
shoemaker	chapel street	Webb	IV
shopkeeper	chapel street	Crout	III
tailor	chapel street	Collins	IV
tailor	chapel street	Muir	IV
watchmaker	chapel street	Marsh	IV
wine merchant	chapel street	Mandy	III
cashier EP Bank	church square	Lucas	III
storekeeper	cor. hill & new sts	Kew	III
	cross street	Wallace	
carrier	cross street	Ferreira	V
clerk	cross street	Blue	III
clerk	cross street	Rawlinson	III
clerk comm.office	cross street	Castray	III
interpreter	cross street	Cyrus	III
messenger, deputy	cross street	Trimble	III
gardener	d'urban street	Copeland	V
merchant	drostdy grounds	Howse	II
carpenter	dundas bridge	Chadwick	IV
storekeeper	dundas bridge	Eastment	III
mason	dundas bridge below	Lanham	IV
	dundas bridge near	Wynn	
shopkeeper	dundas bridge new	Temlett	III
butcher	east barr. & hill st	Lee	IV
	east barracks	Featherstone	
	east barracks	Price	
	east barracks	Sullivan	
27th Regt	east barracks	McLean	I
brickmaker	east barracks	Page	V
canteen keeper	east barracks	Jolley	III
canteen keeper	east barracks	Vice	III
carpenter	east barracks	Lamont	IV
carrier	east barracks	Lucas	V
civil commissioner	east barracks	West	II
clerk of the peace	east barracks	Eaton	II
physician	east barracks	Delmege	II
butcher	east barracks near	Webb	IV
carpenter	east barracks near	Tarr	IV
	east barracks, near	Stapleton	I
portrait painter	east barracks, near	I'ons	III
clerk, 2nd to CC	fair-lawn	Beck	III
labourer	futter's row	Castings	V
labourer	futter's row	Cowie	V
brickmaker	futters row	Bennett	V

APPENDIX A12 (contd.)

miller	government mill	Quinn	IV
schoolmaster,	govt. mill near	Tudhope	III
merchant	high & beaufort st	Blaine	II
	high street	McNaughton	
	high street	Paxton	
	high street	Smith	
agent	high street	Bell	III
agent	high street	King	III
agent, general	high street	Lee	III
agent, general	high street	Nourse	II
apothecary	high street	Taylor	III
attorney & notary	high street	Jarvis	II
public			
baker	high street	Hope	IV
blacksmith	high street	Wheldon	IV
butcher	high street	Cawood	IV
butcher	high street	Lee	IV
butcher	high street	Stanton	IV
butchers	high street	Golding & Pike	IV
butchers	high street	Stanton & Co	IV
canteen keeper	high street	Smith	III
carpenter	high street	Legg	IV
carpenter	high street	Sparks	IV
chairmaker	high street	Lawrence	IV
chairmaker	high street	Moss	IV
chemist & druggist	high street	Cole	III
clerk	high street	Kock	III
clerk	high street	Stone	III
coffee-house keeper	high street	Davis	III
confectioner	high street	Fletcher	IV
dealer	high street	Johnstone	III
editor GTJ	high street	Godlonton	II
episcopalian	high street	Heavyside	II
minister			
grocer	high street	Caldecott	III
hotel keeper	high street	Finlayson	III
ironmonger	high street	Ogilvie	IV
merchant	high street	Meurant	II
merchant	high street	Nelson	II
merchant	high street	Thompson	II
merchants	high street	Anderson	III
merchants	high street	Levick, Sherman,	III
		& Kift	
merchants	high street	Maynard	II
merchants	high street	Norton	II
merchants	high street	Stein & Killian	III
minister	high street	Shaw	II
printer	high street	Whiley	IV
saddler	high street	Douglass	IV
saddler	high street	Stubbs	IV
shoemaker	high street	Smith	IV
shopkeeper	high street	Benjamin	III
shopkeeper	high street	Bertram	III
shopkeeper	high street	Symmons	III

APPENDIX A12 (contd.)

shopkeeper	high street	Urry	III
storekeeper	high street	Fuller	III
storekeeper	high street	Kift	III
storekeeper	high street	Nichol	III
storekeeper	high street	Pote	III
storekeeper	high street	West	III
storekeeper	high street	Wright	III
storekeepers	high street	McMaster & Pakenham	II
tailor	high street	Lamont	IV
tailor	high street	Orchard	IV
tailors & habitmakers	high street	McMaster & Lamont	III
tallow chandler	high street	Shepherd	IV
tallow chandlers	high street	Shepherd & Harley	IV
tanner	high street	Crouch	IV
town clerk	high street	Latham	III
watchmaker	high street	Rhodes	IV
watchmaker	high street	Roulstone	IV
wesleyan missionary	high street	Boyce	II
wheelwright	high street	Trollip	IV
wine & spirit merchant	high street	McMaster	III
wine & spirit merchants	high street	Haupt & Brothers	III
attorney	high street rear	Costello	
physician	high street rear	Jennings	III
surgeon, district	high street, 1	Atherstone	II
	high street, 1	Atherstone	II
	hill street	Haw	
	hill street	Hedde	I
91st Regiment	hill street	Brown	I
agent & auctioneer	hill street	Smith	III
bakers	hill street	Croude & Wheeler	IV
blacksmith	hill street	Abbott	IV
brickmaker	hill street	Keavy	V
builders	hill street	Griffin & Botthomly	III
butcher	hill street	Saunders	IV
canteen keeper	hill street	Yelling	III
carpenter	hill street	Streak	IV
carpenter	hill street	Styles	IV
carpenter	hill street	Styles	IV
carpenter	hill street	Styles	IV
chemist & druggist	hill street	Earle	III
clerk	hill street	Bailie	III
clerk	hill street	Halse	III
clerk	hill street	Hart	III
clerk	hill street	Thompson	III
clerk comm.office	hill street	Bailie	III
editor CFT	hill street	Franklin	II

APPENDIX A12 (contd.)

gunsmith	hill street	Clarke	IV
gunsmith	hill street	Hewson	IV
gunsmith	hill street	Hewson	IV
laundress	hill street	Leba	V
laundress	hill street	Miller	V
mason	hill street	Keevy	IV
mason	hill street	Philipson	IV
merchant	hill street	Nelson	II
merchants	hill street	Rutherfoord & Bros	II
musician	hill street	Dale	III
sawyer	hill street	Martin	IV
sempstress	hill street	Fair	IV
sempstress	hill street	Flannagan	IV
shoemaker	hill street	Daniell	IV
shoemaker	hill street	Lance	IV
shoemaker	hill street	Roberts	IV
shoemaker	hill street	Wells	IV
shopkeeper	hill street	Armstrong	III
shopkeeper	hill street	Glass	III
shopkeeper	hill street	Schryber	III
shopkeeper	hill street	Shepherd	III
shopkeeper	hill street	Simpson	III
shopkeeper	hill street	Whiley	III
stationer	hill street	Caffyn	III
storekeeper	hill street	Pakenham	II
storekeeper	hill street	Painter	III
storekeeper	hill street	Potter	III
tailor	hill street	Levy	IV
thatcher	hill street	Clarke	IV
	hill street rear	Elliott	
carpenter	hill street rear	Denham	IV
mason	hill street rear	Foley	IV
poundmaster	hill street rear	Eagen	III
	king street	Norton	
	king street	Rudman	
labourer	king street	Sansome	V
mason	king street	Mitchel	IV
mason	king street	Stirk	IV
wheelwright	king street	Powell	IV
blacksmith	lawrence street	Finnaughty	IV
blacksmith	lawrence street	Gradwell	IV
butcher	lawrence street	Golding	IV
carpenter	lawrence street	Anderson	IV
carpenter	lawrence street	Anderson	IV
carpenter	lawrence street	Anderson	IV
carpenter	lawrence street	Slater	IV
clerk	lawrence street	Gunn	III
constable	lawrence street	Faircloth	III
gardener	lawrence street	King	V
labourer	lawrence street	Blakemore	V
sempstress	lawrence street	Brown	IV
wagonmaker	lawrence street	Gradwell	IV
wheelwright	lawrence street	Ulyate	IV

APPENDIX A12 (contd.)

	market place	Young	
blacksmith	market place	Short	IV
carpenter	market place	Newton	IV
carpenter	market place	Stillwell	IV
dressmaker	market place	Neat	IV
schoolmistress	market place	Roman	III
sempstress	market place	Phillips	IV
shopkeeper	market place	Pike	III
wagonmaker	market place	Webster	IV
blacksmith	market sq & york st	Elliott	IV
brewer	market square	Trotter	III
builder	market square	King	III
carpenter	market square	Cockroft	IV
carpenter	market square	Freyne	IV
mason	market square	Robinson	IV
physician	market square	Campbell	II
schoolmistress	market square	Adams	III
wheelwright	market square	Grubb	IV
notary public	market street	Norden	III
schoolmaster	market street	Paine	III
wagonmaker	near market street	Powell	IV
	near the pound	Smith	
field cornet	near the pound	Smith	III
	new east barracks	Savage	I
	new street	Crause	I
	new street	Thomas	
	new street	Webb	
	new street	Wienand	
CMR	new street	Donovan	I
agent Anderson Sen. & Co	new street	Welsford	III
agriculturist	new street	Glass	III
baker	new street	Booth	IV
baker	new street	Cross	IV
baker	new street	Flookes	IV
baker	new street	Hoole	IV
builder	new street	Hannan	III
cabinet maker	new street	Hartman	IV
carrier	new street	Comely	V
carrier	new street	Fancutt	V
clerk RE dept	new street	Teeling	III
cooper	new street	Dell	IV
dressmaker	new street	Waite	IV
gardener	new street	Comely	V
gardener	new street	Kemp	V
garrison serjeant major	new street	Drennan	III
hairdresser	new street	Loxton	IV
hotel keeper	new street	Tildersly	III
hotel keeper	new street	Watson	III
labourer	new street	Keaton	V

APPENDIX A12 (contd.)

lodging house keeper	new street	Ayton	III
mason	new street	Allison	IV
mason	new street	Fitzgerald	IV
mason	new street	Hyde	IV
merchant	new street	Maynard	II
physician CMR	new street	Eady	I
printer	new street	Gorrie	IV
printer	new street	Pearce	IV
secretary to government	new street	Hudson	II
sempstress	new street	Passmore	IV
shoemaker	new street	Farley	IV
shoemaker	new street	Reynolds	IV
shopkeeper	new street	Feagan	III
shopkeeper	new street	Morgan	III
shopkeeper	new street	South	III
shopkeeper	new street	Wright	III
storekeeper	new street	Wood	III
tailor	new street	Flannaghan	IV
tailor	new street	Wedderburn	IV
tanner	new street	Moorcroft snr	IV
turner	new street	Bradfield	IV
wagonmaker & wheelwright	new street	Stanton	IV
watchmaker	new street	Rhodes	IV
watchmaker	new street & high	Rhodes	IV
merchant	new street & high st	Black	II
	new street rear	Daniels jun.	
	new street rear	McKenzie	
carpenter	new street rear	Graham	IV
sempstress	new street rear	Castania	IV
shoemaker	new street rear	Dennis	IV
shoemaker	new street rear	Han	IV
tailor	new street rear	Antony	IV
tailor	new street rear	Dennie	IV
CMR quartermaster	old toll bar	Schonnfeldt	III
carpenter	scotts barracks	Surmon	IV
shopman	settlers hill	Parr	III
CMR	smith street	Dawson	III
mason	smith street	Jacob	IV
shoemaker	smith's avenue	Roberts	IV
	smith's avenue	Berry	
tailor	smith's avenue	Francis	IV
gardener	somerset street	Poulton	V
	somerset street	Barnett	
91st Regt	somerset street	Swanson	III
baker	somerset street	Dicks	IV
blacksmith	somerset street	Godfrey	IV
blacksmith	somerset street	Robertson	IV
builder & brewer	somerset street	Gilbert	III
butcher	somerset street	Fancutt	IV
canteen keeper	somerset street	Hanger	III
carpenter	somerset street	Botthomly	IV

APPENDIX A12 (contd.)

carpenter	somerset street	Latham	IV
carpenter	somerset street	Russell	IV
carpenter	somerset street	Turner	IV
carrier	somerset street	McNamara	V
clerk	somerset street	Devine	III
clerk RE depot	somerset street	O'Neill	III
commissary general, deputy assistant	somerset street	Jones	I
constable	somerset street	Lucas	III
labourer	somerset street	Harewood	V
labourer	somerset street	Johnson	V
labourer	somerset street	Lewis	V
mason	somerset street	Higgins	IV
merchant	somerset street	Nichols	III
schoolmistress	somerset street	Biggs	III
servant	somerset street	Mansfield	V
shoemaker	somerset street	Davis	IV
shopkeeper	somerset street	Bradfield	III
storekeeper	somerset street	Weakly	III
tailor	somerset street	Kew	IV
clerk, chief to CC	suburbs	Stringfellow	III
cowkeeper	suburbs	Pankhurst	V
carpenter	toll-bar	Goddard	IV
	william street	Roberts	
	william street	Smith	
carpenter	william street	Thomas	IV
mason	william street	Upton	IV
physician	william street	Mostyn	II
sawyer	william street	Mitchelly	IV
shoemaker	william street	Futter	IV
tanner	william street	Dogherty	IV
tanner	william street	Wynn	IV
	york street	Lucas	
	york street	Radford	
builder	york street	Hayhurst	III
builder	york street	Webb	III
carpenter	york street	Devine	IV
carrier	york street	Pinnock	V
farrier	york street	McGraw	IV
labourer	york street	Dredge	V
mason	york street	Oghan	IV
poundmaster	york street	Gilliland	III
sempstress	york street	Keightly	IV
thatcher	york street	Boucher	IV
wheelwright	york street	Hill	IV

APPENDIX A13

OCCUPANTS OF STREETS INDEXED BY OCCUPATION TO REFLECT SOCIAL CLASS
GRAHAMSTOWN 1853

OCCUPATION	STREET	SURNAME	CLASS
graham's town		Surmon	III
policeforce officer			
sheriff's officer		Quirt	III
storeman		Baggot	III
carpenter	Oatlands, near	Parkins	IV
carpenter	Oatlands, near	Aspinall	IV
carrier	adam location	van de Vent	V
	african street	Bertram	
	african street	Reynolds	
carpenter	african street	Hall	IV
carpenter	african street	Roberts	IV
gardener	african street	Hewson	V
gardener	african street	Jewson	V
labourer	african street	Bodily	V
labourer	african street	Dold	V
labourer	african street	Harding	V
labourer	african street	Heath	V
labourer	african street	McDermid	V
labourer	african street	Murphy	V
labourer	african street	Marshall	V
labourer	african street	Walter	V
mason	african street	Downing	IV
mason	african street	Philip	IV
merchant	african street	Blaine	II
quarryman	african street	Ashley	V
secretary, EP Trust Co	african street	Lucas	III
storeman	african street	Goodes	III
shoemaker	albert street	Smith	IV
labourer	allen' row	Gaw	V
	artificers square	Keene	
	artificers square	Paine	
	artificers square	Tildesley	
blacksmith	artificers square	Healy	IV
butcher	artificers square	Bruce	IV
butcher	artificers square	Clack	IV
carrier	artificers square	McClean	V
clerk	artificers square	Mallett	III
clerk	artificers square	McColl	III
clerk	artificers square	Pearce	III
clerk	artificers square	Scott	III
clerk	artificers square	Wiggett	III
clerk	artificers square	Wright	III
collector	artificers square	McCall	III
constable	artificers square	Mathews	III
dressmaker	artificers square	Ray	IV
labourer	artificers square	Cross	V
laundress	artificers square	Boles	V

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

mason	artificers square	Belfield	IV
mason	artificers square	Fitzgerald	IV
nurse	artificers square	Edwards	III
printer	artificers square	Jacobs	IV
saddler	artificers square	Sanders	IV
shoemaker	artificers square	Noble	IV
shopkeeper	artificers square	Ford	III
shopkeeper	artificers square	Harvey	III
storeman	artificers square	Webber	III
tailor	artificers square	Dennison	IV
tailor	artificers square	Jerome	IV
tailor	artificers square	Lowe	IV
tailor	artificers square	Urry	IV
tanner	artificers square	Denham	IV
wagonmaker	artificers square	Carey	IV
labourer	back lane	Bowker	V
carpenter	bathurst road	Blackbeard	IV
clerk	bathurst road	Blackbeard	III
	bathurst street	Bradfield	
	bathurst street	Dold	
	bathurst street	Doyle	
	bathurst street	Impey	
	bathurst street	Lamont	
	bathurst street	Rowles	
	bathurst street	Standen	
	bathurst street	Scanlan	
CC & RM	bathurst street	Graham	II
accountant	bathurst street	Impey	II
accountant	bathurst street	Impey	II
apothecary	bathurst street	Knowles	III
baker	bathurst street	Dicks	IV
baker	bathurst street	Hartley	IV
baker	bathurst street	Woodland	IV
bootmaker	bathurst street	Attwell	IV
builder	bathurst street	King	III
butcher	bathurst street	Miller	IV
canteen keeper	bathurst street	Hayland	III
carpenter	bathurst street	Armstrong	IV
carpenter	bathurst street	Jones	IV
carpenter	bathurst street	Streak	IV
carpenter	bathurst street	Siddons	IV
carpenter	bathurst street	Shaw	IV
carpenter	bathurst street	Sanderson	IV
clerk	bathurst street	Booth	III
clerk	bathurst street	Gowie	III
clerk	bathurst street	Holland	III
clerk	bathurst street	Impey	III
clerk	bathurst street	Stack	III
clerk, EP Bank	bathurst street	Hartley	III
coach & wagonmaker	bathurst street	Cockroft	IV
coachpainter & carrier	bathurst street	Hancock	IV
collector	bathurst street	Austen	III

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

cooper	bathurst street	Grant	IV
farrier	bathurst street	Sampson	IV
hotel keeper	bathurst street	Style	III
inn keeper	bathurst street	Wink	III
labourer	bathurst street	Emms	V
labourer	bathurst street	Holdstock	V
labourer	bathurst street	Holstock	V
merchants	bathurst street	Black	II
nurse	bathurst street	Pitt	III
painter	bathurst street	Freemantle	IV
painter & glazier	bathurst street	Webb	IV
pianoforte tuner	bathurst street	Barr	IV
printer	bathurst street	Burns	IV
printer	bathurst street	Quinn	IV
printer	bathurst street	Richards	IV
printer & publisher	bathurst street	Rowles	III
private secretary	bathurst street	Liddle	II
to Governor			
salesman	bathurst street	Copeling	III
salesman	bathurst street	Gowie	III
salesman	bathurst street	Roberts	III
salesman	bathurst street	Walker	III
shoemaker	bathurst street	Johnson	IV
shoemaker	bathurst street	Kelley	IV
shoemaker	bathurst street	Orsmond	IV
shoemaker	bathurst street	Smith	IV
shoemaker	bathurst street	Scanlan	IV
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Bezant	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Clough	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Hockey	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Hockey	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Hinds	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Hubbard	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Lee	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Orsmond	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Orsmond	III
shopkeeper	bathurst street	Thompson	III
soap boiler	bathurst street	Harley	IV
stationer	bathurst street	Sturt	III
storekeeper	bathurst street	Walker	III
storeman	bathurst street	Smith	III
surveyor	bathurst street	Barnfather	III
tailor	bathurst street	Wardhaugh	IV
tinplate worker	bathurst street	Kidwell	IV
trader	bathurst street	Boyle	III
wagonmaker	bathurst street	Orsmond	IV
watchmaker	bathurst street	Gallagher	IV
blacksmith	bathurst street rear	Wright	IV
watchmaker	bathurst street rear	Marsh	IV

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

	beaufort street	Croft	
	beaufort street	Kettles	
	beaufort street	Mackallah	
	beaufort street	Moore	
	beaufort street	Mandy	
	beaufort street	Norton	
	beaufort street	Whitnal	
CMR surgeon	beaufort street	Kingsley	I
RC Bishop	beaufort street	Devereux	II
army officer	beaufort street	Heddle	I
baker	beaufort street	Green	IV
boarding house keeper	beaufort street	Gallagher	III
boardingschool owner	beaufort street	Palmer	III
brewer & shopkeeper	beaufort street	Everley	III
carpenter	beaufort street	Glass	IV
carpenter & undertaker	beaufort street	Paxton	IV
carrier	beaufort street	Kemp	V
carrier	beaufort street	King	V
carrier	beaufort street	McCormick	V
carrier	beaufort street	Patrick	V
carrier	beaufort street	Sanson	V
clerk	beaufort street	Fitzgerald	III
clerk	beaufort street	Fitzgerald	III
clerk	beaufort street	Geoghegan	III
clerk	beaufort street	Meadway	III
clerk	beaufort street	Stanger	III
clerk	beaufort street	Shepherd	III
clerk	beaufort street	Ward	III
clerk, ordnance	beaufort street	Blake	III
coachmaker	beaufort street	Alcott	IV
commissary general, deputy assistant	beaufort street	McLean	I
confectioner & birdstuffer	beaufort street	Miller	IV
editor, GTJ	beaufort street	Godlonton	II
farmer	beaufort street	Clarke	III
farmer	beaufort street	Goldswain	III
farmer	beaufort street	Kaple	III
farmer	beaufort street	Peel	III
gardener	beaufort street	Rousue	V
governess	beaufort street	Biggar	III
inn keeper	beaufort street	Futter	III
labourer	beaufort street	Batten	V
labourer	beaufort street	Curling	V
labourer	beaufort street	Farrel	V
labourer	beaufort street	Laing	V
labourer	beaufort street	Locker	V
labourer	beaufort street	Martin	V
labourer	beaufort street	Poole	V
mason	beaufort street	Brislin	IV
mason	beaufort street	Holmes	IV

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

mason	beaufort street	Perrin	IV
pastor, union chapel	beaufort street	Smit	II
physician	beaufort street	Atherstone	II
printer	beaufort street	White	IV
sawyer	beaufort street	Blakemore	IV
shopkeeper	beaufort street	Estment	III
shopkeeper	beaufort street	Edkins	III
shopkeeper	beaufort street	Parker	III
stonecutter & carrier	beaufort street	Erskine	V
storeman	beaufort street	Temlett	III
tailor	beaufort street	Bowen	IV
tallow chandler	beaufort street	Slater	II
tinplate worker	beaufort street	Stead	IV
trader	beaufort street	Harvey	III
saddler	beaufort street back	Hamilton	IV
baker	beaufort street rear	Keene	IV
farmer	beaufort street rear	Wallace	III
saddler	bertram street	Bremner	IV
draper	bowker street	Williams	III
carpenter	britain street	Paine	IV
carpenter	britain street	Passmore	IV
	campbell street	Roberts	
builder	campbell street	Roberts	III
carpenter	campbell street	Roberts	IV
carpenter	campbell street	Walker	IV
storeman	campbell street	Berry	III
barrackmaster	cape corps barracks	Boys	I
plumber	cape corps barracks	Hartley	IV
carrier	cape corps camp	Richards	V
	chapel street	Daniel	
	chapel street	Hartley	
	chapel street	Trollip snr	
blacksmith	chapel street	Healy	IV
bonnetmaker	chapel street	Dawson	IV
brazier	chapel street	Cumming	V
bricklayer	chapel street	Kempton	IV
butcher	chapel street	Wright	IV
carpenter	chapel street	Murfin	IV
carpenter	chapel street	Russell	IV
carrier	chapel street	Norton	V
carrier	chapel street	Wakeford	V
farmer	chapel street	Bowles	III
farmer	chapel street	Phillips	III
freeholder	chapel street	Crause	III
labourer	chapel street	Ashington	V
labourer	chapel street	Dawlins	V
labourer	chapel street	Evans	V
labourer	chapel street	Horn	V
labourer	chapel street	Tabb	V
labourer	chapel street	Wilson	V
labourer	chapel street	Waters	V

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

mangler	chapel street	Hallier	V
mason	chapel street	Midgley	IV
painter	chapel street	Swaine	IV
painter	chapel street	Wilks	IV
printer	chapel street	Jacobs	IV
sawyer	chapel street	Lucas	IV
shoemaker	chapel street	Faircloth	IV
shoemaker	chapel street	Webb	IV
shopkeeper	chapel street	Crout	III
shopkeeper	chapel street	Gradwell	III
storeman	chapel street	Griffin	III
surgeon	chapel street	Eddie	II
tailor	chapel street	Muir	IV
water overseer	chapel street	Dewberry	III
weaver	chapel street	Mortimer	IV
whitesmith	chapel street	Fray	IV
merchant	church square	Birkenruth	III
tailor	church square	Whitehead	IV
retail dealers	church street	Benjamin & Marcus	III
clerk	cross street	McCabe	III
messenger	cross street	Short	III
blacksmith	dundas bridge	Penny	IV
builder	dundas bridge	Bent	III
canteen keeper	dundas bridge	Brooks	III
carpenter	dundas bridge	Chadwick	IV
coachbuilder	dundas bridge	Ingle	IV
farmer	dundas bridge	Prior	III
labourer	dundas bridge	McKeen	V
tailor	dundas bridge	Whittle	IV
	dundas street	Attwell	
labourer	dundas street	Cowie	V
labourer	dundas street	Lyons	V
labourer	dundas street	Parsons	V
surveyor	dundas street	Brown	III
	east barracks	Featherstone	
	east barracks	Vice	
carpenter	east barracks	Graham	IV
carpenter	east barracks	Watson	IV
	fort england	Hutchinson	
	fort england	Price	
RA Capt.	fort england	Faddy	I
agent, general	fort england	Hutchinson	III
canteen keeper	fort england	Best	III
carrier	fort england	Ferreira	V
carrier	fort england	Wild	V
clerk	fort england	Tribe	III
clerk	fort england	Warren	III
farmer	fort england	Carlisle	III
hotel keeper	fort england	Best	III
hotel keeper	fort england	Webb	III
labourer	fort england	Midgley	V
merchant	fort england	Thompson	II

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

shopkeeper	fort england	Miller	III
storeman	fort england	Eesles	III
woolsorter	fort england	Gaskwell	V
shoemaker	fort england near	Futter	IV
carrier	george street	Dogherty	V
shopkeeper	george street	Gradwell	III
constable, chief	gaol, back of	Webster	III
millar	govt mill	Quinn	IV
	govt school behind	Pinnock	
worm doctor	govt school rear	Gardner	III
butcher	graham's town	Willows	IV
coachman	graham's town	Samson	V
groom	graham's town	Janson	V
mason	graham's town	Pieterston	IV
mason	graham's town	Stephens	IV
porter	graham's town	Parker	V
woolsorter	graham's town	Kelley	V
agent, general	high & beaufort sts	Stone	II
	high street	Kensit	
	high street	Potter	
	high street	Wright	
CMR Commandant	high street	Somerset	I
agent, general	high street	Haw	III
agent, general	high street	Holland	II
apothecary	high street	Taylor	III
apothecary &	high street	Cole	III
postmaster			
attorney	high street	Jarvis	II
attorney	high street	Stone	II
auctioneer	high street	Pote	III
baker	high street	Cross	IV
baker & confectioner	high street	Fletcher	IV
bookbinder	high street	Jaffray	IV
builder	high street	Passmore	III
butcher	high street	Swan	IV
butcher	high street	Webb	IV
cabinet maker	high street	Rorke	IV
carpenter	high street	Jones	IV
carpenter	high street	Latham	IV
carpenter	high street	Sparks	IV
carpenter	high street	Sandford	IV
cashier, EP Bank	high street	Lucas	III
cashier, FC & A Bank	high street	Standen	III
clerk	high street	Crump	III
clerk	high street	Copeland	III
clerk	high street	Foley	III
clerk	high street	Moore	III
clerk	high street	Pike	III
clerk	high street	Taylor	III
clerk to RM & JP	high street	Huntley	III
clerk, chief,	high street	Scott	III
ordnance office			
clubman	high street	Larter	III

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

colonial chaplain	high street	Heavyside	II
draper	high street	Fordred	III
draper	high street	Shepperson	III
dressmaker	high street	Leary	IV
farmer	high street	Fuller	III
farmer	high street	Knott	III
farmer	high street	Marshall	III
freeholder	high street	Nourse	III
furniture warehouse proprietor	high street	Dell	III
grocer	high street	Taylor	III
hotel keeper	high street	George	III
inn keeper	high street	Hyde	III
ironmonger	high street	Ogilvie	IV
ironmonger	high street	Parker	IV
ironmonger	high street	Wood	IV
ironmongers	high street	Haw & Co	IV
labourer	high street	Lambs	V
labourer	high street	Larney	V
labourer	high street	Prendergrast	V
labourer	high street	Whibdy	V
merchant	high street	Cumming	II
merchant	high street	Cawood	II
merchant	high street	Krohn	III
merchant	high street	McMaster	III
merchant	high street	Nicholls	III
merchant	high street	Thompson	II
merchant	high street	Wood	II
merchants	high street	Anderson	III
merchants	high street	Blaine Bros	II
merchants	high street	Cawood Bros.	II
merchants	high street	Heideman & Co	III
merchants	high street	Pakenham & Frames	II
merchants	high street	Wood & Sons	II
notary	high street	Ayliff	II
notary	high street	Campbell	II
printers & publishers	high street	Godlonton & White	III
saddler	high street	Douglas	IV
saddler	high street	Powell	IV
saddler	high street	Sanders	IV
saddler & govt contractor	high street	Stubbs	IV
saddler & govt contractor	high street	Stubbs	IV
saddlers	high street	Stubbs & Wallis	IV
servant	high street	Booy	V
servant	high street	Slinger	V
shoemaker	high street	Farley	IV
shoemaker	high street	Reynolds	IV
shopkeeper	high street	Benjamin	III
shopkeeper	high street	Clapperton	III

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

shopkeeper	high street	Durney	III
shopkeeper	high street	Haw	III
shopkeeper	high street	Munday	III
shopkeeper	high street	Penny	III
shopkeeper	high street	Sparks	III
shopman	high street	Collier	III
storekeeper	high street	Willmore	III
storeman	high street	Bright	III
storeman	high street	Box	III
storeman	high street	Goold	III
storeman	high street	Green	III
storeman	high street	Krohn	III
storeman	high street	Welman	III
storeman	high street	White	III
tailor	high street	Dick	IV
tailor	high street	Whitehead	IV
tallow chandler	high street	Shepherd	IV
tanners	high street	Crouch & Son	IV
tinsmith	high street	Dallas	IV
upholsterer	high street	Hart	IV
watchmaker	high street	Galpin	IV
wesleyan minister	high street	Chapman	II
wesleyan missions, superintendent	high street	Shaw	II
wine merchant	high street	Mandy	III
wine merchant & auctioneer	high street	Lawrence	III
	high street rear	Wood	
chapel keeper	high street rear	Trumble/Trimble	V
chapel keeper, wesleyan	high street rear	King	V
labourer	high street rear	Trumble	V
schoolmaster	high street rear	Jaffray	III
stonemason	high street rear	Hancock	IV
tallow chandler	high street rear	Shepherd	IV
	hill street	Anthoine	
	hill street	Armstrong	
	hill street	Nelson	
	hill street	Ogilvie	
apothecary	hill street	Read	III
blacksmith	hill street	Edwards	IV
blacksmith	hill street	Stanton	IV
blacksmith	hill street	Wheldon	IV
bootmaker	hill street	Daniel	IV
carpenter	hill street	Shepherd	IV
carpenter	hill street	Watson	IV
carrier	hill street	Wade	V
catholic priest	hill street	Ricards	II
clerk, commissariat	hill street	De Beer	III
collector	hill street	Edwards	III
collector	hill street	Leonard	III
dyer	hill street	Fifield	V
editor, CFT	hill street	Franklin	II

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

farmer	hill street	Croft	III
farmer	hill street	Manley	III
farmer	hill street	Miller	III
farmer	hill street	Meurant	III
farmer	hill street	Miller	III
gunsmith	hill street	Hewson	IV
hotel keeper	hill street	Knowles	III
hotel keeper	hill street	Yelling	III
jeweller	hill street	Tildesley	IV
labourer	hill street	Reynolds	V
mason	hill street	Cousins	IV
mason	hill street	Keightly	IV
mason	hill street	Poulton	IV
merchant	hill street	Jaffray	III
merchant	hill street	Kennelly	III
merchant	hill street	Nelson	II
merchant	hill street	Roberts	III
merchants	hill street	Jarvie & Co	III
merchants	hill street	Nelson & Son	II
music teacher	hill street	Crozier	III
painter & glazier	hill street	Smith	IV
printer	hill street	Gorrie	IV
schoolmaster	hill street	George	III
schoolmaster,	hill street	Tudhope	III
government school			
shoemaker	hill street	Fielding	IV
shoemaker	hill street	Roberts	IV
shopkeeper	hill street	Marcus	III
shopkeeper	hill street	Thomas	III
storekeeper	hill street	Lee	III
storeman	hill street	Roberts	III
tailor	hill street	Levey	IV
tailor	hill street	O'Reilly	IV
thatcher	hill street	Streak	IV
watchmaker	hill street	Rhodes	IV
shoemaker	hill street rear	Oates	IV
shoemaker	hill street rear	Preston	IV
carpenter	hill street top of	Carney	IV
yeoman	hill street top of	Haw	III
shopkeeper	hill street	Nicholl	III
attorney	hope garden	Slater	II
	king street	Baker	
	king street	Brooks	
	king street	Edkins	
	king street	Patrick	
carpenter	king street	Deane	IV
carpenter	king street	Levey	IV
farmer	king street	Hayward	III
farmer	king street	Munfort	III
wheelwright	king street	Wicks	IV
	lawrence street	Aldum	
	lawrence street	Usher	
blacksmith	lawrence street	Finnaughty	IV

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

carpenter	lawrence street	King	IV
carrier	lawrence street	Pearce	V
coachmaker	lawrence street	Gunn	IV
farmer	lawrence street	Short	III
farmer	lawrence street	Usher	III
farmer	lawrence street	Ulyate	III
mason	lawrence street	Webster	IV
milkman	lawrence street	Jennings	III
pastor, independent chapel	lawrence street	Thomson	II
physician	lawrence street	Campbell	II
schoolmistress	lawrence street	Hewson	III
wagonmaker & wheelwright	market place	Webster	IV
	market square	Frayne	
	market square	Frames	
	market square	King	
	market square	Mandy	
	market square	Pitt	
	market square	Trotter	
baptist minister	market square	Boulton	II
blacksmith	market square	Smyth	IV
bricklayer	market square	Lerham	IV
builders	market square	King & Son	III
carpenter	market square	Edkins	IV
carpenter	market square	Sanson	IV
carrier	market square	Brummager	V
carrier	market square	Carney	V
carrier	market square	Dixie	V
carrier	market square	Lenord	V
carrier	market square	Vice	V
clerk	market square	Roberts	III
clerk of the peace	market square	Campbell	II
farmer	market square	Honey	III
farrier	market square	Beadle	IV
hotel keeper	market square	Murton	III
labourer	market square	Frost	V
labourer	market square	Lynch	V
labourer	market square	Shear	V
laundress	market square	Phillips	V
market master	market square	Orsmond	III
nurse	market square	Sanson	III
painter	market square	Keightly	IV
shopkeeper	market square	Pike	III
shopkeeper	market square	Upton	III
storekeeper	market square	Temlett	III
tailor	market square	Hill	IV
trader	market square	Hume	III
wagonmaker	market square	Marshall	IV
wagonmaker	market square	Powell	IV
wagonmaker	market square	Powell	IV
wagonmaker	market square	Powell	IV

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

	market street	Talbot	
auctioneer	market street	Pote	III
baptist minister	market street	Hay	II
blacksmith	market street	Brookshaw	IV
blacksmith	market street	Geech	IV
blacksmith	market street	Sellars	IV
cabinet maker	market street	Phillips	IV
farmer	market street	Penny	III
farmer	market street	Penny	III
smith	market street	Smith	IV
wagonmaker	market street	Cockroft	IV
wagonmaker	market street	Grubb	IV
wagonmaker	market street	Kidwell	IV
wesleyan minister	market street	Dugmore	II
	new street	Dennis	
	new street	Duffield	
	new street	Glass	
	new street	Hoole	
	new street	Wood	
CMR quartermaster	new street	Rorke	III
archdeacon	new street	Merriman	II
architect	new street	Bent	III
baker	new street	Charlton	IV
baker	new street	Hewson	IV
baker	new street	Thackwray	IV
barman	new street	Martin	V
blacksmith	new street	Wheeldon	IV
bootmaker	new street	McKeating	IV
bricklayer	new street	Murray	IV
butcher	new street	Eedes	IV
butcher	new street	Holesgrove	IV
butcher	new street	Vice	IV
cabinet maker	new street	Hartman	IV
carpenter	new street	Corner	IV
carpenter	new street	Goodwin	IV
carpenter	new street	Jones	IV
carpenter	new street	MacDonald	IV
carrier	new street	Styles	V
clerk	new street	Ford	III
clerk	new street	Irving	III
clerk	new street	Ogilvie	III
coachbuilder	new street	Copley	IV
currier	new street	Webb	IV
farmer	new street	Francis	III
freeholder	new street	Pollard	III
gardener	new street	Cogan	V
gardener	new street	Comby	V
gardener	new street	Kemp	V
gunsmith	new street	Dicker	IV
gunsmith	new street	Irvine	IV
hotel keeper	new street	Orsmond	III
hotel keeper	new street	Yelling	III
inn keeper	new street	Jackson	III

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

inn keeper	new street	O'Donnell	III
labourer	new street	Coughlin	V
labourer	new street	Henry	V
labourer	new street	Leonard	V
labourer	new street	Maidwell	V
librarian	new street	Eedes	III
mason	new street	Glass	IV
mason	new street	Glass	IV
mason	new street	Higgins	IV
mason	new street	Hayward	IV
midwife	new street	Dicker	III
minister, English church	new street	Thompson	II
nurse	new street	Baker	III
printer	new street	Wild	IV
seminary principal	new street	Eedes	III
sempstress	new street	Passmore	IV
shoemaker	new street	Koch	IV
shopkeeper	new street	Feagan	III
shopkeeper	new street	Morgan	III
shopkeeper	new street	O'Brien	III
shopkeeper	new street	Paskin	III
smith	new street	Retallick	IV
tailor	new street	Collins	IV
tailor	new street	Farley	IV
tailor	new street	Friedlander	IV
tailor	new street	Hughes	IV
tailor	new street	Watson	IV
tailor	new street	Wedderburn	IV
thatcher	new street	Woodland	IV
traders	new street	Hoole	III
turner	new street	Wedderburn	IV
wagonmaker	new street	Mitchell	IV
wagonmaker	new street	Wedderburn	IV
watchmaker	new street	Rhodes	IV
	new street back	Stewart	
constable	new street back	Faircloth	III
wagonmaker	new street back	Tharratt	IV
mangler	new street rear	Roberts	V
mason	new street rear	Berry	IV
milliner	new street rear	Dunbar	IV
schoolmistress	new street rear	Russell	III
shopkeeper	new street top of	Kemp	III
poundmaster	pound	Curran	III
blacksmith	pound rear of	Turner	IV
labourer	pound rear of	Burgess	V
labourer	pound rear of	Herbert	V
carpenter	queen street	Miller	IV
carrier	queen street	Weel	V
farmer	queen street	Dell	III
farmer	queen street	Miller	III
milkman	queen street	Mathews	III
tanner	queen street	Murray	IV

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

	queen street rear	Edkins	
	queen street rear	Wallis	
farmer	queen street rear	Miller	III
watchmaker	queen street rear	Marsh	IV
carpenter	scott street	Howarth	IV
constable	scott street	Welsh	III
labourer	scott street	McZwart	V
carpenter	scotts barracks	Surmon	IV
	settlers hill	Lamont	
	settlers hill	Norden	
	settlers hill	Shepperson	
	settlers hill	Sellers	
	settlers hill	Willet	
accountant	settlers hill	Kock	III
blacksmith	settlers hill	Long	IV
blacksmith	settlers hill	Patrick	IV
blacksmith	settlers hill	Wheeler	IV
blacksmith	settlers hill	Wenigroth	IV
bootmaker	settlers hill	Earles	IV
carpenter	settlers hill	Mills	IV
clerk	settlers hill	Jamieson	III
clerk	settlers hill	Langford	III
clerk	settlers hill	Puckle	III
clerk	settlers hill	Treadway	III
farmer	settlers hill	Ennis	III
farmer	settlers hill	Fuller	III
interpreter	settlers hill	Cyrus	III
labourer	settlers hill	Hendrick	V
labourer	settlers hill	van Plaster	V
labourer	settlers hill	Webber	V
laundress	settlers hill	Bowker	V
mason	settlers hill	Brislin	IV
mason	settlers hill	Finn	IV
mason	settlers hill	Talbot	IV
mason	settlers hill	Venables	IV
printer	settlers hill	Topper	IV
schoolmistress	settlers hill	Ford	III
shoemaker	settlers hill	Gunn	IV
shoemaker	settlers hill	Ravenall	IV
shoemaker	settlers hill	Wood	IV
shoemaker	settlers hill	Wells	IV
shopkeeper	settlers hill	Miller	III
tallow chandler	settlers hill	Cyrus	IV
wagonmaker	settlers hill	Gradwell	IV
tailor	smith street	Welbeloved	IV
	somerset street	Dicks	
	somerset street	Parker	
Justice of the Peace	somerset street	Phillips	I
agent, general	somerset street	Latham	III
bootmaker	somerset street	Dicks	IV
brewer	somerset street	Patrick	V
brigade sergt major	somerset street	Wallace	III
builder	somerset street	Gilbert	III

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

canteen keeper	somerset street	Dyke	III
carpenter	somerset street	Latham	IV
carrier	somerset street	Strachan	V
clerk	somerset street	Ironmonger	III
clerk	somerset street	Wallis	III
clerk, commissariat office	somerset street	De Smidt	III
commissariat officekeeper	somerset street	Mansfield	V
commissary general, assistant	somerset street	de Smidt	I
farmer	somerset street	Allison	III
farmer	somerset street	Hogben	III
farmer	somerset street	Weakley	III
field cornet	somerset street	Stanton	III
gardener	somerset street	Poulton	V
goaler	somerset street	Bishop	III
labourer	somerset street	Deley	V
labourer	somerset street	Edmunds	V
labourer	somerset street	McAlonan	V
labourer	somerset street	McKay	V
labourer	somerset street	McKelly	V
mason	somerset street	Barrath	IV
mason	somerset street	Dutton	IV
mason	somerset street	Hannon	IV
mason	somerset street	Roberts	IV
messenger	somerset street	Robinson	III
printer	somerset street	Wyde	IV
saddler	somerset street	Wallis	IV
shopkeeper	somerset street	Scott	III
shopkeeper	somerset street	Weakley	III
storekeeper	somerset street	Hayton	III
town clerk & general agent	somerset street	Beck	III
	suburbs	Smit	
agriculturist	suburbs	Pankhurst	III
brickmaker	suburbs	Green	V
clerk	suburbs	Herholdt	III
commandant	suburbs	Currie	II
farmer	suburbs	Armond	III
farmer	suburbs	Amos	III
farmer	suburbs	Currie	III
farmer	suburbs	Forrester	III
farmer	suburbs	Palmer	III
gardener	suburbs	Tuffly	V
labourer	suburbs	Russell	V
mason	suburbs	Annon	IV
sailmaker	suburbs	Thompson	IV
sawyer	suburbs	Feagen	IV
wagonmaker	suburbs	Briggs	IV
wagonmaker	suburbs	Webster	IV
coachman	west hill	Griffiths	V

APPENDIX A13 (contd.)

merchant	west hill	Cock	II
sheriff, deputy	west hill	Carlisle	II
carpenter	william street	Thomas	IV
	worcester street	Rawstorne	I
carpenter	worcester street	Hall	IV
labourer	worcester street	Pearson	V
shoemaker	worcester street	Andries	IV
	york street	Best	
artist	york street	I'Ons	III
carpenter	york street	Thomas	IV
carpenter	york street	Watson	IV
carrier	york street	Godfrey	V
carrier	york street	Smith	V
carrier	york street	Wicks	V
clerk	york street	Gatonly	III
clerk	york street	Roberts	III
clerk	york street	Warren	III
currier	york street	Webb	IV
farmer	york street	Wallace	III
freeholder	york street	Cockroft	III
freeholder	york street	Stratford	III
gardener	york street	Johnstone	V
labourer	york street	Kelly	V
labourer	york street	Reynolds	V
mangler	york street	Evans	V
mason	york street	Hoggan	IV
shoemaker	york street	Shone	IV
shoemaker	york street	Welbeloved	IV
storeman	york street	Sole	III
wagonmaker	york street	Hill	IV

GRAHAMSTOWN HOUSEHOLDERS
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL CLASS 1842

SURNAME	INIT./FNAME	OCCUPATION	CLASS
Abbott		blacksmith	IV
Abdol	B.	mason	IV
Abram		mason	IV
Accledien	M.	tailor	IV
Adams	Miss	schoolmistress	III
Adams	T.P.	agent	III
Allen	Sam	constable	III
Allison	Samuel	mason	IV
Anderson	James	carpenter	IV
Anderson	Geo.	carpenter	IV
Anderson	William	carpenter	IV
Anderson	Ben	carpenter	IV
Anderson	William Sen.Co.	merchants	III
Andries	Theunis	mason	IV
Antony	M.	tailor	IV
Appollos	M.	tailor	IV
Armstrong	J.	mason	IV
Armstrong	Widow	shopkeeper	III
Arrowsmith	J.	agent	III
Atherstone	Guybon	physician	II
Atherstone	John	surgeon, district	II
Atwell	Brook	shoemaker	IV
Austin	Miss	sempstress	IV
Austin	William		
Aveline	Rev. John	baptist minister	II
Ayton	Mrs	lodging house keeper	III
Bagshaw	R.	tinsmith	IV
Bailie	J.	clerk comm.office	III
Bailie	John	clerk	III
Barnett			
Beale	G.	carpenter	IV
Beck	A.W.	clerk, 2nd to CC	III
Behrens	J.C.	cabinet maker	IV
Bell	E.R.	agent	III
Benjamin	Widow	shopkeeper	III
Bennett	Thomas?	brickmaker	V
Berry	Thomas		
Berry	William	tinsmith	IV
Bertram	J.	shopkeeper	III
Bezant	A.C.	clerk	III
Biggs	Widow	schoolmistress	III
Biles	John	labourer	V
Black-	James	merchant	II
Blackbeard	R.	shopman	III
Blaine	Henry	merchant	II
Blakemore	George	labourer	V
Blee	Mrs	shopkeeper	III

APPENDIX A14 (contd.)

Blue	William	clerk	III
Boardman	James	dealer	III
Boardman	W.	upholsterer	IV
Bond	William	bitmaker	IV
Booth	Ben	baker	IV
Botthomly	George	carpenter	IV
Botton	J.	tailor	IV
Boucher	R.	thatcher	IV
Boyce	Rev. W.B.	wesleyan missionary	II
Boys	Capt R.	barrack master	I
Bradfield	Edmund?	turner	IV
Bradfield	Thomas	shopkeeper	III
Brislin	James	mason	IV
Brown	Adjutant	91st Regiment	I
Brown		mason	IV
Brown	Miss	sempstress	IV
Cadle	J.	wheelwright	IV
Caffyn	R.H.	stationer	III
Caldecot	Mrs		
Caldecott	Alphonse T.	grocer	III
Campbell	Ambrose G.	physician	II
Campbell	Lieut		I
Campbell	W.	clerk	III
Carlisle	Frederik	sheriff, deputy	II
Castania	Mrs	sempstress	IV
Castings	J.	labourer	V
Castray	Luke R.	clerk comm.office	III
Cawood	James	butcher	IV
Chadwick	William	carpenter	IV
Chapman	J.	shoemaker	IV
Clarke	Thomas	gunsmith	IV
Clarke	T. sen.	thatcher	IV
Clogg	W.	labourer	V
Coba		laundress	V
Cock	William	merchant	II
Cockroft	Thomas	wagon maker	IV
Cockroft	W.	carpenter	IV
Cole	F.H.	chemist & druggist	III
Collins	Joseph	tailor	IV
Comely	John	carrier	V
Comely	W.	gardener	V
Conner	Patrick	labourer	V
Copeland	Moses	gardener	V
Cornelius	Capt		I
Costello			
Cowie	J.	labourer	V
Crause	Major Henry		I
Cross	T.	baker	IV
Crouch	Richard	tanner	IV
Croude & Wheeler		bakers	IV
Crout	E.	shopkeeper	III
Cummins	Niman	carpenter	IV

APPENDIX A14 (contd.)

Cyrus	George	interpreter	III
Cyrus	Samuel	mangler	V
Dale	Christopher	musician	III
Daniel	H.	labourer	V
Daniell	John	shoemaker	IV
Daniell	P.C.	jeweller	IV
Daniells	P.	mason	IV
Daniels jun.			
Daunt	Dr R.G.	physician	II
Davis	H.L.	coffee-house keeper	III
Davis	J.	shoemaker	IV
Dawson	Miss S.	bonnetmaker	IV
Dawson	Serj. James	CMR	III
Deaken	B.	labourer	V
Dean	E.	carpenter	IV
Dell	John	cooper	IV
Delmege	Dr	physician	II
Denham	Stephen	carpenter	IV
Dennie		tailor	IV
Dennis	P.	labourer	V
Dennis	John?	shoemaker	IV
Devine	T.	carpenter	IV
Devine	William	clerk	III
Dick		tailor & draper	III
Dicks	Ben	baker	IV
Dixie	Philip	shopkeeper	III
Dixon	John Henry	storekeeper	III
Dogherty	N.	tanner	IV
Dold	J.	sempstress	IV
Donovan	Capt Thomas	CMR	I
Douglass	John	saddler	IV
Dredge	Sam	labourer	V
Drennan	Henry	garrison serjeant	III
		major	
Duffy	Charles	shoemaker	IV
Dunbar		schoolmistress	III
Dunford		schoolmistress	III
Dutton	J.H.	mason	IV
Eady	Dr	physician CMR	I
Eagen	Patrick	poundmaster	III
Earle	William John	chemist & druggist	III
Eastment	William	storekeeper	III
Eaton	R.J.	clerk of the peace	II
Edkins	Joseph	carpenter	IV
Edkins	J.	carpenter	IV
Edkins	T.	carpenter	IV
Elliott	Mrs		
Elliott	William	blacksmith	IV
Esaw-		servant	V
Evans	John	carpenter	IV
Evans	Henry	labourer	V
Everley	James	eating house keeper	III
Fair	Mrs	sempstress	IV

APPENDIX A14 (contd.)

Faircloth	John	constable	III
Fancutt	J.	butcher	IV
Fancutt	Thomas	carrier	V
Farley	William	shoemaker	IV
Feagan	Mrs Elizabeth	shopkeeper	III
Fearon	R.	carpenter	IV
Featherstone	Mrs		
Ferreira		carrier	V
Finlayson	Mrs	hotel keeper	III
Finnaughty	John	blacksmith	IV
Fitchet	D.	mason	IV
Fitzgerald	J.	mason	IV
Flannagan	Mrs	sempstress	IV
Flannaghan	John	tailor	IV
Fletcher	W.A.	confectioner	IV
Flookes	Geo.	baker	IV
Foley	John	mason	IV
Ford & Son		storekeepers	III
Francis	T.	tailor	IV
Franklin	George	editor CFT	II
Freemantle	Samuel	painter & glazier	IV
Freyne	P.	carpenter	IV
Fry	L.	carpenter	IV
Fuller	Charles	storekeeper	III
Futter	G.	shoemaker	IV
Futter	G.	shoemaker	IV
Gardener	Thomas B.	shopkeeper	III
Gibbs		printer	IV
Gilbert	George	builder & brewer	III
Gilliland		poundmaster	III
Glass	John	agriculturist	III
Glass	T.	shopkeeper	III
Glass	T.	carrier	V
Goddard	R.	carpenter	IV
Godfrey	Henry	blacksmith	IV
Godlonton	Robert	editor GTJ	II
Golding	George	butcher	IV
Golding & Pike		butchers	IV
Goodes	J.	sexton	III
Gorrie	James	printer	IV
Gradwell	A.	blacksmith	IV
Gradwell	Stephen	wagonmaker	IV
Graham	George	carpenter	IV
Griffin & Botthomly		builders	III
Griffith	Charles		
Griffith	Miss	sempstress	IV
Grubb	Charles	wheelwright	IV
Gunn-	Capt John	CMR	I
Gunn	J.	clerk	III
Gush	R.	builder	III
Hall	R.	labourer	V
Halse	J.H.	clerk	III

APPENDIX A14 (contd.)

Han	Christian	shoemaker	IV
Hanger	Edward	canteen keeper	III
Hannan	John	builder	III
Harewood	Christian snr	labourer	V
Harper	H.	cooper	IV
Hart	Jabez	clerk	III
Hartley	John	plumber	IV
Hartley	William	baker	IV
Hartman	J.G.	cabinet maker	IV
Harvey	John	shopkeeper	III
Harvey	R.	carpenter	IV
Haupt & Brothers		wine & spirit merchants	III
Haw	Simon		
Hayhurst	Richard	builder	III
Hazell	William	labourer	V
Heath	J.H.	attorney	III
Heavyside	Rev. J.	episcopalian minister	II
Heddle	Lieut.		I
Helicott	B.	mason	IV
Hewson	F.	gunsmith	IV
Hewson	T.	gunsmith	IV
Hickman	C.	labourer	V
Higgins	Edmund	mason	IV
Hill	J.	wheelwright	IV
Hockly	Mrs	schoolmistress	III
Holmes	T.	carpenter	IV
Hoole	A.W.	baker	IV
Hoole	J.B.		
Hope	William	baker	IV
Horne	R.	labourer	V
Howse	J.	merchant	II
Hudson	Hougham	secretary to government	II
Hyde	Alex	mason	IV
I'ons	Frederick T.	portrait painter	III
Iles	Widow	sempstress	IV
Innes	W.	carpenter	IV
Jackson	J.	canteen keeper	III
Jacob		mason	IV
Jaffray	J.	bookbinder	IV
Jaffray		printers & publishers	III
Jaffray	W.M.	merchant	III
Jansen		labourer	V
Jansen		labourer	V
Jardine	J.	baker	IV
Jarman	T.	agent	III
Jarvis	George	attorney & notary public	II
Jeffries	Edward	trader	III
Jeffries	G.	tinsmith	IV

APPENDIX A14 (contd.)

Jenkinson	Mrs	sempstress	IV
Jennings	J.	attorney	III
Jennings	H.T.	shopkeeper	III
Jewson	T.	gardener	V
Johnson	J.	labourer	V
Johnstone	Mrs Margaret?	dealer	III
Jolley	J.	canteen keeper	III
Jones		gardener	V
Jones	H.S.	commissary general, deputy assistant	I
Kean	Mrs	sempstress	IV
Keaton	T.	labourer	V
Keene	Widow		
Keevy	J.	mason	IV
Keevy	M.	brickmaker	V
Keightly	A.	sempstress	IV
Kemp	J.	gardener	V
Kew	Henry	storekeeper	III
Kew	P.	tailor	IV
Kidson	W.	wine & spirit dealer	III
Kift	E.L.	storekeeper	III
King	A.	mason	IV
King	T. snr	gardener	V
King	T. jun.	builder	III
King	C.R.	agent	III
Kingsley	George	vet.	III
Knight	Mrs		
Kock	J.W.	clerk	III
Lamont	W.	carpenter	IV
Lamont	James	tailor	IV
Lance	J.	shoemaker	IV
Lanham	T.	mason	IV
Latham	Henry	carpenter	IV
Latham	J.	town clerk	III
Lawlor	Widow	sempstress	IV
Lawrence	John	chairmaker	IV
Leba		laundress	V
Lee	Frederick	butcher	IV
Lee	G.	storekeeper	III
Lee	W. snr	agent, general	III
Lee	W. jun.	butcher	IV
Lee	E.	wheelwright	IV
Legg	H.J.	carpenter	IV
Levick, Sherman, & Kift		merchants	III
Levy	John	clerk	III
Levy	Joseph	tailor	IV
Lewis	J.	sawyer	IV
Lewis	D.	labourer	V
Locke	Rev. John	independent minister	II
Long	William	carpenter	IV
Lonsdale	Miss	dressmaker	IV

APPENDIX A14 (contd.)

Louw	D.	tailor	IV
Lowen	Major	CMR	I
Lowen	P.	messenger, court	III
Loxton	S.	hairstresser	IV
Lucas	C.	constable	III
Lucas	William	carrier	V
Lucas	P.W.	cashier EP Bank	III
Lucas	F.		
Mahmouh		labourer	V
Mallett		mason	IV
Mandy	Stephen	wine merchant	III
Mansfield		servant	V
Marsh	Thomas	watchmaker	IV
Martin	C.	sawyer	IV
Maskell	John	storekeeper	III
Maynard	Charles	merchant	II
Maynard	C. & H.	merchants	II
McCormick	William	carrier	V
McDonald	Mrs		
McGraw	William	farrier	IV
McKallah	J.	shopkeeper	III
McKenzie			
McLean	Capt John	27th Regt	I
McMaster	James	wine & spirit merchant	III
McMaster & Lamont		tailors & habitmakers	III
McMaster & Pakenham		storekeepers	II
McNamara	James	carrier	V
McNaughton	Widow		
Meurant	L.H.	merchant	II
Mewett		carpenter	IV
Miller	Mrs	laundress	V
Mitchel		mason	IV
Mitchelly	T.	sawyer	IV
Moorcroft	R.	tanner	IV
Moorcroft snr		tanner	IV
Morgan	Widow	shopkeeper	III
Moss	S.	chairmaker	IV
Mostyn	T.	physician	II
Muir	James	tailor	IV
Munro	G.	druggist	III
Murphy	Rev. Thomas	Catholic priest	II
Murray		labourer	V
Neat		dressmaker	IV
Neil	E.	carrier	V
Nelson	E.	merchant	II
Nelson	T.	merchant	II
Newton	William	carpenter	IV
Nichol	Widow	storekeeper	III
Nichols	J.G.	merchant	III
Norden	Benjamin jun.	notary public	III

APPENDIX A14 (contd.)

Norden	J.D. & Co.	auctioneers	III
Norden	Marcus	storekeeper	III
Norton	John & Co	merchants	II
Norton	Louis	merchant	II
Norton	Widow		
Nourse	H.	agent, general	II
O'Neill	John	clerk RE depot	III
O'Reilly	Major A.A.	brigade major	I
Oghan	D.	mason	IV
Ogilvie	W.	ironmonger	IV
Okes	Thomas	surveyor, sworn & land	III
Openshaw	Esther	sempstress	IV
Orchard	Henry	tailor	IV
Orsmond	Elizabeth	storekeeper	III
Orsmond	Richard	clerk	III
Page	Thomas	brickmaker	V
Paine	J.	carpenter	IV
Paine	J.	schoolmaster	III
Painter	Mrs M?	storekeeper	III
Pakenham	Charles	storekeeper	II
Pankhurst	F.	cowkeeper	V
Parker	T.	shopkeeper	III
Parr	W.	shopman	III
Paskin	J.	shoemaker	IV
Passmore	Widow	sempstress	IV
Patrick	B.	carrier	V
Paxton	David		
Paxton	William	tinsmith	IV
Pearce		printer	IV
Pennell	J.	mason	IV
Philipson	W.	mason	IV
Phillips	Mrs	sempstress	IV
Pike	William	shopkeeper	III
Pinnock	Miss	bonnetmaker	IV
Pinnock	P.	carrier	V
Pitt	James	shoemaker	IV
Pitt	Robert	messenger	III
Pitt	W.	shoemaker	IV
Poole	T.	shopkeeper	III
Pote	C.	storekeeper	III
Potter	W.	storekeeper	III
Poulton	C.	mason	IV
Poulton	J.	gardener	V
Powell	J. jun.	blacksmith	IV
Powell	James	wagonmaker	IV
Powell	Philip	wheelwright	IV
Price	Widow		
Prynn-	W. sen.	warehouseman	III
Quinn	J.	millr	IV
Radford	Francis		
Rawlinson		clerk	III
Ray	Mrs	shopkeeper	III

APPENDIX A14 (contd.)

Reynolds	J.	shoemaker	IV
Reynolds	Robert	shopkeeper	III
Reynolds	William	canteen keeper	III
Rhodes	Charles	watchmaker	IV
Rhodes	Edward	watchmaker	IV
Rhodes	J.	watchmaker	IV
Richards	Widow		
Roberts	Daniel	shoemaker	IV
Roberts	J.		
Roberts	R.	attorney	III
Roberts	Samuel	shoemaker	IV
Robertson	R.	blacksmith	IV
Robinson	Charles	mason	IV
Roman	Miss	schoolmistress	III
Roulstone	Nelson?	watchmaker	IV
Rowe	R.	carpenter	IV
Rowles	Solomon	printer & publisher	III
Rudman	Samuel	carpenter	IV
Rudman	Widow		
Russell	George	carpenter	IV
Rutherford & Bros		merchants	II
Sanford	George C.	commissary general, assistant	I
Sansome	G.	labourer	V
Saunders	J.C.	deputy ordnance storekeeper	III
Saunders	E.	butcher	IV
Saunders	T.	butcher	IV
Savage	Lieut.		I
Scanlan	William	shoemaker	IV
Scanlan	Thomas	shoemaker	IV
Schonnfeldt		CMR quartermaster	III
Schryber		shopkeeper	III
Shaw	Rev William	minister	II
Shepherd	J.	shopkeeper	III
Shepherd	William	tallow chandler	IV
Shepherd & Harley		tallow chandlers	IV
Shepperson & Co		storekeepers	III
Shepperson snr			III
Shone	Widow		
Short	J.	blacksmith	IV
Simpson	Ann	sempstress	IV
Simpson	B.	shopkeeper	III
Simpson	Widow		
Simpson	W.	butcher	IV
Slater	Charles	tallow chandler	II
Slater	H.	carpenter	IV
Slater	I.F.	attorney	II
Slater	Miss	schoolmistress	III
Smit	Rev. N.	minister	II
Smit	Widow		

APPENDIX A14 (contd.)

Smith	John Hancorne	field cornet	III
Smith	Mrs		
Smith	Richard	canteen keeper	III
Smith	Richard J.		
Smith	Widow		
Smith	William Collins	shoemaker	IV
Smith	William	agent & auctioneer	III
Somerset	Col. Henry	Commandant CMR	I
South	W.	shopkeeper	III
Sparks	Henry	carpenter	IV
Stanton	Robert	wagonmaker & wheelwright	IV
Stanton	William jun.	butcher	IV
Stanton & Co		butchers	IV
Stapleton	Capt		I
Stein & Killian		merchants	III
Stent	William	painter & glazier	IV
Stevens	Jo	labourer	V
Stevens	Mrs		
Stillwell	Thomas	carpenter	IV
Stirk	William	mason	IV
Stone	James	clerk	III
Streak	William	carpenter	IV
Stringfellow	Thomas	clerk, chief to	III
Stroud	Widow	Civil Commissioner	
Stubbs	Thomas	saddler	IV
Styles	James	carpenter	IV
Styles	T. sen.	carpenter	IV
Styles	T. jun.	carpenter	IV
Sullivan	Mrs		
Surmon	William Henry	carpenter	IV
Swanson	Serjeant	91st Regt	III
Symmons	John	shopkeeper	III
Talbot	John	mason	IV
Tancred	Rev. Dr		II
Tarr	James	carpenter	IV
Taylor	Ed.	apothecary	III
Teeling	Christopher P.	clerk RE dept	III
Temlett	James	storekeeper	III
Temlett	J. jun.	shopkeeper	III
Thomas	Mrs		
Thomas	J.	carrier	V
Thomas	Joseph	carpenter	IV
Thompson	W.	clerk	III
Thompson	William Rowland	merchant	II
Tildersly		hotel keeper	III
Tildersly		goldsmith	IV
Todd	Widow		
Trimble	Joseph	messenger, deputy	III
Trollip	Alf	butcher	IV
Trollip	J. jun.	wheelwright	IV
Trotter	William	brewer	III
Tudhope	F.	schoolmaster,	III

APPENDIX A14 (contd.)

Turner	R.	carpenter	IV
Turvey	Edward snr	painter	IV
Ulyate	George	wheelwright	IV
Umphries	J.	shopkeeper	III
Upton	William	mason	IV
Urry	Mrs	shopkeeper	III
Venables	John		
Vice	John	canteen keeper	III
Waite	Widow	dressmaker	IV
Walker	J.	carpenter	IV
Walker	Joseph	storekeeper	III
Wallace	Charles		
Wallace	William	91st Regt	V
Warren	Thomas	clerk	III
Warren	Widow jun.		
Watson	Robert	hotel keeper	III
Watson	W.	carpenter	IV
Watson	Charles		
Weakly	Joseph	storekeeper	III
Webb	Christopher	shoemaker	IV
Webb	Robert		
Webb	Charles	painter & glazier	IV
Webb	Joshua	painter & glazier	IV
Webb	R.	builder	III
Webb	Robert	butcher	IV
Webster	W.	wagonmaker	IV
Wedderburn	James	tailor	IV
Welbeloved	Richard	shoemaker	IV
Wells	Leo	shoemaker	IV
Welsford	C.M.	agent Anderson Sen. & Co	III
West	Martin	civil commissioner	II
West	Widow	storekeeper	III
Wheldon	John	blacksmith	IV
Whetheridge	J.	mason	IV
Whiley	J.	shopkeeper	III
Whiley	G.	printer	IV
White	James	undertaker	IV
Whitnall	Robert M.	clerk RE dept	III
Wienand	J.H.B.	clerk to RM	II
Wienand	Widow		
Williams	Mrs	sempstress	IV
Wood	George	storekeeper	III
Wright	Widow	shopkeeper	III
Wright	John Cecil	storekeeper	III
Wynn	James	tanner	IV
Wynn	Widow		
Yelling	Joseph	canteen keeper	III
Young	Ann		

GRAHAMSTOWN HOUSEHOLDERS
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL CLASS 1853

SURNAME	INIT./FNAME	OCCUPATION	CLASS
Alcott	James	coachmaker	IV
Aldum	Aaron sen.		
Allison	Samuel	farmer	III
Amos	H.	farmer	III
Anderson	Wm Kennelly & Co	merchants	III
Andries	Thomas	shoemaker	IV
Annon	John	mason	IV
Anthoine			
Armond	R.	farmer	III
Armstrong	Widow		
Armstrong	Robert	carpenter	IV
Ashington	Stephen	labourer	V
Ashley	John	quarryman	V
Aspinall	John	carpenter	IV
Atherstone	John	physician	II
Attwell	Brooke	bootmaker	IV
Attwell	Mrs W.		
Austen	R.	collector	III
Ayliff	J.	notary	II
Baggot	Jonas	storeman	III
Baker	Mrs	nurse	III
Baker	Richard		
Barnfather	W.	surveyor	III
Barr	E.	pianoforte tuner	IV
Barrath	Thomas	mason	IV
Batten	M.	labourer	V
Beadle	William	farrier	IV
Beck	Andrew William	town clerk & general agent	III
Belfield	George	mason	IV
Benjamin	M.	shopkeeper	III
Benjamin & Marcus		retail dealers	III
Bent	W.	architect	III
Bent	Richard	builder	III
Berry	Thomas	mason	IV
Berry	William	storeman	III
Bertram	Widow		
Best	R.	canteen keeper	III
Best	William		
Best	Robert	hotel keeper	III
Bezant	Widow	shopkeeper	III
Biggar	Miss	governess	III

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Birkenruth	N.	merchant	III
Bishop	John	goaler	III
Black	James & Co	merchants	II
Blackbeard	Robert	clerk	III
Blackbeard	W.	carpenter	IV
Blaine	Henry	merchant	II
Blaine Bros		merchants	II
Blake	W.	clerk, ordnance	III
Blakemore	Ruben	sawyer	IV
Bodily	John	labourer	V
Boles	Maria	laundress	V
Booth	Edward	clerk	III
Booy	Galant	servant	V
Boulton	Rev. Thos.	baptist minister	II
Bowen	Henry	tailor	IV
Bowker	Thomas	labourer	V
Bowker	Widow	laundress	V
Bowles	William	farmer	III
Box	Stephen	storeman	III
Boyle	James	trader	III
Boys	Capt.	barrackmaster	I
Bradfield	J.		
Bremner	James Grindly	saddler	IV
Briggs	James	wagonmaker	IV
Bright	J.	storeman	III
Brislin	C.	mason	IV
Brislin	J.	mason	IV
Brooks	Bernard	canteen keeper	III
Brooks	Henry		
Brookshaw		blacksmith	IV
Brown	William Thomas	surveyor	III
Bruce		butcher	IV
Brummager	Samuel jun.	carrier	V
Burgess	G.	labourer	V
Burns	E.J.	printer	IV
Campbell	Ambrose George	physician	II
Campbell	John	clerk of the peace	II
Campbell	Colin Turing	notary	II
Carey	J.	wagonmaker	IV
Carlisle	F.	sheriff, deputy	II
Carlisle	J.	farmer	III
Carney	G.	carrier	V
Carney	J.	carpenter	IV
Cawood	Samuel	merchant	II
Cawood Bros.		merchants	II
Chadwick	William	carpenter	IV
Chapman	Rev. G.	wesleyan minister	II
Charlton		baker	IV
Clack		butcher	IV
Clapperton	H.	shopkeeper	III
Clarke	George	farmer	III

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Clough	G.C.	shopkeeper	III
Cock	William, hon.	merchant	II
Cockroft	Thomas	coach & wagonmaker	IV
Cockroft	William	wagonmaker	IV
Cockroft	Charles	freeholder	III
Cogan	James	gardener	V
Cole	F.H.	apothecary & postmaster	III
Collier	J.	shopman	III
Collins	Alfred	tailor	IV
Comby	William	gardener	V
Copeland	W.	clerk	III
Copeling	J.	salesman	III
Copley	W.	coachbuilder	IV
Corner	Cornelius	carpenter	IV
Coughlin	Jeremy	labourer	V
Cousins	Thomas	mason	IV
Cowie	William	labourer	V
Crause	John	freeholder	III
Croft	C.T.		
Croft	C.T. jun.	farmer	III
Cross	Widow	baker	IV
Cross	John	labourer	V
Crouch & Son		tanners	IV
Crout	W.E.	shopkeeper	III
Crozier	Mrs	music teacher	III
Crump	H.	clerk	III
Cumming	George	merchant	II
Cumming		brazier	V
Curling	Richard	labourer	V
Currie	Joseph	farmer	III
Currie	Walter	commandant	II
Currin	R.	poundmaster	III
Cyrus	George	interpreter	III
Cyrus	Samuel	tallow Chandler	IV
Dallas	John jun.	tinsmith	IV
Daniel	Widow		
Daniel	J.N.	bootmaker	IV
Dawlins		labourer	V
Dawson	Miss	bonnetmaker	IV
De Beer	J.H.	clerk, commissariat	III
De Smidt		clerk, commissariat office	III
Deane	C.	carpenter	IV
Deley	William	labourer	V
Dell	Edward H.	farmer	III
Dell	S.	furniture warehouse proprietor	III
Denham	J.	tanner	IV
Dennis	Widow		
Dennison	G.	tailor	IV

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Devereux	Rev. Dr	RC Bishop	II
Dewberry		water overseer	III
Dick	John	tailor	IV
Dicker	W.	gunsmith	IV
Dicker	Mrs	midwife	III
Dicks	E.	baker	IV
Dicks	Samuel	bootmaker	IV
Dicks	James		
Dixie	Philis	carrier	V
Dogherty	Neile	carrier	V
Dold	Mrs B.S.		
Dold	William	labourer	V
Douglas	J.	saddler	IV
Downing	Thos	mason	IV
Doyle	Widow		
Duffield	G.		
Dugmore	Rev. Henry H.	wesleyan minister	II
Dunbar	Miss	milliner	IV
Durney	H.	shopkeeper	III
Dutton	Daniel	mason	IV
Dyke	J.	canteen keeper	III
Earles	W.	bootmaker	IV
Eddie	Dr	surgeon	II
Edkins	Mrs		
Edkins	Joseph	carpenter	IV
Edkins	John		
Edkins	H.	shopkeeper	III
Edmunds	J.	labourer	V
Edwards	Widow	nurse	III
Edwards	Thomas	collector	III
Edwards	Richard	blacksmith	IV
Eedes	Mrs	seminary principal	III
Eedes	John	librarian	III
Eedes		butcher	IV
Eesles	Edmund snr	storeman	III
Emms	Thomas	labourer	V
Ennis	W.	farmer	III
Erskine	A.	stonecutter & carrier	V
Estment	William	shopkeeper	III
Evans	Mrs	mangler	V
Evans		labourer	V
Everley	James	brewer & shopkeeper	III
Faddy	Peter Pickmore	RA Capt.	I
Faircloth	J.	shoemaker	IV
Faircloth	James	constable	III
Farley	W.	shoemaker	IV
Farley	George	tailor	IV
Farrel	John	labourer	V
Feagan	Mrs	shopkeeper	III
Feagen	Patrick	sawyer	IV

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Featherstone	Mrs		
Ferreira	Andries H.	carrier	V
Fielding		shoemaker	IV
Fifield	Francis	dyer	V
Finn	William	mason	IV
Finnaughty	John	blacksmith	IV
Fitzgerald	James	mason	IV
Fitzgerald	Michael	clerk	III
Fitzgerald	John	clerk	III
Fletcher	W.A.	baker & confectioner	IV
Foley	J.	clerk	III
Ford	Mrs	schoolmistress	III
Ford	Widow	shopkeeper	III
Ford	William	clerk	III
Fordred	J.	draper	III
Forrester		farmer	III
Frames	G.C.		
Francis	T.	farmer	III
Franklin	J.G.	editor, CFT	II
Fray	Charles	whitesmith	IV
Frayne	Widow		
Freemantle	Samuel	painter	IV
Friedlander	M.	tailor	IV
Frost	William	labourer	V
Fuller	H.	farmer	III
Fuller	W.	farmer	III
Futter	J.	shoemaker	IV
Futter	J.	inn keeper	III
Gallagher	J.	watchmaker	IV
Gallagher	Mrs	boarding house keeper	III
Galpin	Henry Carter	watchmaker	IV
Gardner	J.S.	worm doctor	III
Gaskwell	Thomas	wool sorter	V
Gatonly	Peter	clerk	III
Gaw	William	labourer	V
Geech		blacksmith	IV
Geoghegan	James	clerk	III
George	G.	schoolmaster	III
George	William	hotel keeper	III
Gilbert	George	builder	III
Glass	J.	carpenter	IV
Glass	Thomas		
Glass	William	mason	IV
Glass	Benjamin	mason	IV
Godfrey	Robert	carrier	V
Godlonton	Robert	editor, GTJ	II
Godlonton & White		printers & publishers	III
Goldswain	Jeremiah	farmer	III
Goodes	J.W.	storeman	III

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Goodwin	William	carpenter	IV
Goold	J.	storeman	III
Gorrie	James	printer	IV
Gowie	Charles Ross	clerk	III
Gowie	Charles Ross	salesman	III
Gradwell	Widow	shopkeeper	III
Gradwell	W.	wagonmaker	IV
Gradwell	John	shopkeeper	III
Graham	George	carpenter	IV
Graham	Robert	Civil Commissioner & Resident Magistrate	II
Grant	Richard	cooper	IV
Green	J.	baker	IV
Green	William	storeman	III
Green	William	brickmaker	V
Griffin	William	storeman	III
Griffiths	James	coachman	V
Grubb	C.	wagonmaker	IV
Gunn	G.	coachmaker	IV
Gunn	W.	shoemaker	IV
Hall	Robert	carpenter	IV
Hall	Benjamin	carpenter	IV
Hallier	Widow	mangler	V
Hamilton	James	saddler	IV
Hancock	Edward	coachpainter & carrier	IV
Hancock	R.	stonemason	IV
Hannon	John	mason	IV
Harding	John	labourer	V
Harley	J.	soap boiler	IV
Hart	Joseph	upholsterer	IV
Hartley	William	baker	IV
Hartley	John	plumber	IV
Hartley	W. snr		
Hartley	D.	clerk, EP Bank	III
Hartman	S.	cabinet maker	IV
Harvey	Mrs	shopkeeper	III
Harvey	John	trader	III
Haw	Simon	yeoman	III
Haw	E.	agent, general	III
Haw	William	shopkeeper	III
Haw & Co		ironmongers	IV
Hay	Rev. A.	baptist minister	II
Hayland	William	canteen keeper	III
Hayton	John	storekeeper	III
Hayward	Thomas	farmer	III
Hayward	Thomas	mason	IV
Healy	James	blacksmith	IV
Healy	Patrick	blacksmith	IV
Heath	Alexander	labourer	V

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Heavyside	Rev. John	colonial chaplain	II
Heddle	Lieut.	army officer	I
Heideman & Co		merchants	III
Hendrick	John	labourer	V
Henry	John	labourer	V
Herbert	W.	labourer	V
Herholdt	Gerrit	clerk	III
Hewson	F.	gunsmith	IV
Hewson	Miss	schoolmistress	III
Hewson	William	gardener	V
Hewson	John	baker	IV
Higgins	Edmund	mason	IV
Hill	John	wagonmaker	IV
Hill	P.	tailor	IV
Hinds	G.	shopkeeper	III
Hockey	B.	shopkeeper	III
Hockey	W.	shopkeeper	III
Hogben	G.	farmer	III
Hoggan	D.	mason	IV
Holdstock		labourer	V
Holesgrove	W.	butcher	IV
Holland	T.	clerk	III
Holland	R.	agent, general	II
Holmes	Henry	mason	IV
Holstock	Thomas	labourer	V
Honey	J.	farmer	III
Hoole	Mrs snr		
Hoole	A.W. & J.C.	traders	III
Horn	Robert	labourer	V
Howarth	William	carpenter	IV
Hubbard	Isaac	shopkeeper	III
Hughes	Joseph	tailor	IV
Hume	D.	trader	III
Huntley	C.H.	clerk to RM & JP	III
Hutchinson	H.		
Hutchinson	Henry	agent, general	III
Hyde	Alexander	inn keeper	III
I'Ons	Frederick	artist	III
Impey	Widow S.P.		
Impey	G.	accountant	II
Impey	G.	clerk	III
Impey	George snr	accountant	II
Ingle	W.	coachbuilder	IV
Ironmonger	John	clerk	III
Irvine	Alex. Napier	gunsmith	IV
Irving	E.	clerk	III
Jackson	J.	inn keeper	III
Jacobs	G.	printer	IV
Jacobs	Joseph	printer	IV
Jaffray	W.M.	merchant	III
Jaffray	John L.	bookbinder	IV

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Jaffray	J.	schoolmaster	III
Jamieson	Alex.	clerk	III
Janson	Jos.	groom	V
Jarvie & Co		merchants	III
Jarvis	George	attorney	II
Jennings	J.	milkman	III
Jerome	Joseph	tailor	IV
Jewson	W.	gardener	V
Johnson		shoemaker	IV
Johnstone	George	gardener	V
Jones	James	carpenter	IV
Jones	Charles	carpenter	IV
Jones	James Griffith	carpenter	IV
Kaple	Thomas	farmer	III
Keene	Widow		
Keene	T.	baker	IV
Keightly	William	painter	IV
Keightly	Joseph	mason	IV
Kelley		shoemaker	IV
Kelley	Michael	woolorter	V
Kelly	William	labourer	V
Kemp	J.	gardener	V
Kemp		shopkeeper	III
Kemp	James	carrier	V
Kempton	John Tonkin	bricklayer	IV
Kennelly	D.H.	merchant	III
Kensit	William		
Kettles	D.		
Kidwell	Thos	wagonmaker	IV
Kidwell	A.	tinplate worker	IV
King	T.F.		
King	Andrew	carpenter	IV
King	P.	chapel keeper, wesleyan	V
King	F.	builder	III
King	Benjamin	carrier	V
King & Son		builders	III
Kingsley	John Cross	CMR surgeon	I
Knott	K.	farmer	III
Knowles	H.	apothecary	III
Knowles	W.	hotel keeper	III
Koch	Dantje	shoemaker	IV
Kock	J.W.	accountant	III
Krohn	N.P.	merchant	III
Krohn	Peter	storeman	III
Laing	James	labourer	V
Lambs	Frederick	labourer	V
Lamont	Mrs		
Lamont	Mrs		
Langford	T.	clerk	III
Larney	John	labourer	V

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Larter	Samuel	clubman	III
Latham	Joseph	agent, general	III
Latham	Henry	carpenter	IV
Latham	Charles	carpenter	IV
Lawrence	J.	wine merchant & auctioneer	III
Leary	Miss	dressmaker	IV
Lee	F.	storekeeper	III
Lee	Mrs	shopkeeper	III
Lenord	John	carrier	V
Leonard	Timothy	collector	III
Leonard	Hugo	labourer	V
Lerham	T.	bricklayer	IV
Levey	J.B.	tailor	IV
Levey	Charles	carpenter	IV
Liddle	Wm Frederick	private secretary to Governor	II
Locker	Phillip	labourer	V
Long	P.	blacksmith	IV
Lowe	D.	tailor	IV
Lucas	P.W.	cashier, EP Bank	III
Lucas	F.	secretary, EP Trust Co	III
Lucas	John	sawyer	IV
Lynch	Mychel	labourer	V
Lyons	John	labourer	V
MacDonald	Alex	carpenter	IV
Mackallah	J.		
Maidwell	Robert	labourer	V
Mallett	C.	clerk	III
Mandy	J.F.		
Mandy	S.D.	wine merchant	III
Mandy	Widow		
Manley	William	farmer	III
Mansfield	Joseph	commissariat officekeeper	V
Marcus	Frederick	shopkeeper	III
Marsh	J.P.	watchmaker	IV
Marsh	George	watchmaker	IV
Marshall	Edward	farmer	III
Marshall	Arnoldus	wagonmaker	IV
Marshall	John	labourer	V
Martin	John	labourer	V
Martin	George	barman	V
Mathews	Servington	milkman	III
Mathews	Anthony	constable	III
McAlonan	David	labourer	V
McCabe	John	clerk	III
McCall	James	collector	III
McCleane	Charles	carrier	V
McColl	J.	clerk	III

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

McCormick	Patrick	carrier	V
McDermid	J.	labourer	V
McKay	George	labourer	V
McKeating	James	bootmaker	IV
McKeen	C.	labourer	V
McKelly	John	labourer	V
McLean	D.	commissary general, deputy assistant	I
McMaster	Joseph	merchant	III
McZwart	Alex	labourer	V
Meadway	W.	clerk	III
Merriman	Rev. N.J.	archdeacon	II
Meurant	Lewis H	farmer	III
Midgley	James	mason	IV
Midgley	Thos	labourer	V
Miller	James	butcher	IV
Miller		farmer	III
Miller	W.	shopkeeper	III
Miller	Widow	shopkeeper	III
Miller	J.	carpenter	IV
Miller	G.	confectioner & birdstuffer	IV
Miller	Joseph	farmer	III
Miller	Wm	farmer	III
Miller	Thomas	farmer	III
Mills	J.	carpenter	IV
Mitchell	Peter	wagonmaker	IV
Moore	R.T.	clerk	III
Moore	Widow		
Morgan	Mrs	shopkeeper	III
Mortimer	John	weaver	IV
Muir		tailor	IV
Munday	S.	shopkeeper	III
Munfort	Wm	farmer	III
Murfin	Joseph	carpenter	IV
Murphy	Thos	labourer	V
Murray	Richard	tanner	IV
Murray	Wm	bricklayer	IV
Murton	R.	hotel keeper	III
Nelson	Thomas	merchant	II
Nelson	C.H.		
Nelson & Son		merchants	II
Nicholl	Widow	shopkeeper	III
Nicholls	G.J.	merchant	III
Noble	W.	shoemaker	IV
Norden	Mrs M.		
Norton	Mrs Louis		
Norton	Thomas	carrier	V
Nourse	Henry	freeholder	III
O'Brien	John	shopkeeper	III
O'Donnell	H.	inn keeper	III

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

O'Reilly	John	tailor	IV
Oates	S.	shoemaker	IV
Ogilvie	W.	ironmonger	IV
Ogilvie	Mrs		
Ogilvie	Alfred	clerk	III
Orsmond	R.	hotel keeper	III
Orsmond	Mrs	shopkeeper	III
Orsmond	Charles	market master	III
Orsmond	G.	shopkeeper	III
Orsmond	Mrs G.	shoemaker	IV
Orsmond	J.	wagonmaker	IV
Paine	Widow		
Paine	Robert	carpenter	IV
Pakenham & Frames		merchants	II
Palmer	George	farmer	III
Palmer	Mrs	boardingschool owner	III
Pankhurst	John	agriculturist	III
Parker	T.H.	shopkeeper	III
Parker	J.	ironmonger	IV
Parker	James		
Parker	Richard	porter	V
Parkins	Wm	carpenter	IV
Parsons	James	labourer	V
Paskin	John	shopkeeper	III
Passmore	Widow	sempstress	IV
Passmore	T.E.	builder	III
Passmore	T.E.	carpenter	IV
Patrick	Ben	carrier	V
Patrick	S.	blacksmith	IV
Patrick	M.		
Patrick	John	brewer	V
Paxton	Wm	carpenter & undertaker	IV
Pearce	Joseph	carrier	V
Pearce	Henry	clerk	III
Pearson	Chas	labourer	V
Peel	Thomas	farmer	III
Penny	Charles	shopkeeper	III
Penny	A.B.	blacksmith	IV
Penny	Phillip	farmer	III
Penny	Phillip	farmer	III
Perrin	Thomas	mason	IV
Philip	Daniel	mason	IV
Phillips	Mrs	laundress	V
Phillips	T.	Justice of the Peace	I
Phillips	George	farmer	III
Phillips	John	cabinet maker	IV
Pieterston	Arie	mason	IV
Pike	A.	shopkeeper	III
Pike		clerk	III

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Pinnock	Mrs		
Pitt	Widow		
Pitt	Mrs John	nurse	III
Pollard	Thomas	freeholder	III
Poole	T.	labourer	V
Pote	Charles	auctioneer	III
Pote	Peter	auctioneer	III
Potter	W.		
Poulton	Chas	mason	IV
Poulton	John	gardener	V
Powell	J. snr	wagonmaker	IV
Powell	J. jun.	wagonmaker	IV
Powell	Philip	wagonmaker	IV
Powell	Wm	saddler	IV
Prendergrast		labourer	V
Preston	W.	shoemaker	IV
Price	Widow		
Prior	Joshua	farmer	III
Puckle	W.	clerk	III
Quinn	John snr	millar	IV
Quinn	John	printer	IV
Quirt	Dan	sheriff's officer	III
Ravenall	W.	shoemaker	IV
Rawstorne	Major J.G.B.		I
Ray	Mrs	dressmaker	IV
Read	Robert	apothecary	III
Retallick	Charles	smith	IV
Reynolds	Widow		
Reynolds	Richard	labourer	V
Reynolds	R.H.	shoemaker	IV
Reynolds	William	labourer	V
Rhodes	Charles	watchmaker	IV
Rhodes	J. sen.	watchmaker	IV
Ricards	Rev. James D.	catholic priest	II
Richards	George	carrier	V
Richards	W.A.	printer	IV
Roberts	R.M.	merchant	III
Roberts	Sam	shoemaker	IV
Roberts	John	builder	III
Roberts	Widow		
Roberts	Widow	mangler	V
Roberts	John	clerk	III
Roberts	R.	storeman	III
Roberts	W.	carpenter	IV
Roberts	H.	carpenter	IV
Roberts	B.	clerk	III
Roberts	Henry	mason	IV
Roberts	James	salesman	III
Robinson	William	messenger	III
Rorke	M.	CMR quartermaster	III
Rorke	J.	cabinet maker	IV

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Rousue	William	gardener	V
Rowles	S.E.	printer & publisher	III
Rowles	Mrs H.		
Russell	Mrs	schoolmistress	III
Russell	Richard	carpenter	IV
Russell	Edward	labourer	V
Sampson	D.	farrier	IV
Samson	Crist.	coachman	V
Sanders	Thomas G.	saddler	IV
Sanders	Alex.	saddler	IV
Sanderson	Edward	carpenter	IV
Sandford	Henry	carpenter	IV
Sanson	Mrs	nurse	III
Sanson	W.	carpenter	IV
Sanson	James	carrier	V
Scanlan	W.	shoemaker	IV
Scanlan	Widow T.		
Scott	W.H.H.	clerk, chief, ordnance office	III
Scott	J.	clerk	III
Scott	David	shopkeeper	III
Sellars	Wm	blacksmith	IV
Sellers	J.		
Shaw	Rev. William	wesleyan missions, superintendent	II
Shaw	Thos	carpenter	IV
Shear	Thomas	labourer	V
Shepherd	W.	tallow chandler	IV
Shepherd	J.	tallow chandler	IV
Shepherd	W.	clerk	III
Shepherd	B.	carpenter	IV
Shepperson	B.M.	draper	III
Shepperson	B.M. snr		
Shone	Thomas	shoemaker	IV
Short	Francis	messenger	III
Short	John	farmer	III
Siddons	J.	carpenter	IV
Slater	C.	tallow chandler	II
Slater	I.F.	attorney	II
Slinger	Christian	servant	V
Smit	Widow M.		
Smit	Rev. N.	pastor, union chapel	II
Smith	W.C.	shoemaker	IV
Smith	Walter	painter & glazier	IV
Smith	Robert Henry	shoemaker	IV
Smith	J. Croford	carrier	V
Smith	Wm	storeman	III
Smith	Benjamin	smith	IV
Smyth-	Robert Edward	blacksmith	IV
Sole	Alfred	storeman	III
Somerset	Lieut.-Col. H.	CMR Commandant	I

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Sparks	R.	shopkeeper	III
Sparks	H. snr	carpenter	IV
Stack	Thomas	clerk	III
Standen	J.	cashier, FC & A Bank	III
Standen	Widow		
Stanger	S.	clerk	III
Stanton	W.	field cornet	III
Stanton	Robert	blacksmith	IV
Stead	George	tinplate worker	IV
Stephens	Jos.	mason	IV
Stewart	M.		
Stone	J.J.H.	attorney	II
Stone	R.G.	agent, general	II
Strachan	Sam	carrier	V
Stratford	A.W.	freeholder	III
Streak	W. sen.	thatcher	IV
Streak	W. jun.	carpenter	IV
Stubbs	Thomas	saddler & govt contractor	IV
Stubbs	William	saddler & govt contractor	IV
Stubbs & Wallis		saddlers	IV
Sturt	Samuel	stationer	III
Style	Thomas Grant	hotel keeper	III
Styles	James	carrier	V
Surmon	William	graham's town policeforce	III
Surmon	Thos	carpenter	IV
Swaine	William	painter	IV
Swan	John	butcher	IV
Tabb	John	labourer	V
Talbot	J. sen.		
Talbot	J.	mason	IV
Taylor	A.	clerk	III
Taylor	Joseph	grocer	III
Taylor	E.T.	apothecary	III
Temlett	J. snr	storekeeper	III
Temlett	John	storeman	III
Thackwray	James	baker	IV
Tharratt	John	wagonmaker	IV
Thomas	James	carpenter	IV
Thomas	J.	shopkeeper	III
Thomas	James	carpenter	IV
Thompson	W.R.	merchant	II
Thompson	W.R. jun.	merchant	II
Thompson	D.	shopkeeper	III
Thompson	Rev. G.	minister, English church	II
Thompson	Robert	sailmaker	IV
Thomson	Rev. W.Y.	pastor, independent chapel	II

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Tildesley	Widow		
Tildesley	Samuel	jeweller	IV
Topper	T.	printer	IV
Treadway	J.	clerk	III
Tribe	Dan	clerk	III
Trollip snr			
Trotter	W.		
Trumble	W.	labourer	V
Trumble/Trimble	J.	chapel keeper	V
Tudhope	F.	schoolmaster, government school	III
Tuffly	John	gardener	V
Turner	Charles	blacksmith	IV
Ulyate	H.	farmer	III
Upton	Mrs	shopkeeper	III
Urry	Robert	tailor	IV
Usher	J. sen.		
Usher	James	farmer	III
Venables	T.	mason	IV
Vice	Widow		
Vice	James	butcher	IV
Vice	John	carrier	V
Wade	Thomas	carrier	V
Wakeford	Henry	carrier	V
Walker	Joseph	storekeeper	III
Walker	T.	carpenter	IV
Walker	J.V.	salesman	III
Wallace	J.	brigade sergt major	III
Wallace	J.	farmer	III
Wallace	James	farmer	III
Wallis	Widow J.		
Wallis	William	clerk	III
Wallis	Geo.	saddler	IV
Walter	Henry	labourer	V
Ward	Henry	clerk	III
Wardhaugh	J.	tailor	IV
Warren	Robert	clerk	III
Warren	Thos Hemlitt	clerk	III
Waters	Wm	labourer	V
Watson	G.	carpenter	IV
Watson	W.	carpenter	IV
Watson	J.	tailor	IV
Watson	R.	carpenter	IV
Weakley	John	shopkeeper	III
Weakley	Joseph	farmer	III
Webb	C.	shoemaker	IV
Webb	Robert	butcher	IV
Webb	Mrs	hotel keeper	III
Webb -	C.	painter & glazier	IV
Webb	John	currier	IV
Webb	W.	currier	IV

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Webber	W.	storeman	III
Webber		labourer	V
Webster	W.	wagonmaker & wheelwright	IV
Webster	William	constable, chief	III
Webster	George	wagonmaker	IV
Webster	John	mason	IV
Wedderburn	W.	tailor	IV
Wedderburn	Wm jun.	turner	IV
Wedderburn	John	wagonmaker	IV
Weel	Wm	carrier	V
Welbeloved	R.	shoemaker	IV
Welbeloved	James	tailor	IV
Wells	George	shoemaker	IV
Welman	R.E.	storeman	III
Welsh	John	constable	III
Wenigroth	Jas.	blacksmith	IV
Wheeldon	James	blacksmith	IV
Wheeler	J.	blacksmith	IV
Wheldon	John	blacksmith	IV
Whibdy	Wm	labourer	V
White	Robert	printer	IV
White	Andrew	storeman	III
Whitehead	S.	tailor	IV
Whitehead	Stephen	tailor	IV
Whitnal	Widow		
Whittle	Wm	tailor	IV
Wicks	George	wheelwright	IV
Wicks	Wm	carrier	V
Wiggett	W.	clerk	III
Wild	Thomas	carrier	V
Wild	John	printer	IV
Wilks	J.	painter	IV
Willett	Mrs		
Williams	John	draper	III
Willmore	Gregory	storekeeper	III
Willows	Thos.	butcher	IV
Wilson	E.	labourer	V
Wink	H.	inn keeper	III
Wood	Geo. jnr		
Wood	John		
Wood	Geo. snr	merchant	II
Wood	W.	shoemaker	IV
Wood	Wm	ironmonger	IV
Wood & Sons		merchants	II
Woodland	H.	thatcher	IV
Woodland	J.	baker	IV
Wright	W.sen.		
Wright-	J.	butcher	IV
Wright	W.	clerk	III
Wright	J.	blacksmith	IV

APPENDIX A15 (contd.)

Wyde		printer	IV
Yelling	W.	hotel keeper	III
Yelling	Joseph	hotel keeper	III
de Smidt		commissary general,	I
		assistant	
van Plaster	John	labourer	V
van de Vent		carrier	V

APPENDIX B
Export and Import Data

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1A

COASTWISE EXPORTS FROM PORT ELIZABETH TO TABLE BAY, 1831-33
 Compared with Official Export Figures

YEAR	To Table Bay	To Great Britain &c.	TOTAL	Coastal % of Total Trade
1831	£34 640*	£30 710	£65 350	53%
1832	£36 867*	£50 955	£87 822	42%
1833	£22 783 +	£58 447	£81 230	28%

* Figures from the Cape Almanac 1833, 77; 1834, 106.

+ Confirmed in CO 420 No. 55, 1833

1B

COASTWISE IMPORTS FROM TABLE BAY TO PORT ELIZABETH, 1831-33
 Compared with Official Import Figures

YEAR	From Table Bay	From Great Britain &c.	TOTAL	Coastal % of Total Trade
1831	£44 672*	£10 423	£55 095	81%
1832	£73 550**	£20 288	£93 838	78.4%
1833	£72 209 +	£24 636	£97 845	73.8%

* Figures from the Cape Almanac 1833, 77; 1834, 106

** Import figures in CO 420 No. 55, 1833 are incomplete.

+ Cape Blue Book 1833: 270

GRAHAMSTOWN EXPORT FIGURES FOR 1830-32

1830	£34 066	(Cape Almanac 1831, 184)
1831	£50 140	(Cape Almanac 1832, 188)
1832	£33 634	(Cape Almanac 1833, 102)

In 1831 and 1832 Grahamstown's exports formed 48% and 38.3% of the total export trade from Port Elizabeth. No further figures for Grahamstown's exports have been traced. At this stage although the bulk of exports were produce from the Interior (Skins, hides, etc.), exports to Table Bay from Port Elizabeth included in 1832, 80 boxes of candles valued at £73, 167 casks and cases of soap to the value of £683 17s 6d and 1 000 tiles worth £10 (CO 410). In 1833, in addition to soap and candles, 429 Yellowwood planks valued at £61 were sent to Table Bay from Port Elizabeth, and 15 000 bricks were exported to Mauritius, at a value of £30 (CO 420). Manufactures exported in 1834 from Port Elizabeth included 7 bales of Cotton Goods worth £147, 2 bales going to Table Bay and 5 to Mauritius. Stinkwood as well as Yellowwood were sent to Cape Town, 51 planks valued at £43, and 112 at £20 respectively (CO 432). No detailed returns were given for later years. A letter from the Collector of Customs, Port Elizabeth to the Secretary to Government transmitting returns of imports and exports during 1832 stresses that it is impossible for him to state the exact value of goods from Table Bay as no invoices are received with the goods which are handled by agents, not the final recipient. (CO 420 No.3, 1833). It seems probable that difficulties of this kind were responsible for the lack of coastwise trade records after 1833.

APPENDIX C

Vendue Roll and Household Inventory Data Grahamstown and the Cape

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LIST OF SELECTED ENGLISH VENDUE ROLLS AND HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES,
CAPE COLONY 1820-53. Extracted from the Cape Archives.

* = Room inventory

Name	Place	Type	Cape Archives Ref. No
* ARMSTRONG, John	Graham's Town	Deceased Estate	MOOC 7/1/130, 1835 Inv. 34½
* BECKER, Carel Arnoldus	Wolmunster, Rondebosch		MOOC 7/1/178, 1844 Inv. 31
* BECKER, Carel Joseph	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/144, 1838 Inv. 97
* BERESFORD, Martin John	Uitenhage	"	MOOC 7/1/190, 1847 Inv. 156
* BERRINGTON, J.	Port Frances	War Losses 1834/35	LG 17, 1835
* BIDDULPH, John Burnett	Graaff-Reinet	Deceased	MOOC 7/1/140, 1837. Inv. 68
BILSON, Thomas	Port Elizabeth	"	MOOC 7/1/142, 1837 Inv. 78
BLACKBEARD, Charles	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/203, 1850 Inv. 83
BOARDMAN, The Rev. William	Bathurst	"	MOOC 10/40, 1827 Vendue Roll 9
BOX, John	Port Elizabeth	"	MOOC 7/1/150, 1839 Inv. 98
BREEZE, Charles	Graham's Town	Insolvent Estate	MOIB 2/686, 8 Aug. 1848 No. 98
* BRIDEKIRK, William Storey	Cape Town	Deceased	MOOC 13/1/127, 1847 Inv. 66
BROWN, Benjamin	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 10/43, 1830 Ven. Roll 30
BROWNLEE, James	King William's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/209, 1851 Inv. 35
BUCKLY, Elizabeth	Lower Albany	"	MOOC 7/1/193, 1848 Inv. 44
CAMPBELL, Maj.-Gen. Charles	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 10/36, 1823 Ven. Roll 48
CANNON, William Edward Henry	2 Burg Street Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/143, 1837 Inv. 59
* CATO, John Pearson	Rondebosch	"	MOOC 7/1/179, 1844 Inv. 89½
CAWOOD, Martha	Old Caffre Drift, Albany	"	MOOC 7/1/125, 1834 Inv. 93
* CHANDLER, Margaret	Plumstead	"	MOOC 7/1/184, 1846 Inv. 40
CURLY, John	Alice/Fort Beaufort	"	MOOC 7/1/208, 1851 Inv. 45
DANIEL, Eliza	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/138, 1836 Inv. 24

LIST OF SELECTED ENGLISH VENDUE ROLLS AND HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES,
CAPE COLONY 1820-53 contd.

Name	Place	Type	Cape Archives Ref. No
* DANIELS, Ann	Sidbury Park	"	MOOC 7/1/155, 1839 Inv. 74½
DEVINE, William	Graham's Town	Deceased Estate	MOOC 7/1/186, 1846 Inv. 8
DIETZ, A.B.	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 10/46, 1833 Ven. Roll 10
* ELEY, Samuel	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/136 1836 Inv. 20
FIDLAR, David	Port Elizabeth	"	MOOC 7/1/168 1842 Inv. 80
* FRAZER, Henry	Simon's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/153, 1839 Inv. 108
GAUGAIN, Philip	Graham's Town	Insolvent Estate	MOIB 2/492, 31 Aug. 1838 No. 29
GIANI, Augustus	Graham's Town	"	MOIB 2/686, 8 Aug. 1848 No. 101
GOLDSWAIN, Charles Henry	Bathurst	Deceased	MOOC 7/1/208, 1851 Inv. 15
* GRAY, William	Lower Albany	"	MOOC 7/1/206, 1851 Inv. 100
* GRIFFITHS, Mary	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/173, 1843 Inv. 13
GROBELLAAR, M.	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 10/46, 1833 Ven. Roll 8
HANCOCK, James	Port Elizabeth	"	MOOC 7/1/142, 1837 Inv. 75
HARPER, Henry	Graham's Town	Insolvent	MOIB 2/687 8 Aug. 1848 No. 102
HAWKINS, Francis	Cape Town	Deceased	MOOC 10/45, 1832 Ven Roll 49
HEALY, John	Howard's Party Albany	"	MOOC 7/1/208, 1851 Inv. 60
* HUNTER, Thomas	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/144, 1838 Inv. 29
HUTTON, John	Albany	Insolvent	MOIB 2/687, 8 Aug. 1848 No. 103
INGHAM, William	Albany	Deceased	MOOC 7/1/193, 1848 Inv. 22
ISTEAD, Thomas	Salem	"	MOOC 10/47, 1834 Ven. Roll 30
* JARDINE, John	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/176, 1844 Inv. 78
JEFFERY, Thomas Petharick	Salem Hills	Insolvent	MOIB 2/687, 8 Aug. 1848 No. 104.

LIST OF SELECTED ENGLISH VENDUE ROLLS AND HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES,
CAPE COLONY 1820-53 contd.

Name	Place	Type	Cape Archives Ref. No
JENNINGS, Henry Thomas	Graham's Town	Deceased	MOOC 7/1/205, 1851 Inv. 57
* JOLLY, John	Graham's Town	Deceased Estate	MOOC 7/1/178, 1844 Inv. 124
* KEKEWICH, William	Clan William	"	MOOC 7/1/205, 1851 Inv. 57
KIDWELL, Alexander	Graham's Town	Insolvent Estate	MOIB 2/468, 14 Feb. 1837 No. 27
KNIGHT, John	Graham's Town	"	MOIB 2/687 8 Aug. 1848 No. 105
LAWSON, Thomas	Graham's Town	Deceased Estate	MOOC 10/43, 1830 Ven. Roll 15
LEA, William	Graham's Town	Insolvent Estate	MOIB 2/687, 8 Aug. 1848 No. 106
* LEATT, Henry	Diep River	Deceased	MOOC 7/1/146, 1838 Inv. 95
LYON, George	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 10/44, 1831 Ven. Roll 91
MARRISON, James	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/149, 1839 Inv. 100
MARSHALL, John	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/125, 1834 Inv. 129
* McCLELAND, The Rev. Francis	Port Elizabeth	"	MOOC 7/1/216, 1853 Inv. 63
* McFARLAN, John	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/179, 1844 Inv. 48.
MCKROSTY, Peter	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/147, 1838 Inv. 49
* MORGAN, E.C.	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/189, 1847 Inv. 48
* MORISON, Murdoch	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/173, 1843 Inv. 81
MURRAY, James	Clay Pitts, Albany	"	MOOC 7/1/125, 1834 Inv. 114
* NAUDE, David Francois	Stellenbosch	"	MOOC 7/1/192, 1848 Inv. 29
NICOL, Andrew	Graham's Town	Insolvent	MOIB 2/687, 8 Aug. 1848 No. 109
* NORDEN, Joshua D.	Graham's Town	Deceased	MOOC 7/1/186, 1846 Inv. 20
* NOURSE, Gordon	Koonap River	"	MOOC 7/1/186, 1846 Inv. 77
* OBERMEYER, Johanna	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/158, 1840 Inv. 49

LIST OF SELECTED ENGLISH VENDUE ROLLS AND HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES,
CAPE COLONY 1820-53 contd.

Name	Place	Type	Cape Archives Ref. No
* PALLAS, Frederica Elizabeth	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/127, 1834 Inv. 135
PALSON, J.	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 10/43, 1830 Ven. Roll 71
* PEARSON, George MacKrill	Wynberg	Deceased Estate	MOOC 7/1/196, 1849 Inv. 98
* PERRY, Thomas	Graaff-Reinet	"	MOOC 7/1/139, 1837 Inv. 95
PETERS, Jan	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/196, 1849 Inv. 81
* PHILIP, The Rev. William Enory	Uitenhage	"	MOOC 7/1/183, 1845 Inv. 151
PLOWDEN, Richard Chichely	Cape Town	"	MOOC 10/39, 1826 Ven. Roll 21
PLUMMER, Thomas	Port Elizabeth	"	MOOC 7/1/125, 1834 Inv. 39
PRICE, John Fuller	Uitenhage	"	MOOC 10/45, 1832 Ven Roll 79
RADFORD, Jonathan	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/134, 1836 Ven. Roll 17
ROBERTS, William	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/142, 1837 Inv. 57
ROBERTSON, William	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/150, 1839 Inv. 19
ROODT, Philip Andreas	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/199, 1849 Inv. 103
* SANFORD, George C.	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/176, 1844 Inv. 98
SCOTT, G.D.	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/196, 1849 Inv. 90
SEARLE, Edward	Cape Town	"	MOOC 7/1/153, 1839 Inv. 59
SEIJFFERT, Johan Ernst	Worcester	"	MOOC 7/1/138, 1836 Inv. 13
SHAW, John	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/130, 1835 Inv. 46
SHORT, Frederick William	Salem	"	MOOC 7/1/208, 1851 Inv. 9
SKEA, John	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/202, 1850 Inv. 60
SLAVEN, Catherine	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/186, 1846 Inv. 25
STUBBS, Ann	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 10/39, 1826 Inv. 35

LIST OF SELECTED ENGLISH VENDUE ROLLS AND HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES,
CAPE COLONY 1820-53 contd.

Name	Place	Type	Cape Archives Ref. No
TARR, George	Wentworth Park Albany	"	MOOC 7/1/201, 1850 Inv. 72
* THWAITS, Abraham	Cape Town	Insolvent	MOIB 2/555, 31 May 1842 No. 76 (taken in 1832)
TITTERTON, George	Diep River	Deceased	MOOC 7/1/146, 1838 Inv. 70
* TRIMBLE, Joseph	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/194, 1848 Inv. 101
UMTOLA, George	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/211, 1852 Inv. 48
WARD, William	Port Elizabeth	Insolvent	MOIB 2/525, 1844 No. 95
WEBB, John Henry	Fish River	Deceased	MOOC 7/1/189, 1847 Inv. 10
* WENTWORTH, Charles Augustus	Uitenhage	"	MOOC 7/1/124, 1834 Inv. 29
WILSON, John	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/147, 1838 Inv. 20
WITHERIDGE, James	Graham's Town	"	MOOC 7/1/190, 1847 Inv. 68

LIST OF GRAHAMSTOWN VENDUE ROLLS AND HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES, SPECIFYING
OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL CLASS OF THE HOUSEHOLDER WHERE KNOWN

Name	Occupation	Class	Cape Archives Ref. No.
ARMSTRONG, John	Trader	III	MOOC 7/1/130, 1835 Inv. 34½
BLACKBEARD, Charles	-	-	MOOC 7/1/203, 1850 Inv. 83
BREEZE, Charles	Trader	III	MOIB 2/686, 8 Aug. 1848, No 98
BROWN, Benjamin	-	-	MOOC 10/43, 1830 Vendue Roll 30
CAMPBELL, Maj.-Gen. Charles	Army Officer	I	MOOC 10/36, 1823 Vendue Roll 48
DANIEL, Eliza (Mrs P.C.)	Wife of Jeweller	IV	MOOC 7/1/138, 1836 Inv. 24
DEVINE, William	Clerk	III	MOOC 7/1/186, 1846 Inv. 8
DIETZ, A.B.	Storekeeper	III	MOOC 10/46, 1833 Vendue Roll 10
GAUGAIN, Philip	Jeweller	IV	MOIB 2/492, 31 Aug. 1838, No. 29
GIANI, Augustus	Jeweller	IV	MOIB 2/686, 8 Aug. 1848, No. 101
GROBELLAAR, M.	-	-	MOOC 10/46, 1833 Vendue Roll 8
HARPER, Henry	Cooper	IV	MOIB 2/687, 8 Aug. 1848, No. 102
JARDINE, John	Baker	IV	MOOC 7/1/176, 1844 Inv. 78
JENNINGS, Henry Thomas	Shopkeeper	III	MOOC 7/1/205, 1851 Inv. 57

LIST OF GRAHAMSTOWN VENDUE ROLLS AND HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES, SPECIFYING
OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL CLASS OF THE HOUSEHOLDER WHERE KNOWN

Name	Occupation	Class	Cape Archives Ref. No.
JOLLY, John	Canteen Keeper	III	MOOC 7/1/178, 1844 Inv. 124
KIDWELL, Alexander	Butcher	IV	MOIB 2/468, 14 Feb. 1837, No. 27
KNIGHT, John	Dealer in Malt Liquors	III	MOIB 2/687, 8 Aug. 1848, No. 105
LAWSON, Thomas	Attorney	III	MOOC 10/43, 1830 Vendue Roll 15
LEA, William	Baker	IV	MOIB 2/687, 8 Aug. 1848, No. 106
LYON, George	Farmer	III	MOOC 10/44, 1831 Vendue Roll 91
MARSHALL, John	Farmer	III	MOOC 7/1/125, 1834 Inv. 129
MCKROSTY, Peter	Distributor of Stamps	III	MOOC 7/1/147, 1838 Inv. 49
NICOL, Andrew	Commissariat Issuer	III	MOIB 2/687, 8 Aug. 1848, No. 109
NORDEN, Joshua D.	Auctioneer	III	MOOC 7/1/186, 1846 Inv. 20
PALSON, J.	-	-	MOOC 10/43, 1830 Vendue Roll 71
PETERS, Jan	Trader?	III?	MOOC 7/1/196, 1849 Inv. 81
RADFORD, Jonathan	-	-	MOOC 7/1/174, 1836 Vendue Roll 17
SANFORD, George C.	Assnt Commissary General	I	MOOC 7/1/176, 1844 Inv. 98
SCOTT, G.D.	General Dealer	III	MOOC 7/1/196, 1849 Inv. 90

LIST OF GRAHAMSTOWN VENDUE ROLLS AND HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES, SPECIFYING
OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL CLASS OF THE HOUSEHOLDER WHERE KNOWN

Name	Occupation	Class	Cape Archives Ref. No.
SHAW, John	Storekeeper?	III?	MOOC 7/1/130, 1835 Inv. 46
SKEA, John	-	-	MOOC 7/1/202, 1850 Inv. 60
SLAVEN, Catherine	-	-	MOOC 7/1/186, 1846 Inv. 25
STUBBS, Ann (widow of John Stubbs)	Farmer's wife	III	MOOC 10/39, 1826 Inv. 35
TRIMBLE, Joseph	Labourer/ Chapel Keeper/ Messenger	V V III	MOOC 7/1/194, 1848 Inv. 101
UMTOLA, George	-	-	MOOC 7/1/211, 1852 Inv. 48
WILSON, John	Mason?	IV?	MOOC 7/1/147, 1838 Inv. 20
WITHERIDGE, James	Bricklayer	IV	MOOC 7/1/190, 1847 Inv. 68

APPENDIX C3

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ROOM INVENTORIES, CAPE COLONY 1832-53, SPECIFYING
OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL CLASS OF THE HOUSEHOLDER WHERE KNOWN

Year*	Householder	Occupation	Class	Place of Residence
1832	Thwaites	Cabinet Maker	IV	Cape Town
1834	Pallas	-	-	Cape Town
	Wentworth	District Surgeon	II	Uitenhage
1835	Berrington	Inn/Storekeeper	III	Port Frances
	Armstrong	Trader	III	Graham's Town
1836	Eley	Chief Artificer & Turn Cock to Cape Town Water Works	IV	Cape Town
	Seijffert	Tanner	IV	Worcester
1837	Perry	Apothecary	III	Graaff Reinet
	Hunter	Blacksmith	IV	Cape Town
	Leatt	Boot and Shoemaker	IV	Cape Town
	Becker	Tailor	IV	Cape Town
1839	Searle	-	-	Cape Town
	Robertson	-	-	Cape Town
	Marrison	-	-	Cape Town
	Daniels	Wife of Wool Farmer	I	Sidbury Park
	Frazer	Minister	II	Simon's Town
1840	Obermeyer	Widow of Carpenter	IV	Cape Town
1843	Sanford	Assnt Comm. General	I	Graham's Town
	Bridekirk	Publisher	II	Cape Town
		<u>SA Chron. & Merc. Ad.</u>		
	Morison	-	-	Cape Town
	Griffiths	-	-	Cape Town
1844	Jardine	Baker	IV	Graham's Town
	Jolly	Canteen Keeper	III	Graham's Town
	McFarlan	-	-	Wynberg Hill
	Becker	Merchant	II	Rondebosch
	Cato	Carpenter	IV	Rondebosch
1845	Philip	LMS Missionary	II	Hankey, Uitenhage
1846	Norden	Auctioneer	III	Graham's Town
	Nourse	Farmer	III	Koonap River
	Chandler	-	-	Plumstead
1847	Naude	Retail Shopkeeper	III	Stellenbosch
	Beresford	-	-	Uitenhage
	Morgan	-	-	Camp Ground
1848	Trimble	Labourer	V	Graham's Town
1849	Pearson	Physician/Surgeon	II	Wynberg
1851	Kekewich	-	-	Clan William
	Gray	Field Cornet	III	Lower Albany
1853	McClelland	Minister	II	Port Elizabeth
	Black	Merchant	II	Graham's Town
	Pakenham	Merchant	II	Graham's Town

* = year in which inventory was taken

**Chronological Index To
Copies of Grahamstown Room Inventories**

				Social Class	Page
C4.1	1835	M00C 7/1/130 Inv. 34½	John Armstrong, Trader Hill Street.	III	136
C4.2	1843	M00C 7/1/176 Inv. 98	George C. Sanford, Assistant Commissary General Bell Street.	I	140
C4.3	1844	M00C 7/1/176 Inv. 78	John Jardine, Baker Beaufort Street.	IV	146
C4.4	1845	M00C 7/1/178 Inv. 124½	John Jolly, Canteen Keeper East Barracks.	III	150
C4.5	1846	M00C 7/1/186 Inv. 20	Joshua D. Norden, Auctioneer Beaufort Street.	III	153
C4.6	1848	M00C 7/1/194 Inv. 102	Joseph Trimble, Labourer Cross Street Artificers' Square.	V	160
C4.7	1853	GTJ 8.02, 1c5	James Black, Merchant Selwyn Castle New Street.	II	163
C4.8	1853	GTJ Extra 22.02, 1c4	Charles Pakenham, Merchant Bathurst Street Settlers' Hill.	II	165

Cape Archives
MOOC 7/1/130
1835, Inv 34½

John Armstrong
Trader, Hill Street
Graham's Town

COPY

Inventory of all the property moveable and immoveable belonging to the Estate of John Armstrong deceased, and Catherine Armstrong (born Forbes) relinquished by the testate death of the said John Armstrong who departed this life in Cafferland on or about the twenty second day of April last in favor of his Wife the said Catherine Armstrong and his undermentioned children--

Francis Alexander
John Henry
Mary Jane
Catherine Anne
Helen Armstrong

Immoveable property

	In shop	
Fixtures - Counter, Shelves & Till		4 10 "
2 lots China in complete sets		1 " "
1 Red Jacket) for		" 5 "
2 old coats Great) sale		" 4 6
9 Empty Casks		" 2 "
Some Empty Bottles/ about 2 dozen/		" 1 "
1 Kettle		1 11 6
7 Rolls of Tobacco		
		<u>£7 14 0</u>

Amount Brt Forward

7 14 0

Parlor to the right of Shop

1 Small round Table stinkwood and cover	1 " "
1 Work Table	1 " "
4 Painted Chairs	1 17 6
1 Old stinkwood Arm Chair	" 5 "
6 Tin Trays	" 18 "
2 Old Bridles	" 2 6
1 New do double	" 15 "
1 Looking Glass	1 10 "
1 Common Kitchen Clock	" 15 "
1 Time Piece	" 10 "
1 Fender	" 10 "
Set of Fire Irons	" 10 "
1 Hearth Rug	" 5 "
1 Clothes press containing wearing apparel	2 " "
1 Set China Tea service	" 10 "
6 Common decanters	" 9 "
1 Tea Caddy	" 2 6
1 Cruet stand	" 7 6
2 dozen blue plates	" 5 "
2 dozen do old	" 5 "
4 Plated Candlesticks	" 10 "
4 Brass do	" 6 "
6 Jugs	" 4 "
2 pairs salt Cellars	" 1 6
4 Sugar Basons	" 4 6
4 Cut Glass Fruit dishes	" 7 6
2 Chairs	" 18 9

£24 3 3

continued

Amount Brt forward	24	3	3
Back room leading out of the Parlor			
About 8 dozen empty Ginger beer bottles	"	12	"
2 small empty casks	"	3	"
Upstairs Bed room			
5 trunks containing wearing apparel	1	"	"
2 Bedsteads & Bedding	5	"	"
4 Chairs	"	8	"
1 Box containing wearing apparel	"	4	"
1 Common Wash Hand Stand	"	4	6
a quantity of old straps, broken chairs etc.	"	10	"
1 Writing desk	4	2	6
1 Small Mill or coffee Machine	"	2	6
4 Side saddles belonging to the children	7	10	"
2 Saddles belonging to the boys	2	"	"
3 Silver Table spoons	1	10	"
Back Room leading out of Shop			
Bedstead & Bedding	2	"	"
1 Table with Marble slab	2	10	"
1 Common Table	"	7	6
6 Basons	"	1	"
1 Large Jug	"	1	"
3 Small Trays	"	1	"
	£48	10	3

Amount Brt Forward	48	10	3
1 Small kettle and stand	"	5	"
2 Kettles	"	4	"
1 Pudding Pan	"	1	6

Kitchen

2 ovens	"	3	"
2 Fish Kettles	"	5	"
2 Copper Saucepans	"	5	"
1 Kneading Trough	"	5	"
5 Milking cans	"	5	"

Cattle

2 Horses in the Stable	15	"	"
24 Goats or thereabouts	2	13	6

No Cash found in the Estate

Claim in favor of the Estate			
Note of hand signed by Montgomery			
dated 8th Nov. 1834 payable at	6	"	"
6 months Rds 80 "			
Acknowledgement of Montgomery			
for Rds 454 payable in Sheep	34	6	"

£107 18 3

Landed Property

House and Premises situate in
Hill Street Graham's Town
Value rent for month 76 Rds
1 Allotment of Ground
at Graham's Town - of which Transfer
has still to be received
Erf in Market Square - Graham's Town
Location in Howard's Party
3 Erven situate in Graham's Town

Cape Archives
MOOC 7/1/176
1844, Inv.98

APPENDIX C4.2
George C. Sanford
Assnt Commissary
General
No. 14, Bell Street
Graham's Town

COPY

Inventory of the Effects of Assistant Commissary General George C. Sanford who Died at Graham's Town on the 15 October 1843

Description of Effects	No. of each Article now forth- coming	Description of Effects	No. of each Article now forth- coming
Drawing Room		Dining Room	
Piano Forte	1	Mahogany dining Table	1
Sofa with cover	1	Ditto - side - ditto -	1
Pillows for Ditto	3	Ditto Tray and Stand	1
Round Table and cover	1	Travelling Tray	1
Small Tables	2	Mahogany Arm Chairs	2
Arm Chair (cane bottom)	1	Ditto Chairs	10
Chairs do do	6	Carpet	1
Childs Arm Chair do	1	Hearth Rug	1
Ottomans	2	Sets Merino Window Curt.	2
Set Fire Irons	1	Brass bands for ditto	2
Brass Fender	1	Fender	1
Bellows (pairs)	1	Tongs and Poker	1
Carpet	1	Tea Caddy	1
Hearth Rug	1	Small Map Cape Good Hope	
Hassack	1	in Mahogany frame	1
Writing Desk	1	Window blind	1
Work Box	1		
Flute & Mahogany case	1		
Card Box	1	Bed Room No 1	
Window Curtains & bands	2	Mahogany Bedstead	1
Picture (Gilt Frame)	1	Set Curtains to - ditto	1
Ditto (Miniature)	1	Straw mattrass	1
Window blinds	2	Hair - ditto	2
		Feather Bed	1
		Counterpanes	3

(continued)

Continued

Description of Effects	No. of each Article now forth- coming	Description of Effects	No. of each Article now forth- coming
Blankets	7	Small Box containing	
Sheets	12	Shooting Apparatus	1
Pillows	12	Pistols and Case	2
Dressing Table	1	Epaulettes (pairs)	1
Wash-hand stand	1	Shoulder Straps (pairs)	1
Ure (Ewer) and Basin	1	Double barrelled Gun	1
Foot pan (China)	1	Shot belt	1
Large Looking Glass	1	Pictures unframed	2
Small Carpet	1	Small Box	1
Wardrobe & Chest of		Razors (pair)	1
Drawers	1	Razor Straps	2
Window Curtain	1	Shoe horn	1
Window Blind	1	Boot hooks (pairs)	1
		Fruit Knife	1
		Paper-ditto	1
		Hair Brushes	3
		Hat Brush	1
		Looking Glass	1
		Tin Boxes	3
		Map of South Africa	1
		Military Caps	2
		Hats	2
		Blue Surtout & Straps	1
		Pair Blue Trowsers	1
		Military Blue Coat	1
		Blue Trowsers with	
		Gold Stripes	1
		Military Saddle Cloth	
		Gold Lace	1
		Blue Military Coat	1
		Moleskin Shooting Jacket	1
		Ditto Trowsers	2
Bed Room No 2			
Bedstead	1		
Hair Mattrass	1		
Chest of Drawers	1		
Wash-hand stand	1		
Ure (Ewer) and Basin	1		
Looking Glass	1		
Window Curtains	1		
Dressing Room			
Wardrobe	1		
Clothes Horse	1		
Camp Arm Chair	1		
Night Stool	1		
Wash-hand Stand	1		

(continued)

(continued)

Continued

Description of Effects	No. of each Article now forth- coming	Description of Effects	No. of each Article now forth- coming
Shirts	12	Nursery	
Shoes (pairs)		Cribs for Children	2
and	4	Swinging Cot	1
Boots (pairs)		Servants Bedstead	1
Stockings (pairs)	4	Ditto Mattress Straw	1
Socks (pairs)	12	Ditto - Ditto - Hair	1
White waistcoats	3	Ditto - Ditto - Wool	1
Cassimere		Clothes Basket	1
(Cashmere) ditto	2	Clothes Horses	3
Black Ditto	2	Camp Stools	2
Coloured Ditto	1	Small Looking Glasses	2
Blue Jackets	2		
Black Trowsers (pairs)	1	Pantry	
White Ditto (pairs)	3	Silver Table spoons	9
Jean Jackets	5	Ditto Table Forks	6
Undrefs Ditto	1	Ditto Tea spoons	9
Pairs Braces	3	Ditto Cream Jug	1
Flannel Waistcoats	3	Ditto Soup divider	1
Bible 3 vols	1	Ditto Sugar Tongs	1
Gazetteer	1	Ditto Salt spoons	5
Spanish & English		Ditto Mustard ditto	1
Dictionary	1	Dessert spoons	12
Walkers Dictionary	1	Table Forks German	6
Port-folio	1	Dessert Forks Silver	10
Bibles (common)	1	Sauce Ladles	2
Vols Ossians Poems	1	Plated Nutcrackers pairs	2
Natural Theology	1	Patent Cork Screw	1
Watts Hymns	1	Plated Cruett stand	
Holy Communion	1	(7 bottles)	1
South African Affairs	1		
Caffir Chief Hintza	1		
Prayer Book	1		
Carpet Bag	1		

(continued)

(continued)

Continued

Description of Effects	No. of each Article now forth- coming	Description of Effects	No. of each Article now forth- coming
Plated Snuffers & Tray	1	Claret Jugs	2
Ditto Toast Basket	1	Wine Glasses	20
Ditto Toast Rack	1	Licquers	3
Ditto Bottle Coasters	2	Wine Decanters	5
Ditto Fruit Knives	8	Salts and Stands	4
Ditto - do - Forks	12	Plain Salts	3
Silver Butter Knife	1	Common Tray	1
Plated Quart pot	1	Despatch Lamp	1
Ditto Waiter	1	Night Ditto	1
Ditto Candlesticks		Table Ditto	1
(pairs)	1	Tea Urn & rug (Jug?)	1
Silver Covered Dishes	4	Plated extinguishers	3
Carver Knives & Forks	3	Snuffer and Tray	1
Table Knives	8	Dried Casks	4
Dessert ditto	5	Soup Toureen	1
Ditto Forks	5	Nutmeg grater	1
Kitchen Knives & forks	2	Soup plates	11
Tea Scoups	2	Dinner ditto	7
Sugar ditto	1	Pudding basin	1
Knife Box (Mahogany)	1	Dessert Plates	24
Tea Caddy	1	Cake ditto	3
Chimney Ornaments	6	Fruit ditto	14
China Tea Caddys	2	Dishes	5
Green Finger Glasses	5	Centre dish	1
Wine coolers	5	Brass Pestle & Mortar	1
Ale Glasses	9	Coffee Pot	1
Tumblers	2	Tea Pot	1
Water bottles	2	Cannisters	6

(continued)

(continued)

Continued

Description of Effects	No. of each Article now forth- coming	Description of Effects	No. of each Article now forth- coming
Syringe	1	Door Mat	1
Cups and Saucers	11	Cardle	1
Cheese Plates	6	Open Wardrobe	1
Tin Foot-pans	2		
Water Buckets	2	Loft	
Tin Dish covers	4		
Oil-can	1	Waggon Chests	2
		Wool Mattrass	1
Kitchen		Boxes	3
Boiler	1	Trunks	3
Pots	3	Travelling Canteen	1
Sauce-pans	4	Guitar	1
Baking Pots	2	Empty Oil Cans	10
Tea Kettle	1	Small Fender	1
Smoothing Irons	4	Saddles	2
Frying Pan	1	Cocked Hat & Case	1
Grid-Iron	1	Sword & Waistbelt	1
Italian Irons	2	China Basket	1
Cullender	1	Tin Bucket	1
Tin Basin	1		
Coffee Mill	1	A House, Stables, Coach House,	
Tea Tray	1	Kitchen, out offices and 2 erven.	
Wooden Chairs	2	One plot of ground No 14 Bell Street	
Dutch Clocks	1	equal to 48 Square Roods, & 108 Feet.	
Stretchers	2	One Do.-Do.- No 47 D'Urban Street	
Table	1	equal to 48 Square Roods and 108 Feet	
		About 600 Sheep.	

Ann Fisher Sanford.

(continued)

We certify that we have this day carefully inspected the Effects of Assistant Commissary General George C. Sanford, who Died at Graham's Town on the 15th October 1843, and that in the preceeding pages is a true and just Inventory of all the Articles belonging to him, as far as can be now ascertained.

We further Certify that all the Articles now forthcoming have been given over to the Widow and that a Duplicate of this Document has been forwarded to the Secretary at War.

Dated at Graham's Town
this 20th day of February 1844

H. Somerset Esq.
Lt.Col. C.M. Rifles

W. Gunn Pay M^r
Cape Mounted Riflemen

Cape Archives
MOOC 7/1/176
1844, Inv. 78

APPENDIX C4.3
John Jardine
Baker
Beaufort Street
Graham's Town

COPY

Inventory of Goods belonging to the late Mr John Jardine.

Parlour No. 1

1 Carpet
1 Ink Stand
1 Table
5 Pictures
1 Clock
1 Horse hair Sofa
1 Table Cover
1 Stool
5 Bottles Pickles
2 Bibles
1 Work Table & Cover
8 Decanters
1 Liquor Stand complete
1 Set China
2 Glass Jugs
9 Ornaments
1 Map
1 Ladies Work Box
6 Chairs
1 Toilet Glass & drawer
29 vol Books & 4

Parlour No. 2

1 Secretary containing
1 Silver Match & 2 Seals & key
1 Do Guard
1 Coral Necklace
1 Pair Spectacles
2 Seals
1 Silver p. Case
1 Pair Bracelets
1 Do fold Earrings
1 Locket & Chain
2 Brooches & 2 Stones

Parlour No. 2 cont

1 Gold Chain
1 Wedding Ring
6 Silver Tea Spoons
1 pr Sugar Tongues (Tongs)
1 S. Table Spoon
3 S. Pieces
Cash 2/6
1 Dessert Set K.F. & Spoon
a Bundle papers
1 Cash Box - empty
1 Table
1 Sidlitz Case & Bottles
1 Tea Caddy complete

Bed Room

1 Chest Drawers
1 Washhand Stand
1 Toilet Table
1 4 p. Bedstead
1 Razor Case
2 Razors
2 Strops
1 Picture frame
1 Clothes Press
1 Box containing
3 Bonnets & Straw Hat
4 Belts
1 Pair Boots
2 Window curtains
1 Cruet (cruet) stand
2 Tumblers
2 Wine Glasses
2 Salts
1 Coffee Pot
1 Ewer & Basin

Shop

11/ Brown Bread
 5/ Do Do
 16/6 White Do
 79/ hard Biscuits 7 to the lb
 150 Ginger Bread Cakes
 2 Tins Carraways
 1 Do halffull
 3½ lbs Ginger Nuts
 12 Glass
 4½ lbs Wine Biscuits
 7½ lbs Sweet Do
 2 Bottles mustard
 2 Do Pickles
 1/3 Cask Crushed Sugar 50lbs
 1 Jar Treakle (Treacle)
 2/3 full
 1 Jar Lemon Peel
 1 Do Aprecots (Apricots)
 1 Do Lemon Peel dry
 13 Books in Desk
 1 Counter
 7 Empty Jars
 1 Table 2 drawers
 1 doz Buck handle K & forks
 8 Do Do Do Do Do
 4 Tin Cannisters
 1 Do Do Tea
 3 doz & 4 Btles Vinegar
 2 Butter Casks
 Weights & Scales

Pantry

1 Coffee Mill
 1 Do Box
 1 Jar Volatile
 1 Meat Dish
 1 Soup Tureen
 3 Basins
 1 Water Can
 1 Tea Tray
 1 Pie Dish
 1 doz Pieces Crockery
 1 Cask Salt Meat
 1 Pudding Basin
 1 Washhand Stand
 1 milk Jug

Kitchen

1 Table
 1 Iron Pot
 1 Oven Iron
 1 Oval Boiler
 1 Condencer
 2 Tea Kettle
 2 Saucepans
 1 Frying Pan
 1 Oven lid
 1 Gridiron
 1 Trivet
 1 Axe
 1 Jar
 1 Tea Pot B.M.
 (Brittania Metal)
 2 Flat Irons
 3 Shoe Brushes

Servants Room

1 Dressing Machine
1 Bin
1 Form
1 Mattrass
Lot Bricks
Lot Boards
8 Yellow wood planks
4 Casks & 1 Stool
1 Spade

Fredericks Room

1 Cribb
2 Trufsels (Trestles) & Slab
1 Saddle, Somerset,
1 Bridle
1 Chair
1 Stretcher
Lot Planks
1 Pickaxe

Stable

1 Horse
1 Saddle
1 Tar Bucket
a Lot Boards
69 Bags
1 Wagon Dissleboom
1 Door Frame
4 Do & 1 Window frame

Yard

1 Cart & Harness
1 Weighing Machine 10 W^{ts}
1 WaterCask 2 Butts Do
1 Wheelbarrow
1 Hand Truck
a Lot Fire Wood
1 Ladder
2 Piggs
1 Sign Board
1 Camp Kettle
1 Poles
2 Dogs
Fowls

Bakehouse

2 Bags meal 215 lbs 46/-
Bread 1.12.3
1 Bag Flour 80 lbs
2 Troughs
1 Table
24 Tins
1 Large Pestle & Mortar
Sponge Cake Tins
Patty Pans
31 Parliment
10 Boxes of
2 Do Do
2 Bread Tins (deep)
3 Rolling Pin's
1 Peel
1 Scraper
1 Water brush
15 Deckers
7 Prints
1 Coffee Mill
1 Spice Do

continued

Bakehouse continued

Mortar (wooden)

1 Jar Potash 3 parts full

7 Do Empty

Landed Property

1 House in High Street

1 Do in Beaufort Street

1 Piece of Ground in Beaufort

1 Piece in the Market Grahamstown

G.A. Monroe

Cape Archives
MOOC 7/1/178
1844, Inv. 124½

APPENDIX C4.4
John Jolly
Canteen Keeper
Fort England
Graham's Town

COPY

Inventory of the Estate and Effects of John Jolly and his surviving Widow Winifred Jolly taken on the thirtieth day of July 1845.

Immoveable Property

A piece of ground situate at Fort England purchased of John McKenny with a dwelling house and other buildings thereon.

A piece of ground situate as above purchased at a public sale held on Account of Sergt Major Pitt with a dwelling house thereon.

Moveable Property

First Room up stairs

1 Piano Forte
1 Mirror
1 Set of dressing tables
1 Wardrobe
6 Chairs
1 Sofa
2 Easy Chairs
5 Pictures
1 Looking Glass
1 Set of three window
curtains and blinds
2 Clocks
A Set of Chimney Ornaments
Sundry Shells and Horns
1 Floor Cloth
1 Writing desk
1 Set Fire Irons
1 Hearth Rug

Front Bed Room

1 Bedstead with
furniture and bedding
1 Marble Wash hand Stand
1 Chamber set
1 Chest of drawers
1 - - ditto
1 Looking Glass
1 Night Commode
1 Enema Syringe

Children's Bed Room

1 Bedstead & Bedding
1 Child's Crib
1 Stretcher & Mattrass
1 Wash hand Stand
1 deal Clothes Press
1 Bed Stead
1 Wash hand Stand

Dining-Room

1 Dining Table
1 Side board
1 Stink wood table
8 Chairs with cane
bottoms
1 Pair branch candlesticks
1 Tea Urn
1 Clothes Press
1 Looking Glass
2 Arm Chairs
1 Hanging Lamp
1 Sofa
6 Tumblers
11 Champagne Glasses
2 Pair of Decanters
1 Glass dish
1 Cruet Stand
1 Set of China
2 Tea Spoons
7 Table Spoons
6 Dessert Spoons
1 Fender

Top Rooms

2 Yellow Wood tables
1 Boiler
5 Yellow Wood Tables
12 Common Chairs
1 Yellow Wood Table
8 Pictures

1 Cask
1 Set Single Harness
1 Horse

Back Store

5 Half Aums of Sour Wine
1 Half Pipe of ditto
8 Empty half Pipes

Taken at the house of Mrs Jolly in the presence of Mrs Jolly by
Mr F. Lee.

Frederick Lee

Witnesses

Geo Jarvis Att^y

J. McMaster

At the death of Mr Jolly there was one Horse and a saddle and
bridle which were given by Mrs Jolly to Ginger Jolly, Son of Mr
Jolly.

There was also a silver watch which Mr Jolly had given to Edward
Jolly.

At the death of Mr Jolly there was left in the House £18- in cash
which Mrs Jolly has expended.

At the death of Mr Jolly there were two P----- one bought from a
Sergt of the 91st Regt for £2.10- and the other was a present to
Mrs Jolly from Mr Conway. These two P----- have been sold by Mrs
Jolly to Colonel Sutherland for £20-.-.-

Fred^k Lee

Witnesses

Geo Jarvis
Att^y

J. McMaster

APPENDIX C4.5

Cape Archives
MOOC 7/1/186
1846, Inv. 20

Joshua D. Norden
Auctioneer
Beaufort Street
Graham's Town

COPY

Inventory and Appraisement of all the property moveable and immoveable belonging to the Estate of the late Mr J.D. Norden in Beaufort Street, Graham's Town.

Immoveable Property

A piece of Ground situate in Beaufort Street/ Settlers Hill/Graham's Town being the lots or Sections of the Lots numbered 2.4.14 and 15, containing together about 135 Square roods and 102 Square feet - containing the undermentioned Buildings, first, a substantial well built House - built with Stone and brick under a slate roof, the dwelling House containing 6 Rooms, 1 Kitchen and 1 pantry - the whole in very good repair.

Second, a small Cottage containing 4 Rooms under paper roof out of repair.

Third, a Stable, Coach House, gardeners Cottage and other Outbuildings rather out of repair.

Adjoining to the House is a Garden well laid out with fruit and ornamental Trees - The whole well supplied with water laid on from the Street.

The whole valued at £200
a piece of land situate at Port Francis,
at the entrance to the Kowie River in the
district of Albany, containing about 53 Morgen
and 27 Roods with a large building formerly
used as the Custom House - The building much
out of repair. This property was held by the
deceased jointly with Mr W^m Ogilvie of
Graham's Town.

The interest of the deceased in the said
property valued at the present State of the
Kowie 10

Total £210

I certify to the Master of the Supreme Court
that at the request of H. Hudson Esquire Civil
Commissioner of Albany, I have carefully and
truly appraised the landed property mentioned
in the foregoing Inventory and Appraisement,
and that to the best of my knowledge and skill
the true value thereof is as above stated.

Grahamstown 24 th July 1846

N. Birkenruth

Professional Appraiser to the Master of
the Supreme Court sworn to before me this
24 July 1846.

T.S. Stringfellow
J.P.

Moveable Property

Household Furniture set in the House in
Beaufort Street

/Settlers Hill/

In the Drawing Rooms

7 Oil paintings valued at	£10	-	-
2 Porcelain ditto	1	10	-
4 Chimney Ornaments	1	-	-
5 Bronze Candlesticks	3	-	-
4 damask Curtains and poles	7	10	-
1 Glafs Chandelier	5	-	-
1 rosewood Chiffonier contg Glafs	20	-	-
4 Glafs Shades		10	-
2 Ormolu Candlesticks		15	-
1 plated Coffee pot /old/		10	-
1 pair Chinese Slippers)			
2 brushes and Corkscrew)		6	
6 rosewood and mahogany Tables	30	-	-
2 side Table with marble	5	-	-
2 Couches with red damask	20	-	-
10 Pinewood Chairs	15	-	-
2 Easy Chairs	10	-	-
7 Stinkwood Chairs	10	10	-
1 Piano Forte, Cabinet in rosewood	50	-	-
1 Brufsels Carpet	10	-	-
1 Glas Bird Cage	1	-	-
1 Tea Caddy		10	-
1 Liquor frame		15	-
1 pr feather Screens		10	-
3 Brafts Table lamps out of repair	2	5	-
6 Glafs dishes	1	10	-
1 Glafs vase		7	6
10 Glafses		7	6
	<hr/>		
	£207	16	0

Brought over**£207 16 0**

2 Bells	3 -
1 lot Music	1 10 -
1 pair liquor bottles)
1 Chefs board & men)
1 piece Coral)
1 little Bag contg pearl Counters)
1 Table Cover)
1 Tatting machine)
1 pr. plated Bottle Stands)
1 lantern)
1 little waiter and 2 penknives	3 15 -
1 large	
2 small Mirrors in gilt frames	18 - -

In the Hall

1-8 Day Clock	7 10 -
1 Umbrella Stand	15 -
1 Thermometer small	10 -
2 cape slats	2 6
1 piece oil cloth	7 6

In the Dining Room

5 paintings	10 - -
1 Bookcase and drawers	
mahogany, containing sundry	
Books	about 25 - -
2 Side Boards out of repair	7 10 -
2 Mirrors old in gilt frames	4 10 -
1 Fender and fire Irons	1 5 -
1 rosewood Card Table old	3 - -
2 Sets of Curtains and poles	2 - -
1 Carpet Rug	- 5 -
1 small Glafs Chandelier	1 10 -

£295 9 -

brought over

£295 9 -

In Bedroom No. 1

1 Brafs bedstead	6 - -
1 Chest Drawers	7 10 -
containing Children's Clothing	10 -
1 Looking Glafs	10 -
1 Chandelier in gilt and Glafs	10 - -
3 Window Curtains as blinds	7 6
1 old Sofa	3 - -
1 piece oil Cloth	7 6
1 dresfing Table	10 -
1 Boot horse	5 -
1 small broken painting	2 6
1 Hat Stand	1 - -

In Bedroom No. 2

1 Iron Bedstead	5 - -
1 Wash hand Stand out of repair	5 -
2 Prints	2 6

In Bedroom No. 3

1 Escritoire in mahogany	15 - -
2 looking Glafses in gilt frames	5 - -
2 Swing Glafses	3 10 -
1 Wash hand stand in marble	3 10 -
2 Chests of drawers	10 - -
1 containing Mrs Norden's personal wearing apparel	1 10 -
1 Table	5 - -
10 small drefsing and pistol cases contg 1 pr pistols	1 10 -
2 Bidets	3 - -
12 old Chairs	3 10 -
1 Easy Chair	9 - -
1 mahogany Chest of Drawers	10 - -
2 French Clocks	

£400 19 0

brought over	£400 19 0
1 Epergne	2 10 -
3 paintings in gilt frames	1 5 -
1 Iron Bedstead)
1 horsehair Matrazze)
1 Featherbed)
3 Trunks belonging to Mrs Norden	17 10 -
1 Inkstand	7 6 -
1 lot clothing belonging to the late Mr Norden	15 - -
1 Walking stick, 1 pr slippers)
Sundry Chimney Ornaments)
1 Sword	15 -
	2 10 -

Dreßing Rooms

containing sundry old things belonging to Mrs Norden and children.	7 10 -
--	--------

Kitchen

2 Tables)	
2 Forms)	
1 Chair)	
2 Cases)	
Sundry Kitchen Utensils)	3 3 -
1 Canteen)	2 - -
1 Coffee Mill)	
4 Water Casks)	3 5 -

In the Yard

1 Force pump & casks	7 10 -
----------------------	--------

In the Pantry

Sundry old Crockery ware)	
1 case sml empty bottles)	1 10 -

Coach House and Stable Yard

1 Phaeton	£ 90 - -
1 Gig with 1 pr Shafts	22 10 -

Carried over	£578 5 -
--------------	----------

brought over	£578 5 -
1 set double Harnefs	20 - -
2 Water Casks	1 10 -
1 Garden Engine	2 - -
1 lot Plank	1 10 -
1 Grindstone	7 6 -
3 old Figure heads	15 - -
1 Slipperbath	1 - -
a lot of Flowerpots	5 - -
2 Iron Grms	3 - -
8 Chains broken	15 - -
2 old saddles	1 - -
1 Military saddle	7 10 -
1 Shower Bath	2 - -

Contents of Auction Rooms in High Street
and Offices of the Eastern Districts Auction
Mart omitted.

Total value of Moveable Property £955 4 2

I certify to the Master of the Supreme
Court, that at the request of H. Hudson
Esquire Civil Commifsioner of Albany, I have
carefully and truly appraised the Estate and
Effects mentioned in the foregoing Inventory
and Appraisement and that to the best of my
knowledge and skill the true value thereof is
as annext stated.

Grahamstown 24 July 1846

N. Birkenruth

Profefsional Appraiser to the Master of
the Supreme Court

Sworn to before me this 24th July 1846

T. Stringfellow
J.P.

Cape Archives
MOOC 7/1/194
1848, Inv. 102

APPENDIX C4.6
Joseph Trimble
Labourer
9 Cross Street
Graham's Town

COPY

Inventory of Property in the testate Estate of the late Joseph Trimble - "Labourer", taken this 4th Day of September 1848 by the Undersigned.

1 House Situate in Crofs Street with garden attached. 1 Do Do not finished - Amt. of Cash in Deceased's House £28.0.0 Twenty Eight Pounds.

In the room to the right

- 1 Mahogany Sofa, Horse Hair Cover
- 1 Common Do
- 3 Chairs
- 1 Case
- 1 Table
- 1 Sugar Pot
- 1 Small Tray

In the Bed Room No 1

- 1 Mahogany Chest Drawers
- 1 Side Table
- 1 Toilet Glafs
- Sundry Ornaments
- 1 Large Eight Day Clock
- 1 Wash Stand, with Ewer and Bason
- 1 Four Post Bedstead & Bedding
- 5 English Bibles
- 1 Door Mat

In the Bed Room No 2

- 1 Stretcher
- 4 Mattrafses
- 1 Do Horse Hair
- Sundry Bedding
- 3 Chests containing Sundry Wearing apparal
- 1 Small Box, containing Sundries
- Tea Tray
- 1 Draft Board
- Sundry Crockeryware
- 1 Lot Wine Glafses & Tumblers

- 4 Saddles
- 1 Ladies do
- 1 Chair
- 1 Gun
- 1 Crofs Cut Saw
- 1 Violin
- 1 Lot Curtains
- Lot Plates &c.
- 1 Copper Urn
- 1 Cask, containing Saddlery and Saddlers Tools
- 1 Brafs Fender
- 1 Window Frame
- Curtains & Rooler

In the Loft

- 1 lot Window frames
- 4 Broken Chairs
- 1 Large Chest
- 1 Old Gun Stock
- 1 Mattrafs and Carpet Bag
- 2 Stretchers
- 3 Bags containing wool
- 1 Lot Bridles
- 1 Chest
- 1 Bucket
- 1 Chest containing Sundries

In the Back Room

- 1 Counter
- 1 Chest containing Sundry Wearing apparal
- 1 Filter
- 1 Cask containing Corks
- 1 Bag containing Do
- 3 Saws
- 1 Violin
- 2 Pair Leggens & Powder Horn
- 8 Boxes Cigars
- 1 Cask containing 15 Flasks Gin
- 4 Decanters
- 1 Common Table
- 1 Stand for Casks
- 3 kegs Paint
- 1 Lot Pipes
- 1 Chest Drawers
- 1 Mattrafs and Stretcher
- 1 Saddle
- lot Wine Glafses
- lot Empty Casks lot Large Do
- 1 Manger set Harnefs
- 1 Pipe Wine
- 19 Galls Brandy

1 Lantern
6 Yellow wood Planks

In the Kitchen

3 Tables
Sundry Cooking Utensil
8 Brafs Candlesticks
1 Knife Tray
1 Lot Plates
1 Metal Tea Pot
1 Brafs Chopper
1 White Wash hand Bason
1 Jug
1 Lot Tumblers

In the Yard

2 Stretchers
1 Bucket
1 Camp Kettle
1 Bed
1 Cask
5 Water Casks
1 old Wheelbarrow
1 lot Tiles
1 lot Broken Barralls
12 Yellow wood Planks
1 Lot Beams
1 Door Frame
1 Glazed Window Sash
1 Tubb
2 Pigs
16 Ducks
6 Geese
2 Turkeys
4 Fowls
4 Cows
3 Calves
12 Horses
1 Windlafs
6 Sneeze Wood Beams

Aletta C. Trimble

Graham's Town Journal
8 February 1858, 1c5.

APPENDIX C4.7
James Black
Merchant
Selwyn Castle
New Street
Graham's Town

COPY

**SALE OF
FURNITURE**

Mr. JAMES BLACK

Intending shortly to leave the colony will cause to be sold at
his Residence in New Street, on

FRIDAY

18th Instant

The WHOLE of his FURNITURE
Dining-room, Drawing Room
and Bed-room suites.

PLATE AND PLATED WARE
China, Crockery & Glassware

CARRIAGE
&c. &c. &c.

the whole of which will be found of very superior quality, having
been selected by himself a few years ago when in England.

DRAWING ROOM

Rosewood Couches and Chairs, in Damask, to match, do.
Loo Tables and Ladies Work Table, do. handsome demi-
cabinet piano, by Broadwood, Canterbury, and music
stool, do. easy and Elizabethan chairs, do. Ottoman,
with seat of rich embroidery, papier mache table,
chairs, firescreens, card basket and port folios, a
very large pier glass in gilt frame, a set of blue
damask curtains and gilt cornices, a handsome 14 day
clock, chandeliers, vases, and other ornaments.

DINING ROOM

Mahogany telescope, dining table of large size,
mahogany sideboard with cellaret, do. chairs, covered
in dark red morocco, &c. &c., do. easy chairs do. to
match, large pier glass in gilt frame, a lot of
crimson damask curtains with gilt cornices, a superior
carpet, 28 feet by 18, &c.

BED-ROOM SUITES

in brass and iron bedsteads, wash-hand stands with marble tops, mahogany and other dressing tables, toilet glasses, cheval do., mahogany chests of drawers, and a very handsome mahogany wardrobe with wings -- A mahoganey book case with excrutoire.

CHINAWARE. . .

Graham's Town Journal
Extra
22 February 1853, 1c4.

APPENDIX C4.8
Charles W. Pakenham
Merchant
Bathurst Street
Settler's Hill
Graham's Town

COPY

**SALE
OF
FURNITURE**

Mr. C.W. PAKENHAM

Intending shortly to leave the colony will cause to be sold,
At his residence, Bathurst Street
(SETTLER'S HILL)

ON
WEDNESDAY
2nd MARCH

THE WHOLE OF HIS
FURNITURE,
Dining-Room, Drawing-Room
AND

Bed-room Suites,
PLATE AND PLATEDWARE.
CHINA

CROCKERY AND GLASSWARE,
&c. &c. &c.

The whole of which will be found of
VERY SUPERIOR QUALITY.

viz.-

Drawing Room

1 Brussels Carpet and Rug,
1 set of Drawing Room Chairs,
2 Easy Chairs,
2 Card Tables (mahogany),
1 do Loo,
1 Japan Loo Table,
1 Stinkwood Couch (damask),
1 PIANO - Broadwood,
1 Pier Glass
1 Inkstand,
1 Ladies' Work Box,
A few Prints (framed),
Brass Fender and Irons.

Dining Room

- 1 Brussels Carpet,
- 1 Set Dining Room (6 & 2) Chairs,
Stinkwood, horse-hair Seats,
- 2 children's Table Chairs,
- 1 Tea Caddy and Stand.

1st Bed-Room

- 1 Brass Bedstead,
- 1 Child's Crib (sneezewood),
- 1 mahogany Wardrobe,
- 1 Escrotoire do.
- 1 mahogany Washstand,
- 1 Looking Glass,
- 3 Clothes Baskets
- 1 mahogany Bedsteps.

2nd Do.

- 1 Iron Bedstead,
- 1 large mahogany Sofa,
- 1 Dressing Table,
- 1 patent Shower Bath, with Pump
and Curtains,
- 1 Chest Drawers (mahogany),
- 1 Clothes Press,
- 1 Boot Rack,
- 1 mahogany Wash-stand,
- 1 Looking Glass,
- 1 mahogany Writing Desk.

3rd Do.

- 1 Iron Bedstead,
- 1 Dressing Table,
- 1 Chest Drawers (stinkwood),
Book Shelves

4th Do.

- 1 large mahogany four-post Bedstead
with crimson Damask Furniture,
- 1 Chest Mahogany Drawers,
- 1 Deal Table,
- 1 Bronze Fender and Fire Irons,
- 2 sets Window Curtains.

Pantry

- 1 Dinner Set
- 1 China Dessert Set - blue and gold,
- 1 do. Tea and Coffee Set
- Glassware
- 10 real China Cups and Saucers,
with covers

Kitchen

- 3 Deal Dressers with drawers,
- 2 Earthenware Filters,
- Kitchen Utensils,
- Pots and Pans, &c.
- Iron Buckets and Mills.

- PORTABLE COUCH with 3 drawers
- 1 ROCKING HORSE

AMERICAN CHAIR INVENTORY REFERENCES

Year	Householder	Chair Description	Cape Archives Ref. No
1836	Eley Cape Town	7 American Stinkwood Chairs in the 'Room on the right hand'.	MOOC 7/1/136, 1836 Inv. 20
1847	Morgan Cape Downs	2 American Arm Chairs in the 'Bedroom beyond the Dining Room' at Turf Hall.	MOOC 7/1/189, 1847 Inv. 48
1848	Naude Stellenbosch	6 Yellow American Chairs in the 'Drawing-room on the right hand side'.	MOOC 7/1/192, 1848 Inv. 29
1848	Giani Graham's Town	3 American Chairs	MOIB 2/686, 8 Aug. 1848, No. 101
1849	Roodt Cape Town	6 American Chairs 18/-	MOOC 7/1/199, 1849 Inv. 103
1851	Kekewich Clan William	Dining Room: 1 doz. American Chairs Rds 40 (used with 1 Sett Mahogany Dining Tables, Rds 50) Bed Room: 6 American Chairs Rds 14	MOOC 7/1/206, 1851 Inv. 74

**GRAHAMSTOWN
 AND OTHER
 CAPE COLONIAL FURNITURE
 CONTAINED IN
 VENDUE ROLLS & HOUSEHOLD INVENTORIES
 1820-53**

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Year	BEDS	Householder	Cape Archives Ref.
1832	1 Stinkwood Double Bedstead (Bedroom Below) 1 Stinkwood Double Bedstead (Upstairs Hall)	Abraham Thwaites Cabinet Maker Cape Town	MOIB 2/555 31.05.1842 No. 76
1833	1 Stinkwood Bedstead	William Lea Baker, Graham's Town	MOIB 2/687 08.08.1848 No. 106
1833	One 4 Post Stink Wood Bedstead	John Knight, Malt Liquors Dealer, Graham's Town	MOIB 2/687 08.08.1848 No. 105
1834	A Stinkwood Bedstead & furniture £2 5/-	Charles Augustus Wentworth, District Surgeon, Uitenhage	MOOC 7/1/124 1834 Inv. 28
1835	1 Stinkwood Four Post bedstead with furniture complete (Upper Bedroom) £5 5/- 1 Stinkwood four Post bedstead & furniture complete (Upper bedroom & Passage) £5 5/-	F.T. Berrington Inn Keeper Port Frances	LG 17,1835 No. 75
1837	One Stinkwood Bedstead, one mattress, featherbed &c. £5 12/6	William Roberts Cape Town	MOOC 7/1/142 1837 Inv. 57
1839	1 Stinkwood Bed £2 5/-	Edward Searle Cape Town	MOOC 7/1/153 1839 Inv. 59
1846	1 Yellow Wood Bed Stead	William Devine Graham's Town	MOOC 7/1/186 1846 Inv. 8
1849	1 Stinkwood Bedstead, Feather Bed, Mattress, 8 Pillows £6	Philip Andreas Roodt Store in Loop Street & Shop below St. Stephen's Chapel	MOOC 7/1/199 1849 Inv. 103

Year	CABINETS, CUPBOARDS, BUREAUX	Householders	Cape Archives Ref.
1834	One small Yellow Wood Office Bureau	Andrew Nicol Commissariat Issuer Graham's Town	MOIB 2/687 08.08.1848 No. 109
1847	A Corner Cupboard (of Stinkwood Rds 20 In the Gallery) A Glass stinkwood cupboard with a small assortment of Crockery Cannisters & Glassware (for domestic use) Rds 53.3.4	David Francois Naude Retail Shopkeeper, Dorp Street, Stellenbosch, & his deceased wife Anna Maria Briers, to whom he was married in community of property	MOOC 7/1/192 1848 Inv. 29

Year	CHAIRS AND STOOLS	Householder	Cape Archives Ref.
1832	4 Stinkwood arm chairs with Cane Seats (Hall)	Abraham Thwaites Cabinet Maker Cape Town	MOIB 2/555 31.05.1842 No. 36
1834	One Small Yellow Wood Stool	Charles Breeze Trader, 9 Cross St. Artificer's Square	MOIB 2/686 08.08.1848 No. 98
1834	Four Chairs Cane bottoms Stink Wood. Said to belong to Government	Andrew Nicol Commissariat Issuer Graham's Town	MOIB 2/687 08.08.1848 No. 109
1834	1 Dozen Stinkwood Chairs 90 Rds 1 Set Ditto Dining Tables 80 Rds (All in Dining Room)	Friederica Elizabeth Pallas, 86 Long St. Cape Town	M00C 7/1/127 1834 Inv. 135
1835	3 plum Tree Chairs (Upper bedroom & Passage)	F.T. Berrington Port Frances, Inn Keeper	LG 17, 1835 No. 75
1835	2 Doz. Stink Wood Chairs made up for sale Rds 240/ £18 4 Arm Stinkwood Chairs, made up for sale Rds 60/ £4 10/- 1 Dozen Stink Wood Chairs Rds 120 £9 2 Arm Chairs (Stink Wood) Rds 30 £2 5/- 2 Stink Wood Stools Rds 8 12/-	William Bear, 1820 Settler, Blacksmith	LG 17, 1835 No. 567
1835	1 Old Stinkwood Arm Chair 5/-	John Armstrong Trader, Graham's Town	M00C 7/1/130 1835 Inv. 34½
1836	6 Common Stinkwood Chairs (In the hall) 7 American Stinkwood Chairs (In the Room on the right hand)	Samuel Eley, Cape Town. Wife Maria Johanna Eley born Wolmerans	M00C 7/1/136 1836 Inv. 20
1837	8 Stinkwood Chairs	John Burnett Biddulph, No. 6 Market Square Graaff-Reinet	M00C 7/1/140 1837 Inv. 68
1837	Six Stinkwood Chairs £2 14/-	William Roberts Cape Town	M00C 7/1/142 1837 Inv. 57
1838	8 Stinkwood Chairs (In Front Room)	Carel Joseph Becker Cape Town, Tailor?	M00C 7/1/144 1838 Inv. 97
1838	1 Doz. Stinkwood chairs with cane including 2 Arms (Parlour and Hall)	Thomas Hunter, 56 Long Street, C.T. Blacksmith. Owned "The Cape Foundry" in Bree Street	M00C 7/1/144 1838 Inv. 29

Year	CHESTS, BOXES	Householder	Cape Archives Ref.
1835	1 Stinkwood Chest Rds 30 £2 5/- 6 Stinkwood Chest Rds 150 £11 5/- 1 Large Stinkwood Chest Rds 40 £3	William Bear, 1820 Winterberg	LG 17, 1835 No. 567
1836	1 Yellow wood Flour Chest. Two Small ditto (All in Pantry)	Johan Ernst Seijffert Worcester	MOOC 7/1/138 1836 Inv. No. 13
1836	1 Yellow Wood Chest 15/- 1 Yellow Wood Chest 9/-	Thomas Bilson, P.E.	MOOC 7/1/142 1837 Inv. 78
1839	1 Stinkwood Box containing papers (Hall)	William Robertson 'Haasendaal' Camp Ground, Cape Town	MOOC 7/1/150 1839 Inv. 19

Year	DRESSING TABLE	Householder	Cape Archives Ref.
1846	Stinkwood dressing Table (In Room on the left hand side)	Margaret Chandler Plumstead, Wynberg	MOOC 7/1/184 1846 Inv. 40

Year	PRESSES	Householder	Cape Archives Ref.
1834	A Yellow wood Clothes press £1 2/-	Charles Augustus Wentworth, District	MOOC 7/1/124 1834 Inv. 28
1837	1 Stinkwood Press (In Front Room)	Carel Joseph Becker Cape Town. Tailor?	MOOC 7/1/144 1838 Inv. 97
1840	One stinkwood clothes press (Second Front Room)	Johanna Petronella Obermeyer (formerly Smith) 2 Peper St, Cape Town	MOOC 7/1/158 1840 Inv. 49
1848	1 Yellow Wood Press	Augustus Giani Jeweller Graham's Town	MOIB 2/686 08.08.1848 No. 101

Year	SIDEBOARDS	Owner	Cape Archives Ref.
1839	1 Inlaid Stinkwood Sideboard (Dining Room)	William Robertson 'Haasendaal', Camp Ground	M00C 7/1/150 1839 Inv. 19
1846	1 Yellow wood Sideboard 15/-	Mrs Catherine Slaven	M00C 7/1/186 1846 Inv. No. 25
Year	SOFA, COUCHES	Householder	Cape Archives Ref.
1832	One Yellow Wood Sofa	John Hutton Farmer/Trader Graham's Town	M0IB 2/687, 08.08.1848 No. 103
1834	A Stinkwood Sopha & mattress, £1 10/-	Charles Augustus Wentworth, District Surgeon, Uitenhage	M00C 7/1/124 1838 Inv. 28
1837	Stinkwood Couch	William Edward Henry Cannon, 2 Burg St, C.T. Carpenter?	M00C 7/1/143 1837 Inv. 21
1844	Two Stinkwood couches with blue damask covers Eighteen stinkwood chairs with blue damask covers. Ottoman with ditto (In Dining Room)	Carel Arnoldus Becker 'Wolmunster' Rondebosch	M00C 7/1/178 1844 Inv. 31
1844	1 Stinkwood Sofa	William Ward, Storekeeper, P.E.	M0IB 2/525 1844 No. 95
Year	TABLES	Householder	Cape Archives Ref.
1830	Two Yellow Wood Tables	Alex ^r Kidwell Graham's Town	M0IB 2/468 14.02.1837 No. 27
1832	One Stink Wood Do 2 Yellowwood Tables Joining in one dining table (Hall below) 2 Stinkwood Card Tables doubled leaf ^d (Hall Below) 1 Stinkwood Card Tables double leaf ^d (Upstairs Hall)	Abraham Thwaites Cabinet Maker Cape Town	M0IB 2/555 31.05.1842 No. 76
1833	Two Yellow Wood Tables	William Lea (alias W ^m Luttman) Baker, Graham's Town	M0IB 2/687 08.08.1848 No. 106

Year	TABLES	Householder	Cape Archives Ref.
1833	One Stinkwood Table Two Yellow Wood Tables	John Knight, Dealer in Malt Liquors Graham's Town	MOIB 2/687 08.08.1848 No. 105
1833	Three Yellow Wood Tables	Thomas Patharick Jefferey of Salem Hills	MOIB 2/687 08.08.1848 No. 104
1834	One Yellow Wood Table, One Yellow Wood Table One Yellow Wood Table with marble slab	Andrew Nicol Commissariat Issuer	MOIB 2/687 08.08.1848 No. 109
1834	2 Yellow wood Tables £1 4/- A Stinkwood Table	Charles Augustus District Surgeon Wentworth, Uitenhage	MOOC 7/1/124 1834 Inv. 28 & 29
1834	1 Set Stinkwood Dining Tables (Dining Room) 1 Dozen Stinkwood Chairs 90 Rds	Friederica Elizabeth Pallas, 86 Long St Cape Town	MOOC 7/1/127 1834 Inv. 135
1835	1 large Yellow wood Table, drawer £1 10/- (Front Parlour) 1 long yellow wood Table & 2 Stools £1 8/- (Front Kitchen) 1 large Yellow wood Table in drawer £1 7/- (Bar & Store)	F.T. Berrington Innkeeper, Port Frances	LG 17, 1835 No. 75
1835	1 small round Table, Stinkwood £1	John Armstrong Trader, Graham's Town	MOOC 7/1/130 1835 Inv. 34½
1836	1 Yellowwood Table (Hall)	Johan Ernst Seiffert Worcester	MOOC 7/1/138 1836 Inv. 13
1836	1 Stinkwood Table with Drawer (In Room on right hand)	Samuel Eley 12 Peper St. Cape Town	MOOC 7/1/136 1836 Inv. 20
1837	2 Yellow Wood Tables 15/-	Thomas Bilson Port Elizabeth	MOOC 7/1/142 1837 Inv. 78
1837	1 Small Yellow Wood Table (In the Out- house, room No. 1)	Thomas Perry Esq. No. 3 Market Square Graaff Reinet Apothecary	MOOC 7/1/139 1837 Inv. 95
1837	1 Round Stinkwood Table in 2 parts	John Burnett Biddulph No 6 Market Square Graaff Reinet	MOOC 7/1/140 1837 Inv. 68
1838	1 Round Stinkwood Table (Parlour and Hall)	Thomas Hunter 56 Long Market St Cape Town	MOOC 7/1/144 1838 Inv. 70
1839	1 Small Stinkwood Table (Front Parlour) 10/-	Edward Searle Cape Town	MOOC 7/1/153 1839 Inv. 59

Year	TABLES	Householder	Cape Archives Ref.
1840	One yellowwood Table with Drawer (Hall)	Johanna Petronella Obermeyer 2 Peper St, Cape Town	MOOC 7/1/158 1840 Inv. 49
1844	A Table/Stinkwood/ (Pantry)	Carel Arnoldus Becker Rondebosch	MOOC 7/1/178 1844 Inv. 31
1845	1 Stink wood Table (Dining Room)	John Jolly	MOOC 7/1/178 1844 Inv. 124½
1845	2 common yellow wood tables £1	Rev. Wm. E. Philip Uitenhage	MOOC 7/1/183 1845 Inv. 151
1846	A Stinkwood Loo Table (Dining Room)	Margaret Chandler Plumstead, Wynberg	MOOC 7/1/184 1846 Inv. 40
1847	A Child's Table, blackwood (Dressing Room)	E.C. Morgan Woodlands/Turf Hall Camp Ground	MOOC 7/1/189 1847 Inv. 48
1847	1 Set Stinkwood tables £10	John Henry Webb Fish River	MOOC 7/1/189 1847 Inv. 10
1847	1 Yellow Wood Table 1 Do Kitchen Table	Augustus Giani Jeweller Graham's Town	MOIB 2/686 08.08.1848 No. 101
1849	1 Yellow Wood Table £1 10/-	G.D. Scott General Dealer New & African Sts. Graham's Town	MOOC 7/1/196 1849 Inv. 95
1849	Yellow Wood Table 3/- 1 Small Stinkwood Table with cover 12/-	Philip Andreas Roodt Store in Loop Street	MOOC 7/1/199 1849 Inv. 103
1851	1 Table, Stinkwood Legs £2	John Healy Howard's Party Albany. Farmer	MOOC 7/1/208 1851 Inv. 59
1851	4 Yellow Wood Tables @12/- = £2 8/-	John Curly, Store-keeper, Alice/ Fort Beaufort	MOOC 7/1/208 1851 Inv. 45
1853	1 Stinkwood Table (Outhouse)	Rev. Francis McClelland No. 7 Castle Hill Port Elizabeth	MOOC 7/1/216 1853 Inv. 63
Year	WARDROBE	Householder	Cape Archives Ref.
1832	One Yellow Wood Wardrobe	John Hutton Farmer/Trader Graham's Town	MOIB 2/687 08.08.1848 No. 103

APPENDIX D

Graham's Town Journal Furnishings Advertisement Data 1831-53

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- BLACK, James. Merchant, 'Selwyn Castle'.**
GTJ 08.02.1853, 1c5. Fig. 27. Household Furniture Sale.
- CAMPBELL, Dr A.G. Physician.**
GTJ 14.08.1845, 1c2. Fig. 32. Household Furniture Sale.
- DELL, S.W. Cabinet Maker.**
GTJ 15.07.1848, 1c2. Fig. 31a. Stinkwood & other Furniture.
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- EATON, R.J. Clerk of the Peace & Deceased Wife, Mary Anne.**
GTJ 02.11.1843, 1c4. Fig. 15. Part of their Furniture.
- HADLEY, B. Agent.**
GTJ 09.01.1847, 4c3. Fig. 26(iv). House Sale: Bath Room.
- HART, Joseph. Chair & Cabinet Maker.**
GTJ 04.12.1845, 1c4. Fig. 13. New Furniture, &c.
GTJ 09.01.1847, 4c3. Fig. 25. Furniture 'Direct from London'.
GTJ 11.12.1847, 2c2. Fig. 29a. New Furniture.
GTJ 15.01.1848, 1c6. Fig. 29b. New Furniture from England.
GTJ 21.10.1848, 1c3. Fig. 29c. Colonial & other Furniture.
- HOWSE, James. Merchant**
GTJ 20.03.1845, Supp. 1c4. Fig. 22 'Eden Grove' House Sale.
- LAWRENCE, J. Chair & Cabinet Maker.**
GTJ 29.10.1840, 1c2. Fig. 8. New Furniture.
- MAYNARD, Charles. Merchant.**
GTJ 14.06.1851, 1c1. Fig. 23. House Sale.
- MAYNARD, C. & H. Merchants,**
GTJ 24.03.1836, 1c2. Fig. 16. Imported Furniture.
GTJ 27.02.1840, 1c5. Fig. 17. New Furniture, &c.
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- NORDEN, Joshua D. Auctioneer. Intestate Estate Sale.**
GTJ 06.02.1847, 1c4. Fig. 14. Household Furniture, &c.
GTJ 20.02.1847, 1c4. Fig. 21. House Sale.
- NORTON, Edward. Merchant.**
GTJ 17.11.1836, 1c3. Fig. 11. House, Contents & Livestock.
- PAKENHAM, Charles. Merchant.**
GTJ 22.02.1853, Extra 1c4. Fig. 28. Household Furniture Sale.
- SELWYN, Major C.J., Royal Engineers. 'Selwyn Castle'.**
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- SOMERSET, Col. Henry, CMR. Commandant of Frontier. 'Oatlands'.**
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- TEMLETT, James Brilliant. Cabinet Maker, &c.**
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GTJ 13.03.1845, 1c3. Fig. 30b. Now Carpenter & Builder.
GTJ 17.10.1846, 1c3. Fig. 30c. Stinkwood, Sneezewood, &c.
- WORTHAM, Major, Royal Engineers. Leaving Frontier.**
GTJ 13.03.1845, 1c2. Fig. 19. Household Furniture, Horses, &c.

HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS ADVERTISEMENTS DATA EXTRACTED FROM
THE GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL 1831-53

Arranged Chronologically under Type
of Furnishing

This Appendix includes extracts from the great majority of furnishing advertisements in the Graham's Town Journal for the survey years. It covers all major categories, but omits entries which had little to add to the data. As it is important to be able to assess the nature of the market, whether second hand or new furniture had a greater turnover, this is noted. The advertiser may be the owner, whether individual or firm and/or an auctioneer. The exact spelling and capitalization of the advertisements has been retained.

New or Second Hand	BEDS, BED FURNITURE, BEDDING, BEDSTEPS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	A Bedstead, Feather Bed and Bedding.	Wm. Jeffery	16.02.1832, 29c2
SH	Four posts and Tent bedsteads.	Col. Somerset	15.06.1832, 97c2
SH	Four post field Bedsteads; Beds, Bedding.	J. Weeks	05.10.1832, 155c1
SH	Brass Bedstead.	J.H. Smith	31.07.1834, 1c2
SH	A handsome brass Bedstead.	Mrs Capt. Sparks	27.11.1834, 1c3
SH	Four-post, Tent and Sofa Bedsteads, a variety of Bedding.	Henry Nourse (1st Deceased Estate Sale)	05.06.1835, 1c2
SH	Several Iron Camp Bedsteads.	Henry Nourse	09.07.1835, 4c3
SH	A very superior Mahogany four post Bedstead, 7 feet by 6, with hangings, &c.	(2nd Deceased Estate Sale)	
SH	Four post and other Bedsteads, with Furniture.	Lieut.Col. England	22.10.1835, 1c1
New	A splendid London made portable Iron Bedstead, with Brass Mouldings. It folds up into a case 4 feet by 1 foot 3 inches.	J.D. Norden	17.09.1835, 1c1
New	Bedsteps, Horse hair mattresses, Straw Paliasses, Handsome four-post French and other Bedsteads, with Furniture of a suitable description, complete. Designs of the Bedsteads and Window Curtains may be seen.	C. & H. Maynard per <u>Comet</u>	24.03.1836, 1c2
New	Mahogany and Four-post Bedsteads, with drapery complete. Horse hair.	John Mandy	12.05.1836, 1c1
	Best curled horse-hair Mattresses, Flock do.	John Mandy	08.09.1836, 1c2
SH	Tent Bedstead.	John Mandy	06.10.1836, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Four-post Bedsteads, with Furniture and Horse-hair Mattress to fit.	Barend Woest	28.09.1837, 1c4
SH	Tent and Camp ditto, with Horse-hair Mattresses.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	2 Mahogany four-post Bedsteads, with Merino Hangings, complete with Mattresses, Feather Beds, Bolsters and Pillows, complete.	J.D. Norden: Auctioneer Property of a Gentleman	16.02.1837, 1c1
SH	A splendid carved four-post Bedstead, with Hangings; a Stinkwood ditto.	J.D. Norden: Auctioneer	26.10.1837, 1c2
SH	Four-post and tent Bedsteads, feather beds and horse-hair Mattresses.	Beale's Hotel	11.01.1838, 1c1
SH	Four-post and Tent Bedsteads.	Benjamin Norden	22.03.1838, 1c3
SH	Four-post and Tent Bedstead, with Curtains.	Wigget/Trotter	06.09.1838, 1c1
?	Four-post Bedstead and furniture complete.	J. Woodland	04.10.1838, 1c1
New	Four Post and French Bedsteads, with fine white full drapery Furniture, Bedsteps.	C. & H. Maynard per <u>Eleanor</u>	04.10.1838, 1c2
SH	Mahogany carved 4-post Bedstead with curtains complete. Portable brass and iron do. with curtains. A very handsome French Bedstead and curtains.	John Norton (about to leave the Colony)	01.11.1838, 1c2
New	Japan, drab and green Tent Bedsteads and Mattresses for do.	J.D. Norden & Co. per <u>Galatea</u>	09.05.1839, 1c3
SH	Four-post Bedstead, with dimity furniture, one Iron do. with furniture.	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
SH	Mahogany 4 post Bedstead and Hangings. 1 Iron do.	H.C. Selby	28.02.1839, 1c5
SH	Double and single Mattresses, Stretchers, Bolsters, Pillows, Flock Beds.	T. Stubbs	21.03.1839, 1c2
New	Mahogany Bedsteps, carpeted and pans 4 post Bedsteads (Mahogany) French do. with iron cottage tops. Tent do. Mahogany Sofa Bedsteads.	J.D. Norden per <u>Lord Saumarez</u>	08.08.1839, 4c4
SH	Mahogany four-post and other Bedsteads.	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	Goose-feather pillows, curled horse hair.	C. & H. Maynard	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	Mahogany 4 post and other Bed-Steeds, Bedsteps.	C. & H. Maynard	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	French and Tent Bedsteads, Japanned.	J.D. Norden & Co.	05.12.1839, 4c4
?	1 Mahogany 4-post Bedstead with Mattress and bedding.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
SH	1 brass double Bedstead, Mattress, complete.	Capt. Amsinck HM 27th Regt.	09.01.1840, 1c1
New	Stout Mahogany 2 tier Bedsteps covered with Brussels carpet. A 4ft. 6 Elliptic top tent Bedstead with covered Mahogany honduras Pillars Iron Castors complete.	C. & H. Maynard	27.02.1840, 1c5
SH?	4-post Spanish Mahogany Bedstead.	J.D. Norden & Co. "Gentleman leaving Frontier"	12.03.1840, 1c3
New?	Mahogany Bedsteps. Stained and Japann Tent Bedsteads.	?	13.08.1840, 1c3

New or Second Hand	BEDS, BED FURNITURE, BEDDING, BEDSTEPS	Advertiser	GJT Date
New	Mahogany three feet six Tent Bedsteads, Lath bottoms.	J. Lawrence Church Square	29.10.1840, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Bedsteps, Carpeted. One Mahogany Portable Four Post Bedstead, with Case complete. Two Iron do. and Case complete.	Major Burn HM 91st Reg Beaufort St.	07.01.1841, 1c1
New?	1 Tent Bedstead.	J.D. Norden & Co.	21.01.1841, 1c5
SH	1 Mahogany Bedstead and Curtains. 1 Feather Bed. 2 Sofa Bedsteads.	Major C.J. Selwyn, R.E.	1.07.1841, 1c1
SH	One splendid brass double Portable Bedstead. One splendid brass single Portable Bedstead.	Capt Poole R.A.	30.09.1841, 4c2
SH	Four Post and Tent Bedsteads, with Feather Beds, Mattresses &c.	G. Tomlinson	09.12.1841, 1c5
SH	Bedstead and Hangings. Feather Bed. Mahogany Horse-hair Sofa Bedstead and Mattresses.	Major Crause C.M.R. W.E. Prynne Agent, Chapel St.	21.04.1842, 1c4 05.05.1842, 1c5
SH	Sofa Bedstead. A very handsome Mahogany Four Post Bedstead, with Bedding & Curtains complete.	Major C.J. Selwyn R.E.	26.05.1842, 1c3
SH	Tent and other Bedsteads and Bedding.		
SH	One large Iron Brass mounted French Bedstead, with Castors, &c. Linen Ticken, Horse Hair Mattresses, Bedding.	Rev. Dr. Tancred	11.08.1842, 1c4
New	Bed steps, Ottoman Beds, Sofa Bedsteads. Bedsteads, with Mahogany Posts. Do. with Eliptic Tops. Do. with Tent do. Do. handsomely Japanned. Horse Hair Mattresses, &c.	C. & H. Maynard per Lively from London direct	11.08.1842, 4c3
New	Iron, French and Tent Bedsteads.	C. & H. Maynard per Ann	01.12.1842, 1c3c
SH	A Child's Cot.	J.D. Norden & Co. "Gentleman leaving Frontier"	12.03.1840, 1c3
New	Japanned & French four-post Bedsteads.	Joseph Lawrence	23.03.1843, 1c3
SH	Mahogany four-post bedstead, with cornice, White and Chintz furniture and goose feather bed, with bolster and pillows, and superior horse-hair mattress.	Mr Penketh, Royal Engineers Dept., Somerset St.	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Four post and French iron bedsteads, with brass mountings.	J.D. Norden & Co. West-Hill House Sale	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	Superior Spanish Mahogany Bedstead.	The late W. Liddle	21.09.1843, 1c3
SH	Mahogany 4 Post Bedstead, with Curtains and Horse Hair Mattress. Iron 4 Post Bedstead with Curtains and Mattress	J.D. Norden & Co. Portion of Mr. Eaton's furniture	02.11.1843, 1c4
New	Brass Bedsteads, of superior quality.	James Black & Co.	28.03.1844, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Four-post Bedstead with carved pillars Coach-top Bedstead. Iron Camp Bedstead, Horsehair mattresses.	R. Godlonton, Sale at Settlers' Hill Residence.	06.06.1844, 1c3
SH	2 Mahogany four-post Bedsteads, with Furniture. 2 Tent do. with Furniture.	C. Griffiths, Prospect House	20.06.1844, 1c2
SH	Mahogany four post bedstead with Carved Pillars.	S. Haw, Residence Top of Hill Street, Settlers' Hill	27.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Bedsteads, two four-post, three children's, two Stinkwood.	C.M. Welsford, Residence, New Street	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Bedsteads.	Mr Edward Phillips (Estate Sale)	04.07.1844, 1c4
SH	Bedsteads with curtains, Feather Bed & Pillars.	Mrs C. Schryver Storekeeper, High Street, About to leave Colony.	18.07.1844, 1c3
SH	Iron Bedstead, Fliptic (Eliptic) top.	Geo. Willett	01.08.1844, 1c2
SH	Japanned Tent Bedsteads. Four-post do. with hangings.	J. Lawrence, Furniture Repository, High Street	12.09.1844, 1c3

New or Second Hand	BEDS, BED FURNITURE, BEDDING, BEDSTEPS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Brass Bedstead with Horse hair mattress Brass Sofa-bedstead.	Henry Nourse, Residence, High St.	12.09.1844, 1c3
SH	Child's Swing Cot French Bedstead Portable Iron Bedstead Chair Bedstead, with Horsehair Mattress and well Child's Crib	Surgeon Eddie, C.M.R. About to leave Graham's Town Sale at Residence, Thorn Cottage	28.11.1844, 1c3
SH?	2 Superior French Bedsteads, painted, 6'4" x 4'	J.D. Norden, Auctioneer	09.01.1845, 1c3
SH	2 Bed Stretchers, 2'6" span 8 Japan French Bedsteads	Col. Somerset, at his Residence, Oatlands	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Large & Small Iron Bedsteads with brass ornaments Bedding & muslin Bed Furniture Children's Cribs.	Major Wortham, R.E. about to leave the Fron- tier	13.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Mahogany & Cane Swinging Cot Portable single & double Bedsteads, with horse-hair mattresses	Dr Delmage, H.M. 27th Reg about to leave the Frontier	27.03.1845, 1c3
SH	2 Mahogany carved four-post Bedsteads French and Tent Bedsteads, Feather Bed & Bedding, Mattresses	James Howse about to leave this Colony for Europe	03.04.1845, 1c3
SH	Brass Sofa forming a French Bedstead with Furniture Excellent Family portable brass Bedstead.	Officers of 27th Regt.	03.07.1845, 1c3
SH	2 Four-Post Bedsteads, with hangings, complete.	James Mewett	10.07.1845, 1c3
SH	Mahogany and other Four-post Bedsteads, Bed Steps.	Martin West	18.09.1845, 1c3
SH	Brass, Sofa, and other Bedsteads.	J.C. Welsford, PE (late)	02.10.1845, 1c5
New	Portable Bedsteps, Brass Bedsteads, Horse-hair & Wool mattresses, bolsters, Feather pillows.	Joseph Hart	04.12.1845, 1c4
New	Iron Japanned Tent Bedsteads.	Joseph Lawrence	17.01.1846, 1c3
New	Sofa Bedsteads, Paris Bedsteads, French polished, Ottoman Chair Bedsteads, Bed Steps.	Joseph Lawrence	14.02.1846, 1c3
SH	Portable Iron Double Bedstead, with Case complete.	Lt.-Col. Lowen (late)	06.06.1846, 1c4
New	Brass Bedsteads, a splendid Japanned Bedstead, large size, Mahogany Bedsteads with Cornices, Four Post Bedsteads, Tent Bedsteads - all part of a consignment of 'the most modern Furniture'.	Joseph Hart Furniture Ware- house	12.12.1846, 1c5
SH	Four-post Bedsteads and Bedding. Child's Cot.	Capt. Gunn (late)	05.12.1846, 1c4
SH	Four post and Tent Bedsteads. Horsehair Mattresses. Feather Beds and Bolsters.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Four-post Bedstead.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c4
New	Mahogany Four-post Bedsteads with Cornices. Tent Bedsteads. Patent Brass Bedsteads.	Joseph Hart "the most Modern Furniture, direct from London."	09.01.1847, 4c3
SH	One very superior Brass Bedstead.	E.T. Taylor, New St.	13.02.1847, 1c3
SH	Beds, Bedding.	John Jolley (late)	27.02.1847, 1c2
SH	One 4-post bedstead, sneezewood posts.	Estate of Mr Ethridge	20.03.1847, 1c5
New?	Brass Bedsteads, <u>double</u> and full 5 feet wide.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	19.06.1847, 2c1
New	Japanned and other Bedsteads.	G. Griffiths, PE	10.07.1847, 4c4
New	Small feather beds and bolsters, suitable for single gentlemen; horsehair & wool mattresses of all sizes.	Joseph Hart Furniture Ware- house, Church Square	17.07.1847, 1c2
New	Superior brass and iron bedsteads, 5 feet wide, mahogany 4 post do.	Joseph Hart	17.07.1847, 1c2
SH	Bedsteads, Bedding, Stretchers.	W.J. Earle (leaving Colony)	11.09.1847, 1c6
SH	Bedsteads and Bedding.	John Ford (late)	23.10.1847, 1c5

New or Second Hand	BEDS, BED FURNITURE, BEDDING, BEDSTEPS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Iron bedsteads and stretchers. Horse hair mattresses 6 ft. 6 in. long by 5 feet, 6 inches wide. Counterpanes and bed linen.	Rev. Dr. Tancred (leaving Frontier)	13.11.1847, 1c4
SH	Portable mahogany double and single bedsteads.	Officer leaving Colony. C. Pote, auctioneer	11.12.1847, 1c4
New	Brass and iron bedsteads.	J. Hart	11.12.1847, 2c2
SH	Four post bedsteads.	Mr. Rutherford, Hill St	15.01.1848, 1c5
SH	Solid Stinkwood Bedstead.	J. Mackcallah (leaving Colony)	15.01.1848, 1c4
New	Brass bedsteads.	J. Hart	15.01.1848, 1c6
New	Brass and Iron Bedsteads, Hair mattresses.	J. Hart	21.10.1848, 1c3
New	French Bedsteads, Mahogany Honduras, Caned Cots.	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
New	French Bedsteads. Children's Mahogany Cots. Brass and Iron Bedsteads.	J. Hart	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Bedsteads, bedding, stretchers.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c5
New	Brass and Iron Bedsteads, beautifully finished Children's Iron Cots, with tops for Curtains.	Joseph Hart House Furnishers Church Square	13.05.1848, 2c2
SH	Mahogany Four post Bedstead. French Bedstead.	W. Cannell Insolvent Estate	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Stinkwood, mahogany, sneezewood, and plain bedsteads. Stretchers, hair, wool and straw mattresses, &c.	S.W. Dell Furniture Ware- house, Bathurst Street	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Stinkwood four-post bedsteads. 12 Stretchers, Feather bed and wool mattresses in great variety.	Thos. Shaw Bathurst St.	20.01.1849, 4c3
New	Mahogany Four-post Bedsteads with cornices. French and Tent Bedsteads.	Joseph Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New?	Horse hair and Wool mattresses. Large Brass Bedstead, with Palliass (sic) and Horse Hair Mattress, complete.	J. Kershaw Household Furni- ture Sale at his Premises, Church Square	23.06.1849, 1c4
New	Bedsteads and French ditto.	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
New	Bedsteads.	J. & W. Roberts (Builders)	14.07.1849, 1c4
SH	Handsome French Canopy Bedstead in Spanish Mahogany.	Mr Ensor Market Square	11.08.1849, 1c5
New	Cornice Four Post Bedsteads.	Joseph Hart	11.08.1849, 1c3
New	Ottoman Beds. Bedsteps &c.	C. & H. Maynard & Co.	29.09.1849, 1c3
New	Children's Birch and Japanned Cribs.	C. & H. Maynard	29.09.1849, 1c3
New	Children's Cribs. Mahogany Four Post Bedsteads.	Joseph Hart	10.11.1849, 1c4
New	Stinkwood, Sneezewood, and Yellowwood Bedsteads. Stinkwood Children's Cribs and Cots. French bedsteads. Mattresses, bolsters and pillows. Stretchers.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
New	Brass Bedsteads, 6 feet long by 3 x 6 broad, 6 x 6 - 4 x 6, handsomely furnished. Richly painted iron do. Brass Mounted Half Tester. French Canopy Bedsteads. Canopy Tent Bedsteads. Stump Bedsteads. Children's Cots & Cribs.	W.R. Thompson, Jun.	09.02.1850, 1c6
New	Children's Cribs.	J. Hart	25.05.1850, 1c2
New	French Bedsteads, painted and japanned. A large quantity of Hair and Wool Mattresses and Bolsters, Feather Bed and Pillows.	S.W. Dell	06.07.1850, 1c3
New?	Mahogany Four-post Bedstead, with Cornice and turned Pillars.	Edwd. J.N. Smith Commission Sale	07.09.1850, 1c5
SH	1 Bedstead (stinkwood).	Pote's Gen. Com. Sales	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	Four post bedstead, iron do.	Mr Rutherford Personal Sale	30.11.1850, 1c4

New or Second Hand	BEDS, BED FURNITURE, BEDDING, BEDSTEPS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
New SH	Iron Bedsteads and Travelling Couches. Brass Bedstead.	Birkenruth & Kift Pote Sale Gentleman leaving Frontier	05.04.1851, 1c4 19.04.1851, 2c1
New SH	French and farmers stump bedsteads. Brass Mounted Bedstead.	Wm. Ogilvie (late) Gentleman leaving Colony	24.05.1851, 1c5 05.07.1851, 1c4
SH	Large Iron Bedstead, with Brass Mountings. Beds and Bedding.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	2 Four-Post Bedsteads.	J. Geard	18.10.1851, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Four-post Bedstead (Handsome). Feather Bed and other Bedding. Mahogany Bedsteads. Mattresses and Stretchers.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH SH	Double Iron Bedstead & Bedding Child's Iron Cot	Mrs J.D. Norden Joseph Lawrance Auctioneer	12.06.1852, 1c5 18.09.1852, 1c2
New	Bedsteads in Brass and Iron, also a few Full-sized Four-post. do. French medium size. Stump do.	J. Douglas	25.09.1852, 1c5
SH New	Bedsteads. Bedsteads.	Maj-Gen. Somerset Dell's Furniture Warehouse	25.09.1852, 1c3 16.10.1852, 4c3
SH	Brass Bedstead. Two Iron bedsteads.	H. Hudson, New St.	25.09.1852, 1c4
New?	Four-post Bedsteads (Mahogany) handsomely carved with rich cornices. Brass and Iron Bedsteads.	Joseph Hart	01.01.1853, 4c3
SH	Bed-room Suites, in brass and iron bedsteads &c. (part of suite).	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	Four-post Bedstead, worth £10, with cornice and Turned Posts.	Pote's General Sales	19.03.1853, 1c5
SH	1 Brass Bedstead, 1 mahogany Bedsteps) 1st 1 Child's Crib (sneezewood)) Bed-room 1 Iron Bedstead (2nd Bed-room). 1 Iron Bedstead (3rd Bed-room). 1 large mahogany four-post Bedstead with crimson Damask Furniture (4th Bed-room).	C.W. Pakenham	Extra 22.02.1853, 1c4
New	Mahogany bedsteads. Mahogany Bed-steps. Brass and Iron Bedsteads - large quantity. Feather Beds and Pillows. Curled Horse-hair Mattresses. Curled Horse Hair.	S.W. Dell	26.02.1853, 1c4
SH	Brass Bedstead.	Dep. Assnt. Com. Gen. Palmer S.W. Dell	Extra 29.03.1853, 2c4 09.04.1853, 1c7
New	Mahogany Bedsteads. Mahogany Bed Steps. Iron cribs, Bedsteads. Brass bedsteads. Feather Beds, Bolsters & Pillows, Horse hair mattresses & bolsters always on hand.		
SH	Iron Bedsteads. Mahogany Four-post do. Bedding, Horse-hair Mattress. Feather Beds & pillows.	James Cawood	Extra 03.05.1853, 2c1
New	Brass Tent Bedsteads. Iron Bedsteads of various sizes, Japanned, Mahogany & Bamboo. Mahogany four-post Bedsteads. Feather Pillows.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7
SH	Carved Four Post Mahogany Bedstead, originally cost in London £18.	Chas Pote, Auct.	CFT 07.06.1853, 1c2
New	1 magnificent Brass Bedstead with curtain, rods, and ring, square top, patent iron sacking, square top posts, 2 inches in diameter, 4 other Brass Beds. Imported Direct from London.	S.W. Dell	22.10.1853, 1c7
New	Great variety of Iron Bedsteads - double and single. Swinging cot's, cribs, folding single bedsteads, &c.	S.W. Dell	22.10.1853, 1c7
New? New	Portable Iron Stretcher for Travelling. Brass and Iron Bedsteads. Superior Feather Beds & Pillows. Horse-hair and Wool Mattresses and Bolsters.	Pote's Gen. Sales Dell's Furniture Warehouse	03.12.1853, 1c7 17.12.1853, 1c3

New or Second Hand	BOOKCASES, SECRETARIES, WHATNOTS &c.	OWNER/FIRM	GTJ Date
SH	Secretary.	J.H. Smith	31.07.1834, 1c2
SH	A Stinkwood Book-case.	T.C. White	11.04.1836, 1c3
SH	1 Rosewood Bookcase.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	Book Cases.	H.B. Rutherford	18.05.1837, 1c1
New	Mahogany Book Case, with Secretary.	C. & H. Maynard	04.10.1838, 1c2
SH	Large Gothic Book-case and Press.	Major Selwyn	01.07.1841, 1c1
SH	Book-cases.	John Paskin Shoe-maker & Shopkeeper	30.09.1841, 4c3
SH	Bookcases.	Major Selwyn	26.05.1842, 1c3
New	Spanish Mahogany Book Cases.	Joseph Lawrence	23.03.1843, 1c3
SH	Large sized mahogany secretary and bookcase above, with folding glazed doors, sliding shelves: secretary and other drawers.	Mr Penketh, RE Somerset St.	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Escrutoire and Book-case above, with folding glazed doors and sliding shelves.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	Secretary.	W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Book Case, with Escrutoire.	Mrs Peck, Bathurst St.	13.06.1844, 1c3
SH	A very handsome Book Case.	S. Haw	27.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Book Case (property of an officer leaving the Frontier).	J.D. Norden	28.11.1844, 1c4
SH	Two very splendid Rosewood Book-cases	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Book Case, with Chest Drawers under. Escrutoire, with Drawers.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
	Ladies' Book-case.		
SH	Mahogany Book Case.	Officers 27 Regt	10.07.1845, 1c2
SH	Whatnot.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	1 Book Case, and Set Drawers .	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Bookcase.	S. Moss (insolvent)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Book case.	John Ford (late)	23.10.1847, 1c5
New	Mahogany secretary book cases with glass doors.	J. Hart Furniture Warehouse, Church Sq.	11.12.1847, 2c2
SH	Mahogany Book Case (in Drawing Room Suite).	W. Cannell	24.06.1848, 1c5
SH	Bookcase ... Upwards of 100 volumes of Books.	N. Birkenworth	03.02.1849, 1c6
SH	Bookcase.	T. Jarman (late)	18.08.1849, 1c5
New	Stinkwood Bookcases.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
	Secretaries		
SH	Secretary with drawers.	Mr Birkenruth	23.03.1850, 1c6
SH	Book-case. Scrutoire.	Mr Rutherford	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	Large (Mahogany) Secretary, with Bookcase attached.	Late James Howse	26.03.1853, 1c4
SH	A mahogany book case with excrutoire (sic.).	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	1 Mahogany Escrutoire (ex 1st Bed-room). Book shelves (ex 3rd Bed-room).	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
New	Walnut Canterbury Whatnot (part of suite). Rosewood Whatnots.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
	Mahogany Bookcases, with Secretaries.		
	Mahogany Secretary Cheffioniers,		
	Mahogany Reading Stands		
	Mahogany Booktrays		
SH?	Portable Chest Drawers, with Secretary and Case Complete.	Pote's Sale	16.04.1853, 1c5
SH	Book cases.	James Cawood	Extra 03.05.1853, 2c1
New	Mahogany and Rosewood Secretary Book-cases.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7
SH	1 Bookcase.	Lawrance's	05.11.1853, 1c1
		Commission Sale	
SH	Portable Chest of Drawers with Secretary.	Pote's Gen. Sales	03.12.1853, 1c7

New or Second Hand	CABINETS, BUREAUX, GLASS CUPBOARDS AND CUPBOARDS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Stink-wood Cupboard.	Barend Woest	28.09.1837, 1c4
SH	A Lady's Rosewood Cabinet.	Surgeon Eddie, CMR	28.11.1844, 1c3
SH	1 Glass Cupboard.	A.T. Caldecott	03.01.1846, 2c2
SH	A very splendid Japanned Cabinet, with Carved Ivory Chessmen and Board, Card Boxes, and Mother of Pearl Counters, which cost originally in China, £20.	Late Capt. Gunn "West Hill"	05.12.1846, 1c4
New	Cupboards.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
New	Glass Cases. ex USA, per Silver Cloud, from Boston. Mahogany and Walnut Bureaus	C. Andrews, Port Elizabeth	03.09.1853, 1c4

New or Second Hand	CARPETING, AND OTHER FLOOR COVERS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Kidderminster, Brussels Carpets and rugs.	Col. Somerset	15.06.1832, 97c2
SH	Carpets, bed-side ditto.	Lt. Col. England	22.10.1835, 1c1
New	Kidderminster Carpeting and Hearth Rugs to match.	C. & H. Maynard	24.03.1836, 1c2
New	Room and Stair Carpeting, India Matting.	John Mandy	08.09.1836, 1c3
New	Room and Stair Carpeting.	John Mandy	27.10.1836, 1c2
SH	Brussels and Kidderminster Carpets, Bedside do.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	Parlour and Stairs Carpeting	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.10.1837, 1c2
SH	Kidderminster and other Carpets and Hearth Rugs.	Beale's Hotel	11.01.1838, 1c1
SH	Carpets.	J. Woodland	04.10.1838, 1c1
New	Rugs.	C. & H. Maynard	04.10.1838, 1c2
		Port Elizabeth	
SH	Brussels, Kidderminster and Venitian (sic.) Carpeting, a number of India cabinet do.	John Norton	01.11.1838, 1c2
SH	Brussels and Kidderminster Carpeting.	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c1
SH	Carpets.	H.C. Selby	28.02.1839, 1c5
SH	Brussel Carpet and Rug.	Wm. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
New	An Assortment of rich Brussels Carpets; also Kidderminster, Damask and Hemp do., Turkey, Persian and other Rugs.	Meurant & Godlonton	16.05.1839, 1c3
SH	Brussel and other Carpets.	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2
?	1 Brussels Carpet, Bedroom Carpeting	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
SH	A Venetian Carpet and Rug.	'A Gentleman'	12.03.1840, 1c3
New	A Brussels Carpet and China Mats. Carpeting, Carpets.	John H. Clark Storekeeper	12.08.1841, 1c2
SH	Carpets.	Capt. Poole RA	30.09.1841, 1c1
SH	Carpet.	Major Crause, CMR	21.04.1842, 1c4
SH	Carpet.	W.E. Prynne	05.05.1842, 1c5
SH	Carpets.	Mr Teeling	12.05.1842, 1c1
		RE Dept.	
SH	Carpets.	'A Gentleman'	19.05.1842, 1c4
SH	Parlour, Bedroom and Stair Carpets.	Major Selwyn	26.05.1842, 1c3
New	Floor Cloths 18x45, 15x60, 4x4 wide in variety of Patterns.	C. & H. Maynard	01.12.1842, 1c3
SH	A quantity of Venetian Staircase carpetting, with brass rods and eyes.	Mr Penketh, RE	08.06.1843, 1c3
	A large Kidderminster carpet.		
SH	A Turkey Hearthrug, and figured oil cloth.		
SH	Brussels Carpet planned to Room, with Ottomans to match.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
	Oil cloth, planned to dining room, complete.		
SH	Carpet 18x13.	Mr Eaton	02.11.1843, 1c4
	Floor Cloth-Hearth Rug.		
SH	1 Brussels Carpet and Rug.	Q.M. Thompson	04.04.1844, 1c4
SH	1 Bedroom do. do.	27th Regt.	
SH	Kidderminster Carpet	Genl. leaving Frontier	02.15.1844, 1c3
New	Brussels Carpeting, various patterns.	Joseph Lawrence	23.05.1844, 1c2
	Fancy Hearth Rugs.		
SH	Brussels Carpet	Edward Phillips	04.07.1844, 1c4
SH	Kidderminster carpet, 15 ft. square (very stout). Hearth Rug to do.	Geo. Willett	01.08.1844, 1c2
New	Brussels, Kidderminster & Venetian Carpets, and brass stair Rods, Hearth Rugs, Chair Mats, Hassocks, &c.	G. Griffiths PE	22.08.1844, 1c3
New	A large sized carpet.	J. Lawrence	12.09.1844, 1c3
New	Brussels Carpet, Kidderminster do., Venetian do., Printed Woolen Drugget, Hearth Rugs, Oil Cloth for Passages.	Levicks, Sherman & Kift	07.11.1844, 1c3
SH	Brussels and Kidderminster Carpet, each 18'x15', Hearth Rugs.	Surgeon Eddie, CMR	28.11.1844, 1c3
SH	Brussels & Kidderminster Carpets, 21x18.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Brussels Carpets, Rugs.	Maj. Wortham RE	13.03.1845, 1c2
SH	A splendid Carpet.	Dr Delmage, 27th Regt.	27.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Brussels and Kidderminster Carpets, Rugs.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
SH	Brussels and other Carpets.	Martin West	18.09.1845, 1c3
SH	Carpet Table Covers.	Officer leaving the Frontier	20.11.1845, 1c4
New	Brussels Carpet, 4s 6d per yard.	G. Griffiths, PE	06.11.1845, 1c6
	Kidderminster, 3s 3d per yard.	Cheap Furniture House, Cabinet Maker	
	Hearth Rugs 10s each & upwards.		
New	Brussels Carpeting.	Jos. Lawrance	14.02.1846, 1c3
New	Kidderminster Carpeting & Hearth Rugs ... superior quality, latest patterns.	W. Cannell Hill Street	14.02.1846, 1c4

New or Second Hand	CARPETING, AND OTHER FLOOR COVERS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Brussels Carpets, Hearth Rugs.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Brussels and Kidderminster (sic.) Carpets. Floor Cloth. Hearth Rugs.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Brussels Carpet. Hearth Rugs.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c4
SH	1 Large Brussels Carpet.	J.D. Norden (late)	6.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Brussels Carpets.	E.T. Taylor,	13.02.1847, 1c3
New	Brussels and Kidderminster Carpets. Hearth Rugs and Printed Druggets.	G. Griffiths High Street, PE	10.07.1847, 4c4
SH	Carpets & Carpeting.	W.J. Earle (leaving Colony)	11.09.1847, 1c6
SH	Carpets.	John Ford	23.10.1847, 1c5
SH	Turkey carpets and rug.	Officer leaving Colony	11.12.1847, 1c4
SH	India Matting.	Mr Rutherfoord	15.01.1848, 1c5
SH	Carpets.	W. Cannell	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Stout Brussels Carpeting.	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
SH	Carpets with rugs.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	New Brussels Carpet.	A. Shepperson	10.02.1849, 1c5
SH	Brussels carpet and rug.	Chas. Maynard	31.03.1849, 1c5
SH	A splendid Turkey Carpet (The only one in the Colony) about 14x20 feet.	Chas. Pote	28.04.1849, 1c5
New	Elegant Brussels Carpet and Carpeting and Hearth Rugs. New Pattern Floor Oil Cloth, Various widths. One splendid Turkey Carpet. Indian Matting.	Commission Sale W. Wright "latest fashions"	30.06.1849, 1c5
SH	Large Carpets.	T. Jarman (late)	18.08.1849, 1c5
New	Brussels Hassocks.	C. & H. Maynard & Co.	29.09.1849, 1c3
New	Brussels and Kidderminster Carpetting, Printed Drugget, Floor Oil Cloth, Hearth Rugs, Door Mats. Large Brussels Carpet Cost £20.	B.M. Shepperson	13.10.1849, 1c2
SH	Carpets and matting.	C. Pote for Private Sale	13.08.1850, 1c2
SH	Carpets and Rugs.	Mr Rutherfoord Gent. leaving Colony	30.11.1850, 1c4 05.07.1851, 1c4
SH	2 splendid Brussels carpets, containing about 55 yards each.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
New	New Brussels Carpet.	Jos. Lawrance Public Auction	06.12.1851, 1c4
New	Imitation Turkey (Velvet Face) carpets, Hearth Rugs from 13s6d to 20s. Door Mats, only 5s9d each, well worth 8s6d.	John Williams Western House	21.02.1852, 1c3
New	Brussels, Kidderminster & other carpets, Door Mats, &c.	S.W. Dell	28.08.1852, 4c6
SH	Carpets and Carpetting.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	A superior carpet, 28 feet by 18 from Selwyn Castle Dining Room.	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	1 Brussels Carpet and Rug (Drawing Room). 1 Brussels Carpet (Dining Room).	C.W. Pakenham	Extra 22.02.1853, 1c4
New	Red Bordered and plain Door Mats.	James Parker Ironmonger Church Square	19.03.1853, 1c3
New	Tapestry, Brussels, Kidderminster & Drugget Carpeting. Hearth rugs. Door mats. Cair matting.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
SH	Carpeting.	James Cawood	Extra 03.05.1853, 2c1
New	Brussels & Kidderminster Carpetting.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 2c1
SH	Brussels Carpets.	Chas. Pote, Auct.	04.06.1853, 4c5

New or Second Hand	CELLARETS, LIQUEUR STANDS, &c.	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	1 mahony (mahogany) Cellaret, with Drawers and Folding-doors.	Property of 'A Gentleman'	16.02.1837, 1c1
SH	Liquor stand.	N. Moss	18.10.1838, 1c1
SH	Wine Guard.	Capt. Campbell	03.01.1839, 1c1
SH	4 bottle stands with pleated edges.	Mr Penketh, RE	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Liqueur Stand.	John Moorcroft	20.07.1843, 1c4
SH	Liquor Stand, silver edged.	W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Cellaret.	Maj. Wortham, RE	13.03.1845, 1c2
SH	Wine Coolers.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1

New or Second Hand	CHAIRS, STOOLS AND HAS SOCKS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Mahogany and other chairs.	Col. Somerset	15.06.1832, 97c2
SH	6 new Cane bottomed stinkwood Chairs.	William Jeffery	16.02.1832, 29c2
SH	Stinkwood Chairs.	J.H. Smith	31.07.1834, 1c2
SH	Stink-wood chairs.	R. Featherstone	03.09.1835, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood and bedroom Chairs.	Lt.Col. England	22.10.1835, 1c1
New	Mahogany chairs, French Polished, Stuffed, Horse-hair seats, Brass Moulding, with two Elbows; Sofa and Couch to match, Squabs loose. Melbourne, Grafton, and Napoleon easy chairs, covered with Leather, blue and silver Merino, Damask, Chintz, etc.	C. & H. Maynard Imported by the brig <u>Comet</u>	24.03.1836, 1c2
New	Easy Chairs, with sprung seats ...	John Mandy	12.05.1836, 1c1
New	Bed-room Chairs of various patterns. Portable Camp Chairs.	ex Comet John Mandy	08.09.1836, 1c3
SH	Easy Chairs. London made. Drawing-room Furniture in Suit, consisting of 12 Rosewood Chairs, with stuffed seats, 2 sofas, ditto, 2 Card Tables, and 1 circular ditto, all to match, with extra Chintz Covers to Chairs and Sofas ...	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Dining and Bedroom Chairs. Mahogany Easy Chair with stuffed seat. Chairs, with horse-hair seats & brass mouldings.	J.P. Verster Settler's Hill	02.02.1837, 4c4
SH	12 Cane-bottom Chairs.	J.D. Norden Auctioneer	16.02.1837, 1c1
SH	Stinkwood Chairs with horsehair Bottoms Do. cane ditto.	J.D. Norden Auctioneer	26.10.1837, 1c2
New	CHAIRS. Just unpacked ... a set of handsome Spanish Mahogany Chairs of the latest pattern.	C.H. Caldercott	23.12.1837, 4c3
SH	Mahogany Chairs with Horsehair Seats. Stinkwood and bedroom do.	Beale's Hotel	11.01.1838, 1c1
SH	Stinkwood and bed room Chairs.	Benjamin Norden (his furniture)	22.03.1838, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs.	Lieut. Nelson	23.08.1838, 1c1
SH	Mahogany Chairs, with horse-hair seats. Stinkwood and Bedroom ditto.	J.D. Norden (Auctioneer) Mr Wiggett's house, formerly Mr Trotter's brewery	06.09.1838, 1c1
SH	Mahogany chairs with horse hair seats, Bedroom ditto.	J. Woodland	04.10.1838, 1c1
New	Several Setts of 6 and 2 Elbow Mahogany Chairs, French polished. Several Easy Chairs, and Chairs for Children.	C. & H. Maynard Per <u>Eleanor</u> For sale in PE	04.10.1838, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood and other Chairs.	N. Moss	18.10.1838, 1c1
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Drawing-room Chairs with horse-hair seats. Do. with cane bottom. Bedroom do.	John Norton (leaving Colony)	01.11.1838, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood Chairs.	Capt. Campbell	03.01.1839, 1c1
SH	Rosewood Couches and Chairs to match.	J.C. Selby	28.02.1839, 4c2
SH	Mahogany Chairs ... Stinkwood Chairs ...	W. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
New	Library Easy Chairs. Rosewood stained caned-seat chairs. Children's Chairs, birch, with caned seats. Mahogany Dining-room Chairs Do. Foot stools. Mahogany Children's Chairs.	J.D. Norden & Co. per <u>Galatea</u>	09.05.1839, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sofa, horse-hair cover, six handsome Chairs to match ... a Napoleon and other easy Chairs.	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
New	Mahogany Chairs, in claret leather. Cane Seat Chairs, stained rosewood. Mahogany Children's Chairs and Stools. " Foot Stools.	J.D. Norden per <u>Lord Saumarez</u>	08.08.1839, 4c4
New	6 French Polished Chairs with Cane Seats.	Thomas Parker	29.08.1838, 1c3
New	Some very Superior French Polish Birch Wood Chairs.	B. Simpson Church Square per <u>Dash</u>	29.08.1839, 1c4
SH	Woburn, covered with Leather, and Bedroom Chairs	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2

New or Second Hand	CHAIRS, STOOLS AND HASSOCKS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Mahogany Trafalgar Chairs, with loose seats, covered in hair cloth and brass mouldings, one set of the same made portable.	C. & H. Maynard per Emma	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	Mahogany and other Easy Chairs with spring seats, music stools, Children's Chairs, Ottoman Stools, White Birch Chairs with cane seats.	J.D. Norden & Co.	05.12.1839, 4c4
?	Mahogany Wobern Chairs, in Claret Leather.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
SH	6 doz. Mahogany Chairs, Horse-Hair Seats, and Brass Mouldings.	Capt. Amsinck HM 27th	09.01.1840, 1c1
New	Mahogany horse-hair and cane bottom Chairs. 1 portable Arm Chair.	C. & H. Maynard	27.02.1840, 1c5
SH	2 Handsome Mahogany Recumbent Chairs with spring shifted Seats and Backs, covered in claret coloured Leather finished with Gyp. Handsome honduras Mahogany dining Room Chairs, covered in hair cloth French polished, made portable do. do. do. Trafalgar do. with loose seats. Imitation rose wood Childrens Stools assorted sizes. Rose wood Ottoman Stools, covered in green damask gold cord tassels. Rose wood Ottoman stools, covered in crimson damask gold cord tassels. Stout Mahogany Foot Stools covered in Brussels carpeting.	J.D. Norden & Co. for 'A Gentleman'	12.03.1840, 1c3
New	Eight stinkwood Chairs ... A child's Mahogany Chair and Stand.	J. Lawrence	13.08.1840, 1c3
New	Mahogany dining Room Chairs, with horse-hair seats, Mahogany Drawing Room do., Bedroom Japan do., with Rush bottoms, Children's do., Easy Chairs.	J. Lawrence Church Square	29.10.1840, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Nail Cover Chairs, stuffed in Hair-cloth. Mahogany Sliding Frame, Easy Chairs in Claret Leather. Stained Rosewood Cane Seat do. 6 Mahogany Portable Chairs, with Horse hair seats and case.	Major Burn 91st Beaufort St.	07.01.1841, 1c1
New?	Mahogany Dining Room Chairs, Bedroom do.	J.D. Norden & Co.	21.01.1841, 1c5
SH	4% doz. Cane-bottomed & Windsor Chairs.	Wm. Wright	13.05.1841, 1c2
New	Sets Mahogany Chairs ... Cane Chairs, Easy Chairs.	John H. Clark (Storekeeper)	12.08.1841, 1c2
SH	Portable Chairs.	Capt. Poole, RA	30.09.1841, 1c1
New	Imitation Rose wood and French Polished Chairs.	Levicks, Sherman & Kift	11.11.1841, 1c2
New	Children's nursing and table Chairs.	C. & H. Maynard	25.11.1841, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood and other Chairs.	G. Tomlinson	09.12.1841, 1c5
SH	Arm Chairs.	Major Crause, CMR	21.04.1942, 1c4
SH	Two Sets Horse hair Chairs.	W.E. Prynn	05.05.1842, 1c5
SH	One set Cane-bottom do.		
New	Parlour and Dining and Bedroom Chairs.	Major Selwyn, RE	26.05.1842, 1c3
SH	Sets of Mahogany Dining Room Chairs.	C. & H. Maynard	11.08.1842, 4c3
SH	Mahogany and Rosewood Easy Chairs, Plain and Ornamented Birch Chairs, with Children's Mahogany Bergeir Chairs.	per Lively	
SH	Mahogany Chairs ... and arm chairs ... solid, convenient, portable ...	Capt. Yarborough 91st	08.09.1842, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Drawing Room chairs.	Dr Daunt	12.01.1843, 1c3
SH?	Stinkwood Chairs with Hair Bottoms. American and Bed-room Chairs.	J.D. Norden, Auctioneer for Joseph Lawrence	09.03.1843, 1c2
New	Ottoman portable chair. Mahogany chairs. Mahogany spoon backs. Mahogany Fontinel easy chairs with cane backs. Recumbant chairs. Invalid chairs. Bed Chair-rests.	Joseph Lawrence 'Chair & Cabinet Repository' High Street	23.03.1843, 1c3
SH	Eight (including two elbow) strong framed handsome stinkwood chairs, with horse hair seats and covers.	Mr Penketh Royal Engineers Dept. Somerset St.	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Mahogany frame Couch and Chairs, covered and stuffed with horse-hair. Mahogany easy chair with spring seat covered with leather.	J.D. Norden, Auctioneer West Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4

New or Second Hand	CHAIRS, STOOLS AND HAS SOCKS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Stinkwood Chairs.	Mr Anderson's Premises, Public Auction	13.07.1843, 1c2
New	White Birch and Imitation Mahogany Chairs, hand- somerly finished, with cane seats "being so well known in this colony that they do not require any further comments".	J. Lawrence's Furniture Repos- itory, High St.	10.08.1843, 1c1
SH	6 stinkwood chairs.	Mr W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Easy Chairs, spring cushions.	Mr Eaton	02.11.1843, 1c4
SH	Imitation Rosewood Chairs.		
SH	12 Stinkwood Chairs.	A. Frank	08.12.1844, 1c3
?	Set of Stinkwood Chairs.	J.D. Norden, Auctioneer	28.03.1844, 1c3
SH	1 Arm Chair, with case complete.	Q.M. Thompson, 27th	04.04.1844, 1c4
SH	Chairs with Cane Bottoms and Horse-hair cushions.	Gent. leaving Frontier	02.05.1844, 1c3
New	White Birch and other Chairs.	Joseph Lawrence	23.05.1844, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood Chairs, French polished horse-hair seats.	R. Godlonton	06.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs, cane seats.		
SH	Dark Mahogany Chairs, Horse hair seats, French pol.	C.M. Welsford, New St.	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	Child's Chairs, Rosewood and Mahogany.		
SH	Mahogany Chairs, Easy Chair	Edward Phillips	04.07.1844, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Chairs, with horse-hair seats, six	Mrs C. Schryver	18.07.1844, 1c3
	Bedroom do., two Arm do.		
SH	Six Rosewood Drawing Room Chairs, Grecian backs.	Geo. Willett	01.08.1844, 1c2
New	Trafalgar Chairs, cane seats, Bedroom do.	J. Lawrance	12.09.1844, 1c3
SH	12 Rosewood Chairs.	Henry Nourse	12.09.1844, 1c3
New	2 Sets handsome Mahogany Drawing Room Chairs, 2 Couches to match, 1 Easy Chair.	C.H. Caldecott	03.10.1844, 1c5
New	American Chairs.	B.M. Shepperson	10.10.1844, 4c3
New	A set of Stinkwood Chairs, consisting of 6 and 2 arms, stuffed and covered with Horse Hair, and French Polished.	J.B. Temlett, Chair and Cabinet Maker	17.10.1844, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs.	Mr Francis, Sen.	24.10.1844, 1c3
SH	Imitation Rosewood Chairs.	Surgeon Eddie CMR	28.11.1844, 1c3
New	Two Setts of (stinkwood) Chairs, stuffed and covered with Horse-hair, and French polished.	J.B. Temlett, Chair & Cabinet Maker	02.01.1845, 1c3
SH?	6 Japanned and gilt Chairs, hollowed wood bottoms	J.D. Norden, Auctioneer	09.01.1845, 1c3
SH	12 Mahogany Chairs with Morocco seats and backs, 3 Woburn Easy Chairs with spring seats.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
New	Sir Astley Cooper's Chairs for children.	Oatlands	
	Table, Windsor and other Chairs.	Levicks, Sherman & Kift	12.03.1845, 1c2
SH	Portable Easy-Chairs and Cushions fitting with Cases which form into Tables.	Major Wortham, RE	13.03.1845, 1c2
	American Iron Rocking Chair.		
	A set of Swiss Chairs.		
	Do. Cane Bottomed		
	Pridieu Arm Chair.		
	Arm Chairs.		
	Music and Dressing Stools.		
SH	Drawing Room Portable and Arm Chairs.	Dr Delmage, 27th Regt.	27.03.1845, 1c3
SH	12 Spanish Mahogany Chairs, with Horse-hair Seats. Dining Room Chairs with cane bottoms. Bedroom do.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
	Handsome Easy Chair.		
New	American Chairs.	S. Middleton, PE	01.05.1845, 4c5
New	Birch Chairs, Cane-bottom.	Joseph Hart	08.05.1845, 1c2
	Birch Children's Cane-bottom chairs.	Church Sq.	
New	Strong Japanned American Chairs.	Joseph Lawrence	08.05.1845, 1c3
	£4 10s per dozen.		
New	American Chairs, £2 5s the half dozen.	Joseph Hart	29.05.1845, 1c5
SH	Two Setts of Stinkwood Chairs, French polished.	James Mewett	10.07.1845, 1c3
SH	Set of Stinkwood Chairs, carved after the Elizabethan order, with Morocco stuffed seats, two large Arm Chairs, and Table to match, French polished.	Dr A.G. Campbell	14.08.1845, 1c2
	Set of 8 French Polished Mahogany Chairs made in Cape Town, with Horse-hair seats.		
SH	Drawing, Dining & Bed-Room Mahogany and Stinkwood Chairs.	Martin West	18.09.1845, 1c3
	Woburn and other Easy Chairs.		

New or Second Hand	CHAIRS, STOOLS AND HAS SOCKS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	A Set of Stinkwood Chairs, with two arms, do. carved, with horsehair seats and French polished.	Gentleman leaving the Frontier	20.11.1845, 1c4
New	A few sets of beautifully carved solid Rosewood Drawing-Room Chairs, with Couches to match, of the most modern patterns. Birch and Stained Chairs. American do. Windsor do.	Joseph Hart Furniture Warehouse, Church Sq.	04.12.1845, 1c4
SH	6 Imitation Mahogany Chairs. 8 Stinkwood Chairs.	J.D. Norden, Auctioneer	10.01.1846, 1c2
New	Invalid Easy Chairs, Caneback Easy Chairs, Mahogany Trafalgar Chairs, White Birch Chairs.	Jos. Lawrance	14.02.1846, 1c3
New	Set of solid rosewood Drawing-room Chairs (12) with Couches to match.	Joseph Hart Furniture Warehouse	14.03.1846, 1c3
SH	14 good cane-bottomed Chairs.	A.T. Caldecott	03.01.1846, 2c2
New	A large assortment of Chairs and elegant Japanned Furniture - ex Hamburg, of German manufacture ... In solid wood, got up in the English style ...	Maynards, Kuhr & Co. PE per Norma from Hamburg	18.07.1846, 1c3
New	Chairs with horsehair seats - part of consignment of 'the most modern Furniture' from London.	Joseph Hart	12.12.1846, 1c5
SH	1 Mahogany Easy Chair, 1 music stool.	Maskell & Pote	07.11.1846, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Parlour and Dining Room Chairs. Bed Room Chairs.	late Capt. Gunn	05.12.1846, 1c4
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Chairs.	James Black about to leave colony	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Chairs. Mahogany Easy Chairs. Music Stool.	Mrs Benjamin about to leave the colony	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Chairs. American Chairs.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c4
New	Mahogany Chairs, with horse hair bottoms. Birch Chairs with cane seats. Children's do. Music Stools.	Joseph Hart	09.01.1847, 4c3
SH	10 Rosewood Chairs covered in Crimson Damask (to match 2 very elegant Rosewood Couches). 3 Mahogany Easy Chairs.	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	8 Mahogany Chairs.	S. Moss (Insolvent)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Easy Chair. Horse-hair seated Chairs.	E.T. Taylor, New St.	13.02.1847, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Chairs, Easy Chairs.	John Jolley (late)	27.02.1847, 1c2
SH	6 Stinkwood Chairs.	Mr Ethridge's Estate	20.03.1847, 1c5
New?	Stinkwood Chairs. Portable do.	M.J. Thomas, Sale at the Co-op Tailor's Estab.	17.04.1847, 1c2
SH?	Superior stinkwood chairs.	John Ford (late)	23.10.1847, 1c5
SH	Study table chairs.	Rev.Dr. Tancred (leaving frontier) (C. Pote Auct.)	13.11.1847, 1c4
SH	Portable mahogany chairs.	Officer leaving Colony	11.12.1847, 1c4
New	Birch cane chairs. American chairs already packed for the country.	J. Hart	11.12.1847, 2c2
SH	Stinkwood Chairs.	J. Mackcallah leaving colony	15.01.1848, 1c4
SH	Ebony and Stinkwood Chairs.	Mr Rutherford Hill St.	15.01.1848, 1c5
New	Mahogany and rosewood chairs covered in Morocco, green, drab, crimson, silk, tabinet, and in hair seating. Lounge Chairs with reading desk attached. Cane Chairs, American chairs, 12 in a case ready packed. Music Stools.	J. Hart Furniture Warehouse, Church St.	15.01.1848, 1c6
SH	Stinkwood chairs.	W. Cowie, Blacksmith	12.02.1848, 4c3
New	Rosewood & Mahogany Parlor and Drawing-room Chairs. In hair and silk Tabinet seats of various patterns. Also a large quantity of strong, serviceable chairs fit for the country.	Joseph Hart Furniture Warehouse, Church Sq.	25.03.1848, 1c2

New or Second Hand	CHAIRS, STOOLS AND HAS SOCKS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Dining Room and bed room Chairs. A Sett of Mahogany horsehair seated Chairs (part of Drawing Room suite). Mahogany horse-hair seated Easy Chair (part of Drawing Room Suite).	W. Cannell	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Stinkwood Chairs, American do.	S.W. Dell	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Chairs.	J. Hart	21.10.1848, 1c3
New	Imitation rosewood chairs. Imitation rosewood chairs, cane seats, large and strong. Rocking chairs, cane.	William Wright American Cargo direct from Boston per Wm H. Shailer	02.12.1848, 1c4
New	Mahogany Chairs with Caned seats. Mahogany Hall Chairs. Folding Arm Chairs with cushions. Children's Burgier Chairs. Mahogany Music Stools stuffed in leather. Mahogany Reading stand on chairs. Birch Chairs with caned backs & seats. Fishing Stools.	W. Ogilvie (just back from London)	09.12.1848, 1c3
New	Easy Chairs, covered in Morocco leather. Sweepback Birch Chairs. Folding Arm Chairs. Children's Chairs. Fishing Stools. Cane Chairs.	J. Hart	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Sitting, dining room and easy chairs.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c5
New	Lounge and easy chairs.	Thos. Shaw	20.01.1849, 4c3
SH	Mahogany Chairs, Easy Chairs.	N. Birkenruth	03.02.1849, 1c6
SH	Pris (sic) Dieu Chair. Rocking Chair. Music and foot stools.	Chas. Maynard	31.03.1849, 1c5
SH	2 Easy Chairs.	Pote's Commission Sales	28.04.1849, 1c5
New	Rosewood and Mahogany Chairs. Easy Chairs covered in Morocco, with reading desk attached. Sweepback birch and Children's Chairs with cane seats. Stinkwood Chairs.	Joseph Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New	Mahogany Easy Chairs, with reading Desk and Branch attached. Hassocks. Richly carved mahogany Hall Chairs. Full sized ditto. Bed Room Chairs. Rosewood Chairs.	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
SH	Rosewood Chairs.	Mr Ensor, Market Square	11.08.1849, 1c5
New	Rosewood & Mahogany Chairs. Music Stools.	Joseph Hart	11.08.1849, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs.	T. Jarman (late)	18.08.1849, 1c5
SH?	Mahogany & Stinkwood Chairs. Easy Chair.	E.T. Taylor (late) Insolvent Estate	25.08.1849, 1c6
New	Music Stools. Easy Chairs. Mahogany Lounges (chair or sofa/couch?). Mahogany Chairs. White and Red Caned Chairs. Stained Rosewood Chairs.	C. & H. Maynard & Co.	29.09.1849, 1c3
New	Mahogany and Rosewood Music Stools. Rosewood & Mahogany Chairs. Children's Table Chairs. Stained Rosewood Chairs. Stained Birch Chairs.	Joseph Hart	10.11.1849, 1c4
New	Stinkwood carved and plain polished Chairs, hair and cane seats. Hassocks. Stinkwood Children's Chairs. Yellow, red, and black cane bottom Chairs, American, solid seats.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
New	Drawing Room Chairs, Easy do., covered with Damask and Horse Hair. American Chairs.	Thomas Shaw Carpenter & Cabinet Maker	09.03.1850, 1c6
SH	Iron Rocking Chairs.	Mr Birkenruth	23.03.1850, 1c6

New or Second Hand	CHAIRS, STOOLS AND HAS SOCKS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Mahogany Chairs, cane seats. Do. do. horse hair seats. Stained Wood Chairs, cane seats. Children's table chairs. Children's Burgier Chairs.	W. Ogilvie	18.05.1850, 4c2
New	Dining Room Chairs.	J. Hart	25.05.1850, 1c2
New	Stinkwood Chairs. Three setts (sic) of very handsome Carved Stink- wood Trafalgar Chairs, and Loo Tables to match will be finished and for Sale shortly. French polished cane bottom Chairs in variety. Fold-up Derby Arm Chairs. American Chairs.	S.W. Dell	06.07.1850, 1c3
New	Easy Chairs. Stinkwood and American Chairs	Edwd. J.N. Smith Auctioneer Commission Sale	07.09.1850, 1c5
SH	Ebony and Stinkwood Chairs. Easy Chairs.	Mr Rutherfordord	30.11.1850, 1c4
New	The Adderley Chair of 'native wood'.	Made by Joseph Hart	25.05.1850, 2c6 29.06.1850, 4c2 22.06.1850, 3c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs (ex Potter's Hotel).	Joseph Lawrence for Mr Potter	24.05.1851, 1c3
New	Mahogany Chairs, caned seats and stuffed in horse hair. Stained Chairs. Children's table chairs.	William Ogilvie (now deceased - selling off goods)	24.05.1851, 1c5
SH	Patent folding chairs.	Gent. leaving Colony	05.07.1851, 1c4
SH	Bedroom Chairs. Rosewood cabriole lounge and cabriole Chairs, covered with blue & white silk damask. Mahogany Lounge and Easy Chairs covered with maroon velvet. mahogany (Chairs?) covered to match.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	Withdrawing and Dining Room Chairs.	Dep. Com. Gen. Green	27.09.1851, 1c3
SH	Hair bottomed Portable Chairs.	The Rev. J. Heavyside	07.02.1852, 1c6
SH	Stinkwood Chairs, horse-hair bottoms. Bedroom Chairs.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	12 American Chairs.	Insolvent Estate of William Selfe	15.05.1852, 1c6
SH	Easy Chair with Case. Portable Dining Chairs.	Officer leaving Colony	22.06.1852, 2c1 Extra
New?	Lounging and Easy Chairs.	Pote's Gen. Sales	14.09.1852, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Drawing Room Chairs. Rosewood Chairs. Mahogany Easy Chair.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	A very superior Easy Chair and Napoleon 12 Mahogany Chairs (part of Dining Room Suite). Bedroom Chairs. 3 Portable Easy Chairs.	H. Hudson, New St.	25.09.1852, 1c4
New?	Trafalgar, Lounge and Ashley Cooper's Chairs in mahogany. Birch and Stain'd Rosewood Chairs. Children's Chairs and Children's Table Chairs.	Joseph Hart	25.12.1852, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Drawing and Dining-room Chairs. Easy Chairs.	James Howse (late)	26.03.1853, 1c3
SH	Rosewood drawing room chairs (to match couches), in Damask.) Easy and Elizabethan Chairs) Drawing (rosewood?).) Room	James Black Selwyn Castle	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	Dining room mahogany chairs, covered in dark red morocco.) Easy Chairs to match.) part of Mahogany Arm Chair and Case forming a Table.) Dining Room Suite	Lawrance's Comm. Sales	CFT 22.12.1853, 1c4
SH	1 set of Drawing Room Chairs) Drawing 2 Easy Chairs.) Room 1 set Dining Room (6 & 2) Chairs, Stinkwood, horse-hair seats.) Dining 2 Children's Table Chairs.) Room	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4 Extra

New or Second Hand	CHAIRS, STOOLS AND HAS SOCKS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Mahogany Sweep-back Chairs, spring seats. Canterbury Music Stools - mahogany. Rosewood Chairs, Music Stools. Cane-seat Chairs.) Fold-up Chairs.) a great variety Portable Easy Chairs.) SH Rosewood Chairs and Couch.	S.W. Dell per Corsair's Bride & other vessels	26.02.1853, 1c4
New	Set Walnut Chairs) part of Walnut Easy Chairs) suite Rosewood Chairs. Rosewood Easy Chairs. Mahogany Easy Chairs - hair, leather & velvet seatings (this applies to Sofas, Couches, Ottomans and Easy Chairs). Mahogany Music Stools in great variety. Mahogany Children's Chairs with Tables. Birch Folding easy chairs. Birch Bedroom chairs. Birch Camp Chairs. Children's birch high straight back table and music Chairs. Indian Chairs.	Dep.Ass.Com.Gen. Palmer S.W. Dell	29.03.1853, 2c4 Extra 09.04.1853, 1c7
SH	6 Stinkwood Chairs.	Lawrance's Sale	16.04.1853, 1c4
SH	Easy Chair. Stinkwood cane-bottom Chairs.	James Cawood	03.05.1853, 2c1 Extra
New	Mahogany Trafalgar Chairs in Haircloth. Birch Folding Yacht Chairs. Children's Birch Table Chairs. Mahogany and Birch and Stained-Cane Seat Chairs. Rosewood & Mahogany Music stools. Carpet Hassocks.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7
SH	Stinkwood Chairs. Stinkwood Chairs with horse-hair seats & damask covers.	Chas. Pote, Auct.	04.06.1853, 1c8
New	ex USA, per Silver Cloud, from Boston Mahogany Chairs, Horse Hair Seats. Walnut Rocking Chairs with Cane backs and seats. Walnut and Maple seat Chairs. Baltimore painted cane seat Chairs. Ordinary wood and cane seat chairs.	C. Andrews Port Elizabeth	03.09.1853, 1c4 27.08.1853
SH	Morocco Room Chairs. Dining Room Chairs.	Chas. Pote, Auctioneer	22.10.1853, 1c8
New	Very handsome reclining Easy Chair, bronzed in damask.	S.W. Dell	22.10.1853, 1c7
New	Iron Folding Arm Chairs. Iron Reclining Arm Chairs.	Levicks & Sherman	29.10.1853, 2c1
SH	6 Stinkwood Chairs. 6 Cane Chairs.	Lawrance's Comm. Sale	05.11.1853, 1c1
New?	Stinkwood and other Chairs.	James Style Selling in front of New Street premises	26.11.1853, 1c7
SH?	Portable Iron Reclining Chair.	Pote's Gen. Sales	03.12.1853, 1c7

New or Second Hand	CHIFFONIERS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Mahogany Cheffoniers.	C. & H. Maynard	24.03.1836, 1c2
New	Cheffoneers.	John Mandy	12.05.1836, 1c1
"	Mahogany Cheffoneers.	" "	27.10.1836, 1c2
"	2 Mahogany Cheffoneers.	" "	13.04.1837, 1c1
New	Mahogany Cheffoneers, reeded columns.	J.D. Norden & Co.	09.05.1839, 1c1
New	Mahogany Cheffoniers, with reeded columns.	" "	08.08.1839, 4c4
New	Mahogany Cheffoniers, with reeded columns.	" "	05.12.1839, 4c4
New?	Mahogany Cheffioniers.	J. Lawrence	13.08.1840, 1c3
New	Mahogany Chiffoneers, with Reeded Columns. Rosewood three feet do. the door fitted Crimson Silk.	J. Lawrence	29.10.1840, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Cheffioneers.	W.E. Prynne	05.05.1842, 1c5
New	Mahogany Cheffioneres.	Joseph Lawrence	23.03.1843, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Cheffioneer.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	2 Stinkwood Cheffoniers, glass doors.	W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Cheffoniers.	Eaton	02.11.1843, 1c4
SH	Dark Mahogany Cheffionier, French Polished.	C.M. Welsford, New St.	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Cheffonier.	Geo. Willett	01.08.1844, 1c2
New	Cheffoneers - part of a consignment of 'the most Modern Furniture'. Direct ex London.	Joseph Hart	12.12.1846, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Cheffionier.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	1 Rosewood Cheffioneer.	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Cheffioneer.	S. Moss (Insolvent)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Cheffioneer.	E.T. Taylor, New St.	13.02.1847, 1c3
New	Sheffioneers with marble tops and plate glass backs. Mahogany sheffioner. Direct from England.	J. Hart Furniture Warehouse Church Square	15.01.1848, 1c4
New	Cheffioneers.	J. Hart	21.10.1848, 1c3
New	Mahogany Cheffonier Sideboard.	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
New	Mahogany Cheffoniers.	J. Hart	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Wing Cheffonier.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Cheffioneer.	N. Birkenruth	03.02.1849, 1c6
SH	Cheffonier.	Chas. Maynard	31.03.1849, 1c5
New	Mahogany Cheffoniers.	Joseph Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New?	Mahogany Cheffonier.	J. Kershaw, Church Sq.	23.06.1849, 1c4
New	Mahogany Winged Cheffoniers and Sideboard.	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
New	Cheffoneers.	Joseph Hart	11.08.1849, 1c3
SH?	Cheffonier.	E.T. Taylor (late)	25.08.1849, 1c6
New	Mahogany Cheffoniers, French polish. Mahogany Cheffoniers, French polish with Celeret Drawers.	C. & H. Maynard & Co.	29.09.1849, 1c3
SH	A very handsome Cheffioneer.	Mr M.R. Every	13.04.1850, 1c4
New	Mahogany Cheffioneer.	W. Ogilvie	18.05.1850, 4c2
SH	Rosewood Cheffioneer (very handsome), cost £32.	C. Pote (for private sale)	13.08.1850, 1c2
SH	Cheffioneer (English).	Gent. leaving Frontier	19.04.1851, 2c1
SH	Mahogany Cheffioneer.	Gent. leaving Frontier	05.07.1851, 1c4
SH	Rosewood Cheffioneer, plate glass back and doors, marble top.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	Rosewood Cheffioneer, with marble slab and glass.	H. Hudson, New St.	25.09.1852, 1c4
New	5' Walnut Cheffionier, plate glass doors and back marble top. Rosewood Cheffionier.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
New	Mahogany Secretary Cheffioniers, 3 ft 6 in. & 4 ft. Mahogany Chiffoniers.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7

New or Second Hand	CHINA, GLASS, PLATE, CUTLERY &C.	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Superb cut glasses, plate and plated ware.	Col. Somerset	15.06.1832. 97c2
SH	Ivory balance-handled knives and forks. Plated-ware, consisting of Branches, Candlesticks, Liqueur and Cruet Stands, 1 Silver Tea Pot, Silver Ladle, Forks, table, desert and salt Spoons, a quantity of splendid cut-glass, a double dinner service, a China Tea Service, very handsome, desert ditto etc.	J.D. Norden Auctioneer	26.10.1837, 1c2
New	12 Superior Dinner Services, each consisting of 111 pieces. The patterns comprise - blue commerce, brown China views, blue Mecca, blue conchology, blue canova, brown royal stripe, green do., blue simie, brown Buckingham star, blue gadroon, green Florentine, &c. Desert services to match. A variety of Breakfast and Tea Setts, in China, Ridgway &c.	Meurant & Godlonton	21.03.1839, 4c3
SH	Cut glass decanters, wine glasses, jelly and custard glasses. A set of white and gold china, with metal tea pot. Reduced sets of Oriental and European china con- sisting of dishes, large sized, side, with covers, sauce tureens, pie dishes, plates, &c.	Penketh, R.E.	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Tea and Coffee Service, Silver-edged.	W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3
SH	China Dessert and a richly gilt Coffee Service.	Surgeon Eddie, CMR	28.11.1844, 1c3
SH	One handsome plated Dinner Service, with silver edge, consisting of 4 large centre Dishes and Covers, 4 corner Dishes do., to form 8 if necessary; one sett of do., consisting of 4 cover Dishes, to form 8, 4 sauce Tureens, 1 Soup Tureen, 1 large Vegetable Dish with four divisions, 1 pair of splendid Wine Coolers, Silver edge. Cruet Stand, Egg and Pickle Stand ... One pair Cut Glass Butter Pots, with plated covers and stands, 3 do. Decanter Stands, 2 Plated Waiters and Toast Racks ... One Dresden China Dessert Service. Blue and Gold enamelled Dinner and Dessert Plates, Cut glass Decanters, Claret Bottles, Water Jugs, Wineglasses and Tumblers, Jelly & Custard Glasses. Drab and Gold China Dessert Service, Mahogany Box, with set of Dessert Knives and Forks, Pearl handles, do. with Table & Carving Knives China Tea Set Complete.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Cut glass Decanters. Tumbler, Wine and Liquour Glasses. Cruet and Liquour Stands. Plated Dishes. Pair Lustres. Silver: In Table and Desert Spoons & Forks. Soup Ladle and Gravy Spoons. Desert and Tea Sets.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	A large and very Elegant Service of PLATE, consisting of - 4 large and Elegantly Chased Silver Candlesticks. Butter Coolers. Bread Baskets. Branch Candlesticks. Dishes and Covers. A large quantity of Queen's Pattern Massive Silver Silver spoons & Forks. Glassware. Crockeryware.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Plate: One very Elegant Silver Tray. Salvers. Wine and butter coolers. Carriage wagon. Bread basket. Massive silver Forks and Spoons. Glass Ware. Crockery Ware.	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Silver Table, Dessert & Tea Spoons, Glass, Earthenware.	E.T. Taylor New Street	13.02.1847, 1c3
New?	Britannia metal tea & coffee pots.	John Jolley (late) Benjamin Hadley	27.02.1847, 1c2 11.12.1847, 1c5

New or Second Hand	CHINA, GLASS, PLATE, CUTLERY &C.	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Cruet Stands. Glassware, consisting of Decanters, Tumblers, Jugs, &c. Teapots, China Tea Service. Spoons, Knives, Forkd, &c.	D. Paxton (Insolvent)	24.06.1848, 1c5
SH	China, &c. in handsome breakfast, dinner and dessert services, water jugs &c. Cut glass decanters, pickle bottles, comfeyte (sic) pots, cruet stand do.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH New	Superior canteen, complete, for six persons. Several Crates willows, plates and soups, pie plates, baking dishes, flat dishes. Several Crates pink printed plates and soups. Several Crates mottled basons (Cometjes) pink and blue. Several Crates blue printed hand basons, white hand basons, painted tea setts complete, blue printed dinner services. Silae, drab and stone color Breakfast and Tea setts, &c. &c.	Mr Mills John Tucker Staffordshire House, Graham's Town	09.12.1848, 1c5 23.12.1848, 1c6
SH	Silver Plate, in Tea Set, Bread Basket, Cruet Stand, Sugar Basket, Spoons, &c.	N. Birkenruth (personal)	03.02.1849, 1c6
SH	China Dessert Service, Breakfast Sett. Glass, in decanters, tumblers, coolers, clarets, wines, ale, beer and jelly glasses. Hock bottles, cruet pickle, Eggstand and candlesticks.	Chas. Maynard (personal)	31.03.1849, 1c5
SH?	Blue & Gold Dinner Service.	E.T. Taylor	25.08.1849, 1c6
New	Plated cruet stands.	W. Ogilvie	18.05.1850, 4c2
SH	Silver butter cooler, tea pot, soup ladle.	C. Pote (for private sale)	13.08.1850, 1c2
SH	Plated Tea Service, do. Cruet Frames and Fittings.	Gent. leaving Colony	05.07.1851, 1c4
SH	Plated Soup tureen, covered dishes ..., cruet & pickle frames, Egg & Epagne stands, Tea & coffee services, waiters, silver spoons, forks, gravy spoons, tea spoons and ladles. Handsome stone China, Dinner & dessert services. Breakfast and tea do. Also Very Superior Flint Glass in great variety.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	China Ware - in tea and coffee sets, breakfast set, dessert service, blue and gold dinner service, and others of stone and crockery ware. Glassware - in rich cut decanters, champagne, claret and other wine glasses, wine coolers, finger glasses, water and claret jugs, &c. &c. Best Sheffield Plated Ware - in dishes and dish covers, liqueur, cruet & pickle stands, wine coolers, waiters in sizes, ... toast racks, a very handsomely chased tea and coffee set, with large tea urn to match. Queen's Pattern Plate - a complete set in stout oak chest, balance ivory handled knives in mahogany case, plated dessert knives and forks in do. &c.	James Black Selwyn Castle	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	1 Dinner Set. } 1 China Dessert Set - blue & gold. } 1 do. Tea and Coffee Set. } PANTRY Glassware. } 10 real China Cups and Saucers, } with covers. } Silver: 2 dozen Table Forks, 1½ doz. small Forks, 1 dozen Table Spoons, 1 doz. Dessert Spoons, 2 Gravy Spoons, 1½ doz. Tea Spoons, 1 marrow spoon, 3 sugar spoons, 2 sets (four each) Plated Dishes.	C.E. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4 Extra
SH	Plated Ware. China Tea Service. Dinner Services &c.	James Cawood	03.05.1853, 2c1 Extra

New or Second Hand	CLOCKS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	An excellent 8 day Clock.	J.H. Smith	31.07.1834, 1c2
SH	A Hall Clock.	T.C. White	11.04.1836, 1c3
SH	A Chimney Clock.	'A Gentleman'	16.02.1837, 1c2
SH	A very costly 21 day Time Piece.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.10.1837, 1c2
SH	3 very handsome bracket Clocks, One table do.	John Norton	01.11.1838, 1c2
SH	Superior 8 day Time-piece.	Capt. Campbell	03.01.1839, 1c1
SH	Excellent 8 day Clock	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c3
?	1 Chimney Clock (good frame)	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
SH	A very superior Eight-Day Clock.	G. Tomlinson	09.12.1841, 1c5
SH	One 8 day Mahogany Clock.	W.E. Prynne	05.05.1842, 1c5
SH	Eight day clock, in mahogany case.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	2 eight day Clocks.	W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3
SH	Eight day Clock.	R. Godlonton	06.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Eight day Clock.	Mrs Peck	13.06.1844, 1c3
SH	A Table Clock.	Surgeon Eddie, CMR	28.11.1844, 1c3
SH	One handsome Eight-Day Clock; 2 do.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	1 eight day Clock. Mahogany case. 1 Time-piece.	James House	03.04.1845, 1c3
SH	Parlour Clock.	W. Warwick (the late)	11.12.1845, 1c5
SH	Eight Day Clock.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Eight Day Clock.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c4
SH	A very superior Eight Day Clock in Mahogany Case. 1 Very large and Elegant Or Molu Time Piece on stand. 2 do. do. Smaller.	J.D. Norden	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Or Molu Timepiece with Glass, Shade & Stand.	S. Moss (Insolvent)	06.02.1847, 1c4
New	Skeleton Time Pieces - just imported.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	19.06.1847, 2c1
SH	A 14 day Table Clock in French gilded bronze.	N. Birkenruth (personal)	03.02.1849, 1c6
SH	French eight-day clock.	Chas. Maynard	31.03.1849, 1c5
New	A few Eight-day Hall & Dial Clocks.	W. Ogilvie	11.08.1849, 1c5
New	Several splendid French Clocks with glass domes.	Chas. Pote	18.05.1850, 1c6
New	Mahogany Hall Clocks.	W. Ogilvie	18.05.1850, 4c2
SH	A good eight-day clock	Mr. Rutherford	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	An Eight-Day striking clock.	Edmd. L. Kift	17.05.1851, 1c4
New	Paintings with eight-day Clocks and moving Figures, playing also favored tunes.	N. Birkenruth	19.07.1851, 1c3
SH	Gilt and Porcelain 16 day clock, very superior.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	An excellent eight-day clock.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Parlour Time-piece.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	Repeater Clock.	Dep.Assnt.Com. Gen. Palmer	29.03.1853, 2c4 Extra
SH	Eight Day Clock.	James Cawood	03.05.1853, 2c1
New	American Clocks.	J. Lawrance	Extra 24.05.1853, 1c4

New or Second Hand	COMMODOES, BIDETS, WATER CLOSETS &c.	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Bidettes, Commodes.	C. & H. Maynard	24.03.1836, 1c2
New	Bidettes.	John Mandy	06.10.1836, 1c4
New	Bidets.	" "	27.10.1836, 1c2
SH	One Mahogany Night Commode.	'A Gentleman'	16.02.1837, 1c1
SH	A Mahogany Commode Chest of 7 Drawers.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.10.1837, 1c2
New	Bidettes.	C. & H. Maynard	04.10.1838, 1c2
New	Bidets, with pans.	J.D. Norden & Co.	09.05.1839, 1c3
New	Large Night Tables, with pans.	" "	08.08.1839, 4c4
	Mahogany Bidets.		
New	Patent Portable Water Closets, and one complete for fixing in a building.	C. & H. Maynard	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	Mahogany Night Tables, with pans.	J.D. Norden & Co.	05.12.1839, 4c4
	Bidetts.		
SH	1 Night Commode, 2 Bidets.	" "	26.12.1839, 1c2
New	A large Mahogany patent fixed Water Closet, a Cistern and force Pump attached, with Earthen Bason, intended for a fixture, emptying itself into a drain or Cesspool, Thus retaining All the advantages of a Water Closet, French polished, and corners brass.	C. & H. Maynard	27.02.1840, 1c5
	Mahogany patent portable Water Closets, Cisterns and force Pumps, attached with Earthen Basins, and receivers under, French polished.		
	Japanned do. do. finished with Black Straps.		
	Night Convenience.		
	Stout Mahogany Biddets with Queen's ware Linnen and turned Legs.		
SH	Commode.	Maj. Wortham RE	13.03.1845, 1c2
New	Mahogany & Rosewood Night Commodes, French pol.	Joseph Hart	08.05.1845, 1c2
New	Mahogany Chest Drawers forming Night Commodes.	Joseph Hart	24.07.1845, 1c2
	Bedsteps forming do.		
SH	Portable Patent Water Closet.	Surgeon Hadoway	24.07.1845, 1c3
		91st Reg.	
SH	Commode.	Dr A.G. Campbell	14.08.1845, 1c2
SH	Night Commodes.	Martin West	18.09.1845, 1c3
New	Mahogany portable Water Closets.	R. Southey,	04.12.1845, 4c3
	Direct from London.	Graaff-Reinet	
New	Portable Water Closets.	Jos. Lawrance	14.02.1846, 1c3
SH	Bidets, water closets.	Rev.Dr. Tancred	13.11.1847, 1c4
		(leaving Frontier)	
New	Mahogany Night Conveniences.	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
New	Night Conveniences	J. Hart	09.12.1848, 1c5
New	Portable Water Closets.	J. Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New	Commodes and Pans.	C. & H. Maynard	29.09.1849, 1c4
		& Co.	
SH	Marble top Closet.	Gent. leaving	05.07.1851, 1c4
		Colony	
SH	Toilet sets and Bed Chamber requisites.	Edmd. L. Kift	17.05.1852, 1c4
New	Night commodes, mahogany.	Joseph Hart	25.12.1852, 1c5
New	Mahogany Night Commodes.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7

New or Second Hand	DRAWING ROOM SUITES, SOFAS, COUCHES, OTTOMANS &c.	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Sofa with rosewood feet.	Mrs Capt. Sparks	27.11.1834, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood sofas.	R. Featherstone	03.09.1835, 1c3
New	Mahogany Sofa and Couch to match, Squabs loose.	C. & H. Maynard	24.03.1836, 1c1
New	Mahogany Sofas.	John Mandy	08.09.1836, 1c3
New	Couches.	" "	27.10.1836, 1c2
SH	Drawing-room Furniture in Suit, consisting of 12 Rosewood Chairs, with stuffed seats, 2 sofas, ditton, 2 Card Tables, and 1 circular ditto, all to match with extra Chintz Covers, to Chairs and Sofas.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	Sofas, with horse hair seats and brass mouldings.	J.P. Verster	02.02.1837, 4c4
SH	Couch, with horse-hair Squab. 1 Sofa, covered with Horse-hair.	Settler's Hill Property of 'A Gentleman'	16.02.1837, 1c1
New	2 Rosewood Couches, stuffed with horse-hair.	John Mandy	13.04.1837, 1c1
SH	Sofas.	H.B. Rutherfordord	18.05.1837, 1c1
SH	Sofa.	Barend Woest	28.09.1837, 1c4
SH	Superior Mahogany Sofa, horse hair Cover.	J.D. Norden	26.10.1837, 1c2
New	Ottomans.	C. & H. Maynard	04.10.1838, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Scroll Sofa with cushions complete.	John Norton	01.11.1838, 1c2
SH	Rosewood Couches and Chairs to match.	H.C. Selby	28.02.1839, 4c2
SH	Sofas.	T. Stubbs	21.03.1839, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Sofa.	Wm Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
New	Mahogany Sofas.	J.D. Norden & Co.	09.05.1839, 1c1
SH	Mahogany Sofa, horse hair cover, six handsome Chairs to match.	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
New	Mahogany Sofas, covered in hair cloth.	J.D. Norden	08.08.1839, 4c4
SH	Sofas, Mahogany, Stinkwood.	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	A handsome mahogany carved double-headed couch, with squab and bolster, covered with hair cloth, and brass mouldings.	C. & H. Maynard per Emma	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	Solid Mahogany Sofa, with Horse Hair Seats.	J.D. Norden & Co.	05.12.1839, 4c4
New	Solid Mahogany Sofa.	" "	26.12.1839, 1c2
New	1 Chintz covered Sofa.	" "	26.12.1839, 1c2
New	2 Handsome Mahogany Carved double headed Couches with Squabs and Bolsters stuffed with horse hair, covered in fine Sattin hair cloth, brass mouldings, good castors, French polished, made portable.	C. & H. Maynard	27.02.1840, 1c5
SH	2 do. do. do. Sofas do. with 2 hair Bolsters, to each do. do.		
SH	1 Spanish Mahogany horse hair stuffed Sofa.	'A Gentleman'	12.03.1840, 1c3
New	Mahogany brass-mounted Sofa, in Hair-cloth.	J. Lawrence	29.10.1840, 1c2
SH	Rosewood Sofa.	Church Square	
New	Two new Horse-hair Sofas, and Mahogany Chairs to match.	Major Burn, 91st W. Wright	07.01.1841, 1c1 25.03.1841, 1c2
SH	Iron Sofa and Case.	(moving, as new) Major Selwyn	01.07.1841, 1c1
SH	Mahogany Sofas.		
New	Mahogany Sofas and Lounges.	John H. Clark	12.08.1841, 1c2
SH	One Mahogany hair-seat Sofa.	Capt. Poole RA	30.09.1841, 4c3
SH	One Mahogany Couch.	W.E. Prynn	05.05.1842, 1c5
SH	Sofa "	Mr Teeling RE	12.05.1842, 1c1
SH	Handsome Mahogany Sofa and Chairs.	'A Gentleman'	19.05.1842, 1c4
SH	Sofas "	Major Selwyn	26.05.1842, 1c3
New	Mahogany Chaise Lounge.	Joseph Lawrence	23.03.1843, 1c5
SH	Mahogany frame Couch & chairs, covered and stuffed with horse hair.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	Brussels carpet planned to Room, with Ottomans to match.	J.D. Norden Auctioneer	
SH	Mahogany Horse Hair Sofa.	Wm M. Jaffray	27.07.1843, 1c4
SH	Horse hair Sofa.	Hill St. Solomon E. Rowles	05.10.1843, 1c3
SH	Sofa and Ottoman to match Damask window curtains.	Printer	
SH	Stinkwood Sofa, carved back and Elbows, horse hair seats and cushions.	Mr Eaton	02.11.1843, 1c4
SH	Stinkwood Grecian Couch.	R. Godlonton	06.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Handsome French polished Stinkwood Couches, and Chairs to match, Horse Hair seats.	Mrs Peck (leaving Colony)	13.06.1844, 1c3
SH	2 solid mahogany carved Sofas.	C. Griffith	20.06.1844, 1c2
SH	Spanish Mahogany Sofa.	F.T. I'Ons	20.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Dark Mahogany Sofa, Horse-hair, French polished.	C.M. Welsford New St.	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood Sofa, stuffed and covered with horse hair.	Geo. Willett	01.08.1844, 1c2
SH	Sofa "	Henry Nourse	12.09.1844, 1c3

New or Second Hand	DRAWING ROOM SUITES, SOFAS, COUCHES, OTTOMANS &c.	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	2 Mahogany Couches with matching sets of Mahogany Drawing Room chairs.	C.H. Caldecott	03.10.1844, 1c5
SH	A Handsome Stinkwood Sofa.	J.D. Norden	28.11.1844, 1c4
SH	Imitation Scroll Sofa.	Surgeon Eddie, CMR	28.11.1844, 1c3
New	One Handsomely Carved (Stinkwood) Sofa, Stuffed and covered with Horse-hair, and French polished.	J.B. Temlett Chair & Cabinet Maker	02.01.1845, 1c3
SH	Drawing Room Furniture In Suit, consisting of 12 Chairs, and 2 Rosewood Scroll Sofas, with blue silk damask Covers, Card, Loo and Sofa Tables to match. Rosewood Couch.	Col. Somerset Oatlands	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Ottomans.	Dr Delmage, HM 27th	27.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Handsome double scroll Horse hair Sofa and Stools to match. Stinkwood Sofa.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sofas.	Martin West Esq.	18.09.1845, 1c3
New	London made Sofas & Chaise Lounges (sic).	R. Southey, Graaff-Reinet	04.12.1845, 4c3
New	Set of solid rosewood Drawing-room Chairs (12) with Couches to match.	Joseph Hart Furniture Ware- house, Church Sq.	04.12.1845, 1c4 14.03.1846, 1c3
SH	Sofa, Feather Pillows.	A.T. Caldecott	03.01.1846, 2c2
New	Mahogany Couch, horse hair. Mahogany Sofas.	Jos. Lawrance	14.02.1846, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sofas.	late Capt. Gunn West Hill	05.12.1846, 1c4
New	Sofas - part of a consignment of 'the most modern Furniture'.	Joseph Hart	12.12.1846, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Sofas.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sofas.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sofa.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c4
New	Mahogany Sofas (The Most Modern Furniture direct from London) with horse hair bottoms.	Joseph Hart	09.01.1847, 4c3
SH	2 Very Elegant Rosewood Couches, covered with Crimson Damask. 10 Rosewood Chairs to match.	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Couch.	E.T. Taylor, New St.	13.02.1847, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sofas.	John Jolley (late)	27.02.1847, 1c2
SH	Sofas & Couches.	W.J. Earle (leaving Colony)	11.09.1847, 1c6
SH	Sofas.	John Ford (late)	23.10.1847, 1c5
SH	An excellent horse-hair sofa.	Rev.Dr. Tancred (leaving Frontier)	13.11.1847, 1c4
SH	Portable Mahogany sofa.	Officer leaving Colony	11.12.1847, 1c4
New	Mahogany Sofas.	J. Hart	15.01.1848, 1c6
SH	A suite of drawing room Furniture, consisting of Mahogany horse hair seated Chairs (a Sett). Do. do. Sofa. Do. do. Couch. Do. do. Easy Chair. Do. Tables. Do. Book Case.	W. Cannell Hill Street Insolvent estate	24.06.1848, 1c5
SH	Stinkwood Sofa, horse hair, stuffed and seated.	D. Paxton	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Stinkwood couches, sofas. Stinkwood Cottage Sofas. Ottomans, ottoman trunks, damask covered.	S.W. Dell	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Mahogany Sofas and Couches.	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
New	Mahogany Sofas and Couches, spring Seats, stuffed in hair cloth.	J. Hart	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Sofa.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c5
New	Stinkwood Sofas and Couches, covered with damask. 2 couches, covered with Chintz. Chintz Sofas.	Thos. Shaw	20.01.1849, 4c3
SH	Rosewood Sofa.	N. Birkenruth (personal)	03.02.1849, 1c6
SH	Sofa and chairs covered with horsehair.	Chas. Maynard (personal)	31.03.1849, 1c5

New or Second Hand	DRAWING ROOM SUITES, SOFAS, COUCHES, OTTOMANS &c.	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Drawing Room furniture (handsome), comprising Mahogany Table and Chairs. Couch. Chimney Glass. New Brussels Carpet. Damask Window Curtains and Ottomans to match. Very elegant Inkstand.	Arnold Shepperson Assigned Estate	10.02.1849, 1c5
New	Mahogany Couches and Sofas, stuffed in hair.	Joseph Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New	Drawing Room Suites in Rosewood, covered in rich Crimson Silk Tabinette and Mahogany, covered in Horse hair, "made expressly for this Colony ... in most modern style".	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
New	Sofas, Couches, Invalid Couches.	J. & W. Roberts Builders	14.07.1849, 1c4
SH	Square and round Ottomans.	Mr Ensor, Market Sq.	11.08.1849, 1c5
SH	Sofa, spring seat (Handsomeness).	E.T. Taylor (late)	25.08.1849, 1c6
New	Mahogany Lounges, Sofas, &c.	C. & H. Maynard & Co.	29.09.1849, 1c3
New	Stinkwood Sofas, Couches, hair, damask, and chintz seats. Stinkwood Cottage Sofas.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
New	Drawing Room Chairs, Easy do., covered with Damask and Horse Hair. Rosewood and Stinkwood Sofas and Couches, Common do.	Thomas Shaw Carpenter & Cabinet Maker	09.03.1850, 1c6
SH	Handsome Mahogany Sofa, figured damask, and Chairs to match (nearly new).	Mr M.R. Every	13.04.1850, 1c4
New	Stinkwood Couches, Sofas.	S.W. Dell	06.07.1850, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sofa.	C. Pote (for private sale)	13.08.1850, 1c2
New?	Sofas and Couches.	Edwd. J.N. Smith Auctioneer	07.09.1850, 1c5
SH	1 Chintz Covered Couch. 1 Mahogany Sofa.	Pote's Gen.Com. Sales	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	Sofa.	Mr Rutherfordord	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	Stinkwood Sofa (ex Potter's Hotel).	Joseph Lawrence for Mr Potter	24.05.1851, 1c3
New	Mahogany couches, stuffed in horse hair.	William Ogilvie deceased	24.05.1851, 1c5
SH	Rosewood Couches.	Genl. leaving Colony	05.07.1851, 1c4
SH	Drawing Room Chairs, Couch.	Edmd. L. Kift	17.05.1851, 1c4
SH	Rosewood Cabriole lounge and cabriole Chairs, covered with blue and white silk Damask. Rosewood Foot Stools to match. Rosewood Loo Tables on carved standards. Rosewood Card Tables to match. Rosewood occasional and Work Tables. Rosewood Whatnots with glass backs.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	2 Horse-hair sofas.	J. Geard	18.10.1851, 1c3
SH?	Horsehair Couch.	Jos. Lawrance Public Auction	06.12.1851, 1c4
SH	Horse-hair and Chintz Sofas.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Portable Sofa with Cushions.	Officer leaving Frontier	22.06.1852, 2c1 Extra
New?	Dining and Drawing Room Sofas.	Pote's Gen. Sales	14.09.1852, 1c4 Extra
SH	Stinkwood Couch, horsehair.	Joseph Lawrance, Auctioneer	18.09.1852, 1c4 Extra
SH	Rosewood Couches.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	Drawing Room Table and chairs.	Mrs MacDonald Estate Sale	16.10.1852, 1c5
SH	Sofa and Card Table. Couch. Covered Mahogany sofa (context Dining room). A large, comfortable Portable Iron Sofa, with case complete.	H. Hudson, New Street	25.09.1852, 1c4
New	Sofas in mahogany.	Joseph Hart	25.12.1852, 1c5
SH	Rosewood Couches & Chairs, in Damask, to) Drawing match, Ottoman with seat of rich embroidery.) Room	James Black 'Selwyn Castle'	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	1 Stinkwood Couch (damask) in Drawing Room. 1 large Mahogany Sofa (ex 2nd Bed-room). Portable Couch with 3 drawers.	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4 Extra

New or Second Hand	DRAWING ROOM SUITES, SOFAS, COUCHES, OTTOMANS &c.	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Spanish Mahogany Sofas. Mahogany Couches. Rosewood Couches.	S.W. Dell	26.02.1853, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Sofa stuffed with Horse hair.	late James Howse	26.03.1853, 1c4
SH	Rosewood Chairs and Couch.	Dep.Asst.Com. Gen. Palmer	29.03.1853, 2c4 Extra
New	Walnut Cabriole Lounge in) part Silk Damask.) of Set Walnut Chairs, Easy Chairs.) suite Rosewood Couches. Mahogany Sofas, Couches, Ottomans, in hair, leather, and velvet seatings. Iron Sofas (with other iron items).	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
New	Mahogany Sofas.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7
SH	Mahogany Lounge covered with leather.	Chas. Pote, Auct.	04.06.1853, 1c8
New	ex USA, per <u>Silver Cloud</u> , from Boston	C. Andrews	03.09.1853, 1c4
	Mahogany Sofas, Horse Hair Seats.	Port Elizabeth	27.08.1853
New	Superior Brass Couch.	S.W. Dell	22.10.1853, 1c7

New or Second Hand	DRESSING TABLES AND CHESTS OF DRAWERS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Double & single chests of Drawers.	Col. Somerset	15.06.1832, 97c2
New	Ladies' Mahogany Dressing Tables.	E. Norton	24.07.1834, 1c1
SH	Sneezewood Dressing Tables.	R. Featherstone	03.09.1835, 1c3
New	Mahogany Drawers.	C. & H. Maynard	24.03.1836, 1c2
	Dressing Tables.		
SH	Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	T.C. White	11.04.1836, 1c3
SH	Mahogany and other Chests of Drawers.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
	Pier and Toilet Tables.		
SH	Mahogany Chests of Drawers, complete.	Property of a Gent.	16.02.1837, 1c1
SH	Chest of Drawers.	Mr Wiggett	06.09.1838, 1c1
SH	Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	J. Woodland	04.10.1838, 1c1
New	Chests of Drawers.	C. & H. Maynard	04.10.1838, 1c2
SH	Pier, Dressing and Side Tables.	John Norton	01.11.1838, 1c2
	A very splendid 3-4 Chest of Drawers.		
SH	Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	Capt. Campbell	03.01.1839, 1c1
SH	Chest of Drawers.	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c3
New	Elegant Chest Drawers.	J.D. Norden & CO.	09.05.1839, 1c1
	Chest Drawers, with night conveniences and pans.	per Galatea	
SH	Chest of Drawers.	H.C. Selby	28.02.1839, 4c2
New	Mahogany Chests of Drawers.	J.D. Norden & Co.	08.08.1839, 4c4
SH	Chest of Drawers.	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2
New?	Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	R.H. Caffyn	07.11.1839, 4c4
New	Chests of drawers, Dressing Tables.	C. & H. Maynard	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	3 feet 6 inches, sweep front Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	J.D. Norden & Co.	05.12.1839, 4c4
?	1 Mahogany Chest Drawers.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
SH	3 portable chests of drawers, in cases, complete.	Capt. Amsinck 27th Regt.	09.01.1840, 1c1
New	A 3ft. 6 Stout Mahogany Chest of Drawers with tumbler Locks, fine wood <u>best make</u> with turned feet and wax polished.	C. & H. Maynard	27.02.1840, 1c5
	A 3ft. do. do. do. with do. do. (sic).		
SH	1 Spanish Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	'A Gentleman'	12.03.1840, 1c3
New	Mahogany Chest Drawers.	J. Lawrence	13.08.1840, 1c3
	Mahogany Dressing Tables.		
New	Mahogany three feet six round front Chest Drawers.	J. Lawrence	29.10.1840, 1c2
	Mahogany Dressing Cases.		
SH	Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	Major Burn 91st	07.01.1841, 1c1
	Brass mounted ... Dressing Tables.		
SH	2 Mahogany Chest Drawers.	Major Selwyn	01.07.1841, 1c1
SH	Two Mahogany Portable Chests of Drawers.	Capt. Poole, RA	30.09.1841, 4c2
	Mahogany Pier and Dressing Tables.		
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Chest Drawers & Dressing Tables.	W.E. Prynne	05.05.1842, 1c5
SH	Portable Chest of Drawers with Cases.	Mr Teeling, R E Dept.	12.05.1842, 1c1
SH	Chests of Drawers.	Major Selwyn	26.05.1842, 1c3
New	Mahogany & Stinkwood Chests of Drawers.	Joseph Lawrence Furniture Repos.	09.03.1843, 1c2
		Joseph Lawrence	23.03.1843, 1c3
New	Mahogany Dressing Tables.	Mr Penketh, RE	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Mahogany dressing table.		
	Mahogany chest of (eight) drawers, 3'9" wide.		
	Mahogany chest of (four) drawers, 3'10" square.		
SH	Mahogany Chest of drawers.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	2 sets of Portable Chest Drawers, with cases complete.	QM Thompson, 27th Regt.	04.04.1844, 1c4
New	Mahogany Round corner Chest of Drawers.	Joseph Lawrence	23.05.1844, 1c2
SH	Spanish Mahogany Chest of Drawers, solid sides - Tonkin maker.	C.M. Welsford	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Chest of Drawers, Circular fronts, French polished.	New St. Geo. Willett	01.08.1844, 1c2
New	Circular front Chest Drawers, plain do.	J. Lawrence	12.09.1844, 1c3
New	One good large (Stinkwood) Chest of drawers, consisting of seven, two deep Drawers for Bonnets, with Pilasters and Plinth, and French Polished.	J.B. Temlett Chair & Cabinet Maker	02.01.1845, 1c5
SH	Dressing Tables of solid mahogany, with Marble Tops. Tall by (sic) Chest of Drawers (Tall Boy).	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
	8 Dressing Tables.		
	3 Chests of Drawers and Dressing Glasses to match.		
SH	Toilet Table.	Maj. Wortham, RE	13.03.1845, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Portable Chest Drawers.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
	3 solid Mahogany do., 2 small do.		
	Solid Stinkwood Chest Drawers.		
	Dressing Tables.		

New or Second Hand	DRESSING TABLES AND CHESTS OF DRAWERS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New SH	Mahogany & Rosewood Chests Drawers, French polished. Portable Walnut Chest Drawers.	Joseph Hart Surgeon Hadoway 91st Regt.	08.05.1845, 1c2 24.07.1845, 1c3
SH	Chests Drawers.	Martin West	18.09.1845, 1c3
SH	3 Chests Drawers.	A.T. Caldecott	03.01.1846, 2c2
New	Spanish Mahogany round-cornered Chests of Drawers, French polished. London made.	Jos. Lawrance	14.02.1846, 1c3
SH	Chests of Drawers. Dressing Tables, Dressing Glasses.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Chest of Drawers. Dressing Table with Marble Slab.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Dressing Table and Toilet Glass.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c4
New	Toilet Tables, direct from London.	Joseph Hart	09.01.1847, 4c3
SH	Set Drawers.	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	S. Moss (insolvent)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Drawers. Dressing Tables.	E.T. Taylor, New St.	13.02.1847, 1c2
SH	Chests Drawers.	John Jolley (late)	27.02.1847, 1c2
SH	Chests Drawers.	W.J. Earle (leaving Colony)	11.09.1847, 1c6
SH	Drawers.	John Ford (late)	23.10.1847, 1c5
SH	Dress and Wash Tables.	Rev.Dr. Tancred (leaving Frontier)	13.11.1847, 1c4
SH	Portable mahogany chests of drawers.	C. Pote, Auct. Officer leaving Colony	11.12.1847, 1c4
New	Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	J. Hart	11.12.1847, 2c2
New	Chest of Drawers.	J. Hart	15.01.1848, 1c6
New	Chests of Drawers. Direct from Boston.	William Wright	02.12.1848, 1c4
New	Mahogany Chests of Drawers. Direct from London	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
New	Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	J. Hart	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Dressing tables. Chest of drawers.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	W. Cannell	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Stinkwood, Mahogany chests drawers. Stinkwood Toilet Tables.	S.W. Dell	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Mahogany & Stinkwood chests of drawers. Toilette tables.	Thos. Shaw Bathurst St.	20.01.1849, 4c3
SH	1 Mahogany Chest of drawers, Dressing Table.	Pote's Comm. Sales	28.04.1849, 1c5
New	Mahogany Chest of Drawers. A few portable do.	Joseph Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New	Mahogany Chests of Drawers. Japanned Do.	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
New	Chests Drawers.	J. & W. Roberts Builders	14.07.1849, 1c4
New	Chests of Drawers.	Joseph Hart	11.08.1849, 1c3
SH	Superior Mahogany Dressing Table	E.T. Taylor (late)	25.08.1849, 1c6
New	Mahogany Chest Drawers (deep drawers).	C. & H. Maynard & Co.	29.09.1849, 1c3
New	Mahogany Chest of Drawers.	Joseph Hart	10.11.1849, 1c4
New	Stinkwood Chests Drawers. Stinkwood and Satin Wood Fancy Toilet Tables. Chests Drawers.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
New	Mahogany and Stinkwood Chests of Drawers.	Thomas Shaw Cabinet Maker	09.03.1850, 1c6
SH	1 Superior set of Drawers - Stinkwood.	Potes Gen. Com. Sales	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	Chests of Drawers. Dressing tables.	Mr Rutherfordord	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	English Chest Drawers.	Gent. leaving Frontier	19.04.1851, 2c1
SH	Mahogany Chest Drawers.	Gent. leaving Colony	05.07.1851, 1c4
SH	Chests of Drawers. Mahogany and Painted Dressing and Toilet Tables. Toilet Sets and Bed Chamber requisites.	Edmd. L. Kift	17.05.1851, 1c4
SH	Chests of Drawers.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3

New or Second Hand	DRESSING TABLES AND CHESTS OF DRAWERS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	2 Stinkwood Chests Drawers.	W. Paxton, Carpenter & Undertaker	20.12.1851, 1c1
SH	Chest Drawers with sundry brass mountings and cases complete.	Officer leaving Frontier	22.06.1852, 2c1 Extra
SH	Mahogany Chests Drawers.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	Mahogany chests of drawers.	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	Mahogany and other dressing tables.		
SH	1 Dressing Table.) ex 2nd	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
	1 Chest Drawers (mahogany)) Bed-room		Extra
	1 Dressing Table.) ex 3rd		
	1 Chest Drawers (stinkwood)) Bed-room		
	1 Chest Mahogany Drawers (4th Bed-room)		
New	Mahogany Chests of Drawers.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
SH	Stinkwood Chests Drawers.	James Cawood	03.05.1853, 2c1
	Mahogany circular front Chests Drawers.		Extra
New	Mahogany Chests of Drawers.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7
New	ex USA, per <u>Silver Cloud</u> , from Boston:	C. Andrews,	03.09.1853, 1c4
	Painted Chests of Drawers.	Port Elizabeth	27.08.1853

New or Second Hand	FENDERS AND FIRE IRONS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Brass Fender and Fire Irons.	Major Crause, CMR	21.04.1842, 1c4
SH	Steel polished fender & fire irons.	S. Haw	27.06.1844, 1c3
SH	3 Polish Steel Fenders, inlaid in gilt, with Fire Irons to match.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Several Fenders and sets Fire Irons.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
SH	Fender and Fire Irons.	late Capt. Gunn	05.12.1846, 1c4
SH	Brass Fenders.	James Black New St.	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Brass Fender and Fire Irons.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Fender & Fire Irons.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c4
SH	" "	John Jolley (late)	27.02.1847, 1c2
SH	Fender & Fire Irons.	D. Paxton	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Bronze Fenders and Fire Irons.	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
SH	Fender and Fire Irons.	Edmd. L. Kift	17.05.1851, 1c4
SH	Brass Fender & Fire Irons.	James Bottom	10.07.1852, 1c5
SH	Bronze Fenders & Irons.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	Brass and Bronze Fender & Irons.	C.W. Pakenham	26.02.1853, 1c5
	1 Bronze Fender and Fire Irons (ex 4th Bed-room).		

New or Second Hand	KITCHEN FURNITURE	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Superior patent cooking apparatus.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	A mangle, upon an improved principle.	S. Haw	27.06.1844, 1c3
New	A Yorkshire Oven.		
New	Colonial Stoves and Cottage Grates well adapted for either Wood or Coal.	Levicks, Sherman & Kift	27.06.1844, 1c4
New	Cottage and Colonial Stoves.	Levicks, Sherman & Kift	07.11.1844, 1c3
New	Camp Ovens and Boiling Pots ... Oven Doors.	W. Ogilvie	20.03.1845, 1c2
New	Kitchen Dresser.	Jos. Lawrance	14.02.1846, 1c3
New	Caste-iron Oven Doors and Frames.	Thompson, Watson Simpson & Co.	04.07.1846, 1c3
New	Register and Elliptic Stoves.	G. Griffiths, PE	10.07.1847, 4c4
SH	Patent Cooking Machine.	W. Cannell	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Patent Refrigerators by Lings & Keith, Ice Machinists and Patentees, Leicester Sq. London.	T.P. Hill, St. George's St. Cape Town	19.08.1848, 1c6
New	The Luxury of Cold Water. The Wedgewood Porus Water Cooler. Admirably adapted for a Tropical Climate.	John Tucker Staffordshire House, Graham's Town	28.10.1848, 1c2
New	Ranges, hot plates, register stoves &c., zinc meat safes.	Heideman, Cock & Co.	21.04.1849, 1c2
New	Hot plate complete.	Wm. Wright	20.10.1849, 1c6
New	Double Perpetual Ovens. Register and half Register Stoves.	Heideman, Cock & Co., Hill St.	20.10.1849, 1c4
New	Iron Cooking Stoves, with Oven, Boiler, &c., complete. A most useful article for a Family, a great saving of labor, and not requiring more than half the quantity of wood consumed in the usual method of cooking.	Heideman, Cock & Co.	23.07.1850, 1c2
New	Direct from London, Stoves, assorted, Kitchen Ranges.	Haw & Co.	19.10.1850, 1c3
New	Register Stoves, DUTCH OVENS, Wrought Iron COOKING STOVES.	Heideman, Cock & Co.	26.10.1850, 1c4
SH	Patent Cooking apparatus for twelve persons.	Gent. leaving Frontier - Private Sale	19.04.1851, 2c1
SH	Kitchen Dresser, Table and Utensils.	Edmd. L. Kift	17.05.1851, 1c4
New	Patent Mangles, included in Ironmongery advertisement.	Blaine Brothers	26.07.1851, 1c6
New	A new Serviceable Mangle, Colonial make £7 10s Cash.	W. Paxton, Carpenter & Undertaker	20.12.1851, 1c1
New	Wrought Iron Cooking Stoves, Double Perpetual Ovens.	Heideman, Cock & Co.	10.01.1852, 1c6
SH	A patent mangle.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Kitchen Range Complete, and other kitchen furniture in great variety.	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	3 Deal Dressers with drawers.) 2 Earthenware filters.) Kitchen Utensils.) Kitchen Pots and Pans, &c.) Iron Buckets and Mills.)	Selwyn Castle C.W. Pakenham Bathurst St.	22.02.1853, 1c4 Extra
SH	Fire Stove.	Lawrence's Sale	16.04.1853, 1c1
SH	1 Stove.	Lawrence's Comm. Sale	05.11.1853, 1c1

New or Second Hand	LIGHTING	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Chandeliers.	Col. Somerset	15.06.1832, 97c2
New	From London, the best Wax Candles. Also small	W. Shepherd	09.06.1836, 1c4
New	Wax Lantern Candles and Wax Carriage Lights.	W. Shepherd	08.09.1836, 1c3
SH	Wax and Sperm Candles, Carriage Lights, Wax Lanterns, and fashionable Candle Ornaments.	High-street Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	A Suspension Lamp, with two corners, 2 Table do., Candlesticks, with glass shades.	A Gentleman	16.02.1837, 1c1
SH	A bronze Table Lamp ... bronze and plated Candlesticks.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.10.1837, 1c1
SH	Plated-ware, consisting of Branches, Candlesticks ...	Beale's Hotel	11.01.1838, 1c1
New	8 light cut glass Chandelier, two 4 light Bronze Chandeliers, four splendid cut glass Chandlebras.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	31.05.1838, 1c1
SH	Splendid Table Lamps, rich Etruscan, and other hanging Lamps and Table Lustres.	John Norton	01.11.1838, 1c2
SH	1 set of 4 massive chased Candlesticks with snuffer and stand ...		
SH	A splendid six-light Chandelier.	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c3
SH	Table Lamps.	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
?	One pair six lights Branches (Plated ware).	J.D. Norden & Co.	28.02.1839, 1c5
SH	3 pair handsome Table Lamps.	'A Gentleman'	12.03.1840, 1c3
New	A sinumbra bronze Table Lamp.		
	A reading ditto.	Levicks, Sherman & Kift	11.11.1841, 1c2
New	Table and Hanging Lamps.	Henry Blaine	14.07.1842, 1c4
New	2 pair Pulpit Lamps, 3 bronze Sideboard Lamps, 1 Tripod Lamp, 5 Pedestal Lamps and Burners.		
SH	2 Lotus Lamps and a splendid three light hanging Lamp.	Charles Fuller	21.07.1842, 1c3
SH	Police Lanterns and Horn Lanterns.	Capt. Yarborough	08.09.1842, 1c3
SH	Candlesticks with Glass shades.	91st Regt.	
SH	Plated and brass parlor and chamber candlesticks.	Mr Penketh	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Hall lamp.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	Silver edged candlesticks, snuffers & trays.	W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3
SH	Table and Candle lamps, with Candles to fit.	Eaton	02.11.1843, 1c4
SH	London-made Table Lamp.	R. Godlonton	06.06.1844, 1c3
New	1 handsome Table Lamp with Shades &c. complete.	Joseph Taylor	10.10.1844, 1c3
SH	3 Ormold (sic) (Ormolu?) 6-light Chandeliers, a one-Glass do.	Church Square Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
New	One Pair Plates Branch, 6 Lights, two pair Drawing-room Candlesticks, with four Chamber do. to match.		
SH	A few handsome 3 Light Lamps, and Solar Lamps ...	Levicks, Sherman & Kift	13.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Argand Lamp.	Major Wortham, RE	13.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Gilt Lamp for Candlesticks with shades.		
SH	Plated Candlesticks with shades.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
SH	1 eight light Or Mulu (sic) Chandalier.		
SH	1 Bronze Lamp.		
SH	1 Hall do.	Maskell & Pote, Auct.	07.11.1846, 1c2
SH	3 Reading Lamps.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	2 Branch Candlesticks.		
SH	Branch and Plain Candlesticks.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Bed Room do.		
SH	Plated Candlesticks and Snuffers.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c4
SH	Pair Lustres.	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Plated Candlesticks and Snuffer Tray.		
SH	2 Glass Chandeliers.		
SH	3 Table Lamps.	S. Moss (Insolvent)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	4 large and Elegantly Chased Silver Candlesticks (part of service of Plate).	E.T. Taylor, New St.	13.02.1847, 1c3
SH	Branch Candlesticks (do.).	John Jolley	27.02.1847, 1c2
SH	1 pair Branch Candlesticks.	(late)	
New?	Table Lamps.	M.J. Thomas	17.04.1847, 1c2
SH	Palmer's patent Candlesticks.	Rev.Dr. Tancred	13.11.1847, 1c4
New	Branch and table Candlesticks.	W. Anderson, Sen. & Co., Night Sale auction	11.12.1847, 1c4
New?	Brass Candlesticks.		
SH	Lamps, Plated Candlesticks.		
New	3 splendid 8 and 9 light Chandeliers.		
	1 6 light centre branch (candlesticks).		
	16 2 light centre branch do. in China vases.		
	2 pair brackets.		

New or Second Hand	LIGHTING	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Brass candlesticks.	Benjamin Hadley	11.12.1847, 1c5
SH	Splendid Lamps.	W. Cannell	24.06.1848, 1c5
SH	Plated Candlesticks.	D. Paxton	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	A Splendid Chandelier with six light.	W. Shepherd	26.08.1848, 1c3
New	Best sperm and mould candles, only to be surpassed by GAS. Patent candlespring and save-all night lights.	John Tucker Staffordshire House	26.08.1848, 2c1
New	About 30 Superior Camphine Lamps comprising Hall, Bracket and Table Lamps. Also about one hundred Tins Camphine.	Pote's General Sales	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Camphine and Camphine lamp, &c. &c.	Chas. Maynard	31.03.1849, 1c5
New	Plated candlesticks and chamber do.	W. Ogilvie	18.05.1850, 4c2
SH	Plated candlesticks.	Gent. leaving Colony	05.07.1851, 1c4
SH	Handsome plated fire light branch table and branch candlesticks.		
SH	2 Eight-light bronze chandeliers & Table Lamps.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	Hall and Table Lamps.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Handsome Candlesticks.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Drawing Room Lamps.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	Branch and Table Candlesticks.		
SH	Chandeliers (from Drawing Room).	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	Best Sheffield Plated Ware - branch and plain candlesticks, chamber do.		
SH	2 pair plated Candlesticks.	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
	1 Candelbra with 5 lights.		Extra
	Plated Chamber Candlesticks.		

New or Second Hand	MIRRORS (often termed Glasses)	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH New	Chimney Piece and looking glasses. Elegant gilt framed Chimney, Pier, and Dressing Glasses, of the following dimensions: 47x23, 44x27, 48x26, 45x24, 22x13, 24x14, 25x15, 26x15, 27x16, 31x18, 29x17, 33x20, 16x12, 17x13, 18x12, 19x14, 11x8, 10x8, 9x7, &c. &c.	Col. Somerset C. & H. Maynard	15.06.1832, 97c2 24.03.1836, 1c2
New	Gilt framed Chimney Pier Glasses.	John Mandy ex Comet	12.05.1836, 1c1
New	Mahogany framed Dressing do.	John Mandy	08.09.1836, 1c3
New	Gilt frame chimney and pier glasses.	John Mandy	06.10.1836, 1c4
New	A few Chimney and Pier Looking Glasses.	John Mandy	27.10.1836, 1c2
SH	Chimney, Pier and Dressing Glasses.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	2 Chimney Glasses, 2 Dressing Glasses.	'A Gentleman'	16.02.1837, 1c1
New	Dressing Glasses, with and without Drawers, French and Wax polished, of a superior manufacture.	Meurant & Godlonton	23.02.1837, 1c4
New	2 gilt-frame Chimney Glasses.	John Mandy	13.04.1837, 1c1
SH	Pier and toilet Glasses.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.10.1837, 1c2
SH	Looking-glasses.	Mr Wiggett	06.09.1838, 1c1
SH	A handsome Cheval Dressing Glass.	J. Woodland	04.10.1838, 1c1
SH	Toilet Glass.	N. Moss	18.10.1838, 1c1
SH	Pier Table.	John Norton	01.11.1838, 1c2
	Pier and Chimney Glasses, in gilt frames. Cheval and toilet do. in solid mahogany frames. Mirrors.		
SH	Pier and Chimney Glasses.	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c3
SH	Chimney Glasses.	Wm. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
SH	Two handsome Mahogany-framed Pier Glasses.	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
SH	Cheval Looking Glass.	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	Brilliant Plate Chimney Glasses 48x26 42x22 46x25 40x21 44x24 24x14	C. & H. Maynard per Emma	24.10.1839, 1c2
	Cheval Glasses and a variety of swing Dressing Glasses, from 7x5 up to 18x14.		
New	A variety of Portable Mahogany and Rosewood Dressing Glasses.	J.D. Norden & Co.	05.12.1839, 4c4
?	1 large Toilet Dressing Glass.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
SH	1 Cheval do.		
SH	1 Looking Glass.	Capt. Amsinck	09.01.1840, 1c1
New	A fine brilliant Plate Chimney Glass richly carved and finished in Mat and burnished Gold frame, with stout pannelled blind Frames 48x26. A do. do. do. 46x25 " " " " 44x24 " " " " 42x22 " " " " 40x21	C. & H. Maynard	27.02.1840, 1c5
	Fine brilliant plate, French polished, Cheval Glasses on handsome Mahogany turned frames with pannel backs. Fine brilliant plate pier Glasses in handsome carved Mat and burnished Gold frames, with backboards to do. 24x14. do. do. do. do. 22x13. Fine brilliant plate, french polished Dressing Box Glasses elegantly furnished 18x14. do. do. do. do. 15x11 & 13x10. Fine brilliant plate, Mahogany Plateau Glasses handsomely furnished 16x12, 15x11 & 14x10.		
New	Bible-front Looking Glasses.	J. Lawrence	13.08.1840, 1c3
SH	Swing and Shaving do.		
SH	Chimney, Pier and Dressing Glasses.	Major Burn, 71st Regt.	07.01.1841, 1c1
New	Elegant Chimney and Pier Glasses in Gilt Carved Frames, Toilet Glasses too numerous to particularize.	J.D. Norden & Co. Auct. for H.L. Davis	13.05.1841, 1c1
SH	Chimney, Pier and Dressing Glasses.	Major Selwyn, RE	01.07.1841, 1c1
SH	Pier and Dressing Tables.	Capt. Poole RA	30.09.1841, 4c2
New	Chimney and Pier Glasses, Toilet glasses ...	Levicks, Sherman & Kift	11.11.1841, 1c2
SH	Toilet Glasses.	Major Crause, CMR	21.04.1842, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Toilet Glasses.	W.E. Prynn	05.05.1842, 1c5
SH	Looking Glasses.	Mr Teeling	12.05.1842, 1c1
SH	Pier, Chimney and Toilette Glasses.	Major Selwyn	26.05.1842, 1c3

New or Second Hand	MIRRORS (often termed Glasses)	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Brilliant plate chimney glasses in black and ornamental gilt frames, one 48"x25", the other 27½" x 15½". A convex mirror, in neat black frame. A pier glass in mahogany frame. 2 mahogany dressing glasses.	Mr Penketh, RE Somerset St.	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Pier and Chimney Glass, in richly gilt frame.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
New	Toilett (sic) and Cheval Glasses.	J. Lawrence	10.08.1843, 1c1
SH	1 portable Looking Glass.	QM Thompson, 27th Regt.	04.04.1844, 1c4
SH	Chimney Glass 4' x 2½" in richly carved gilt frame. Toilette Glasses.	R. Godlonton	06.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Two handsome Pier glasses.	Mrs C. Schryver	18.07.1844, 1c3
SH	Tray Looking Glass 17"x21".	Geo. Willett	01.08.1844, 1c2
New	Gilt frame Chimney Glass.	J. Lawrence	12.09.1844, 1c3
SH	3 Pier & Chimney Glasses, plate 60"x40", Maple Frames.		
SH	One splendid Cheval Glass.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Mirror in gilt frame, Looking Glasses.	Maj. Wortham, RE	13.03.1845, 1c2
SH	Gilt and Mahogany Framed Chimney, Pier and Dressing Glasses. 1 handsome Cheval Glass.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
New	Swing Looking Glasses.	Joseph Hart	31.07.1845, 1c2
SH	Chimney, Pier and Dressing Glasses in gilt and mahogany Frames.	Martin West	18.09.1845, 1c3
New	A splendid assortment of Swing Toilet Glasses, Cheval do., Shaving do. Gilt Frames of all sizes. Gilt Mouldings, which he will make up to order.	Joseph Hart	04.12.1845, 1c4
SH	Dressing glasses.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Chimney, Pier and Toilette Glasses.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
New	Looking Glasses.	Joseph Hart	09.01.1847, 4c3
SH	1 large Pier Glass in Gilt Frame. 3 large Mirrors in Gilt Frames. 2 smaller Mirrors in Gilt Frames.	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Pier Glass.	E.T. Taylor New St.	13.02.1847, 1c3
SH	Looking Glasses, Mirror.	John Jolley (late)	27.02.1847, 1c2
New?	Bed-room glasses. Looking glass in a beautiful gilt frame.	Fort England M.J. Thomas	17.04.1847, 1c3
SH	Pier glass & other kinds of looking Glasses.	John Ford (late)	23.10.1847, 1c5
SH	Looking glasses.	Rev.Dr. Tancred	13.11.1847, 1c4
SH	Looking glass.	Officer leaving Frontier	11.12.1847, 1c4
New	Looking Glasses.	J. Hart	15.01.1848, 1c6
New	Tray dressing Glasses, all sizes. Chimney Glasses, with rosewood, Mahogany and maple frames.	W. Ogilvie per <u>Isabella Anne</u>	09.12.1848, 1c3
New	Chimney Glasses in Maple and Rosewood frames. Octagon Marble Slab Looking Glasses.	J. Hart per <u>Mary Anne</u>	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Toilet glasses.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Looking Glasses in gilt frames, and Toilet Glasses.	N. Birkenruth (personal)	03.02.1849, 1c6
New	Chimney and Toilet Looking Glasses.	Joseph Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New?	1 large and handsome toilette glass, mounted on patent brass swivels, with several other toilette glasses, various sizes.	J. Kershaw Church Square	23.06.1849, 1c4
New	Toilet glasses.	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
New	Chimney Glasses, with carved & gilt frames of various patterns. Chimney Glass.	Joseph Hart	11.08.1849, 1c3
SH	Maple and Rosewood Chimney Glasses.	E.T. Taylor	25.08.1849, 1c6
New	Mahogany Tray and Dressing Glasses.	C. & H. Maynard & Co.	29.09.1849, 1c3
New	Chimney and Toilet Glasses.	Joseph Hart	10.11.1849, 1c4
New	Chimney and Toilet Glasses.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
SH	Extra large Chimney Glass.	Mr M.R. Every	13.04.1850, 1c4
New	Chimney Glasses.	W. Ogilvie	18.05.1850, 4c2
New	Chimney and Toilet Glasses.	S.W. Dell	06.07.1850, 1c3
New	Chimney and Toilet glasses.	Wm. Ogilvie (late)	24.05.1851, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Toilet glasses	Gent. leaving Frontier	05.07.1851, 1c4

New or Second Hand	MIRRORS (often termed Glasses)	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Toilet Glasses. Large Chimney Glasses in gilt frames.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	Toilet Glasses.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Pier Glasses.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	A large Pier Glass.	H. Hudson, New St.	25.09.1852, 1c4
SH	A very large pier glass in gilt frame (in Dining Room). Toilet Glasses, Cheval do.	James Black Selwyn Castle	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	1 Pier Glass (in Drawing Room).	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
SH	1 Looking Glass (ex 1st Bed-room).		Extra
	1 " " (ex 2nd Bed-room).		
New	Gilt Chimney and toilet glasses.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
SH	Chimney Glasses. Toilet do.	James Cawood	03.05.1853, 2c1 Extra

New or Second Hand	MISCELLANEOUS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Billiard Table, nearly new, with Cues, &c.	Beale's Hotel	11.01.1838, 1c1
New	Bible-front box Glasses.	J.D. Norden & Co.	09.05.1839, 1c3
New	Mahogany Bible Front Box Glasses.	J.D. Norden & Co.	08.08.1839, 4c4
?	1 Chinese Bird-Cage.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
	1 Dog Kennel.		
New	Folding Towel Horses.	J. Lawrence	29.10.1940, 1c2
New	Imitation rosewood Walking Stools, 3 and 4 legs.	C. & H. Maynard	27.02.1840, 1c5
New	4 Canary Birds & Cages, Imported.	J.D. Norden & Co.	21.01.1841, 1c5
New	Spittoons, Foot Scrapers, Sad Irons, Firedogs, Children's Carriages, Door Portars ...	W. Ogilvie	18.02.1841, 1c2
New	Finger Plates ... Spittoons.	W. Ogilvie	04.03.1841, 1c5
SH	1 green Insect Box with lifting drawers.	Major Selwyn	01.07.1841, 1c1
New	Billiard Table with Patent Slate Bottom & Indian Pool Boards.	J.D. Norden & Co.	05.08.1841, 1c5
SH	Chinese Card Box and Counters.	Major Crause CMR	21.04.1842, 1c4
New	Telescopes, Eye Glasses, Goggles, Hand Spectacles, Burning Glasses, Phatasmagoria and Magic Lanthorns, Camera Obscuras. Tinware includes Dumb Nurses.	Wm. Ogilvie	09.06.1842, 1c4
New	Oil Cloth Table Covers.		
New?	Slate Billiard Table, with Indian Rubber Cushions, complete with covers ... lamps ...	Joseph Walker	01.12.1842, 4c3
		J.D. Norden	10.11.1842, 4c3
SH	Two handsome bronzed urns, with plated tops, one for tea and the other for coffee.	Mr Penketh, RE	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Filterer.	W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3
SH	Wheelbarrow, Gardening Tools.	Eaton	02.11.1843, 1c4
SH	Child's Cart, wrought iron wheels.	C.M. Welsford	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	Parlour Stove.	Mrs C. Schryver	18.07.1844, 1c3
New	Children's Chaise, Wagons.	J. Lawrence	12.09.1844, 1c3
SH?	2 Twelve inch Globes (Terrestrial and Celestial) with the latest discoveries.	Joseph Taylor	10.10.1844, 1c3
SH	Coffee Biggin and Tea Urn.	Church Sq.	
	Child's four-wheeled Chaise, with Iron Top.	Surgeon Eddie, CMR	28.11.1844, 1c3
SH	One Camera Obscura (block type).	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Towel Horses.	Maj. Wortham RE	13.03.1845, 1c2
SH	1 pair 16 inch Globes.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
	1 Barometer.		
SH	Metal Billiard Table, with India Rubber Balls, neither ever used, a large assortment of Cues, many made by Thurston; Pool Balls and Board, Lamps with Spare Glasses, and 4 raised Seats. Price £100 To be seen at the Mess House, 27th Regt.	Officers of the 27th Regt.	03.07.1845, 1c2
New	Box Wheelbarrows.	Joseph Hart	24.07.1845, 1c2
New	Gentlemen's Dressing Cases.	Joseph Hart	06.11.1845, 1c6
New	Burdets, WheelBarrows, Washing Tubs.	Joseph Hart	04.12.1845, 1c4
SH	Child's Wagon.	A.T. Caldecott	03.01.1846, 2c2
New	Counting House Desks.	Jos. Lawrance	14.02.1846, 1c3
SH	Ladies' and Gentlemen's Dressing Cases.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Barometer.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c3
New	Chinese Tea Caddies.	Joseph Hart	17.07.1847, 1c2
SH	Bagatelle board.	F. Radford (insolvent)	23.10.1847, 1c5
		Mr H. Barber	21.10.1848, 1c5
SH	Linen Dresser.		
	Pair 12 inch Globes.		
	Child's Carriage.		
	School Room Furniture.		
New	Mahogany single top Towel Horses.	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
	Reading Easels unjointed.		
	Mahogany Hat and Umbrella Stands.		
SH	Plate Rack.	D. Paxton	24.06.1848, 1c5
	Clothes Horse.		
New	Trunks, Clothes boxes, wagon boxes.	S.W. Dell	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Papier Mâché Portfolios, Inkstands, Work-boxes, Tea-caddies, Snuffer Trays, and Door Plates (Landscape & Flower patterns, very beautiful).	Godlonton & White	26.08.1848, 1c3
New	Japanned ware: Round & square canisters, cash Boxes, dust pans, spice boxes with small canisters.	John Tucker	26.08.1848, 2c1
		Staffordshire Hs. Bathurst Street	
SH	20 Elegant Drawing Room & Scrap Books.	N. Birkenruth	03.02.1849, 1c6
SH	A pair of globes and stands.	Chas. Maynard	31.03.1849, 1c5
	Crimping machine.		
	Garden engines.		
New	Towel horses, Mahogany & Japanned.	Joseph Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3

New or Second Hand	MISCELLANEOUS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Counters and office stools. Dressing cases.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
SH	Teakwood and Oak Pails, Casks, Churns, Tubs &c. A pair of large Globes, Mounted in Mahogany, 48 inches in circumference and standing chair high.	M.R. Every	13.04.1850, 1c4
New	Mahogany hat and umbrella stand.	W. Ogilvie	18.05.1850, 4c2
New	Aneroid Barometers, A New Invention which supersedes the use of other Barometers, and cannot be thrown out of order by travelling.	W. Anderson Senr. & Co.	22.06.1850, 1c4
SH	Wire Gauze Meat Safes. Model Brig, pierced for 18 guns.	C. Pote (for private sale) Edmd. L. Kift	13.08.1850, 1c2 17.05.1851, 1c4
SH	Stoves - in context, would think these were in Drawing or Dining Room as they follow Fender & Fire Irons and precede Mahogany Telescope Dining Table.		
New	Garden Chairs & Tables, included in Ironmongery.	Blain Brothers	26.07.1851, 1c5
SH	Glass Case.	J. Geard	18.10.1851, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Tea Caddy. Superior Barometer. Tea Urn.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Inkstand (ex Drawing Room). 1 Tea Caddy & Stand (ex Dining Room). 3 Clothes Baskets (ex 1st Bed-room). 1 mahogany Book Rack (ex 2nd Bed-room). 1 Rocking Horse.	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
New	Beech, Oak &c. ... Hat Stands. Carpet Bags. Carriage Bags.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
New	Pope John Boards. Cribbage Boxes.	J. Lawrance, Night Sale	05.11.1853, 1c1
New?	2 Camphor-Wood Trunks.	Pote's Gen. Sales	03.12.1853, 1c7

New or Second Hand	MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS & RELATED FURNITURE	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Two pianos, by Broadwood. A harp by Clementi.	Col. Somerset (on leave to England)	15.06.1832, 97c2
SH	Piano Forte by Broadwood.	QM. Berry HM 75th	22.10.1835, 1c1
SH	Splendid new Piano Forte by Broadwood.	Lt.Col. England	22.10.1835, 1c1
New	2 excellent square Piano Fortes with embossed Covers and Stools, complete.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	04.02.1836, 1c1
SH	An excellent Piano Forte by Broadwood, Price £45.	Enquire at GTJ Office	07.04.1836, 1c4
SH	Piano, by Tomkinson.	T.C. White	11.04.1836, 1c3
New	Piano Forte by Levesque. Six octaves, ... Metallic Sounding Board &c.	H.E. Rutherford & Brother	05.05.1836, 1c2
SH	Very superior Piano Forte by Clement & Co. London.	Wm. Cock	12.05.1836, 1c2
SH	Grand Piano by Broadwood.	Officer proc. to England T. Jarman Auctioneer	12.05.1836, 1c2
New	Seraphine ...	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	08.12.1836, 1c3
New	Fine Toned double action Harp by Sebastian Erard, with music stand ...	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	29.06.1837, 4c2
New	Accordians, 6 to 17 keys, Eolians, 8 to 18 Notes, Small Seraphines, Organs, Harmonica Glasses, Guitars, Musical Sticks, Concert & other Flutes, Flageolets.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	19.10.1837, 1c4
New	Piano, 6½ Octaves ... 2 Square Instruments with Metallic string Plates ... Barrel Organ of 50 Tunes, Patent Seraphine.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	30.08.1837, 1c3
SH	Pianoforte.	Lt.Col. Peddie	12.07.1838, 1c4
SH	Cottage Piano by Kirkman.	Wm. Ayton	16.05.1839, 1c2
New	Collard & Collard's patent double-action Piano Fortes.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	18.07.1839, 1c3
New	Patent Seraphine, 5 Octaves in Spanish Mahogany Case. 2 Barrel Organs.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	05.09.1839, 1c1
SH	Aeolian Harp, 1 Guitar.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
New	Cabinet Piano by Towns & Co. Finishers to Broadwood & Co.	James Black	06.08.1840, 1c4
SH	Very handsome beautifully toned Cabinet Piano Forte, 6½ Octaves, by A. Voigt, who has been for above 20 years Superintendent of Tomkinson's Establish- ment, and who is now commencing Business himself.	C. & H. Maynard (for Lady moving to country)	04.02.1841, 1c2
SH	Piano Forte made by W. Stodart & Co.	W. Wright	25.03.1841, 1c2
New	6 1/2 Octave Cabinet Piano Forte with improved sounding board, Metallic Plates, Plate Glass Front, and Crimson Silk in the Centre).	H.L. Davis (J.D. Norden, Auct.)	13.05.1841, 1c1
SH	Mahogany Piano-Forte with a metallic Plate & improved Sounding Board.	Major Selwyn	01.07.1841, 1c1
New	Albana-wood Piano Fortes, Collard, with carved ornaments and Trusses, French polished.	C. & H. Maynard	05.01.1843, 1c2
New?	Piano Forte by Gunsher & Horwoods.	J.D. Norden Auct.	09.03.1843, 1c2
SH	Beautifully toned piano-forte with additional keys, by Clementi, with mahogany music stool and cabinets for containing music.	Penketh, RE	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Harp, Flute, Double Flageolet.	Mr Eaton	02.11.1843, 1c4
New	Cabinet Square & Grand Square Piano Fortes.	Wm. Andersen Sen. & Co.	18.04.1844, 4c4
New	Mahogany Music Stools.	Joseph Lawrence	23.05.1844, 1c2
SH	Very fine toned Piano Forte, by Collard & Co. and one by Clementi.	Mrs Peck	13.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Piano, with metallic Sounding Board.	Edward Phillips	04.07.1844, 1c4
SH	Double Flute, Two Coconut Concert Flutes, with Silver keys and handsome Cases.	Surgeon Eddie, CMR	28.11.1844, 1c3
SH?	Two large Musical Boxes, an Accordion. Full and rich-toned Mahogany Patent Piccolo Piano Forte by Robt. Wolf & Co., London, with patent free Accoustical Sound-Board and Check Action, 6 Octaves, & French Polished. A Brilliant Toned Violincello.	J.D. Norden, Auct.	09.01.1845, 1c3
SH	Piano Forte by Clemente & Co., music stool to match.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Piano by Stodart & Sons, quite new.	Dr. Delmage, HM 27th	27.03.1845, 1c3
SH	1 Musical Box, 1 do. Picture. 1 full-toned Square Piano Forte, by Broadwood & Sons, with Music Stool, nearly new.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3

New or Second Hand	MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS & RELATED FURNITURE	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Two good toned piano-fortes.	Joseph Lawrence High St.	05.06.1845, 1c2
SH	Grand Square Piano by Collard & Collard only been in use twelve months, warranted to stand in any climate.	Maj. Campbell, 91st Regt.	10.07.1845, 1c2
SH	Rosewood Cabinet Piano Forte.	Surgeon Hadoway 91st Regt.	24.07.1845, 1c3
SH	Rosewood Picolo Piano. A grand Piano.	Dr A.G. Campbell	14.08.1845, 1c2
SH	Upright Grand Piano-Forte. Harp, with double action, by Erard.	Martin West Esq.	18.09.1845, 1c3
New	Accordians. Excellent toned Music Boxes, assorted 2, 3, 4, and 6 Tunes.	Jos. Taylor Church Sq.	18.09.1845, 1c3
New	Organ Seraphine - a new French Patent Instrument, combining the tone & power of the Organ with the convenient size of the Seraphine ... has 12 Organ Stops & is well adapted for a large place of worship £75 ... same makers, a smaller Instrument with 7 Stops - £50. Ex Paris.	H. & R.S. Blaine	02.10.1845, 1c4
SH	Fine-toned Piano Forte, Rosewood Canterbury & Music Stools.	J.C. Welsford 'late)	02.10.1845, 1c5
New	Rosewood Cottage Piano Forte. Mahogany do. and three grand Square Mahogany do.	Wm. Anderson Sen. & Co.	20.11.1845, 1c4
SH	Superior Piano-Forte and Music Stool.	A.T. Caldecott, Grocer	03.01.1846, 2c2
New	Music Stools.	Jos. Lawrence	14.02.1846, 1c3
SH	A very handsome Rosewood Demi-Cabinet Piano, 6½ Octaves. A eight-keyed Flute by Polter. A double Flageolet.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	A splendid tone Cottage Piano Forte by Collard and Collard.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Square Pianoforte.	S. Moss (Insolvent)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	A very fine toned Harp, in good order.	Maskell & Pote (to be sold at E.T. Taylor's sale Auct.)	20.02.1847, 1c6
SH	Very fine-toned Piano-forte.	W.J. Earle (leaving Colony)	11.09.1847, 1c6
SH	Sweet toned Piano by Collard, Metallic Plates &c.	John Ford (late)	23.10.1847, 1c5
SH	Seraphine by Bates.	Mr Rutherford Hill St.	15.01.1848, 1c5
SH	Pianoforte by Broadwood, with music stool, complete.	Mr H. Barber	21.10.1848, 1c5
SH	Rosewood piano, with music stool.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c3
SH	Pianoforte, made by Collard & Collard.	W. Cannell	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Pianos. Collard & Collard's Patent Grand Squares. R. Cock's & Co's Rosewood and Mahogany Semi Cottages.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	14.10.1848, 2c1
SH?	6½ Octave pianoforte, by Broadwood & Son, with sett of spare strings £50.	No name	27.01.1849, 1c6
SH	A Large Musical Box playing four Overtures.	N. Birkenruth (personal)	03.02.1849, 1c6
New?	Square Piano Forte, offered for Cash at the low price of £37.10s, including packing case, lined with tin - it has a full, rich tone, compass of keys, six octaves, a mahogany case, French polished ...	H.C. Hallier Piano Tuner	17.02.1849, 1c3
SH	A large Rosewood Cabinet Piano, Music Stool to match.	M.R. Every	13.04.1850, 1c4
New	Pianoforte by Collard & Collard. Cock's & Co's Elegant Cottage Pianos. Seraphine by Gunter, London, £60.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	27.04.1850, 1c2
SH	Rosewood Cabinet Piano Forte. Cost only a few months ago, £90 Cash in Cape Town.	Chas. Pote	15.06.1850, 2c1
New	Piano Fortes of every description.	W. Anderson Snr. & Co.	22.06.1850, 1c4
New	Pianofortes. Harp by Erst.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	30.07.1850, 1c3
New	Powerful Seraphine by Gunter. Organ seraphines - direct from the French manufacturer.	Blaine Bros.	06.08.1850, 1c5

New or Second Hand	MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS & RELATED FURNITURE	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Pianos - Grand Squares - Improved do., direct from Collard & Collard. Rosewood Picosos - Direct from R. Cocks & Co. Rosewood Cottages - Direct from Harper.	W. Anderson Sen. & Co.	07.09.1850, 1c4
New?	A hand Organ, play 30 tunes.	Edwd. J.N. Smith	07.09.1850, 1c5
New	Piano Organs. Organs with stops. 2 Harmoniphones.	Birkenruth & Kift Church Square	05.04.1851, 1c4
SH	Grand square Pianoforte, by Collard & Collard, but little used, with music stool and stand.	Gentleman leaving Frontier - Pote Sale	19.04.1851, 2c1
New	Church Seraphines. Piano Organ, with percussion, either to be used as a Piano or Seraphine. Several Organs in walnut and mahogany cases - Some with superior Church Music, playing from 30 to 40 pieces - the other tunes are well selected, accompanied with trumpets, drums and bells.	N. Birkenruth.	19.07.1851, 1c3
SH	Semi-Grand Piano-Forte, by Collard & Collard, with Russia leather cover.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	Fine tone Guitar, with patent head and case complete. Rosewood Semi-Cottage Piano Forte, 6 3/4 octaves, by R. Cocks & Co.	Joseph Lawrance	18.10.1851, 1c4
New	3 Semi Cabinet Pianos, of Rosewood, 6 7-8 Octaves with the latest improvements by Geo. Russell. Also Rosewood Canterbury and Music Stool. Price, Complete, £60 Cash.	N. Birkenruth	01.11.1851, 1c3
SH	Semi-grand Piano Forte and a Square do. by Collard & Collard.	Rev. J. Heavyside	07.02.1852, 1c6
SH	Brilliant toned Square Piano-Forte with Music Stool complete. 1 do. by Broadwood. A magnificent Harp by Erard. An instrument as the latter could not be bought in London under 60 guineas, and is the first thing of the kind ever sold at an Auction on the Frontier.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	Cottage Piano Forte, Music Rack & Stool.	H. Hudson, New St.	25.09.1852, 1c4
New	Several Demi-Cabinet and Cottage Pianos by "Broadwood & Sons".	James Black & Co.	13.11.1852, 1c2
SH	Demi-cabinet piano, by Broadwood, Canterbury and music stool. Grand Piano by Kirkman & Sons - a very handsome full-toned repetition action.	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH?	A splendid toned Rosewood Cottage Piano-Forte with plate glass front, and all the latest improvements.	Joseph Lawrance's Auction Rooms	08.02.1853, 1c4
SH?	Rosewood Cottage Piano-Forte, by Stoddart.	Lawrance's Comm. Sales CFT	08.03.1853, 1c4
SH	Broadwood Piano (ex Drawing Room).	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
New	Rosewood Piano Fortes. Rosewood Music Stools. Mahogany Canterbury Music Stools.	S.W. Dell	Extra 26.02.1853, 1c4
SH	Rosewood Cottage Piano with patent Metallic Plate.		
New	Mahogany & Rosewood Canterburys.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7
SH	Rosewood Cabinet Piano-forte, cost originally £80.	Chas. Pote, Auct.	04.06.1853, 1c8
New	Grand Piano-Forte, 6 1/2 octaves, in Mahogany, Price £70. 2 Semi-Cabinet Piano-Fortes in Rosewood, 6, 7-8 Octaves, by Russell. Price, with music stool, £60 each. Seraphine, Mahogany Case, Bates & Son (or Rates & Son) £40.	N. Birkenruth	09.07.1853, 1c5
New	ex USA, per Silver Cloud, from Boston: Two very superior 6 1/2 Octave Pianos, one Rosewood, one Mahogany, manufactured by Chickering of Boston.	C. Andrews Port Elizabeth ad	03.09.1853, 1c4 27.08.1853
SH	Very superior Flute in Case.	Chas. Pote, Auct.	22.10.1853, 1c8
SH	1 Music Box.	Lawrance's Com. Sales	05.11.1853, 1c1
New?	Musical Boxes.	J. Lawrance Night Sale	05.11.1853, 1c1

New or Second Hand	ORNAMENTS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Indian Fans.	Mr Penketh, RE	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Chimney ornaments, cut glass and plate.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	Alabaster Chimney Vases.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Drawing Room Table Ornaments.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Chimney Ornaments.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Chimney Ornaments.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c4
SH	2 Vases.	S. Moss	06.02.1847, 1c4
		(Insolvent)	
SH	Chimney Ornaments.	John Jolley	27.02.1847, 1c2
		(late)	
New	Chinese ornaments, consisting of beautiful Chinese Pleasure Boat, constructed of ivory, richly carved; Fans, in Mother-of-pearl, ivory and sandalwood.	Godlonton & White	13.11.1847, 2c5
SH	China and glass Ornaments & Curiosities.	N. Birkenruth	03.02.1849, 1c6
		(personal)	
SH	Mantle Piece Ornaments.	E.T. Taylor	25.08.1849, 1c6
SH	Vases and other ornaments in Drawing Room.	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	Chimney Ornaments, &c. (ex Drawing Room).	C.W. Pakenham	26.02.1853, 1c4
New	Wax Fruits and Flowers, under Glass.	J. Fordred	11.06.1853, 1c2
	Statue of Wellington do.	General Drapery	
	Little Red Ridinghood do.	Warehouse	
	A Pair of Fishermen do.		
	Swiss Figures do.		
	Wire Top Opal Vases.		
	French China Baskets.		
New?	Oriental China.	J. Lawrance	05.11.1853, 1c1
		Night Sale	

New or Second Hand	PAINTINGS, PRINTS &C.	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	12 large Oil Paintings by celebrated artists, in rich gilt frames, also a number of colored Engravings, richly framed.	John Norton	01.11.1838, 1c2
SH	A Winter Scene by Vermeulen, and other Paintings.	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c3
?	A number of superior Oil Paintings.	J.D. Norden & Co.	28.02.1839, 1c5
SH	A set of original Prints of the storming and taking of Seringapatam.	Wm. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
SH	A number of Oil Paintings and Prints.	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
New	Gilt Mouldings for portraits, prints &c.	C. & H. Maynard	24.10.1839, 1c2
SH	1 Clock Picture.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
?	A quantity of Pictures in Rose-wood, Maple and other Frames.	J.D. Norden & Co.	21.01.1841, 1c5
SH	Valuable Prints and pictures.	Major Selwyn	26.05.1842, 1c3
SH	A superior drawing of fruit in burnished (sic) gold frame.	Mr Penketh, RE	08.06.1843, 1c3
	Map of London, large size in black frame.	Somerset Street	
	Many prettily executed needlework pieces enclosed in enamelled and gilt frames.		
SH	Paintings in gilt frames.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	2 sets Hunting Pictures, gilt frames.	W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3
SH	Oil Paintings, in gilt frames.	Mrs Peck,	13.06.1844, 1c3
	Sporting and other Pictures.	Bathurst St.	
New	A variety of Pictures in Maple and Gold Frames. Direct from London.	G. Griffiths,	22.08.1844, 1c3
SH	Several Oil Paintings & Prints in Gilt Frames.	PE	
		Surgeon Eddie,	28.11.1844, 1c3
SH	Rich Framed Princely Paintings.	CMR	
SH	A Number of Paintings & Prints, handsomely framed.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	One set of Churchly's Maps, on Rollers.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
New	Maple and Rosewood Framed Pictures.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
SH	Set of Pictures and Colored Prints.	Joseph Hart	08.05.1845, 1c2
New	Paintings, Prints, &c. with or without frames.	A.T. Caldecott	03.01.1846, 2c2
	Copper Plate and Steel Plate, Engravings.	W. Anderson Sen.	07.03.1846, 1c3
	Two splendid Engravings in beautiful bird's-eye Maple and gilt-beaded Frames and Glazed of Her Majesty and Prince Albert on the Bridal Morn.	& Co.	
New	Gilt Picture Frames, Gilt Moulding, various patterns.	Joseph Hart	14.03.1846, 1c3
New	Picture Frames.	Joseph Hart	09.01.1847, 4c3
SH	10 Oil Paintings in Gilt Frames.	J.D. Norden	06.02.1847, 1c4
		(late)	
SH	Some very superior Engravings.	E.T. Taylor	13.02.1847, 1c3
SH	6 very handsome Chinese Oil Paintings.	New Street	
	2 Chinese Paintings on Glass.	N. Birkenruth	03.02.1849, 1c6
		(selling his residence)	
New	Pictures & Picture Frames.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
New	Paintings with eight-day Clocks and moving Figures, playing also favored tunes.	N. Birkenruth	19.07.1851, 1c3
	Paintings in oil and richly gilt frames.		
SH	Engravings framed.	Rev. J. Heavyside	07.02.1852, 1c6
SH	Several handsome Pictures in Maple and Stinkwood Frames.	Joseph Lawrance	18.09.1852, 1c2
SH	A few prints (framed) (ex Drawing Room).	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
SH	Pictures.	James Cawood	Extra 03.05.1853, 2c1 Extra

New or Second Hand	PAPIER MÂCHÉ	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	3 octagonal Japanned paper Machee trays and snuffer tray to match. An 18" do. do. A circular paper machie salver, a bread basket, a knife tray.	Mr Penketh RE	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Papier Mâché Trays.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	1 Papier Mâché Table.	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
New	Papier Mâché Tables and Portfolios, Inkstands, Fire-Screens, Work-boxes, Tea-caddies, Snuffer Trays, and Door Plates. (Landscape & Flower patterns, very beautiful).	Godlonton & White	26.08.1848, 1c3
New	Portfolios, Card Racks, Card Plates, Card Baskets. Beautifully painted and elegantly inlaid with pearl. Landscapes, Views on the Rhine, Views of Litchfield, Gay's Cliffe, Pearl Flowers, Persian Pearl, Fleur de lis, Illuminated Pearl and Rose &c. Also a few very splendid LADIES' CABINETS, Card Cases.	Godlonton & White	21.07.1849, 1c1
SH	Dining Room, Side and Loo Tables, Mahogany, Rosewood & Papier Mâché.	Mr Ensor,	11.08.1849, 1 c5
New	Papier Mâché Tables, do. inkstands.	Chas. Pote	18.05.1850, 1c6
SH	Papier Mâché table, chairs, firescreens, card baskets and portfolios.	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	Papier mâché tables.	James Cawood	03.05.1853, 2c1 Extra

New or Second Hand	PRESSES	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Table Cloth Press.	Capt. Campbell	03.01.1839, 1c1
SH	Clothes Press.	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c3
SH	Large Office Press.	Wm. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
SH	Large Gothic Book-case and Press. One Painted Press.	Major Selwyn	01.07.1841, 1c1
SH	Clothes Press.	'A Gentleman'	19.05.1842, 1c4
SH	An excellent Clothes Press (owner leaving Town).	J.D. Norden, Auct.	28.11.1844, 1c3
SH	Clothes Press.	Maj. Wortham	13.03.1845, 1c2
SH	Yellow-wood Presses.	Dr A.G. Campbell	14.08.1845, 1c2
SH	Clothes Presses.	John Ford (late)	23.10.1845, 1c5
SH	Linen Press.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Presses.	D. Paxton	24.06.1848, 1c2
SH	Yellow-wood Presses.	Pote's Comm. Sales	28.04.1849, 1c5
SH	3 Clothes Presses.	T. Jarman (late)	18.08.1849, 1c5
New	Clothes Presses.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
SH	Clothes Press with Drawers.	James Bottom	10.07.1852, 1c5
SH	Stinkwood Press.	Joseph Lawrance Auct.	17.09.1852, 1c2
SH	3 presses.	H. Hudson	25.09.1852, 1c4

New or Second Hand	SCREENS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Screens.	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c3
New	Chinese Screens.	B.M. Shepperson	10.10.1844, 1c3
SH	One pair Chinese Screens.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Rosewood Screen Stands and Screens.	Major Wortham, RE	13.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Screen Stands.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
New	Papier Mâché Fire-Screens. (Landscape & Flower patterns).	Godlonton & White	26.08.1848, 1c3
SH	Screens.	Chas. Maynard	31.03.1849, 1c5
SH	Large screen.	Edmd. L. Kift	17.05.1849, 1c4
SH	Handsome pole screens with gilt corners.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3

New or Second Hand	SHOWER BATHS & BATHS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Shower Bath.	H.B. Rutherford	18.05.1837, 1c1
SH	Slipper Bath.	Capt. Campbell	03.01.1839, 1c1
New	Improved Patent Shower Baths, with force-pump attached to throw the water up into the cistern.	C. & H. Maynard	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	Best improved Shower Baths, with force Pumps attached to throw the water into the cisterns, conducting tubes and Curtains complete, Japaned Bamboo.	per Emma C. & H. Maynard	27.02.1840, 1c5
New	A few best improved SHOWER BATHS, with force Pump attached to throw the water into the Cistern, conducting tube and Curtains complete.	C. & H. Maynard	29.10.1840, 1c3
New	SHOWER BATHS ...	C. & H. Maynard	25.11.1841, 1c2
New	Patent Shower Baths.	W. Ogilvie	09.06.1842, 1c4
SH	A very superior Shower Bath.	Mr Eaton	02.11.1843, 1c4
SH	A Patent Shower Bath.	S. Haw	27.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Shower Bath.	Henry Nourse	12.09.1844, 1c3
SH	Children's Bath.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
New	Shower Bath, with Brass Force Pump, Mounting, and Curtains complete. Direct.	James Bryce,	18.09.1845, 2c1
SH	Large Bath.	Cooper, New St. Officer leaving the Frontier	20.11.1845, 1c4
SH	Shower Bath.	W.J. Earle (leaving Colony)	11.09.1847, 1c6
New	Japanned ware Foot Tubs from 10 inches, diameter 20".	John Tucker	26.08.1848, 2c1
New	Shower and foot baths.	Staffordshire Hs. D. Mackay	18.11.1848, 1c4
SH	Tin Bath (in Bedroom).	Bathurst Street Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	Shower Bath.	Mrs MacDonald	16.10.1852, 1c5
SH	1 patent Shower Bath, with Pump and Curtains (ex 2nd Bed-room)	Estate Sale C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4 Extra

New or Second Hand	SIDEBOARDS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Sideboard.	Col. Somerset	15.06.1832, 97c2
New	Mahogany Sideboards.	C. & H. Maynard	24.03.1836, 1c2
New	Sideboards.	John Mandy	12.05.1836, 1c1
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.10.1837, 1c2
New	2 6-ft French polished Mahogany Pedestal Sideboards, with Shelves and Celeret (sic.). 1 Rising Cottage Sideboard.	C & H. Maynard For Sale in Port Elizabeth	04.10.1838, 1c2
SH	Sideboard. Bureaus.	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	Wm. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
New	French-polished mahogany pedestal Sideboards.	J.D. Norden & Co.	09.05.1839, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
New	Mahogany Sideboards, French polished.	J.D. Norden & Co.	08.08.1839, 4c4
SH	Sideboard.	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	Mahogany Pedestal, and enclosed Sideboards.	J.D. Norden & Co.	05.12.1839, 4c4
New	Mahogany six feet six Pedestal Side boards, French Polished.	J. Lawrence	29.10.1840, 1c2
SH	Mahogany sideboards.	Major Selwyn	01.07.1841, 1c1
New	Mahogany Side Boards.	John H. Clark	12.08.1841, 1c2
New	Mahogany Sideboards.	Joseph Lawrence	23.03.1843, 1c3
SH	Large mahogany Pedestal Sideboard.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	Edward Phillips	04.07.1844, 1c4
SH	Solid Spanish Mahogany Pedestal Sideboards.	Col. Somerset Oatlands	06.03.1845, 1c3
New	Mahogany Sideboards, French Polished.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1845, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Sideboards.	Martin West Esq.	18.09.1845, 1c3
SH	Sideboard.	A.T. Caldecott	03.01.1846, 2c2
SH	Sideboard.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	S. Moss (Insolvent)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Side Board.	John Jolley (late)	27.02.1847, 1c2
SH	Sideboard.	W.J. Earle (leaving Colony)	11.09.1847, 1c6
New	Mahogany pedestal sideboards.	J. Hart	15.01.1848, 1c4
New	Side boards.	J. Hart	21.10.1848, 1c3
New	Mahogany Sideboards.	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
New	Mahogany sideboards.	J. Hart	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Mahogany sideboard (very handsome).	Chas. Maynard (personal)	31.03.1849, 1c5
New	Mahogany Winged Cheffoniers and Sideboard.	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
New	Sideboards.	Joseph Hart	11.08.1849, 1c3
SH	Sideboard.	E.T. Taylor (late)	25.08.1849, 1c4
New	Mahogany Sideboards.	Joseph Hart	10.11.1849, 1c4
SH	Handsome Sideboard.	Mr Birkenruth	23.03.1850, 1c6
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	C. Pote (For private sale)	13.08.1850, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	Mr Rutherford	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Sideboard with drawers and cellaret.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	Rev. J. Heavyside	07.02.1852, 1c6
SH	Handsome Mahogany Sideboard.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Stinkwood Sideboard.		
SH	Mahogany Sideboard.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Sideboard (part of Dining Room Suite).	H. Hudson	25.09.1852, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Sideboard with cellaret (part of suite).	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
New	Pedestal and enclosed Sideboards.	Selwyn Castle	
New	Mahogany Sideboards.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
SH?	Sideboard.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7
		Lawrance's Comm. Sales	05.11.1853, 1c1

New or Second Hand	TABLES - CARD, DINING, &C. & TEA POYS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Dining, Pembroke and Card Tables.	Col. Somerset (on leave to England)	15.06.1832, 97c2
SH	Mahogany card and dining Tables, Sneezewood do.	J.H. Smith	31.07.1834, 1c2
SH	London-made mahogany dining, sofa and other tables.	Mrs Capt. Sparks	27.11.1834, 1c3
SH	Sneeze-wood Dining, Sitting, side and Dressing Tables.	R. Featherstone	03.09.1835, 1c3
SH	A pair of card tables ... Dining Table.	T.C. White	11.04.1836, 1c3
New	Setts of Mahogany patent extending Dining Tables with loose Flaps and Brass Fastenings, handsome turned legs. 8 ft. 9 in. and 4 ft. wide. do. do. 8 ft. 2 in. by 4 ft. wide. Mahogany two flap Dining Tables on turned Legs and Castors. Do. Breakfast Tables on Pillar and Claw French Polished Mahogany Card Tables. Do. Do. Occasional Tables, with two Drawers in frame. Loo Tables.	C. & H. Maynard per Comet	24.03.1836, 1c2
New	Mahogany Card and Dining Tables.	John Mandy	12.05.1836, 1c2
New	Mahogany Loo and Ladies' work Tables.	John Mandy	08.09.1836, 1c3
New	" " Library and Pembroke do.	John Mandy	06.10.1836, 1c4
SH	2 Card Tables, and 1 circular ditto (to match Rosewood chairs & 2 sofas). Dining, Pier, Breakfast and Toilet Tables. 1 Mahogany Occasional Table.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
New	Mahogany Dining Tables, Pembroke Tables.	John Mandy	13.04.1837, 1c1
SH	Mahogany Dining, Centre and Work Tables.	H.B. Rutherfordord	18.05.1837, 1c1
SH	Dining, pier, and dressing Tables ... a Billiard Table nearly new with Cues Ball &c., complete. Mahogany dining Table.	J.D. Norden Auctioneer Beale's Hotel	26.10.1837, 1c2 11.01.1838, 1c1
SH	2 Setts of Telescope Dining Tables 4 ft. x 8, of Honduras Mahogany, frames and legs French polished. 2 Setts 3 ft. 9 x 7 ft. 6.	J. Woodland C. & H. Maynard per Eleanor	04.10.1838, 1c1 04.10.1838, 1c2
New	A pair French Polished Mahogany Card Tables, with crimson cloth and embossed Work and Occasional Tables.	C. & H. Maynard	04.10.1838, 1c2
New?	Sitting and Dressing Tables.	N. Moss	18.10.1838, 1c1
SH	Mahogany, rosewood & japan Loo Tables. A complete sett of mahogany Telescope and Dining Tables, pier, dressing and side do.	John Norton (about to leave the Colony)	01.11.1838, 1c2
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Dining, Sofa, Card, Work, and Dressing Tables.	W.R. Thompson (leaving Colony)	14.02.1839, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Tables ... Stinkwood ... Tables.	W. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
SH	A Splendid Stinkwood Loo Table.	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
New?	Mahogany Dining, Sofa, Pier and Pembroke Tables. 1 splendid Mahogany Loo Table, carved pillar.	J.D. Norden	28.02.1839, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Sofa, Dining and other Tables.	H.C. Selby, Esq.	28.02.1839, 4c2
New	Mahogany Loo Tables, & carved poco feet. Do. Card Do. to match. Oblong Loo tables, carved trusses. Mahogany Dining Tables, on turned legs & castors.	J.D. Norden & Co. per Lord Saumarez	09.05.1839, 1c3 08.08.1839, 4c4
New	Mahogany Loo Table, Do. occasional Table. Brass moulded and French polished. Mahogany Dining Tables.	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2
SH	Bagatelle and Dining Tables.		
New	Dining Tables with sliding frames and French Polished.		
New	Solid Mahogany Veneered Loo Tables. do. Occasional do. do. Dining Tables.	J.D. Norden	05.12.1839, 4c4
SH	Stinkwood and Mahogany Tables.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
New?	Mahogany dining, Card, Loo & Work Tables.	J. Lawrence	13.08.1840, 1c3
New	Mahogany Loo Tables, French Polished, with Card Tables to match. Mahogany four feet wide Dining Tables, with wave boards. Rosewood Occasional Tables. Do. do. Work Tables, with silk Bags and French Polished.	J. Lawrence	29.10.1840, 1c3
New	Mahogany three feet three Pembroke Tables on Turned Legs.	J. Lawrence	29.10.1840, 1c3

New or Second Hand	TABLES - CARD, DINING, &c. & TEA POYS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	One set of Mahogany Portable Dining Tables with 5 Leaves and Case complete.	Major Burn, 91st Beaufort St.	07.01.1841, 1c1
SH	Brass Mounted Pembroke, Dining and Dressing Tables.		
SH	A pair of Handsome Chinese Tables.	Wm. Wright	25.03.1841, 1c2
	Mahogany Table.	Major Selwyn	01.07.1841, 1c1
	Handsome round Loo Tables.		
New	Mahogany Loo, Dining, Pembroke and other Tables.	John H. Clark (storekeeper)	12.08.1841, 1c2
SH	One set portable Mahogany Dining Tables.	Major Crause CMR	21.04.1842, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Dining Table.	W.E. Prynne	05.05.1842, 1c5
SH	Mahogany, Rosewood, and other Tables.	Mr Teeling, RE	12.05.1842, 1c1
SH	Stinkwood Dining and other Tables.	J.D. Norden & Co.	19.05.1842, 1c4
		(Gent. leaving GT)	
SH	Dinner, Sofa and Dressing Tables.	Major Selwyn	26.05.1842, 1c3
New?	Mahogany Claw Table.	J.D. Norden & Co.	23.06.1842, 1c3
New	Setts of Mahogany Sliding Dining Tables, 8, 9 and 12 feet in length.	C. & H. Maynard	11.08.1842, 4c3
	Oblong Loo Tables, Pembroke do., and Ladies' Work Tables, in Mahogany and Rosewood.		
	Library Tables.		
SH	Mahogany Tables ... solid, convenient and portable ...	Capt. Yarborough	08.09.1842, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood & Yellowwood Dining Tables.	James Rathbone Bathurst Street	16.02.1843, 1c2
New	Mahogany Telescope Dining Tables, Mahogany & Rosewood Loo Tables.	Joseph Lawrence Furniture Repository	09.03.1843, 1c2
	Ladies' Rosewood Work Tables.		
	Rosewood Occasional Tables.		
New	Mahogany Dinner Tables.	Joseph Lawrence	23.03.1843, 1c3
	Oblong Loo Tables, Circular Loo Tables.	Chair & Cabinet Repository, High St.	
	Pillow (sic.) and Claw Mahogany Pembroke Tables.		
	Library Writing Tables.		
	Mahogany Work Tables. Direct from London		
SH	Mahogany pillar and Claw Table (oval shape).	Mr Penketh, RE Somerset st.	08.06.1843, 1c3
	Mahogany portable dining table, 6' x 4', with tray and stand, and case complete.		
	Mahogany work table.		
SH	Mahogany Loo Table.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
	Mahogany Telescope Dining Table.		
SH	Rosewood Occasional and Card Tables.	Eaton (after death of his wife)	02.11.1843, 1c4
	Rosewood Ladies' Work Table.		
SH	Mahogany Dining Table.	J.D. Norden, Auctioneer	28.03.1844, 1c3
	Rosewood Card Tables.	QM Thompson, 27th Regt.	04.04.1844, 1c4
SH	2 portable Tables (one round).	Gent. leaving Frontier	02.05.1844, 1c3
	1 Dining Room Table.	Joseph Lawrence	23.05.1844, 1c2
SH	Pembroke Table with chairs.	R. Godlonton	06.06.1844, 1c3
New	Mahogany Loo and Pembroke Tables.		
SH	Stinkwood Dining Table.	Mrs Peck	13.06.1844, 1c3
	Mahogany Pillar and Claw Library and Work Tables.	C. Griffiths	20.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Loo, Dining & other Tables.	Prospect House	
SH	2 Card & 1 Loo Table, solid mahogany.	F.T. l'Ons	20.06.1844, 1c3
	1 Telescope Dining Table, containing 5 leaves.	C.M. Welsford	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	Rosewood Loo Table.		
SH	Dark Mahogany Loo Table, French Polished.		
	Cedar Dining Table, in three parts.		
SH	Mahogany Dining Table, Card & Pembroke do.	Edward Phillips	04.07.1844, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Dining and Loo Tables.	Mrs C. Schryver	18.07.1844, 1c3
New	Mahogany Pembroke Table.	J. Lawrence	12.09.1844, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Telescope Dining Table, Loo and Card Tables.	Henry Nourse	12.09.1844, 1c3
New	Mahogany Loo Table.	C.H. Caldecott	03.10.1844, 1c5
SH	Japanned Drawing-room Table.	Surgeon Eddie, CMR	28.11.1844, 1c3
	Tea Poy.		
SH?	A Table, 4'6" x 3', with handsomely carved Gothic Legs, and 2 Drawers.	J.D. Norden, Auctioneer	09.01.1845, 1c3
SH	Solid Spanish Mahogany Dining Table, with six extra leaves.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
	Rosewood Work Table, very splendid.		
	White Marble Pedestal Table, one handsome Spar Pedestal Table.		

New or Second Hand	TABLES - CARD, DINING, &c. & TEA POYS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Mahogany Table.	Maj. Wortham, RE	13.03.1845, 1c2
SH	1 set of 12 feet solid Mahogany Dining Tables, do. Sofa Table, side do. Handsome Work Table, with Writing Desks. Solid Mahogany round table. 1 set Stinkwood Dining Tables. Side and pier do. Tables do.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
New	Mahogany & Rosewood Work Tables, French polished.	Joseph Hart	08.05.1845, 1c2
New	Chess or Coffee Tables, Ladies Work Tables.	Joseph Hart	24.07.1845, 1c2
SH	A French polished round Table, in claw.	Dr A.G. Campbell	14.08.1845, 1c2
SH	Centre, Occasional, Card and Side Tables.	Martin West	18.09.1845, 1c3
New	Coffee Tables, Work Tables.	Joseph Hart	04.12.1845, 1c4
SH	Mahogany Pembroke Table.	J.D. Norden	10.01.1846, 1c2
New	Library Tables, Chess Table, Pembroke Tables, Pillar & Claw do.	Jos. Lawrance	14.02.1846, 1c3
New	Loo Tables, Care Tables, Dining Tables - all part of a consignment of 'the most modern Furniture'.	Joseph Hart	12.12.1846, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Loo and Side Tables. Mahogany Dining Table and Chairs. Ladies' Work Tables.	Late Capt. Gunn of "West Hill"	05.12.1846, 1c4
SH	Dining Tables, Card and Loo Tables.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Mahogany, Dining and Loo Tables.	Mrs Benjamin About to leave Colony	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Loo Table.	Benjamin Simpson	02.01.1847, 1c4
New	Loo Tables, various sizes. Card Tables. ("The most modern furniture"). Dining and Pembroke tables.	Joseph Hart	09.01.1847, 4c3
SH	1 Excellent Rosewood Loo Table. 3 do. do. Card & Sofa do. 1 Papier Mâché Table. 2 Marble and Gilt Tables.	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Rosewood Loo Table and Cover.	S. Moss (Insolvent)	06.02.1847, 1c4
SH	Loo, Card & Telescope Tables.	E.T. Taylor, New St.	13.02.1847, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Dining tables.	John Jolley (late)	27.02.1847, 1c2
SH	Yellowwood Table.	Mr Ethridge's Estate	20.03.1847, 1c5
New	Chinese Furniture, in Occasional Tables in setts.	Joseph Hart Furniture Ware- house, Church Sq.	17.07.1847, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Dining and Pembroke Tables.	W.J. Earle (leaving Colony)	11.09.1847, 1c6
SH	Stinkwood and other Tables.	John Ford (late)	23.10.1847, 1c5
SH	Loo Tables.	Rev.Dr. Tancred (leaving Frontier)	13.11.1847, 1c4
New	Mahogany 10 ft. extending dining tables. Ladies' Work tables.	J. Hart	11.12.1847, 2c2
New	Sets of mahogany dining tables, with screw movement legs. Mahogany and rosewood loo tables. Ladies' Work Tables.	J. Hart Furniture Ware- house, Church Sq.	15.01.1848, 1c6
New	Telescope and loo tables. Colonial made Furniture, Tables ...	J. Hart	21.10.1848, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Dining and Side Tables.	W. Cowie	12.02.1848, 4c3
SH	Bedroom dressing and other Tables. Mahogany Tables (in Drawing Room Suite).	W. Cannell	24.06.1848, 1c4
SH	Handsome Stinkwood & other Tables.	D. Paxton	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Dining, Kitchen and other Tables.	S.W. Dell	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Papier Mâché Tables. (Landscape and Flower Patterns).	Godlonton & White	26.08.1848, 1c3
New	Mahogany Dining Tables. " Folding Tables. " Pembroke Table. " Rising Side Tables. London	W. Ogilvie (just back from UK)	09.12.1848, 1c3
New	Telescope Dining Table. Mahogany Round Tables, round block paw feet. Loo Tables (Mahogany).	J. Hart	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Loo Table. Mahogany Chess Table, with men, complete. A Sett of dining tables, and Ladies' Work do.	Mr Mills (leaving Colony)	09.12.1848, 1c5

New or Second Hand	TABLES - CARD, DINING, &c. & TEA POYS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Stinkwood Loo tables. Dining and Kitchen Tables.	Thos. Shaw Bathurst St.	20.01.1849, 4c3
SH	Loo Table, Card Tables, and Sofa Tables. Dining Tables.	N. Birkenruth (personal)	03.02.1849, 1c6
SH	Rosewood round tables & card tables. Work Tables.	Chas. Maynard (personal)	31.03.1849, 1c5
SH	1 set Mahogany telescope dining tables. 1 Mahogany table.	Pote's Comm. Sales	28.04.1849, 1c3
SH	Carved Pillar and Claw Table (handsome).	Chas. Pote Comm. Sales	28.04.1849, 1c5
New	Mahogany and rosewood Loo Tables. Stinkwood Tables.	Joseph Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New	Solid Mahogany Loo Tables, very handsome. One Ablony (sic.) Loo Table, superbly carved. Chess Table, Two sets Ivory Chessmen (one <u>very</u> valuable).	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
SH	Dining Room, Side and Loo Tables, Mahogany, Rosewood & Papier Mâché.	Mr Ensor, Market Sq.	11.08.1849, 1c5
New	Loo and Dining Tables (Rosewood & Mahogany).	Joseph Hart	11.08.1849, 1c3
SH	Pembroke Tables.	T. Jarman (late)	18.08.1849, 1c5
SH	Dining Tables, with extra leaves. Very handsome Loo Table & ditto Work Table	E.T. Taylor (Estate Sale)	25.08.1849, 1c6
New	Mahogany Dining Tables, French polished. Rosewood Work Tables. Mahogany do. with inlaid tops.	C. & H. Maynard & Co.	29.09.1849, 1c3
New	Mahogany Snap Tables, Loo Tables. Mahogany Pembroke Tables, & Snap do. Rosewood & Mahogany Work Tables. Dining Tables. Loo Tables. From London Direct.	Joseph Hart	10.11.1849, 1c4
New	Dining, Kitchen & side Tables.	S.W. Dell	12.02.1850, 1c5
New	Mahogany and Stinkwood Loo Tables.	Thomas Shaw Carpenter & Cabinet Maker	09.03.1850, 1c6
SH	Mahogany Telescope Dining Tables.	Mr Birkenruth	23.03.1850, 1c6
SH	Mahogany Loo, Pembroke & other Tables.	Mr M.R. Every	13.04.1850, 1c4
New	Mahogany Telescope Dining Tables. Do. Pembroke Tables. Do. Folding Camp Tables.	W. Ogilvie	18.05.1850, 4c2
New	Extending Dining Tables.	J. Hart	25.05.1850, 1c2
New	Stinkwood Tables. Three setts (sic.) of very handsome carved Stinkwood Trafalgar Chairs, and Loo Tables to match, will be finished and for sale shortly.	S.W. Dell	06.07.1850, 1c3
SH	Two very handsome Rosewood Tables, Rosewood Card Tables.	C. Pote (for Private Sale)	13.08.1850, 1c2
SH	1 Mahogany Claw Table. 1 Mahogany Loo Table.	Pote's Gen. Commission Sales	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	Mahogany round tables.	Mr Rutherford Private Sale	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	Loo Table (English).	Gent. leaving Frontier	19.04.1851, 2c1
New	Mahogany Telescope Dining Tables. Pembroke Tables. Portable, Loo and Work Tables. Mahogany, rising and occasional tables.	William Ogilvie (deceased) - selling off goods & furniture	24.05.1851, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Loo Table.	Gent. leaving Colony	05.07.1851, 1c4
SH	Sofa, Loo and Pembroke Tables. Telescope Dining Table. Side Table.	Edmd. L. Kift	17.05.1851, 1c4
SH	Bedroom Tables. Rosewood Loo Tables on carved standards. Rosewood Card Tables to match. Rosewood Occasional and Work Tables. Mahogany Telescope Dining Table with round ends.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	Telescope Dining, Loo, Card & other Tables.	Dep.Com.-Gen. Green	27.09.1851, 1c3
SH?	Stinkwood Tables, Yellow-wood Tables.	Jos. Lawrance Public Auction	06.12.1851, 1c4
SH	Telescope Dining Table. Solid Top Loo Table.	Rev. J. Heavyside	07.02.1852, 1c6

New or Second Hand	TABLES - CARD, DINING, &c. & TEA POYS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Mahogany Dining and other Tables. Ladies' handsome rosewood and mahogany Work Tables.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Mahogany Table with Oak Case. Rosewood Card Table.	Officer leaving Frontier	22.06.1852, 2c1
SH	Pembroke Leaf Table.	Joseph Lawrance, Auctioneer	18.09.1852, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Drawing & Loo Tables. " Waiting & Side "	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c5
SH	Rosewood Work Table. Drawing Room Tables and Chairs.	Mrs MacDonald Estate Sale	16.10.1852, 1c5
SH	Rosewood table and 6 chairs. Valuable dining table with 6 leaves ... } Dining mahogany sideboard, covered mahogany } Room sofa and 12 chairs. } Suite	H. Hudson,	25.09.1852, 1c4
New	Loo Tables with solid mahogany tops.	Joseph Hart	25.12.1852, 1c5
SH	Telescope Dining Table. Work and Sofa Tables.	Late James Howse	26.03.1853, 1c3
SH	Rosewood Loo Tables and ladies } Drawing work table. } Room Mahogany telescope dining table of large size (part of suite).	James Black Selwyn Castle	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	2 Card Tables (mahogany). } Drawing 1 Mahogany Loo Table. } Room 1 Japan Loo Table. } 1 Deal Table (ex 4th Bed-room).	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4 Extra
New	Mahogany Loo Tables.	S.W. Dell	26.02.1853, 1c4
SH	Portable Dining Table, worth £10 (very superior).	Pote's Gen. Sales	19.03.1853, 1c5
SH	Rosewood Loo Table. Mahogany solid top Loo Table. Dining Tables.	Dep.Assnt.Com. Gen. Palmer	29.03.1853, 2c4 Extra
New	4'6" Walnut Loo Tables. } part of Walnut 2 ft. Card Tables. } suite Walnut Ladies' Work Tables. }	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
New	Rosewood Ladies Work Tables. Rosewood Loo Tables. Rosewood Writing Tables. Mahogany Dining, Cottage, Pembroke, snap, chess and loo tables. Inlaid work tables, in Beech, Oak, &c.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
SH	Elegant Mahogany Loo Tables. Papier Mâché Tables. Stinkwood Dining Tables.	James Cawood about to leave the Colony, High St. residence. opp. Wesley Chapel	03.05.1853, 2c1 Extra
New	Mahogany Loo Tables.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7
SH?	Billiard Table, with Cues, Billiard Balls, complete, 40.	Chas. Pote, Auctioneer	24.05.1853, 2c2
SH	Dining and Loo Tables, Mahogany Card Tables.	Chas. Pote, Auctioneer	04.06.1853, 1c8
SH	Yellow-wood tables.	Mrs Webb, J. Lawrance, Auctioneer	11.06.1853, 1c8
SH?	1 Loo table.	Lawrance's Com. Sale	05.11.1853, 1c1

New or Second Hand	TABLE COVERS	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Oil Cloth for Table Covers. New Patterns, Oil Cloth Table Covers, chastely painted centres.	B.M. Shepperson & Co., Bathurst & High Streets	08.06.1843, 1c2
New	Damask, Linen and woollen Table Covers in green blue, crimson and scarlet.	H. & R.S. Blaine	09.11.1843, 1c3
New	Damask Table Cloths, Oil Cloth and Coloured Damask Table Covers, Table Mats.	B.M. Shepperson	25.01.1844, 1c2
New	Gold stencilled Oil Cloth for Table Covers.	B.M. Shepperson	10.10.1844, 4c3
New	Handsome painted Table Covers.	G. Griffiths Port Elizabeth	26.12.1844, 1c2
New	A Case of good painted oil-skin Table Covers.	B.M. Shepperson	13.03.1845, 1c2
New	8x10, 10x12, 10x16, 10x18 Super Damask Table Cloths; 9x4, 10x4, 10x12 Colored Worsted Table Covers.	McMaster & Pakenham	10.07.1845, 1c3
SH	Carpet Table Covers.	Property of an Officer leaving the Frontier	20.11.1845, 1c4
New	A choice lot of Oilskin Table Covers, Bronze and pencil, with chastely painted centres, landscapes &c. Colored Worsted damask table covers.	B.M. Shepperson	05.08.1848, 4c2
New	Worsted Table Covers, Table Oil Cloth.	B.M. Shepperson	13.10.49, 1c2
New	Oil Cloths for Table Covers, Square and round ... with chastely printed centres. Table Mats.	B.M. Shepperson	02.10.1850, 1c2
New	Colored and brown Damask Cloths.	H.E. Rutherfoord & Bros.	29.06.1850, 1c5
New	White table damask, 2 yards wide, 1x 8d the ell.	J. Fordred	05.07.1851, 1c5
New	Worsted Damask Table Covers, all sizes, crimson, scarlet, blue and green, oil cloth table covers, and in the piece some richly gilded, cheap.	B.M. Shepperson	23.08.1851, 1c3
New	Cheapest lots Barnsley Table Linen &c. ever seen in Graham's Town, including 60 Linen Damask Table Cloths; from 4s to 6s9d, 20 dozen 5-8 and 6-8 Linen Table Napkins from 8s to 11s6d the dozen. Also Irish Linens, Long Lawns, Crumb Cloths, &c.	J. Fordred	01.11.1851, 1c3
New	Oil Cloth for Table Covers from 7 ¹ / ₂ d to 1s per ell, various patterns.	John Williams Western House	21.02.1852, 1c3

New or Second Hand	TRAYS, DUMB WAITERS &c.	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
New	Mahogany Tray Swings.	J.D. Norden & Co.	08.08.1839, 4c4
New	Butler's Trays and Stands.	C. & H. Maynard	24.10.1839, 1c2
SH	1 Mahogany Tray and Stand.	Major Selwyn	01.07.1841, 1c1
New	Circular Dumb Waiters.	Joseph Lawrence	23.03.1843, 1c3
SH	Three octagonal Japanned paper Machee (sic.) trays of sizes, and snuffer tray to match, an 18" do. do. a circular paper machie (sic.) salver a bread basket and knife tray.	Mr Penketh, R E	08.06.1843, 1c3
New	Mahogany Knife Trays.	Joseph Lawrence	23.05.1844, 1c2
SH	Butler's Trays.	Edward Phillips	04.07.1844, 1c4
SH	2 Solid Mahogany Dumb Waiters.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
New	Dumb Waiters. Dinner Wagons.	Jos. Lawrance	14.02.1846, 1c3
SH	Butler's Tray & Dumb Waiter.	Late Capt. Gunn	05.12.1846, 1c4
SH	Papier Maché Trays.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
New	Mahogany butler's trays with stands.	J. Hart	11.12.1847, 1c4
New	Mahogany Dinner Wagons on screw legs.	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
SH	Side Waiter.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Tea Trays and Waiters.	D. Paxton	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Butler's Trays.	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
SH	Mahogany Dum (sic.) Waiters.	Mr Birkenruth	23.03.1850, 1c6
New	Mahogany Dinner Wagon.	W. Ogilvie	18.05.1850, 4c2
SH	Dumb Waiter.	Edmd. L. Kift	17.05.1851, 1c4
SH	Dumb Waiters.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
New	Mahogany Trays.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7

New or Second Hand	WARDROBES	Owner/Firm	GTJ Date
SH	Elegant Wardrobes.	Col. Somerset	15.06.1832, 97c2
New	Mahogany Wardrobes.	C. & H. Maynard	24.03.1836, 1c2
SH	One Mahogany Wardrobe.	T.C. White	11.04.1836, 1c3
SH	Mahogany & Stinkwood Wardrobes.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
New	Wardrobes.	C. & H. Maynard	04.10.1838, 1c2
SH	Solid Mahogany Wardrobes.	John Norton	01.11.1838, 1c2
	Do. with Chest of Drawers.		
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Wardrobes.	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c1
SH	A very handsome Teakwood Wardrobe.	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
New	Mahogany Wardrobe, with pilasters.	J.D. Norden & Co.	08.08.1839, 4c4
SH	Wardrobe.	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	Mahogany Wardrobe, with pilasters.	J.D. Norden & Co.	05.12.1839, 4c4
New	Mahogany Wardrobes, with Paliasters.	J. Lawrence	29.10.1840, 1c2
		Furniture Repos.	
New	Wardrobes.	John H. Clark	12.08.1841, 1c2
		Storekeeper	
SH	Wardrobe.	Major Selwyn	26.05.1842, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Wardrobe, with drawers under.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c5
New	Mahogany Wardrobes.	Joseph Lawrence	23.05.1844, 1c3
SH	1 large Mahogany Wardrobe.	C. Griffith	20.06.1844, 1c2
SH	Spanish Mahogany Wardrobe, solid sides, Maker - Tonkin.	C.M. Welsford	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Wardrobe.	Edward Phillips	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	Solid Mahogany Wardrobe.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
	Solid Mahogany Wardrobe 7'.		
	Stinkwood Wardrobe.		
SH	Solid Stinkwood Wardrobe, with Sliding Shelves.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
New	Mahogany Wardrobes, French Polished.	Joseph Hart	08.05.1845, 1c2
		Church Sq.	
New	Mahogany Double winged Wardrobes.	Joseph Hart	24.07.1845, 1c2
New	Mahogany Wardrobes.	Joseph Hart	04.12.1845, 1c4
SH	Mahogany and other Wardrobes.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Wardrobe, French Polished.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	1 very elegant Wardrobe.	E.T. Taylor	13.02.1847, 1c3
		New St.	
SH	Mahogany Wardrobe.	John Jolley	27.02.1847, 1c2
		(late)	
New	Mahogany Wardrobes.	J. Hart	11.12.1847, 2c2
New	Mahogany Wardrobes.	J. Hart	15.01.1848, 1c6
New	Wardrobes.	J. Hart	21.10.1848, 1c5
New	Mahogany Wardrobes.	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
New	Wardrobes.	Joseph Hart	11.08.1849, 1c3
New	Mahogany Wardrobes.	Joseph Hart	10.11.1849, 1c4
New	Stinkwood Wardrobes.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
	Yellowwood Wardrobes.		
SH	Mahogany Wardrobe.	Mr Rutherford	30.11.1850, 1c4
New	Wardrobes.	Wm. Ogilvie	24.05.1851, 1c3
		(late)	
SH	Very Superior Mahogany Wardrobes.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
SH	Handsome Stinkwood Wardrobe.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Mahogany Wardrobe.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	Very handsome mahogany wardrobe, with wings.	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
SH	1 mahogany Wardrobe (1st Bed-room).	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
New	Mahogany Wing Wardrobes, 4'6", and other Wardrobes.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
New	Mahogany Wardrobes.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7
SH	Stinkwood Wardrobe.	Mrs Webb	11.06.1853, 1c8
		J. Lawrence,	
		Auctioneer	

New or Second Hand	WASH HAND STANDS	Owner/Firm	GJT Date
SH	Sneezewood Wash hand stands.	R. Featherstone	03.09.1835, 1c3
New	Washing Stands.	C. & H. Maynard	24.03.1836, 1c2
SH	Mahogany folding Top Washstands.	John Mandy	08.09.1836, 1c3
SH	Wash Stands.	John Mandy	06.10.1836, 1c4
SH	Mahogany and other Washhand Stands, with Ewers and Basons complete.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	Double and single Wash-hand Stands.	'A Gentleman'	16.02.1837, 1c1
SH	Mahogany Washhand Stand.	J.D. Norden	26.10.1837, 1c2
SH	Washhand Stand.	Mr Wiggett	06.09.1838, 1c1
New	Marble Top Washing Stands, with elegant fittings.	C. & H. Maynard	04.10.1838, 1c2
SH	Mahogany and japan wash-hand stand.	John Norton	01.11.1838, 1c2
SH	Mahogany Wash-hand Stand.	Wm. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
SH	Mahogany Wash-hand Stand, with marble slab.	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
SH	Wash-hand Stands.	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2
New	Wash-hand Stands.	C. & H. Maynard	24.10.1839, 1c2
?	1 Wash-hand Stand with articles complete.	J.D. Norden & Co.	26.12.1839, 1c2
New	Wash-hand Stand with Marble Slabs.	J. Lawrence	13.08.1840, 1c3
New	A newly invented Hydraulic Wash-hand Stand with a plugged Basin, Soap Dish, and Brush Tray, imitation Marble Top on pedestals, with an apparatus and Cistern for self-supplying the basin.	C. & H. Maynard	25.11.1841, 1c2
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Chest Drawers and Wash hand Stands.	W.E. Prynn	05.05.1842, 1c5
SH	Washhandstand.	'A Gentleman'	19.05.1842, 1c4
New	Mahogany Washhand-Stands.	Joseph Lawrence	23.03.1843, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Wash-stand with China Service, complete.	J.D. Norden,	28.03.1844, 1c3
SH	Mahogany Wash-stand with China Service, complete.	Auctioneer	
	1 portable Washhand Stand.	Q.M. Thompson,	04.04.1844, 1c4
New	Mahogany Wash Stand, complete.	27th Regt.	
SH	1 marble wash-hand stand.	Joseph Lawrence	23.05.1844, 1c2
	Marble top washstands. From London direct.	C. Griffith	20.06.1844, 1c2
SH	Washhand tables of solid Mahogany with Marble Tops.	G. Griffiths, PE	22.08.1844, 1c3
	8 Washhand Stands.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Portable Washhand Stands fitting into cases.	Maj. Wortham, RE	13.03.1845, 1c2
SH	2 solid Mahogany Wash-hand Stands.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
New	Hydraulic Washstand.	Jos. Lawrance	14.02.1846, 1c3
SH	Washhand Stand, with Marble top, and other descriptions.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Washhand Stands.	Mrs Benjamin	02.01.1847, 1c3
New	Washhand Stands.	Joseph Hart.	09.01.1847, 4c3
SH	Wash Stands.	J.D. Norden	06.02.1847, 1c4
		(late)	
SH	Wash-hand Stands.	E.T. Taylor,	13.02.1847, 1c3
		New St.	
SH	Washstands.	John Jolley	27.02.1847, 1c2
		(late)	
New?	Wash stands with jugs and basons (sic.) complete.	M.J. Thomas	17.04.1847, 1c3
SH	Washstands.	W.J. Earle	11.09.1847, 1c6
		(leaving Colony)	
SH	Wash tables.	Rev.Dr. Tancred	13.11.1847, 1c4
		(leaving Colony)	
New	Washstands.	J. Hart	11.12.1847, 2c2
New	Stinkwood washstands.	S.W. Dell	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Japanned ware ad. Water cans, Wash hand basins.	John Tucker	26.08.1848, 2c1
New	Colonial made Furniture, Wash hand Stands.	J. Hart	21.10.1848, 1c3
New	Mahogany Washstands.	W. Ogilvie	09.12.1848, 1c3
	Setts of Earthenware for do.		
New	Mahogany Wash Stands.	J. Hart	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Portable washstands.	Mr Mills	09.12.1848, 1c2
New	Wash Stands.	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
New	Stinkwood Washstands.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
SH	Marble, mahogany and painted wash stands, with Toilette Services.	M.R. Every	13.04.1850, 1c4
New	Marble Washstands.	J. Hart	25.05.1850, 1c2
SH	Washhand Stand.	Mr Rutherford	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	Mahogany and Marble Washstands.	Gent. leaving	19.04.1851, 2c1
		Frontier,	
		Private Sale	
SH	Marble top washstand.	Gent. leaving	05.07.1851, 1c4
		Colony	
SH	Marble top Washstands.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3

New or Second Hand	WASH HAND STANDS	Owner/Firm	GJT Date
SH?	Patent Wash-Stand with pump.	Jos. Lawrance	06.12.1851, 1c4
SH	Marble Washstand.	Public Auct.	
	Japanned do.	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Washstand with Marble top.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	5 Washhand-stands.	H. Hudson	25.09.1852, 1c4
New	Washhand stands, with handsome marble tops.	Joseph Hart	25.12.1852
SH	1 mahogany washstand (1st Bed-room).	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
	1 " " (2nd " ").		Extra
	1 wash-stand (3rd Bed-room).		
SH	Double and single wash-stands	Dept.Assnt.Com.	29.03.1853, 2c4
		Gen. Palmer	Extra
New	Iron Wash Stands.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7
SH	Washstands.	James Cawood	03.05.1853, 2c1
			Extra
New	Mahogany Wash Stands.	Joseph Hart	07.05.1853, 1c7
SH	Mahogany Wash Stands.	Chas. Pote, Auctioneer	22.10.1853, 1c7

New or Second Hand	WINDOW FURNITURE	Owner/Firm	GJT Date
New	Case of venetian Window Blinds of very superior quality.	Thomas Nelson	10.02.1832, 25c3
New	Window Curtains of Moreen and Chintz. Designs of the ... Window Curtains may be seen.	C. & H. Maynard	24.03.1836, 1c2
New	French Window Curtains.	John Mandy	12.05.1836, 1c1
New	Window curtains with superb gilt cornices.	John Mandy	08.09.1836, 1c3
SH	French Window Curtains with superb gilt cornices.	John Mandy	27.10.1836, 1c2
SH	2 Sets of Window Curtains.	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
New	3 Setts of handsome Window Curtains, with superb gilt cornices, laths, rods, lines, pullies &c., and pins complete.	John Mandy	13.04.1837, 1c1
SH	Window curtains, Venetian Blinds.	H.B. Rutherford	18.05.1837, 1c1
SH	Window Curtains.	J. Woodland	04.10.1838, 1c1
SH	Window Curtains.	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c3
SH	Seven sets of Merino Window Curtains.	Wm. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
SH	Window Curtains.	H.C. Selby	28.02.1839, 4c2
SH	3 large moreen Window Curtains with valance and pins.	'A Gentleman'	12.03.1840, 1c3
New	Cornice pole ends and Ornaments.	W. Ogilvie	04.03.1841, 1c5
SH	2 Gothic Gilt Cornices, Curtains and Gilt Knobs. 2 Plain Gothic do. and Gilt Knobs. 2 Chintz Curtains, Cornices and Gilt Knobs.	Major Selwyn	01.07.1841, 1c1
New	Brass Curtain Furniture of all sorts.	Levicks, Sherman & Kift	11.11.1841, 1c2
SH	Chintz, Merino and Bed-room Window Curtains.	Major Crause CMR	21.04.1842, 1c4
SH	Several Setts of Window Curtains.	Major Selwyn	26.05.1842, 1c3
New	Drawing-room Curtains, trimmed with green damask. Direct from London	Joseph Lawrence Chair & Cabinet Repository	23.03.1843, 1c3
SH	One set of drab merino curtains for two windows, with fringed valance, two pair of brass pins, and two sliding rods (brass).	Mr Penketh, RE Somerset St.	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Damask Window Drapery, with cornice poles and rings.	West-Hill House	15.06.1843, 1c4
New	An assortment of the best LONDON-MADE FURNITURE, including Window Curtains, made up, and Moreens and Chintzes in the piece.	Maynards, Higgins & Co., PE	12.10.1843, 1c3
SH	Damask and Muslin Window Curtains. Bed-room Window Curtains.	Eaton	02.11.1843, 1c4
New	Moreen for Curtains.	Joseph Lawrence	23.05.1844, 1c2
SH	Moreen Window Curtains, and Brass Bands for 2 windows.	Geo. Willett	01.08.1844, 1c2
New	TRANSPARENT Painted Window Blinds, Picturesque Views and Rural Scenes.	B.M. Shepperson	22.08.1844, 1c5
New	Striped and Chintz Furnitures, pink, blue and Green London Dye Furniture Lining ... Transparent Window Blinds. Window Muslins.	B.M. Shepperson	10.10.1844, 4c3
New	A set of Window Curtains.	J. Lawrence	12.09.1844, 1c3
SH	Drawing and Bedroom Window Curtains.	Surgeon Eddie, CMR	28.11.1844, 1c3
SH	Several setts of Drawing, Dining and Bed-room Curtains.	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Muslin Curtains.	Maj. Wortham, RE	13.03.1845, 1c2
SH	Window Curtains.	Dr Delmage, 27th	27.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Sets Curtains and Cornice.	J.D. Norden, Auctioneer	10.01.1846, 1c2
SH	1 Set Curtains.	A.T. Caldecott	03.01.1846, 2c2
New	Window Blinds, with Landscapes, fancy Paintings, and the pattern of Venetian Blinds. Ex Hamburg, Germany	Maynards, Kuhr & Co., PE	18.07.1846, 1c3
SH	1 set Curtains.	Maskell & Pote "West Hill"	07.11.1846, 1c2
SH	Curtains and Cornices.	late Capt. Gunn New St.	05.12.1846, 1c4
SH	Sets of Window Curtains.	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
New	Gilt cornices.	Joseph Hart	09.01.1847, 4c3
SH	4 Curtain Poles, and 4 sets Elegant Drawing Room Curtains.	J.D. Norden (late)	06.02.1847, 1c4
New	Brass Cornice Poles from 4 to 5 feet in length, also Brackets, Rings, Ends, Bands, Hooks, and everything complete.	A. Shepperson	08.07.1849, 1c4
SH	Damask Window Curtains and Ottomans to match.	A. Shepperson (assigned estate)	10.02.1849, 1c5
New	Holland for Window Blinds, different widths, &c.	B.M. Shepperson	13.10.1849, 1c2
SH	Curtains.	Mr Rutherford	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	Venetian Blinds.	Edmd. L. Kift	17.05.1851, 1c4

New or Second Hand	WINDOW FURNITURE	Owner/Firm	GJT Date
New	Window Blinds in Green and other Colors, Venetian Blinds.	N. Birkenruth	19.07.1851, 1c3
SH	Blue and white silk damask Curtains.	Chas. Maynard	02.08.1851, 1c3
New	Venetian blinds, curtain damask, window muslins.	B.M. Shepperson	09.08.1851, 1c5
SH	Damask Curtains.	Maj.Gen. Somerset	25.09.1852, 1c3
SH	A set of blue damask curtains and gilt cornices from Drawing Room.	James Black	08.02.1853, 1c5
	A lot of crimson damask curtains with gilt cornices from Dining Room.	Selwyn Castle	
New	Swiss Muslin Curtains.	N.P. Krohn	15.02.1853, 1c3
SH	2 sets Window Curtains (ex 4th Bed-room).	C.W. Pakenham	CFT 22.02.1853, 1c5
New	Brass Curtain Pins and Bands, Brass Cornice Ends.	Wm. Ogilvie	Extra 23.04.1853, 1c8
SH	Window Curtains.	James Cawood	03.05.1853, 2c1 Extra

New or Second Hand	WORK BOXES	Owner/Firm	GJT Date
SH	Mahogany and rosewood work boxes.	Mr Penketh, RE	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Musical Work Box (Lady's).	Surgeon Eddie,	28.11.1844, 1c3
	Rosewood Work Frame.	CMR	
New	Ladies' Work Boxes.	Joseph Hart	04.12.1845, 1c4
New	Handsome Work Boxes (direct from London).	Joseph Hart	09.01.1847, 4c3
New	Chinese Work Boxes.	Joseph Hart	17.07.1847, 1c2
New	Work Boxes.	J. Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New	Work Boxes.	W. Wright	30.06.1849, 1c5
New	Work Boxes.	Joseph Hart	10.11.1849, 1c4
New	Work Boxes.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
SH	1 Ladies' Work Box (in Drawing Room).	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
			Extra

New or Second Hand	WRITING DESKS	Owner/Firm	GJT Date
SH	Mahogany Writing Desk.	Wm. Jeffery	16.02.1832, 29c2
SH	School and Writing Desks, with Forms.	J.H. Stephenson	14.08.1834, 4c2
New	Mahogany Portable Desks, bound in brass, with secret drawers.	J.D. Norden & Co.	09.05.1839, 1c3
	Rosewood Desks.		
New	Mahogany Portable Desks, Rosewood Do.	J.D. Norden & Co.	08.08.1839, 4c4
?	Writing Desks.	R.H. Caffyn	07.11.1839, 4c4
New	A variety of Portable Mahogany and Rosewood Writing Desks.	J.D. Norden & Co.	05.12.1839, 4c4
SH	1 portable Writing Desk.	Capt. Amsinck 27th Regt.	09.01.1840, 1c1
SH	A Writing Desk.	'A Gentleman'	12.03.1840, 1c3
New	Mahogany 14 in. 16 and 20 in. Desks, French Polished.	J. Lawrence	29.10.1840, 1c3
SH	Mahogany & rosewood writing desks.	Mr Penketh, RE	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	1 portable Ecritoir.	Q.M. Thompson, 27th Regt.	04.04.1844, 1c4
SH	Spanish Mahogany Brass bound writing desk, extra breadth.	C.M. Welsford	04.07.1844, 1c2
New	Mahogany and Rosewood Writing Desks.	J. Lawrance	12.09.1844, 1c3
SH	Handsome Work Table, with Writing Desks Ladies' Writing Desks.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
New	Mahogany and Rosewood Davenports or Ladies' Writing Tables.	Joseph Hart	24.07.1845, 1c2
New	Ladies' Writing Tables.	Joseph Hart	04.12.1845, 1c4
SH	2 large Desks with Drawers.	A.T. Caldecott	03.01.1846, 2c2
New	Satin, rosewood, and mahogany writing desks. Portable leather travelling writing desks.	J. Hart	15.01.1848, 1c6
New	Writing Desks.	J. Hart	21.10.1848, 1c3
New	Superior Writing Desks and Work Boxes.	J. Hart	09.12.1848, 1c5
SH	Desks.	Chas. Maynard	31.03.1849, 1c5
New	Writing Desks.	J. Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New	Writing Desks.	Joseph Hart	10.11.1849, 1c4
New	Writing Desks.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
SH	1 mahogany Writing Desk (ex 2nd Bed-room).	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
New	Rosewood Writing Table.	S.W. Dell	09.04.1853, 1c7

AMERICAN CHAIR ADVERTISEMENTS

New or Second Hand	Advertiser	Chair Description	GTJ Reference
New	Joseph Lawrence	American and Bed-room Chairs	09.04.1843 1c2
New	B.M. Shepperson	American Chairs	10.10.1844 4c3
New	S. Middleton, Port Elizabeth	American Chairs	01.05.1845 4c5
New	Joseph Lawrence	Strong Japanned American Chairs, £4 10s per dozen	08.05.1845 1c5
New	Joseph Hart,	American Chairs £2 5s the half dozen	29.05.1845 1c5
New	Joseph Hart, Furniture Warehouse Church Square Graham's Town	Birch and Stained Chairs American Do. Windsor Do.	04.12.1845 1c4
SH	Benjamin Simpson	American Chairs	02.01.1847 1c4
New	J. Hart	American Chairs already packed for the country	11.12.1847 2c2
New	J. Hart... daily expecting to receive per Johanna from England	Cane chairs, American chairs, 12 in a case ready packed	15.01.1848 1c6
New	S.W. Dell Furniture Warehouse Bathurst Street	Stinkwood chairs, American Do.	15.07.1848 1c2
New	S.W. Dell	Yellow, red and black cane bottom chairs, American, solid seats	12.01.1850 1c5
New	S.W. Dell	American Chairs (following Fold-up Derby Arm Chairs)	06.07.1850 1c3

AMERICAN CHAIR ADVERTISEMENTS - GTJ References contd.

New or Second Hand	Advertiser	Chair Description	GTJ Reference
New	Edward J.N. Smith Auctioneer Commission Sale	Stinkwood and American Chairs	07.09.1850 1c5
SH	Insolvent Estate of William Selfe	12 American Chairs	15.05.1852 1c6

GRAHAMSTOWN CHAIR AND CABINET MAKERS

References from the Graham's Town Journal 1831-53

ANDERSON, George

Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer, Carpenter, &c., Market Square

GTJ 16.6.1836, 1c2

DELL, Samuel W.Furniture Warehouse Proprietor, Cabinet Maker & Cooper, Bathurst
Street. From 1853 High Street.

GTJ 15.7.1848, 1c2; 12.1.1850, 1c5; 6.7.1850, 1c3; 28.2.1852, 4c6;

GTJ 16.10.1852, 4c3; 26.2.1853, 1c4; 9.4.1853, 1c7; 22.10.1853, 1c7;

GTJ 17.12.1853, 1c3.

HART, JosephFurniture Warehouse Proprietor, Cabinet Maker & Upholsterer, High
Street/Church Square

GTJ 23.11.1843, Suppl.1c1; 7.3.1844, 4c2; 8.5.1845, 1c2; 8.5.1845, 1c3;

GTJ 29.5.1845, 1c5; 2.10.1845, 1c4; 6.11.1845, 1c2; 24.7.1845, 1c2;

GTJ 31.7.1845, 1c2; 4.12.1845, 1c4; 14.3.1846, 1c3; 12.12.1846, 1c5;

GTJ 9.1.1847, 4c3; 17.7.1847, 1c2; 11.12.1847, 2c2; 15.1.1848, 1c6;

GTJ 25.3.1848, 1c2; 13.5.1848, 2c2; 21.10.1848, 1c3; 9.12.1848, 1c5;

GTJ 28.4.1849, 1c3; 11.8.1849, 1c3; 10.11.1849, 1c4; 24.11.1849, 4c4;

GTJ 25.5.1850, 1c2; 25.5.1850, 2c6; 22.6.1850, 3c3; 24.8.1850, 1c4;

GTJ 25.12.1852, 1c5; 1.1.1853, 4c3; 7.5.1853, 1c7;

LAWRENCE, JosephChair and Cabinet Maker. Proprietor of the Chair and Cabinet
Repository, High Street

GTJ 2.5.1839, 1c5; 29.10.1840, 1c2; 9.3.1843, 1c2; 23.3.1843, 1c3;

GTJ 10.8.1843, 1c1; 23.5.1844, 1c2; 12.9.1844, 1c3; 8.5.1845, 1c3;

GTJ 8.5.1845, 1c3; 5.6.1845, 1c2; 17.1.1846, 1c3;

MCDONALD

Cabinet Maker, Beaufort Street

GTJ 14.4.1844, 1c2.

McMAHON, D.

Cabinet Maker, Artificers' Square, Settlers' Hill

GTJ 6.1.1849, 1c3;

PASSMORE, Thos. E.

Carpenter, Joiner, Builder & Undertaker, New Street

GTJ 27.9.1851, 1c2;

GRAHAMSTOWN CHAIR AND CABINET MAKERS - GTJ References contd.

ROGERS, J. & P.

Carpenters, Builders, Cabinet Makers, &c., Bathurst Street

GTJ 21.11.1844, 1c3.

ROOKE, J.

Cabinet and Chair Maker. Late of Smith Street, now removed to High Street, two doors from the Wesleyan Chapel

GTJ 29.6.1850, 1c1.

SHAW, Thomas

Carpenter and Cabinet Maker, Bathurst Street

GTJ 20.1.1849, 4c3; 9.3.1850, 1c6; 9.3..1850, 1c6.

STREAK, William S.

Carpenter, Joiner, Cabinet Maker, Turner, &c. &c.
Beaufort Street

GTJ 6.7.1850, 1c2; 1.10.1853, 1c7.

STYLE, James

Carpenter and Cabinet Maker, New Street

GTJ 26.11.1853, 1c7.

TEMLETT, James Brilliant

Chair and Cabinet Maker

GTJ 17.10.1844, 1c3; 2.1.1845, 1c3; 13.3.1845, 1c5;

GTJ 1.8.1846, 1c3; 17.10.1846, 1c3; 17.4.1847, 1c5;

GTJ 8.5.1847, 2c3.

**GRAHAMSTOWN
 AND OTHER
 CAPE COLONIAL FURNITURE
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GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL 1831-53**

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New or Second Hand	BEDS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	A Stinkwood four-post Bed with hangings	J.D. Norden Auctioneer	26.10.1837, 1c2
SH	Two Stinkwood bedsteads	C.M. Welsford New St.	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	1 4-post bedstead, sneeze- wood posts	Estate of Mr. Ethridge	20.03.1847, 1c5
SH	Solid Stinkwood Bedstead	J. Mackallah leaving Colony	15.01.1848, 1c4
New	Stinkwood, mahogany, sneezewood and plain bedsteads	S.W. Dell Furniture, Ware- house, Bathurst St	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Stinkwood four-post bedsteads	Thos Shaw Bathurst St	20.01.1849, 4c3
New	Stinkwood, Sneezewood, & Yellowwood Bedsteads Stinkwood Children's Cribs & Cots	S.W. Dell Furniture Warehouse Bathurst Street	12.01.1850, 1c5
SH	1 Bedstead (Stinkwood)	Pote's Gen. Com. Sales	30.11.1850, 1c4
SH	1 Child's Crib (Sneezewood) 1st Bedroom	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4 <u>Extra</u>

New or Second Hand	BOOK CASES	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	A Stinkwood Book-case	T.C. White	14.04.1836, 1c3
New	Stinkwood Bookcases	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5

New or Second Hand	CELLARETS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Stinkwood Cellaret	Major Wortham Port Elizabeth	13.03.1845, 1c2

New or Second Hand	CHAIRS & STOOLS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	6 new Cane bottomed stink- wood chairs	William Jeffery	16.02.1832, 29c2
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	J.H. Smith	31.07.1834, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	R. Featherstone	03.09.1835, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood and bedroom chairs	Lt-Col. England	22.10.1835, 1c1
SH	Stinkwood Dining & Bedroom Chairs	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs with horse- hair bottoms Stinkwood Chairs with cane bottoms	J.D. Norden Auctioneer	26.01.1837, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood and bedroom chairs (with Horsehair Seats)	Beale's Hotel	11.01.1838, 1c1
SH	Stinkwood and bedroom Chairs	Benjamin Norden (personal)	22.03.1838, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	Lieut. Nelson	23.08.1838, 1c1
SH	Stinkwood and Bedroom Chairs (with horse-hair seats)	Mr Wiggett's house (former- ly Mr. Trotter's Brewery)	06.09.1838, 1c1
SH	Stinkwood . . . Chairs	N. Moss	18.10.1838, 1c1
SH	Stinkwood Drawing-room Chairs with horse-hair seats Do. with cane bottom	John Norton (leaving Colony)	01.11.1838, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	Capt. Campbell	03.01.1839, 1c1
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	W. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
SH	Eight Stinkwood Chairs	Gentleman leav- ing Frontier J.D. Norden & Co. Auctioneers	12.03.1840, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	Wm. Wright	13.05.1841, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	G. Tomlinson (Hotelier)	09.12.1841, 1c5
New?	Stinkwood Chairs with Hair Bottoms	J.D. Norden, Auct. for Joseph Lawrence	09.03.1843, 1c2
SH	Eight(including two elbow) strong framed handsome stink- wood chairs, with horse hair seats and covers	Mr Penketh Royal Engineers Dept., Somerset Street	08.06.1843, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood chairs	Public Auction Mr. Anderson's Premises	13.07.1843, 1c2
SH	6 Stinkwood Chairs	Mr W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3
?	Set of Stinkwood Chairs	J.D. Norden Auctioneer	28.03.1844, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs, French polished, horsehair seats Stinkwood Chairs, Cane Seats	R. Godlonton	06.06.1844, 1c3

New or Second Hand	CHAIRS & STOOLS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
New	A set of Stinkwood Chairs, consisting of 6 and 2 arms, stuffed and covered with Horse Hair, and French Polished	J.B. Temlett Chair & Cabinet Maker	17.10.1844, 1c3
New	Two Setts of (Stinkwood) Chairs, stuffed and covered with Horse Hair, and French Polished	J.B. Temlett Chair & Cabinet Maker	02.01.1845, 1c3
SH	Two Setts of Stinkwood Chairs, French polished	James Mewett	10.07.1845, 1c3
SH	Set of Stinkwood Chairs, carved after the Elizabethan order, with Morocco stuffed seats, two large Arm Chairs, and Table to match, French polished	Dr A.G.Campbell	14.08.1845, 1c2
SH	Set of 8 French Polished Mahogany Chairs made in Cape Town, with Horse-hair Seats		
SH	Drawing, Dining & Bed-room Mahogany and Stinkwood Chairs	Martin West	18.09.1845, 1c3
SH	A Set of Stinkwood Chairs, with two arms, do. carved, with horse hair seats and French polished	'Gentleman leaving the Frontier'	20.11.1845, 1c4
SH	8 Stinkwood Chairs	J.D. Norden Auctioneer	10.01.1846, 1c2
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Chairs	James Black	26.12.1846, 1c3
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Chairs	Mrs Benjamin about to leave the Colony	02.01.1847, 1c3
SH	6 Stinkwood Chairs	Mr Ethridge's Estate	20.03.1847, 1c5
New?	Stinkwood Chairs	M.J.Thomas sale at the Co-ope- rative Tailor's Establishment	17.04.1847, 1c2
SH	Superior Stinkwood Chairs	John Ford(late)	23.10.1847, 1c5
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	J. MacKcallah leaving colony	15.01.1848, 1c4
SH	Ebony and Stinkwood Chairs	Mr Rutherford Hill St	15.01.1848, 1c5
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	W. Cowie	12.02.1848, 4c3
New	Stinkwood Chairs	S.W. Dell	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Stinkwood Chairs	Joseph Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	T. Jarman(late)	18.08.1849, 1c5

New or Second Hand	CHAIRS & STOOLS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Mahogany & Stinkwood Chairs	E.T. Taylor (late) Insol- vent Estate	25.08.1849, 1c6
New	Stinkwood carved and plain polished Chairs, hair and cane seats	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
New	Stinkwood Children's Chairs Stinkwood Chairs Three setts of very handsome Carved Stinkwood Trafalgar Chairs and Loo Tables will be finished and for sale shortly	S.W. Dell	06.07.1850, 1c3
New	Stinkwood and American Chairs	Edward J.N. Smith Auctioneer Commission Sale	09.09.1850, 1c5
SH	Ebony and Stinkwood Chairs	Mr Rutherford	30.11.1850, 1c4
New	The Adderley Chair of 'native wood'	Made by Joseph Hart	25.05.1850, 2c6 29.06.1850, 4c2 22.06.1850, 3c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs (ex Potter's Hotel)	Joseph Lawrence for Mr. Potter	24.05.1851, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chairs, horse-hair bottoms	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	1 set Dining Room (6 & 2) chairs, Stinkwood, horse-hair seats	C.W. Pakenham ex Dining Room	Extra 22.02.1853, 1c4
SH	6 Stinkwood Chairs	Lawrence's Sale	16.04.1853, 1c4
SH	Stinkwood cane-bottom Chairs	James Cawood	Extra 03.05.1853, 1c4 04.06.1853, 1c8
SH	Stinkwood Chairs	Chas Pote, Auctioneer	
SH	Stinkwood Chairs with horse hair seats & damask covers 6 Stinkwood Chairs	Lawrence's Commission Sale	05.11.1853, 1c1
New?	Stinkwood and other Chairs	James Style, selling in front of New St. premises	26.11.1853, 1c7

New or Second Hand	CHIFFONIERS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	2 Stinkwood Cheffoniers, glass doors	W. Liddle (late)	21.09.1843, 1c3

New or Second Hand	DRESSING TABLES, CHESTS OF DRAWERS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Sneezewood Dressing Tables	R. Featherstone	03.09.1835, 1c3
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Chest Drawers & Dressing Tables	W.E. Pryn	05.05.1842, 1c5
New	Mahogany & Stinkwood Chests of Drawers	Joseph Lawrence Furniture Repository	09.03.1843, 1c2
New	One good large (stinkwood) Chest of Drawers, consisting seven, two deep Drawers for Bonnets, with Pilasters and Plinth, and French Polished	J.B. Temlett Chair & Cabinet Maker	02.01.1845, 1c5
SH	Solid Stinkwood Chest Drawers	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
New	Stinkwood Chests drawers	S.W. Dell	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Stinkwood Toilet Tables		
New	Stinkwood Chests of Drawers Toilette tables	Thos. Shaw Bathurst St.	20.01.1849, 4c3
New	Stinkwood Chests Drawers Stinkwood and Satin Wood Fancy Toilet Tables	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
New	Stinkwood Chests of Drawers	Thomas Shaw Cabinet Maker	09.03.1850, 1c6
SH	1 Superior set of Drawers - Stinkwood	Pote's General Commission Sales	30.11.1850, 1c4
New	2 Stinkwood Chests Drawers	W. Paxton Carpenter & Undertaker	Extra 20.12.1851. 1c1
SH	1 Chest Drawers (Stinkwood) (ex 3rd Bed-room)	C.W. Pakenham	22.02.1853, 1c4
SH	Stinkwood Chests Drawers	James Cawood	03.05.1853, 2c1

New or Second Hand	MISCELLANEOUS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
New	Teakwood and Oak Pails, Casks, Churns, Tubs &c.	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5

New or Second Hand	PAINTINGS, PRINTS &C.	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Several Handsome Pictures in Maple and Stinkwood Frames	Joseph Lawrance	18.09.1852, 1c2

New or Second Hand	PRESSES	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Yellow-wood Presses	Dr A.G.Campbell	14.08.1845, 1c2
SH	Yellow-wood Presses	Pote's Comm. Sales	28.04.1849, 1c5
SH	Stinkwood Press	Joseph Lawrence Auctioneer	17.09.1852, 1c2

New or Second Hand	SIDEBOARDS, CUPBOARDS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Stinkwood Cupboard	Barend Woest	28.09.1837, 1c4
SH	Stinkwood Sideboard	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1

New or Second Hand	SOFAS, COUCHES	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Stinkwood Sofas	R. Featherstone	03.09.1835, 1c3
SH	Sofas, Mahogany, Stinkwood	Major Burney	24.10.1839, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood Sofa, carved back and Elbows, horse-hair seats and cushions	R. Godlonton	06.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Grecian Couch Handsome French-polished Stinkwood Couches, and Chairs to match, Horse-hair seats	Mrs Peck (leaving Colony)	13.06.1844, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood sofa, stuffed and covered with horse hair	Geo. Willett	01.08.1844, 1c4
SH	A Handsome Stinkwood Sofa	J.D. Norden	28.11.1844, 1c4
New	One Handsomely Carved Stink- wood Sofa, Stuffed and covered with Horse-hair, and French Polished	J.B. Temlett Chair & Cabinet Maker	02.01.1845, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Sofa	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Sofa, horse-hair, stuffed and seated	D. Paxton	24.06.1848, 1c5

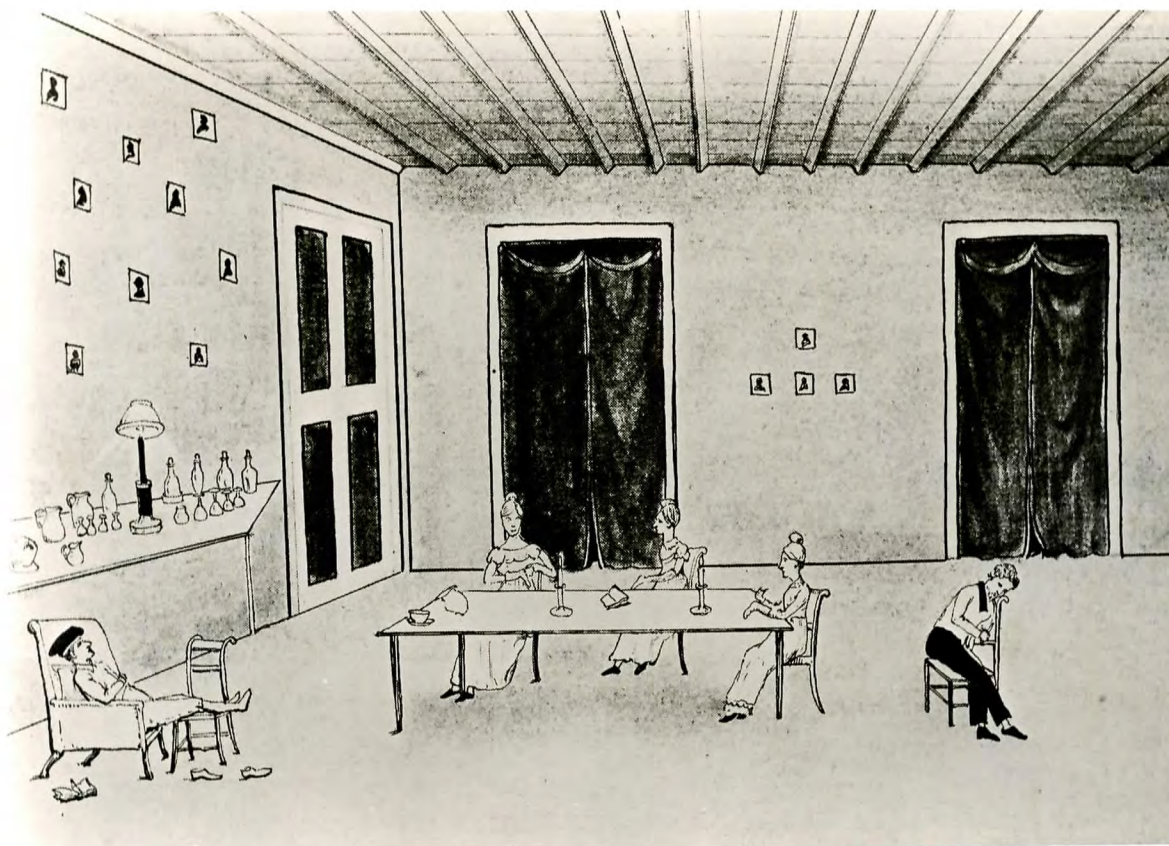
New or Second Hand	SOFAS, COUCHES	Advertiser	GTJ Date
New	Stinkwood couches, sofas	S.W. Dell	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Stinkwood Cottage sofas		
New	Stinkwood Sofas and Couches, covered with damask	Thos. Shaw	20.01.1849, 4c3
New	Stinkwood Sofas, Couches, hair, damask and chintz seats	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
New	Stinkwood Cottage Sofas		
New	Stinkwood Sofas and Couches	Thos. Shaw Carpenter and Cabinet Maker	09.03.1850, 1c6
New	Stinkwood Couches, Sofas	S.W. Dell	06.07.1850, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Sofa (ex Potter's Hotel)	Joseph Lawrence for Mr. Potter	24.05.1851, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Couch, horse hair	Joseph Lawrence Auctioneer	Extra 18.09.1852, 1c4
SH	1 Stinkwood Couch (damask) in Drawing Room	C.W. Pakenham	Extra 22.02.1853, 1c4

New or Second Hand	TABLES	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Mahogany card and dining Tables, Sneezewood do.	J.H. Smith	31.07.1834, 1c2
SH	Sneezewood Dining, Sitting, Side, and Dressing Tables	R. Featherstone	03.09.1835, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Dining, Sofa Card, Work, and Dressing Tables	W.R. Thompson (leaving colony)	14.02.1839, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Tables	W. Ayton	09.05.1839, 1c1
SH	A Splendid Stinkwood Loo Table	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
SH?	Stinkwood Tables	J.D.Norden & Co	26.12.1839, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood Dining and other Tables	J.D.Norden & Co 'Gentleman leaving Colony'	19.05.1842, 1c4
SH	Stinkwood & Yellowwood Dining Tables	James Rathbone Bathurst St.	16.02.1843, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood Dining Table	R. Godlonton	06.06.1844, 1c3
SH?	Cedar Dining Table, in three parts (Colonial made?)	C.M. Welsford	04.07.1844, 1c2
SH	1 set Stinkwood Dining Tables side and pier do. Tables do.	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
SH	1 Yellowwood Table	Mr. Ethridge's Estate	20.03.1847, 1c5
SH	Stinkwood Tables	John Ford(late)	23.10.1847, 1c5
New	Colonial made Furniture, Tables. . .	J. Hart	21.10.1848, 1c3

New or Second Hand	TABLES	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Stinkwood Dining & Side Tables	W. Cowie	12.02.1848, 4c3
New	Handsome Stinkwood & other Tables	D. Paxton	24.06.1848, 1c5
New	Stinkwood Loo Tables	Thos. Shaw Bathurst St	20.01.1849, 4c3
New	Stinkwood Tables	Joseph Hart	28.04.1849, 1c3
New	Stinkwood Loo Tables	Thos. Shaw Carpenter & Cabinet Maker	09.03.1850, 1c6
New	Stinkwood Tables Three setts of very handsome Carved Stinkwood Trafalgar Chairs and Loo Tables to match, will be finished and for Sale shortly.	S.W. Dell	06.07.1850, 1c3
SH?	Stinkwood Tables, Yellowwood Tables	Jos. Lawrence, Public Auction	06.12.1851, 1c4
SH	Stinkwood Dining Tables	James Cawood about to leave Colony	Extra 03.05.1853, 2c1
SH	Yellow-wood tables	Mrs Webb (J. Lawrence, Auctioneer)	11.06.1853, 1c8
New or Second Hand	WARDROBES	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Mahogany & Stinkwood Wardrobes	Edward Norton	17.11.1836, 1c3
SH	Mahogany and Stinkwood Wardrobes	W.R. Thompson	14.02.1839, 1c1
SH	A very handsome Teakwood Wardrobe	J.B. Barnes	27.06.1839, 1c2
SH	Stinkwood Wardrobe	Col. Somerset	06.03.1845, 1c3
SH	Solid Stinkwood Wardrobe, with Sliding Shelves	James Howse	03.04.1845, 1c3
New	Stinkwood Wardrobes Yellowwood Wardrobes	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5
SH	Handsome Stinkwood Wardrobe	Joseph McMaster	10.04.1852, 2c1
SH	Stinkwood Wardrobe	Mrs Webb (J. Lawrence, Auctioneer)	11.06.1853, 1c8

New or Second Hand	WASH STANDS	Advertiser	GTJ Date
SH	Sneezewood Wash hand Stands	R. Featherstone	03.09.1835, 1c3
SH	Stinkwood Chest Drawers and Wash hand Stands	W.E. Prynn	05.05.1842, 1c5
SH?	Stinkwood Wash-Stand with china service, complete	J.D. Norden Auctioneer	28.03.1844, 1c3
New	Colonial-made Furniture, Wash hand stands	J. Hart	21.10.1848, 1c3
New	Stinkwood washstands	S.W. Dell	15.07.1848, 1c2
New	Stinkwood washstands	S.W. Dell	12.01.1850, 1c5

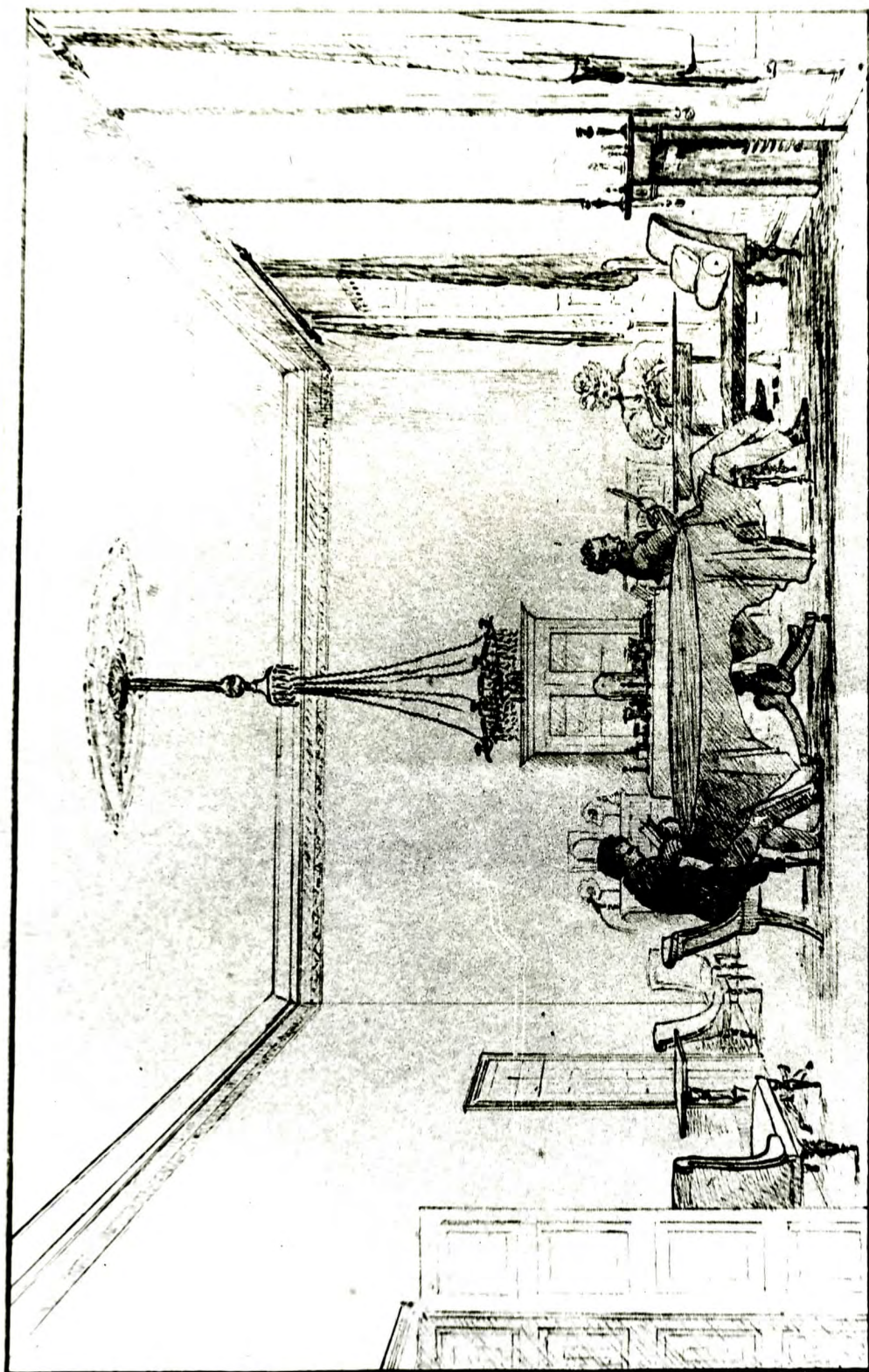
PLATE 1



Major George Pigot and his Family in the Drawing Room at Pigot Park, 1820s

Pen and ink sketch.

Cape Archives, Elliot Collection 403



"For Lady Frances Cole"

Pen and ink drawing by Charles Davidson Bell.

"Col. Bell's House — Millmaison, Capetown"

"Christmas 1832"

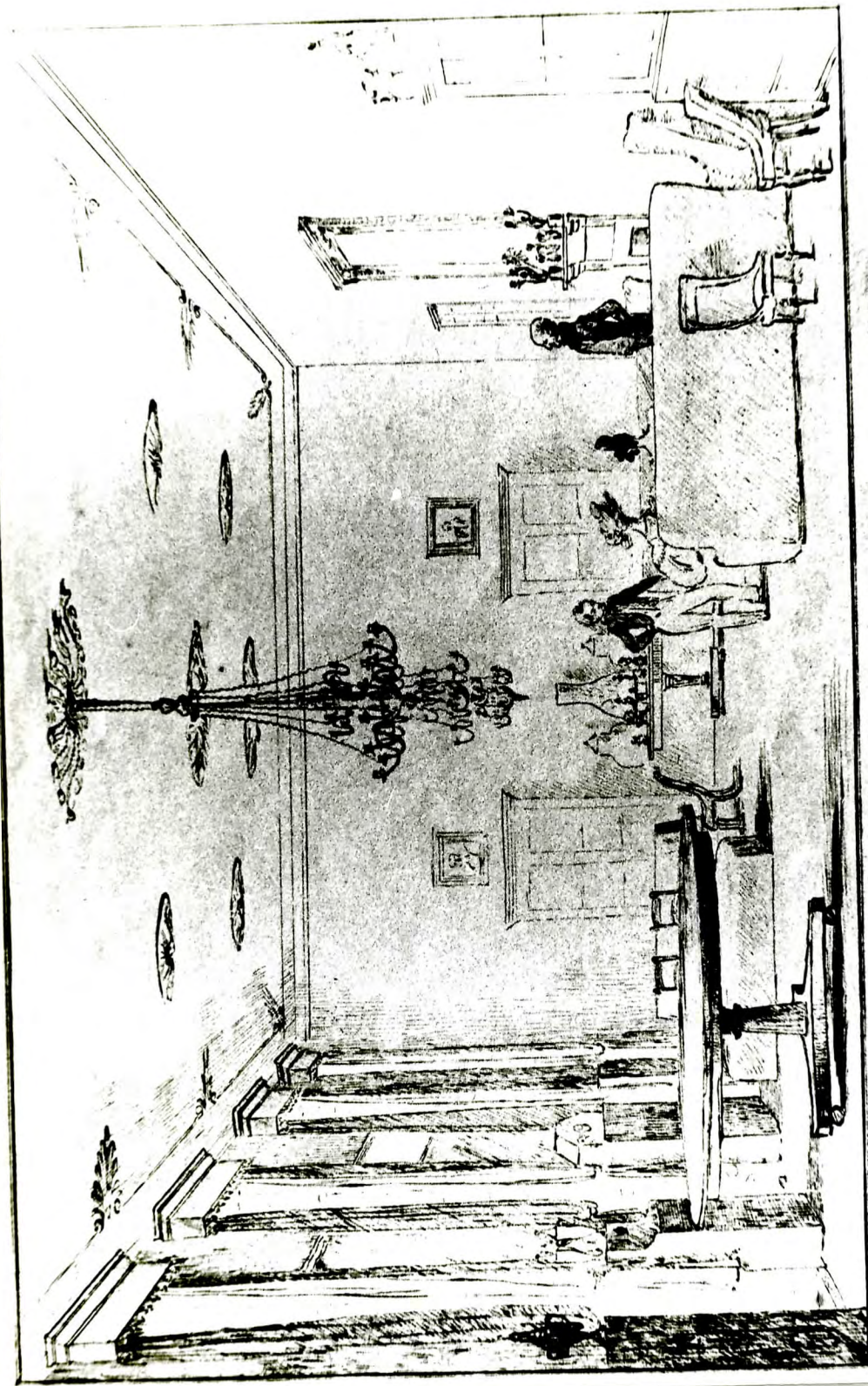
By kind permission of the
Library of Parliament. Mendelssohn Collection.



A Musical Afternoon at Hopeville Lodge, Gardens, Residence of Sir John Wylde.

Watercolour by Sir Charles D'Oyly, 1832.

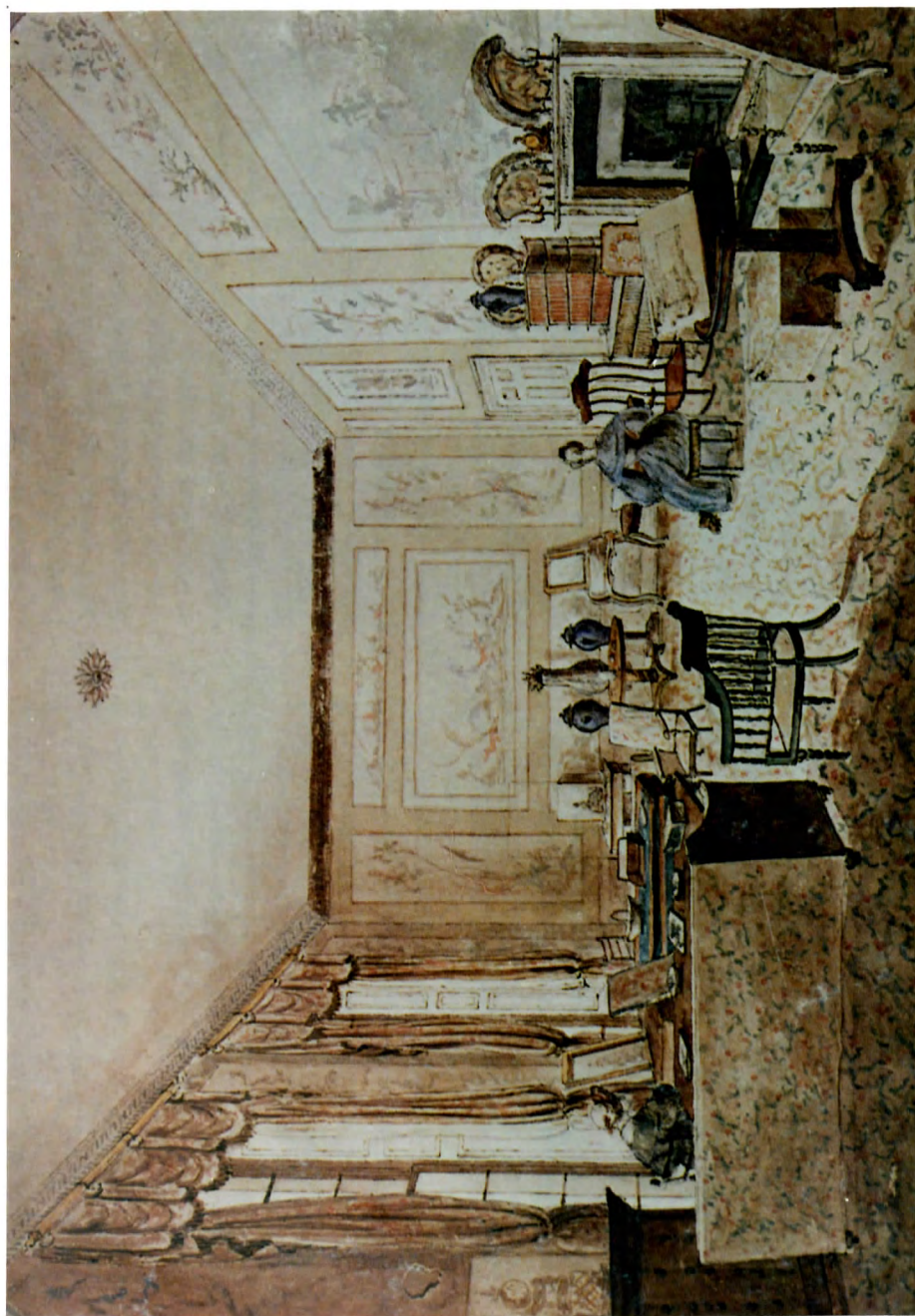
Cape Archives 443/A3100



"Drawing Room, Government House, Capetown"

Pen and ink drawing by Charles Davidson Bell. 1832?

*By kind permission of the Library of Parliament.
Mendelssohn Collection.*



Drawing Room, Government House, Cape Town

Watercolour attributed to Charles Davidson Bell, between 1828 and 1833.
From the album of Lady Frances Cole.

Africana Museum, Johannesburg

PLATE 6



Ink and wash caricature by Charles Cornwallis Michell.
Signed "C.C.M. invt. for Miss Cole's album". ca. 1830.

Africana Museum, Johannesburg



Left:

The upright chairs, footstools and brass spittoons typical of the Cape Dutch *voorkamer* in the eighteenth century, were still in homes showing English stylistic influences in the mid-nineteenth century. Note the festoon curtain, or *ophaalgordijn*.

Stellenbosch Museum

Below:

Voorkamer dominated by curtained bed and cabinet.

Stellenbosch Museum





Graham's Town from the East, ca. 1842

Lithograph published in 1849 by W. Monkhouse, York, after a drawing by the Rev. Thornley Smith, Wesleyan Missionary stationed in Grahamstown and vicinity 1842-47. An illustration from the original by Thornley Smith appears in William Boyce's *Memoir of the Rev. William Shaw* (London 1874), entitled *Graham's Town in 1842*.



Graham's Town from a sketch by H.W. Piers Esq. Ordinance

Graham's Town from the South-West, ca. 1846-47

Sepia wash after H.W.H.C. Piers by Charles Davidson Bell

Original:
John and Charles Bell Heritage Trust Collection
University of Cape Town Libraries

PLATE 10



a) **Graham's Town in 1822** Viewed from the north.
Watercolour by an Army Officer and his wife.

*Original:
Albany Museum, Grahamstown*



b) **Graham's Town in 1823** Viewed from the hill
behind the Drostdy.
Watercolour by an Army Officer and his wife.

*Original:
Albany Museum, Grahamstown*

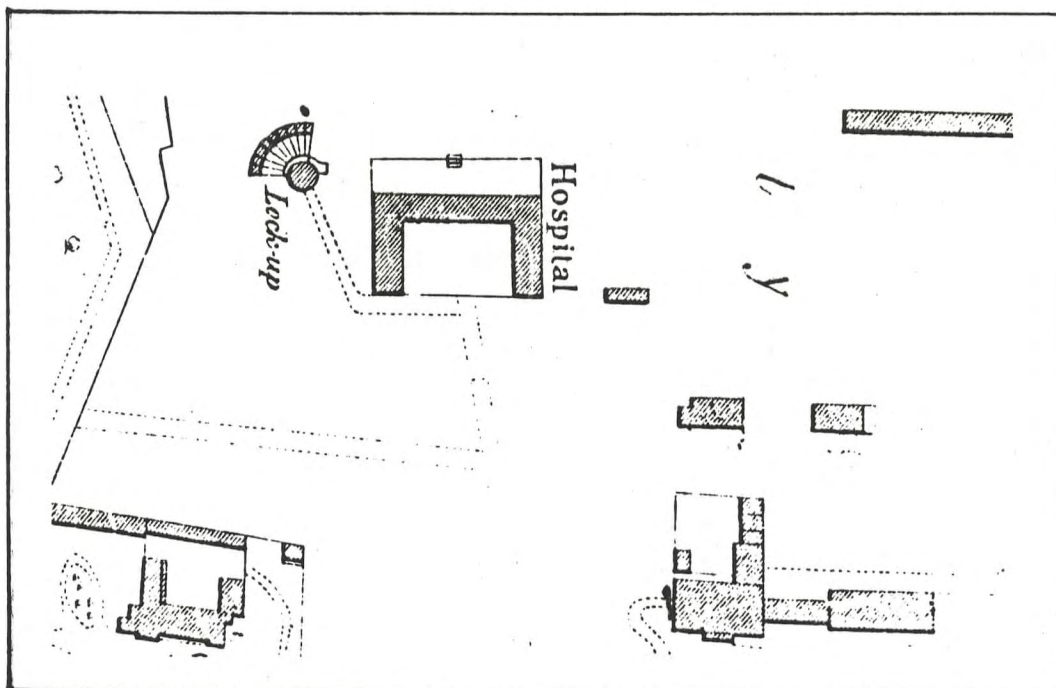


Graham's Town from Selwyn's Battery, Jan. 17, 1850

Oil painting by Thomas Baines

Original:
Albany Museum, Grahamstown

PLATE 12 Military Prison (Provost), Grahamstown



- a) Detail of Military 'Lock-up' (Provost) from the Plan of Grahamstown surveyed and drawn by R.S. Hoggar in 1863. Note radiating cell exercise yard walls and adjacent hospital. Government House is front left, the Drostdy front right.



- b) East facing elevation of the Military Prison. Photograph taken following the restoration in 1982-83.

PLATE 12 Military Prison

- c) 1982-83
reconstruction
of excavated
cell exercise
yard walls
shows section
of panopticon
design after
Jeremy
Bentham



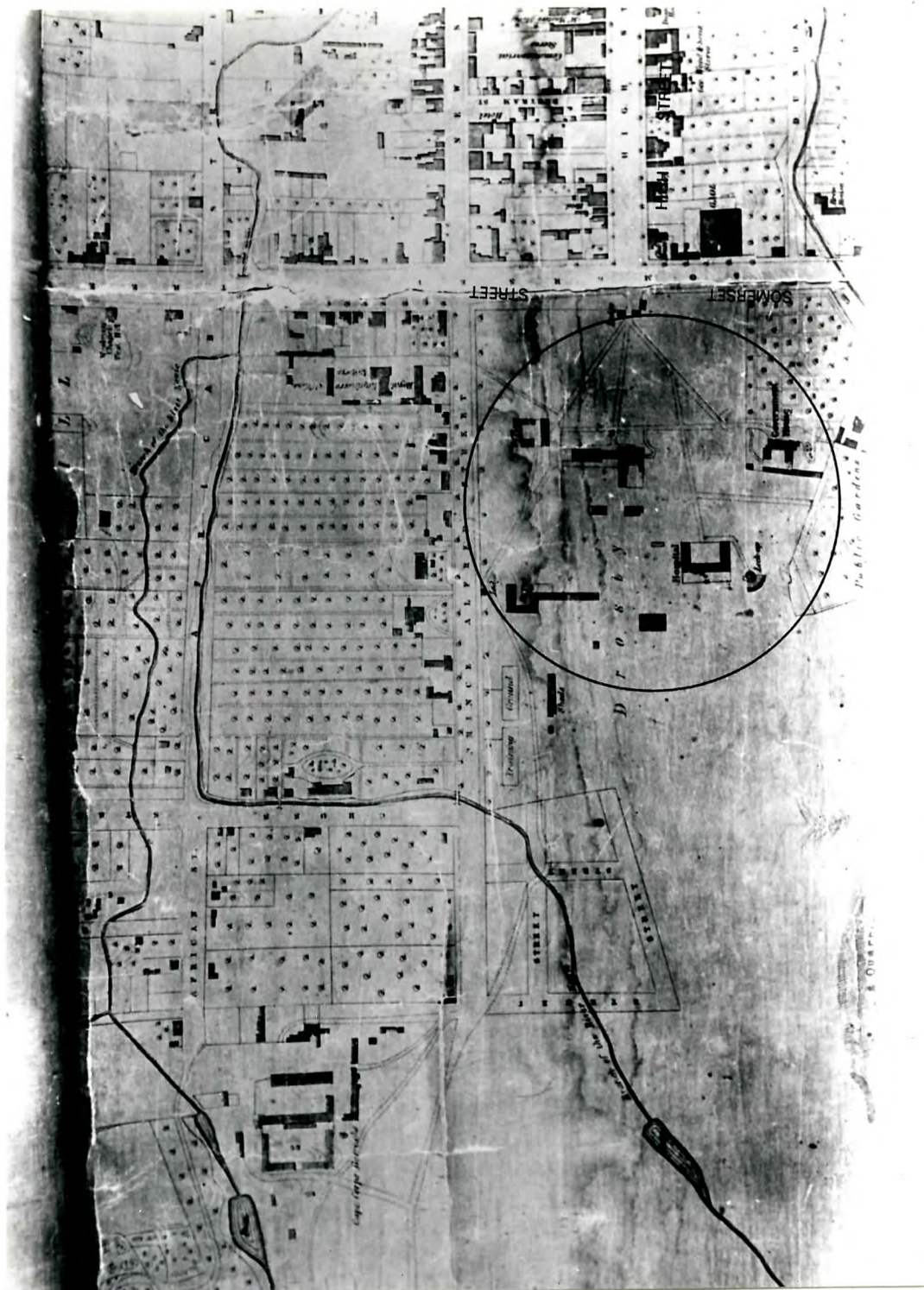
PLATE 13 Drostdy Military Establishment



- a) Street vista of the Drostdy military establishment at the west end of High Street, Grahamstown ca. 1875.

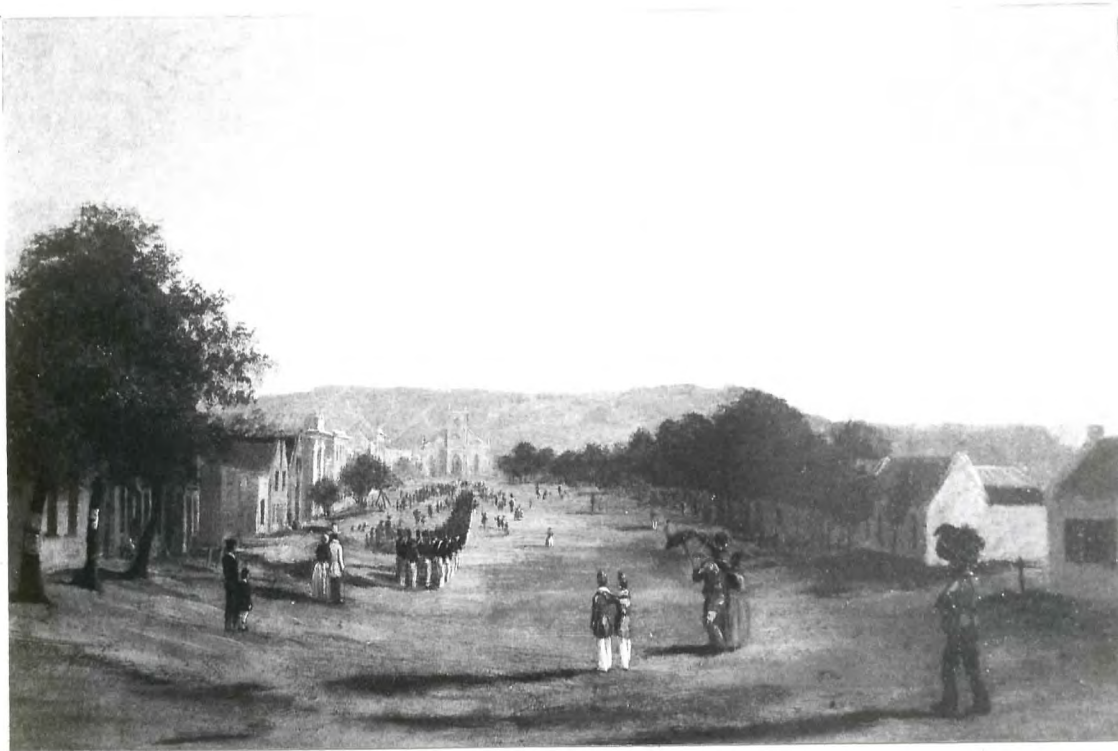
Photograph by C.J. Aldham from the tower of St. George's Cathedral.

*Frank van der Riet Collection
Cory Library for Historical Research
Rhodes University*



b) Drostdy military establishment at the west end of High Street.
Detail from the Plan of Grahamstown surveyed and drawn by
R.S. Hoggar in 1863.

PLATE 14 Site Image of St. George's Church, Grahamstown
Oil painting by Thomas Baines, 1848-49



a) High Street, Graham's Town, from the West, 1848



b) High Street, Graham's Town, from the East, 1849

PLATE 15 Site Image of St. George's Church, Grahamstown
Oil painting by Thomas Baines, 1848-49



a) Hill Street, Graham's Town, from the North, 1848



b) Hill Street, Graham's Town, from the South, 1848



The Wesleyan Mission Premises, Graham's Town, ca. 1844

Lithograph from a drawing by the Rev. Thornely Smith, published by W. Monkhouse, York, in 1844 in aid of the Wesleyan Schools and Missions. From left to right:

School House, Chapel (later Shaw Hall), and Mission House.

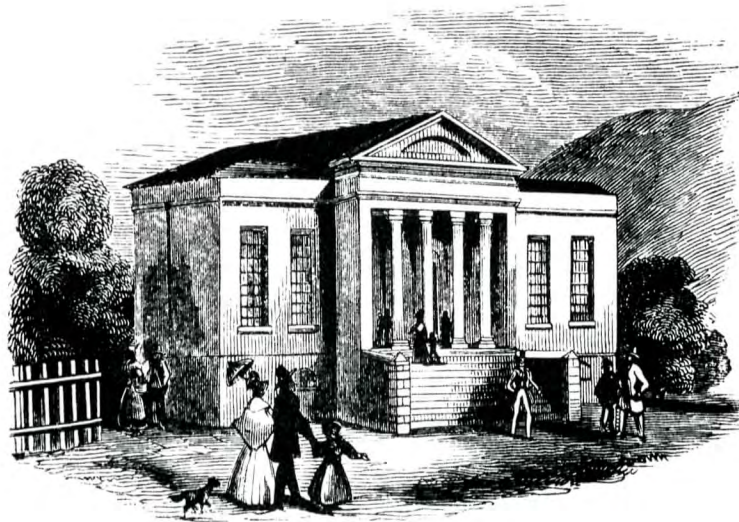


Commemoration Methodist Chapel, 1870s

Street vista up Bathurst Street to focal point created by the Gothic Revival façade of the Commemoration Chapel.



Street Vista 1986



Court House, Graham's Town.

- a) Engraving from John Centlivres Chase, *The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay, &c., &c.* (London, 1843).



- b) The Court House (Commercial Hall until 1843), ca. 1870.

*Frank van der Riet Photographic Collection
Cory Library for Historical Research
Rhodes University*



- c) Court House "decorated with a Thibault-esque pattern in plaster" (Lewcock 1963, 274).

Lewcock associates this facade with the original Commercial Hall completed between 1832 and 1837. There is, however, no trace of the pediment mouldings or of the entablatures over the windows in the engraving of the Court House in Chase 1843. It would seem more probable that this photograph is later than the ca. 1870 view of the Court House in Plate 18b above. The unplastered brickwork has blocked in the area windows visible in 18a and b.

EXPLANATION

	N ^o 1. Ward.
	2 do.
	3 do.
	4 do.
	5 do.
	6 do.
	7 do.
	8 do.

- AAA Dressed House & Ground.
 B Episcopal Church or St Georges.
 C Pound
 D Episcopal Burying Ground.
 E Wesleyan do do.
 F Baptist do do.
 G Proposed River
 H Canal
 I Commercial Hall
 K Public Offices
 L Mill
 M Mill
 N Baptist Chapel.
 O St John's Battery
 P Mill
 a. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i.

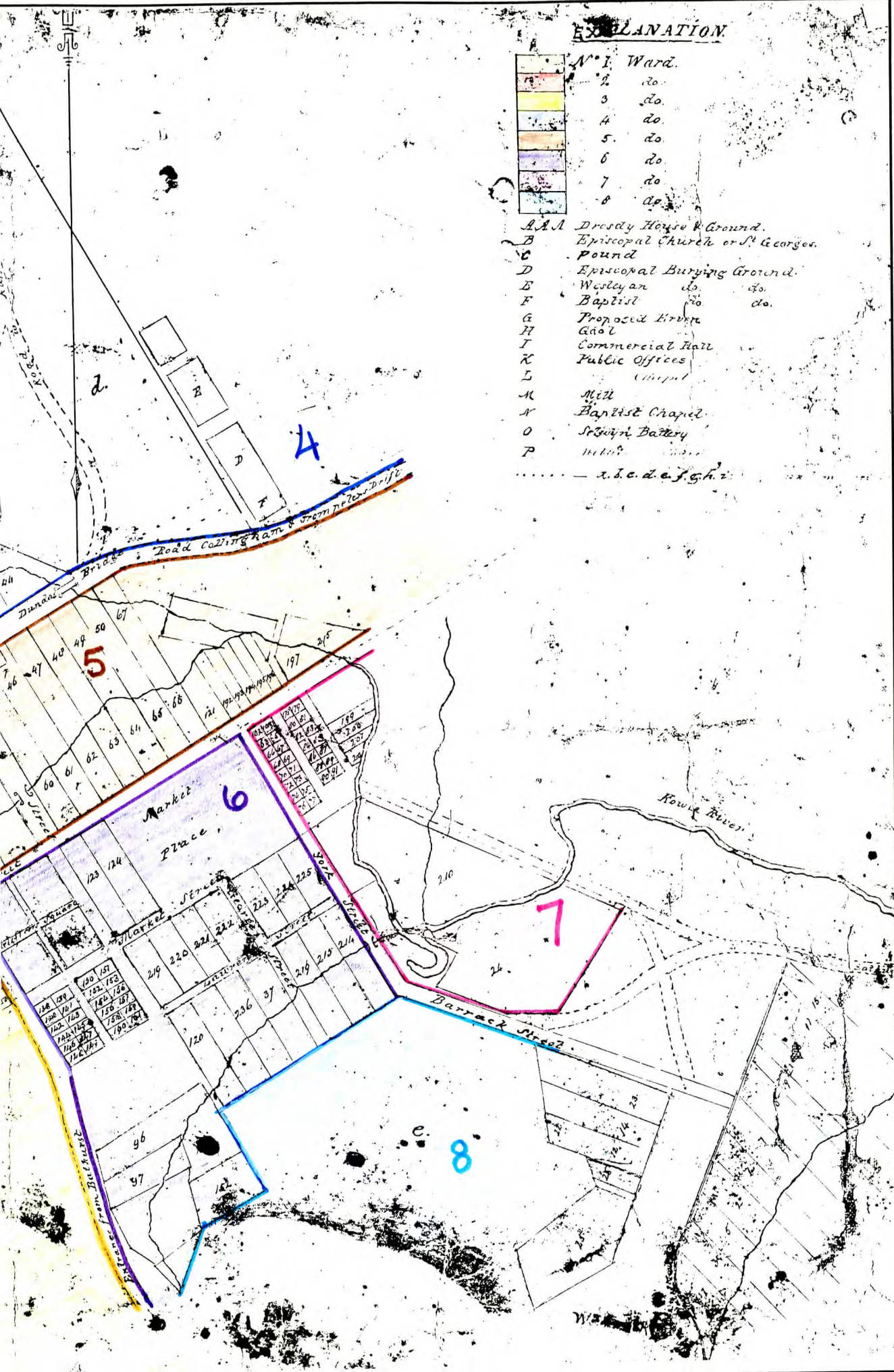


FIGURE 6

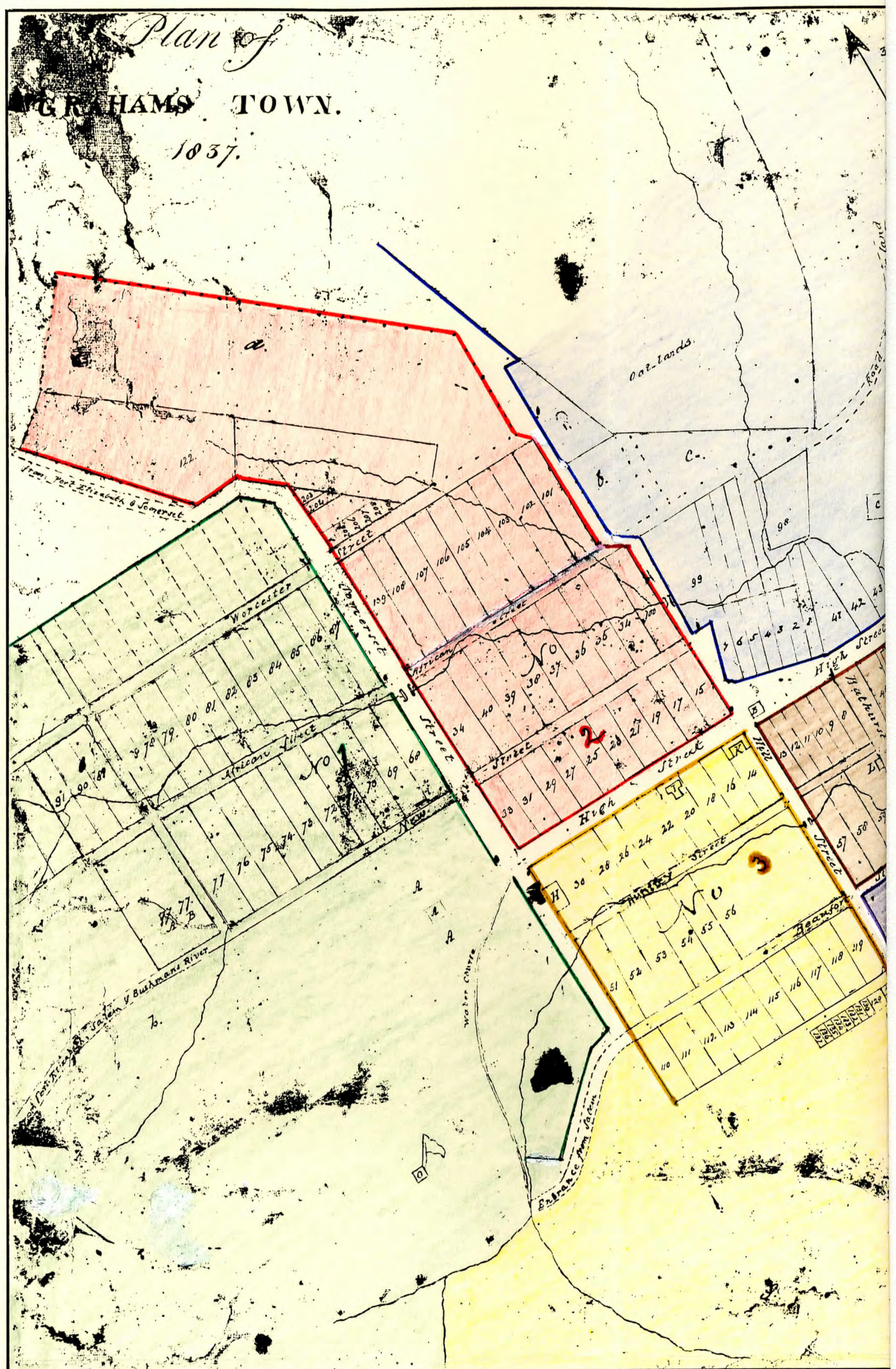


PLATE 19

Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages

- a) Two roomed cottage occupied by Grahamstown artist Frederick Timpson I'Ons (1802-87). Beaufort Street, 1834.

Africana Museum, Johannesburg



i) Front view, facing north onto Beaufort Street



ii) Back view facing south up Settlers' Hill



b) No. 4 Cross Street, Artificers' Square, 1981



c) Row cottages, upper Cross Street (north side)
Artificers' Square, Settlers' Hill, 1981

PLATE 19 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages



d) Row Cottages, lower Cross Street (north side), 1981.



e) No. 9 Cross Street, 1986.
In 1848 the house was occupied by labourer Joseph Trimble.
The deceased estate inventory in which the contents of the
house are listed is reproduced in Appendix C4.6.

PLATE 19 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages



f) Double storeyed settler cottage on the north-east side of Artificers' Square, 1986.



g) Nos 32 and 34 Market Street, 1986. Double storeyed, semi-detached settler cottages.

PLATE 19 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type I
Single, Double Storeyed and Row Settler Cottages

- h) Nos 6 and 8 Lawrence Street, 1986. George Anderson, 1820
Settler carpenter and upholsterer, advertised his trade on
the stone lintels of his workshop, 6 Lawrence Street.



PLATE 20 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type II

Late Georgian/Cape Regency Town Houses (1820-37), Flat Roofed



- a) Late Georgian town house, 48 and 50 Bathurst Street, 1982.
Declared a National Monument 1986.



- b) Georgian style town house, 55 Hill Street, 1982.
Probably built by painter and glazier William Stent ca.
1842. Appears in Thomas Baines' 1848 Hill Street
painting (Plate 15b) adjacent to the Independent Chapel.
Pitched roof a later addition.
Declared a National Monument 1985.

PLATE 20 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type II

Late Georgian/Cape Regency Town Houses (1820-37), Flat Roofed



- c) Late Georgian town house, upper High Street, north side, 1983. Belonged to C.H. Huntley, who in 1853 was listed in the Grahamstown directory as clerk to the Resident Magistrate, High Street.

PLATE 21 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type III

Late Georgian/Cape Regency Dwelling/Workplace



- a) No. 67 Bathurst Street ca. 1867. Probably built before 1834, since when watchmaker Thomas Marsh purchased the property in that year, a building already existed on the site (Scott 1985, 31). When H.C. Galpin purchased the property in 1859, he and his family occupied the top floor as a dwelling house, using the ground floor as shop premises, a common pattern from the earliest days of the settlement.

PLATE 21 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type III
Late Georgian/Cape Regency Dwellings/Workplaces



b) Streetscape. Bathurst Street, mid-1860s. Numerous dwelling house/workplace combinations in single line formation which was a feature of the central commercial and residential areas. Galpin's building is third on the left.

PLATE 22 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type IV

Late Georgian Town Houses
Pitched Roof, Break-Through Chimneys

- a) Temlett House, Market Square
Probably built by storekeeper James Temlett early 1840s



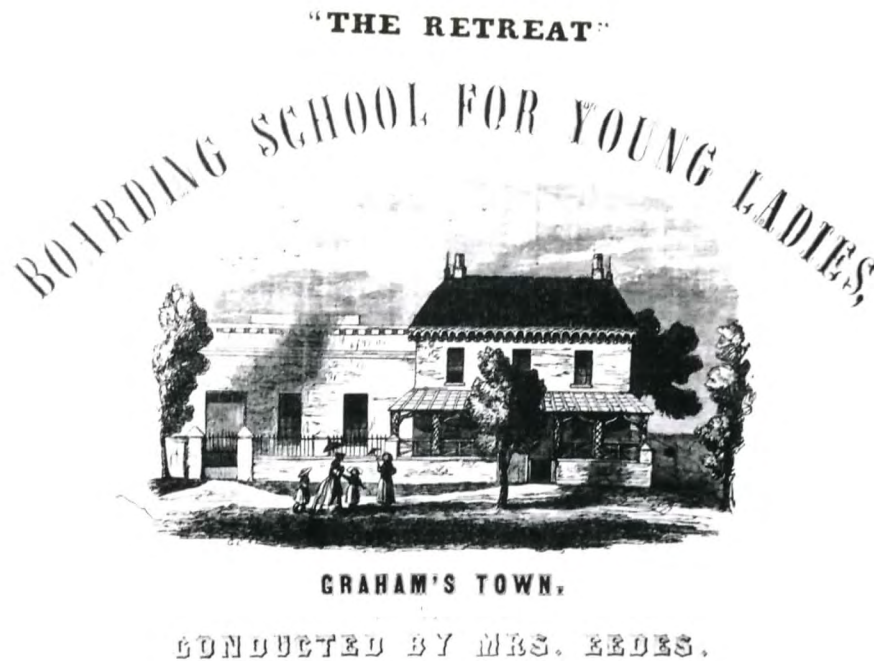
i) Front view 1986



ii) Back view 1981

PLATE 22 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type IV

Late Georgian Town Houses
Pitched Roof, Break-Through Chimneys

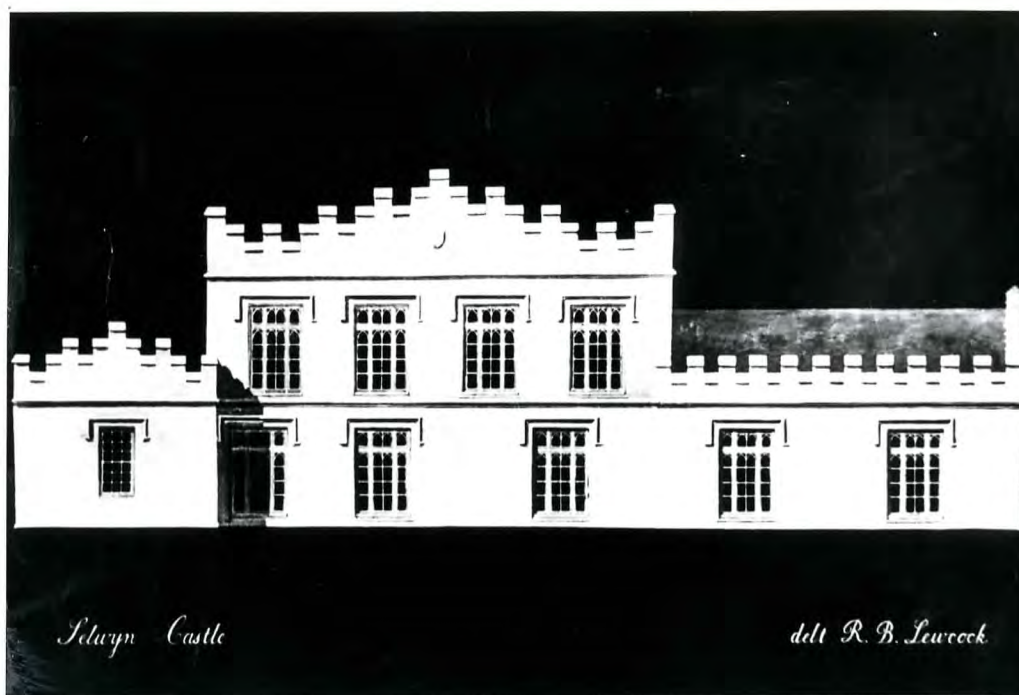


- b) The Retreat, corner of Somerset and New Streets, ca. 1845. Probably built by Pieter Retief prior to 1831 (Randell 1977, 11).



The Retreat 1986
Corner of Somerset and Prince Alfred Street (formerly New Street).

PLATE 23 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type V
Villas



(i)

- a) Selwyn Castle, New Street (now Prince Alfred Street). Built by Major C.J. Selwyn, officer in charge, Royal Engineers in 1835 to house his family. Used as Government House ca. 1838 to 1848. In use as the residence of merchant James Black prior to 1853 when the Blacks returned to England. The contents of the house in 1853 are detailed in the sale notice in the *Graham's Town Journal* (Fig. 10).

The photograph shows a reconstruction of Selwyn Castle as it appeared after the additions of 1836, but prior to the erection of the verandah. Viewed from the north. Selwyn Castle was built in Gothic Revival style, and was "The first house of its type at the Cape, and certainly in its day the most splendid. It contains evidence of far greater taste and discernment on the part of its designer (in spite of a certain bizarre quality) than any of its successors can show" (Lewcock 1956, 5).

PLATE 23a Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type V
Villas



(iii)
Selwyn Castle 1986, South Façade.



PLATE 23a Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type V
Villas



(ii)
Selwyn Castle 1986, North Façade

PLATE 23 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type V
Villas

- b) Cottage ornée, early 1830s. Botanical Gardens, 1982.
Features: Peaked Gothic style windows, octogonal Georgian
chimney and Regency fireplace.
Declared a National Monument 1984.



PLATE 23 Domestic Dwellings in Grahamstown. Type V

Villas



- c) The Pavilion House, 56 Beaufort Street, ca. 1865.
Built ca. 1835-40 (Lewcock 1963, 316), only the right
bow-front retains its original curved pagoda roof in 1986.
Declared a National Monument 1971.



The Pavilion House 1986



The Drawing Room, Hollington House, East Woodhay, Hampshire 1843
Watercolour by Charlotte Bosanquet

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

PLATE 25



The Drawing Room, Home of Capt. and Mrs J. Granville Harkness
Grahamstown, April 1866 to April 1867

Watercolour by 'A.H.', Mrs Annabella Harriette Harkness.

Africana Museum, Johannesburg

PLATE 27

The Somerset Organ 1986.

Designed and built by William Hill, Organ Builder to William IV, in 1832 to 1833 for Frances Somerset, wife of Col. Henry Somerset.

Still in use in Wesley Church, Market Street, Grahamstown.

Declared a National Monument 1960.



PLATE 29

Clear colours from the Regency: Curtains,
Carpets and Upholstery from the Drummond
Children's World, 1827-32

*By courtesy of the Victoria &
Albert Museum.*



Detail from the Interior of a Drawing Room in Brighton
Signed Julia Frances Drummond, 1828. Watercolour.
(Lasdun 1983, 18)



Indoor Scene on Good Friday
Signed C.E.D. April 17, 1829.
(Lasdun 1983, 50)



a) Baltimore Hitchcock-type
Export Chair, 1825-45

Weidman 1984, Fig. 70



b) Hitchcock-type
Cape Chair

*Stellenbosch
Museum*



a) *Left:*
Baltimore Painted Cane
Seat Chair, ca. 1820-30.
Fairbanks & Bates 1982,
257

b) Baltimore Export Chair,
Empire Style, ca. 1820-40.
Photographed in Queenstown,
Cape, late 1850s.



c) *Left:*
Decorated Baltimore
Side Chair, 1827-42.
Weidman 1984, Fig. 67



Bedroom, Langton Hall, Yorkshire ca. 1835
Watercolour by Mary Ellen Best.

Private Collection

Reproduced from *The World of Mary Ellen Best*
by Caroline Davidson, London: Chatto & Windus, 1985



Dining Room in the home of Mary Ellen Best, York 1838
Watercolour by Mary Ellen Best.

Private Collection

Reproduced from *The World of Mary Ellen Best* by Caroline Davidson. London; Chatto & Windus, 1985.

PLATE 35

- a) **The Adderley Chair.** Designed by Thomas Baines, made by Grahamstown Chair and Cabinet Maker Joseph Hart in 1850. Presented to C.B. Adderley Esq. Exhibited at the Great Exhibition, London in 1851.



- b) **The Wodehouse Chair.** Carved by Joseph Hart for use by the Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Philip Wodehouse, when Parliament met in Grahamstown in 1864.

*1820 Settlers'
Memorial Museum,
Division of the
Albany Museum
Grahamstown*





'Gothic' stinkwood chair made by James Brilliant Temlett for Trinity Baptist Church, Grahamstown, 1843.

*1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum,
Division of the Albany Museum, Grahamstown*



Stinkwood Side Table made by Thomas Style, Grahamstown
Cabinet Maker, ca. 1840.

*1820 Settlers' Memorial Museum
Division of the Albany Museum, Grahamstown*

PLATE 37.



Merchant M. Henri Noufflard's Drawing Room, Bligh Street, Sydney
Early 1850's.

*Historic Houses Trust
New South Wales
Australia*

PLATE 38



A Cottage by Firelight, York ca. 1836
Watercolour of an Urban Kitchen-Parlour
by Mary Ellen Best

Private Collection

Reproduced from *The World of Mary Ellen Best* by Caroline Davidson. London; Chatto & Windus, 1985.