

A Study of the Personal Literature
Written in the Eastern Cape
in the Nineteenth Century

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ABSTRACT

The evidence of these diaries, all written in the nineteenth century, reveals the heterogeneous nature of early settler society in the Eastern Cape. Generalizations can only be of the most tenuous kind in such a small sample; but women tend to dwell on the domestic, the men on their public lives, the most reticent about their private lives are the soldiers. There is one diary which can be described as personal; the diarists did not regard their diaries as appropriate repositories of their personal triumphs and failures. The perceptions formed in Britain about the land and people of Africa are not drastically modified upon arrival unless the diarist experiences a prolonged contact with either.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The study of the diary tradition in the Eastern Cape is customarily the preserve of historians. Historians perceive diaries as source documents: important not in themselves but as eyewitness accounts of past events and lives. The Van Riebeeck Society and the Graham's Town Series, both of which have published a number of important early South African diaries, articulate the historian's attitude to early South African texts. The Van Riebeeck Society states its objectives on the dust-cover of its publications;

To print or reprint for distribution among the members, and for sale to the public, rare and valuable books, pamphlets and documents relating to the history of South Africa.¹

The Graham's Town Series has broader aims. It articulates the importance of its publications, specifically for historical research, with the following:

It is generally accepted that careful study of the meeting of various races in the Eastern Cape, particularly during the early and mid Nineteenth Century, is of paramount importance to an understanding of the development of Southern Africa... The proper study of this period is handicapped by the fact that much of the source material is still in manuscript.²

The historical interest in diaries has ensured the preservation and publication of many diaries which would otherwise be lost or destined to remain in obscurity. Unfortunately, while the historians' aims are laudable, they tend to have quite a restricted approach to diaries. Diaries in historians' hands become rather unreliable as sources of personal opinions and intimate details. The historical approach to personal literature is not in itself a negative one, but it does not consider the literature as a text in itself, but as a source for a text.

A far more useful approach to the literature is to combine the historical with the literary. A context-based approach was developed in the 1980s in response to a need to place and analyse texts in the context of their times. This interdisciplinary approach has been christened New Historicism. The approach is concisely summed up by Harrison:

...a genuine contribution not only to the understanding of cultures and subcultures but also to a historicized awareness of the ideological predispositions that mould critical approaches to literary production and the particular contexts in which it takes place.³

My analysis of nineteenth century diaries will take place within the framework above as follows:

¹ Crealock, John North. 1989. *Dust Jacket. The Frontier War Journal of Major John Crealock 1878*. Ed. Chris Hummel. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.

² Pigot, Sophia. 1974. *Dust Jacket. 'The Journals of Sophia Pigot'*. Ed. Margaret Rainier. Cape Town: Rhodes University.

³ Harrison, Antony H. 1992. *Victorian Poets and Romantic Poems: Intertextuality and Ideology*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, pp. 5-6.

- 1) Each work will be placed in its literary context, and the development of the genre and the work's position in that development traced.
- 2) Each work will, as far as possible, be analysed in terms of the discourse, culture, or code in which it was written, and the way it would be read and understood by a contemporary reader.
- 3) The historical context of the work will be taken into account.
- 4) When possible, the difference between the expectations of the work (where it is possible to discover this) and the end result will be noted.⁴

Morton W. Bloomfield encapsulates this approach when he says: "I wish to save history; we cannot approach history innocent and naked. We must know what a poem meant before we can fully know what it means."⁵

A General Intellectual History

The governing ideas and concerns of a culture undergo subtle changes and shifts over time. The development of a culture's literature echoes these shifts as the functions and foci of literature change. Thus, one culture's literary output does not necessarily serve the same function or define and explore the same concerns as another culture's. The history of literature defines the state of man's consciousness on the cultural level as well as that of the individual producers of it. Kathryn Hume has divided the history of literature into three phases: the first phase is the literature which grows out of traditional societies, the second is the literature of realism, and the third is modernist and post-modernist literature.⁶ The kinds of literature produced in the first two phases are of interest here. The third modernist and post-modernist phase goes beyond the time frame of the material studied.

Traditional societies are defined as those with a unifying religion and morality.⁷ The Jewish society of the Old Testament, Classical societies, and Christian society in the Middle Ages can all be classified as traditional in terms of their religion and morality.⁸ The mythic ideal is the ultimate reality to the members of these societies. The visible and material are not able to represent all the possibilities

⁴ I am indebted to Harrison's summaries (pp. 10-13 and 17) of the aims as laid out by Hans Robert Jauss. 1982. Towards an Aesthetic of Reception. Trans. Bahti, T. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 45, and Marilyn Butler. "Against Tradition: The Case for a Particularized Historical Method" In McGann, Jerome J. 1985. Historical Studies and Literary Criticism. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 36.

⁵ Quoted by Morgan, A. "The Voyage as Ambiguous Symbol in Tolkien", in A Tribute to J R R Tolkien. Ed. R. Gray. (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1992), p. 31.

⁶ Hume, Kathryn. 1984. Fantasy and Mimesis: Responses to Reality in Western Literature. New York: Methuen, p. 29.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

present in this mythic hyper-reality.⁹ Traditional man's life and works are regarded as real only to the extent that they imitate the transcendent reality. The literature of a traditional society is filled with heroes whose individuality has been suppressed to enable them to be an aspect of this mythic ideal.¹⁰ The personal narrative, focussing as it does on the unreal (the individual and the idiosyncratic) can never be the dominant literary form in such a society.

The autobiographical form did exist in a limited sense in the traditional Western world. The autobiographies of Saints Augustine and Theresa chart the spiritual growth of two towering figures in Christianity. But these, like the later confessional diaries, reveal people striving to attain a form of perfection which seems, but is usually not quite, within their grasp.¹¹ These people did not view their lives in terms of process and development but as a long struggle to achieve spiritual grace. Like the heroes of the older folk tales, they were trying to live up to the mythic ideal outlined in the Bible and embodied in Jesus Christ.

Hume lists three developments in the thought of the Enlightenment which ushered in the age of realism in literature. The first step is epitomized by Locke with his notion that every individual possesses a unique identity. Descartes articulates the second intellectual leap when he asserts that the individual's reality is the only reality: no other reality is capable of proof. The third development takes place on a broader level. The intellectuals and artists of the Enlightenment gradually changed their attitude to their work which aims less and less at a high moral purpose; elegance and beauty became ends in themselves and praised above all. These three products of the Enlightenment encouraged European thinkers to consider the individual person as a legitimate object of enquiry for the first time in Western history.

The first step on the path to realism, taken by Locke when he claimed that there was no transcendent ideal, shook one of the foundations of traditional thought.¹² Locke put forward the notion that the individual is a tabula rasa. The unique experiences of each individual are realities. Locke did not accept the belief in a transcendent, higher reality to which all must aspire.¹³ Descartes took the second step when he built on Locke's validation of the individual; the individual is the only reality possible in the Cartesian conception of the world. Cogito ergo sum, I think, therefore I am, places the individual at the centre of his or her own reality. Descartes questions the existence of everything except

⁹ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 32.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 31.

¹² Ibid., p. 34.

¹³ Ibid.

his own mind; it takes precedence over tradition, rules made by others, and God.¹⁴ Rorty claims that modern consciousness began when Descartes invented the mind.¹⁵

Slinn expands this statement:

This founding of all knowledge on the principle of 'my thinking existence' has tended to dominate European and Anglo-Saxon thought, providing most of the images which govern our thinking about ourselves and our place in the scheme of things: self and object become separated into realms of 'inner' and 'outer'; knowledge becomes a transaction between a 'knowing subject' and an 'external' reality; ...the self becomes the centre of experience and potentially the governing principle in everything we perceive.¹⁶

One of the principles upon which the Romantic movement is based is the belief in the significance of the self which is articulated in the philosophies of Locke and Descartes. The Romantics validated and popularized these philosophies in the collective imagination with an idealism which seized the self as an object in order to validate the self as a subject.¹⁷ Literature's function changed from one of communication of concepts and ideas to one of romantic belief in literature's value as an expression of the self.¹⁸

The 'aesthetic distancing of knowledge' is the third change of outlook which took place at the time of the Enlightenment.¹⁹ The Enlightenment attack on the church was successful in usurping Christianity's centrality in European consciousness and society, and this had an effect on attitudes towards the gathering of knowledge and the appreciation of art. Knowledge could now be sought for its own sake, not for the sake of salvation. A new way of looking at knowledge and art developed which judged a work on the basis of its utility, or execution, or beauty, not its moral perfection.²⁰ The origins of the present obsession with the finding, recording, and analysing of facts and details can be traced to this period.

The diary as a popular form dates back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which coincides with the end of the Enlightenment and the flowering of the Romantic period. People became diarists in order to write down facts about their daily lives. The significance of these facts is gauged in periodic reviews of the diary in order to discover a meaning, pattern, and direction in the life. Enlightenment thinkers created the intellectual conditions necessary for the explosion of diary-writing, and

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁵ Slinn, E. Warwick. 1991. The Discourse of Self in Victorian Poetry. Basingstoke: Macmillan, p. 9.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁸ Hume, p. 36.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

the Romantics popularized these new ideas; but the society gave people the tools with which to take advantage of their newly discovered selfhood.

The Golden Age of the autobiography (according to Roy Pascal) is the period between the publishing of Rousseau's Confessions (1778) and the last volume of Goethe's Poetry and Truth (1831).²¹ Autobiographers shook themselves free of the religious raison d'être. They justified themselves on the grounds of their own unique worth rather than in comparison to the examples furnished by Christianity.²² Autobiography was adopted as a secular method of seeking meaning and coherence in life. It replaced the religious understanding of the meaning of life which dominated pre-Enlightenment Europe.²³ The confidence instilled by this conviction of the self's value gave to the self a significance and worth which enabled it to become the subject and object of an extended piece of writing.

The self as a valid object of scrutiny is a prerequisite for the emergence of the personal narrative. Self-consciousness transformed the day-book, log, and despatch into the 'capacious hold-all',²⁴ the travel journal, the confessional, and the psychological diary of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A General History of The Diary

The oldest Western tradition, though not the oldest English tradition, has its roots in the Confessions of St Augustine. In the Confessions, Augustine tries to make sense of his life and retraces his evolution to spiritual maturity. The Confessions fall into the category of traditional literature; it describes a man's journey to attain a transcendent ideal: a Christlike life. His autobiography is the model for one of the oldest diary traditions in English, the seventeenth-century Protestant diaries, and is thus the forebear of every spiritual and confessional diary in Western literature. The purpose of this kind of diary is to chart its writer's spiritual life. The thought that a Doctor of the Roman Catholic church could inspire the fiercely anti-Catholic English Protestants to write their diaries seems preposterous, but Augustine's writings on evangelicalism were appealed to by Protestants in the Reformation to demonstrate the extent of popular Catholicism's corruption.²⁵ The two seeming opposites, Augustine and seventeenth-century English Protestants, also agree on the practice of the confessional journal. They share a strong sense of personal responsibility for their salvation, a firm belief that every individual has a divine

²¹ Pascal, Roy. 1960. Design and Truth in Autobiography. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p. 50.

²² Ibid., p. 51.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Woolf, Virginia. 1954. A Writer's 'Diary Being Extracts from the Diary of Virginia Woolf. Ed. Leonard Woolf. London: The Hogarth Press, p. 13.

²⁵ Augustine. 1955. Augustine: Confessions and Enchiridion. Ed., Trans. Albert C. Outler. London: SCM Press, p. 14.

plan, and an awareness that humanity has a capacity to change quickly and without warning.²⁶ These similarities resulted in the same habits of mind which manifested themselves in the same processes of writing. Augustine and the English Protestants aimed at circumstantiality, accumulation of detail, regular and ruthless self-criticism, and a shape containing episodic, daily units.²⁷ The Protestant advocacy of the diary form has two bases: a belief in self-examination, and a distrust of oral testimony.²⁸ The advisory literature of the time insists on the need for as precise a record of behaviour as possible which could be turned to at regular intervals to reveal the state of the soul and review life patterns.²⁹ The guides recommend the writing down of both actions and thoughts. The emphasis of one over the other is inevitable and the interplay between the two gives a distinct character to each generation of diaries. The Protestant tradition privileges the written word over the spoken as human destiny is bound to the revealed Word of God. The Protestants of the time distrusted oral traditions and memory; they were not permanent, scannable material objects as was the Bible, and as diaries are.³⁰ The diarising habit is in accordance with the English Protestant outlook on life; life is not only lived, it is also recorded.³¹

The rise to prominence of the spiritual diary as a form coincided with the rise of Cromwell and his Puritan followers to power in the mid-seventeenth century. The practice of keeping a diary was vigorously advocated by Puritan divines and spread rapidly amongst the wider literate and pious community. Ponsonby traces ten pre-1700 diaries with a significant spiritual element in the 48 diaries he reviews. The first known practitioner of this kind of diary is Margaret, Lady Hoby. Ponsonby elaborates on the contents of her diary,

Her piety is very pronounced. Not only does she go to church frequently and listen to many sermons, but she has private prayers, writes out sermons, writes notes in her Testament, sings psalms, listens to lectures and nurses the sick.³²

Her diary was written from 1599 to 1604, and it is unique for a number of reasons: she is one of the earliest known diarists, she wrote the first surviving woman's diary, and she wrote one of the first diaries which was not a catalogue of public events, but a "punctual daily personal record."³³ The ultimate

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 306-307.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 307.

²⁸ Hunter, J. Paul. 1990. Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction. New York: W. W. Norton, p. 305.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 304.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 305.

³¹ Ibid., p. 306.

³² Ponsonby, Arthur. 1927. More English Diaries: Further Reviews of Diaries from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century. London: Methuen, p. 44.

³³ Ibid.

political failure of the Puritan Revolution had no effect on the number of diaries being written, as far as can be discerned, but it did change their contents to a degree. The resurgence of Anglicanism, which places less emphasis on personal culpability, saw a secularization of the aims and interpretations of diary material. The Puritan-led English Revolution entrenched the practice in English culture so deeply that it survived as a form after the Restoration.

The spiritual diary received a further boost from Charles Wesley who wrote his own, published portions of it, and recommended the discipline to his followers. The preface to his diary indicates that the diary was an accepted Anglican method of aiding the spiritual life though it had fallen into disuse:

It was in pursuance of an advice given by Bishop Taylor, in his 'Rules for Holy Living and Dying,' that, about fifteen years ago, I began to take a more exact account than I had done before, of the manner wherein I spent my time, writing down how I had employed every hour.³⁴

Wesley's practice was observed among his followers who encouraged each other in the discipline by reading portions of their diaries to each other in church services and Bible study groups. The practice of reading diaries aloud to coreligionists accounts for the uniformity of formulation and style noticeable in Methodist diaries. The success of the Methodist diary can be gauged by the Methodist Missionary Committee's insistence that every missionary keep a diary and send them regular extracts from it in the place of progress reports. The Methodist advocacy of the diary form led to a revival of the confessional diary, but the habit of sharing a diary's contents with others in a congregation gave the nineteenth-century manifestation of this form a monotonous sameness.

The commonest type of diary to have survived from the earliest English examples of the genre are logbooks rather than diaries in the true sense. These diaries record events in varying degrees of detail but the general impression is that the diarists want to record action rather than thought and feeling. The commonest published diary of this variety is the captain's log, many of which were published after their authors had achieved fame for their navigational feats. The circumnavigators, those searching for the north-west passage, the explorers of the Pacific and the Indies often published their logs upon their return. The greater proportion of the 48 pre-1700 diaries traced and read by Arthur Ponsonby reveal that their authors are very detached from their material, some to the extent that their 'diaries' are closer to today's appointment books than a personal diary. Edward VI's terse entries describe the young king's activities in the barest detail, and there are no comments made, not even concerning executions done in his name. One entry illustrates the tone of the diary:

July 26. [1549] Monsieur le Mareschale dined with Me. After dinner saw the strength of the English archers. After he had done so at his departure I gave him a Diamond from my finger worth by estimation £150 both for Pains and also for My memory. Then he took his leave.³⁵

³⁴ Wesley, John. 1902. John Wesley's Journal. Ed. Percy Livingstone Parker. London: Isbister & Co., p. vii.

³⁵ Ponsonby, Arthur. 1923. English Diaries. London: Methuen, p. 56.

There are no state secrets and no tidbits of court gossip relayed in this serious diary. This form also manifested itself in the logs kept by ship captains, the travel journals of grand tourists in Europe and, later, in the British Empire, in the soldier's diaries kept by the men who fought in Victoria's colonial wars. Virginia Woolf christened this form "a private version of a newspaper," rather than a diary.³⁶

The secular diary developed from the style of the private newspaper exemplified above by Edward VI. It typically recorded the diarist's daily activities and could include his or her opinions and feelings upon issues and people encountered during the day. The most famous diary in the English language is of this variety. Samuel Pepys wrote a comprehensive record of the daily life of a civil servant and gentleman, and an account of the affairs of state observed by a civil servant in seventeenth century London. Part of Pepys's monumental work appeared in print for the first time in 1825: it therefore had no effect on the form of the diary at the time.³⁷ The most influential secular diary before the nineteenth century was Rousseau's Confessions (1778, trans. 1783).³⁸ Rousseau's work "reveals enough of his overwrought sensibility, his passions très-ardentes, his effervescence de sang" to make it a thoroughly modern document.³⁹ The fully introspective diary of today, a form popularized by the psychoanalytic revolution, bears a distinct resemblance to this seminal autobiography which attempts to delineate the evolution of an influential Enlightenment mind.

The foundations of the nineteenth century diary tradition were firmly in place by the late eighteenth-century. The interest in diaries and numbers of diaries both proceeded to increase rapidly in the nineteenth-century. A high level of literacy is obviously required for the diary to become a popular form in any society. The Industrial Revolution created a society in England where reading and writing were considered essential for social advancement. Literacy levels leapt from 41% in 1839 to over 99% in 1913.⁴⁰ The members of such a society also need to perceive themselves as individuals who can expect privacy when they require it. Vincent notes that oral cultures require face-to-face contact, while reading and writing are solitary activities.⁴¹ The diary, usually with a restricted audience and in some cases an audience of one, is an extreme manifestation of the solitariness of communication in a literate society. The increased use of printed matter from the late eighteenth century onwards created a new self-awareness which was manifested in the emergence of several genres from the society diary to the

³⁶ Woolf, Virginia. "John Evelyn." Review of The Early Life and Education of John Evelyn, 1620 - 1674, Times Literary Supplement, 29 October 1920, p. 689.

³⁷ Pepys, Samuel. 1952. The Diary of Samuel Pepys. Ed. Henry B. Wheatley. London: G. Bell and Sons, p. v.

³⁸ Rousseau, Jean Jacques. 1948. Émile. Trans. Barbara Foxley. London: J. M. Dent, p. ix.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁴⁰ Vincent, David. 1989. Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750 - 1914. Cambridge: Cambridge University, pp. 3-4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

working-class autobiography.⁴² Diarizing as a general cultural phenomenon was made possible when literacy enabled people to choose between speech, which is possessed by all, and writing, which is a kind of private property.⁴³

Diaries in The Eastern Cape

Diaries can rarely be comfortably categorized in practice. The diaries written in the Eastern Cape are no exception. They all include comments on events in the region. It seems to have been difficult to avoid talking of events in the troubled border area even in the more personal diaries. The diaries are divided into three groups for the purpose of this study. The first group of diaries comprises those written by church leaders trying to establish their denominations in the new colony and over the border. These diaries, written by Shaw, Griffith, and Merriman, have a small spiritual element, but concentrate on the trials of a churchman attempting to establish his denomination in a new area. The second group includes the diaries which record little more than daily events, written by soldiers during three border wars. The diarists wrote diaries which concentrated on different aspects of the wars in which they were involved. Bowker, Brownlee, and Arkwright were young and adventurous, Stretch, Flanagan, and Crealock were concerned with tactics, abuses, and incompetence in various sections of the army, and Hall aimed at an accurate rendering of the facts and figures concerning every event and incident of which he was a part. The final group consists of women's diaries. There are few nineteenth-century women's diaries in existence in the Eastern Cape. Fortunately, the two which were located record important periods in the life of a woman in the nineteenth century. Pigot's diary records the first years of its author's life after leaving the schoolroom and before marriage. Armstrong's diary is written by one who devotes her time to caring for her husband and six children. This diary also contains the most revealing entries when first a baby, and then her husband sicken and die. The diaries studied can not be called an Eastern Cape tradition. Their roots are in the forms evolved in Europe and their concerns are dictated by the concerns considered important in Europe.

The Methodist missionaries who were very active in the Eastern Cape brought the spiritual form with them. They were obeying an injunction from the English Methodist Conference to write diaries and send extracts back to the Conference. The Conference could monitor the progress in the missionary effort and raise funds by publishing the more exciting or well-written diaries. The habit was easily transferred. The diary of Elizabeth Lees Price (*née* Moffat), daughter of Robert Moffat, is a journal kept for her friends and relatives in Britain to tell them of life on a mission station. Her missionary father and husband did not differ from her in their motivation for keeping a diary, though they were obliged to do so. There were no purely confessional diaries written in the Eastern Cape. Indeed, the confessional diary is a very strenuous diary to write for a sustained period; most diaries written by churchmen and devout

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

Christians are of a fairly public nature. Outside Methodist circles in Britain the confessional diary was not the form favoured by churchmen. The best-known English diary was written by a churchman, Kilvert. It contains very little of a confessional nature, though it is personal. He includes this dramatic sentence in his entry of 8 September 1871: "To-day I fell in love with Fanny Thomas."⁴⁴ The strength of this diary is in its vivid description of country life in mid-Victorian England; the following description captures the diarist's style and subject matter, "A red cow with a foolish white face came up to the window by the desk and stared in while I was preaching" (3.9.1871). The Eastern Cape was even less likely to produce a diarist whose concerns were only for his or her soul. The novel surroundings and unstable political situation warranted comment from even the most saintly of authors. Shaw, the Methodist leader whose diary is analysed, included very little which could be defined as confessional. His diary records the substantial achievements of a man who established Methodism among the 1820 settlers before channelling his energies into the founding of seven mission stations in Xhosa territory. Bishop Griffith's diary is written as a letter to a friend in Ireland. The audience in a sense dictates that there will be much incident recorded in the diary, though the bishop also includes many personal remarks to a woman to whom he is obviously very close. Archdeacon Merriman keeps his personal life out of his diary. It tells of his travels, the state of the church, and political incidents which have a bearing on his life and the welfare of the fledgling Anglican church in the Eastern Cape. The diaries of these three leaders, Methodist, Roman Catholic, and Anglican, record the establishment of the three denominations in the Eastern Cape and the strong personalities of their founders.

The military diarists recorded events. The events they witnessed and heard of via gossip and official report are faithfully noted down, but little else. There are seven diarists studied under the heading of military diarists, but this description is applicable to their personal status in war time rather than the kinds of diaries which they produced. The true war diarists were Bowker, Brownlee, Hall, Stretch, and Crealock. Their diaries are curiously unemotional considering the excitement and danger of their situations. This is, according to Ponsonby, typical of the British soldier's diary. The stiff-upper-lip attitude of the British army does not encourage soldiers to express emotion.⁴⁵ Physical and emotional discomfort is repressed in the private diary as well as in public with a grin-and-bear-it attitude which was associated with bravery and a strong character.

One diary written during a war, Flanagan's, resembles those of the self-made working-class diarists rather than those of his fellow soldiers. His interests are local. He resents the interference of the standing army and foreign militiamen in the local defence of his home town of Cuylerville. Thomas Turner, writing in rural Surrey in the eighteenth-century, Arthur Flanagan, Thomas Shone, and Jeremiah Goldswain, writing in the Eastern Cape in the mid-nineteenth century, have the same style and are from

⁴⁴ Kilvert, Francis. 1986. *Kilvert's Diary 1870 - 1879*. Ed. William Plomer. London: Century. Following the style of Harriet Blodgett, and because of the number of unpaginated manuscripts used; quotations from diaries are followed by the date of the entry and not a reference to the page number.

⁴⁵ Ponsonby, *English Diaries*, p. 22.

the same rural stock. The Eastern Cape authors are artisans and small farmers struggling to retain their conception of genteel respectability in an area prone to repeated attacks and natural disasters which threaten to impoverish them. The two Thomases write diaries to record their progress in the fight against drunkenness. Shone writes in his first entry that he "Resolved to drink no more spirits for the space of twelve months, if I live so long, with God's help" (30.6.1838).⁴⁶ Turner's first entry reveals that the problem of drink was not confined to any particular century: "If I am at home, or in company abroad, I will never drink more than four glasses of strong beer" (8.2.1754).⁴⁷ Arthur Flanegan and Jeremiah Goldswain are semi-literate, they write to record their efforts during the historical period when the eyes of the British Empire were firmly fixed on their land. Goldswain reveals that a record of his part in the historical process is the aim of his reminiscences:

I was born in the year 1802 March 2nd in Great Marlow Buckinghamshier [Buckinghamshire]. Nothing purtieler ocured in my Life untill October 1819 wen thear was a Great talk about the Cape of Good Hope.⁴⁸

Flanegan gives no such clues, but the contents of his diary point to its function as a chronicle of the events taking place in Cuylerville during the war of 1846. These accounts are important because they provide historians with a picture of the lives of common people who were not historical figures; they give literary scholars portraits of characters whose sometimes extraordinary naïveté, strong opinions, pretensions, and misinterpretations of events contributed to the richness of the society in which they lived and unwittingly to its literary heritage.

An example of a largely eighteenth- and nineteenth-century form of the secular diary, the hunting diary, was written by the British officer Robert Arkwright while on leave from his regiment which was based in the Eastern Cape. This kind of hunting diary, commonly based on experiences of hunting in Africa, the United States of America, Australia, or Canada, differs from its counterparts in Britain in terms of scale and variety. Gone are the rigid codes of etiquette and the weekly or twice weekly chase of a single quarry. In its place is the often unchecked slaughter of a large variety of game animals for weeks or months. The evolution of this form of hunting journal can be traced in the journals themselves. Arkwright quotes from Cornwallis Harris' Wild Sports of Southern Africa (1838) when he discovers that there is less sport in hunting giraffe than his reading of Harris had led him to believe. His perusal of Harris probably inspired him to write about his hunting in the first place. Arkwright meets "Cumming, an old Eton acquaintance of mine" on his journey north to hunt. R. Gordon Cumming's book Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa (1850) was very influential, inspiring the hunter

⁴⁶ Shone, Thomas. The Albany Journals of Thomas Shone. Ed. Penelope Sliva. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.

⁴⁷ Turner, Thomas. 1925. The Diary of Thomas Turner of East Hoathly (1754 - 1765). Ed. Florence Maris Turner. London: Bodley Head.

⁴⁸ Goldswain, Jeremiah. The Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain: Albany Settler of 1820. Ed. Una Long. 2 Vols. Cape Town: van Riebeeck Society, p. 1.

William Charles Baldwin to hunt in Africa and publish his hunting tales when he returned to Britain.⁴⁹ Baldwin in his turn inspired Frederick Courtney Selous.⁵⁰ The hunting journal was not commonly kept in the Eastern Cape in the nineteenth-century. The game had been hunted out in the late eighteenth century by trekboers from the west and Xhosa from the east who relied on venison to supplement their diet in the unproductive winter months. Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown became bases from which hunting trips were made into the interior. Arkwright's diary is a rare example of the hunting diary in that he did not rework it for publication. The entries are renditions of his experiences as they happened rather than retouched versions of events recalled months or years later in Britain.

The women in the nineteenth-century tended to write for two reasons. Firstly, the guides advising young women on ladylike behaviour advocated the keeping of a diary. Many young women kept diaries for a few years in their late teens. The sociable settler daughter Sophia Pigot, the grave Lucy, Lady Cavendish, and the lighthearted Arabella Stuart all wrote diaries in their teenage years. Sophia fills her diary with short sentences detailing her social life and activities around the home. Arabella's natural liveliness comes across clearly in her diary. The reader regrets that she only kept the diary sporadically for five years:

My Birthday again-but I do not think I am twenty-four. I was twenty-three a week ago! I know that, but months and years have passed since then and now I am very, very old. (2.9.1827)⁵¹

Lady Cavendish's diary reveals a serious, devout woman who at thirteen years of age laments:

Poor me was debarred from church both times, as I was in bed with this sore-throat epidemic. I do so pity myself, feeling quite well, and a whole Sunday without any church! Last Sunday in Lent too! Oh! (17.3.1856)⁵²

She is the only teenage diarist among those studied here to continue writing into adulthood. Secondly, older women wrote short diaries recording interesting periods in their lives. Frances Armstrong writes an account of her voyage to Algoa Bay and her tour of the Diocese of Grahamstown with her husband the bishop, and in so doing produces the only travel diary in the study. Frances concentrates on the physical aspects of the land and people she encounters. Lady Anne Barnard, in contrast, is an outgoing woman whose diary reflects this in her vivid descriptions of the characters she encounters in the course of her travels. Though neither diarist ignore the landscape or characters who people it, Frances Armstrong concentrates on the landscapes she encounters, and Anne Barnard concentrates on the people she meets. The exotic scenery and people, rendered by women with a good command of written English, make these

⁴⁹ Baldwin, William Charles. 1894. African Hunting and Adventure from Natal to the Zambesi. London: Richard Bentley, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Stuart, Arabella M. N. d. Arabella's 'Letters Together with the Contents of Her Small Diary 1823 - 1828. Ed. A. G. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

⁵² Cavendish, Lucy. 1927. The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish. Ed. John Bailey. London: John Murray.

diaries important documents of the ways of life of those living on the edges of Western cultural influence in the Cape. Both diarists in the Eastern Cape: Sophia Pigot and Frances Armstrong, wrote chronicles of events rather than their personal reactions to the strange land.

The diaries written in the Eastern Cape in the nineteenth century are of limited historical value. Their value lies in their depiction of the large variety of people who lived in this often inhospitable region. They render generalizations about the nature of the people during that period invalid with their variety and the disparate views expressed on almost every subject which they have in common.

2. THE DIARIES OF CHURCH LEADERS

The diary-writing cleric was a common figure in the nineteenth-century. The clergy are literate by education, and accustomed by the weekly demands of their sermons to express their thoughts and sometimes their feelings.⁵³ The three men studied below wrote diaries during crucial times in their denominations' histories: they record the establishment of church structures in the Eastern Cape. All three men whose diaries are studied below belong to the loose category of church leaders seeking to establish their denominations in the Eastern Cape. The contents of their diaries can be compared on this basis, though they did not write at the same time, for the same reasons, or to the same people.

William Shaw is the first of these men to arrive at the Cape. He came to Albany in 1820 as a minister to Hezekiah Sephton's party of settlers as "a Wesleyan Missionary, appointed by, and in connexion with, the Missionary Committee and Methodist Conference in England."⁵⁴ Shaw ministered to the needs of the settlers for his first three years on African soil, though he began to look over the frontier in the hopes of fulfilling his obligations to the Missionary Committee. Shaw sought, and received permission, to establish a mission in the territory of the Gqunukhwebe tribe and in 1824 the first of his chain of mission stations was established at Wesleyville.⁵⁵ He is unique amongst frontier church leaders because his work combined the parish church and the mission, the English settlers of the eastern Cape and the Xhosa to the north of the Fish River.⁵⁶ Shaw's diary is in two parts: 1820-1822 and 1826-1829. These dates span his years as chaplain to the settlers and his earliest missions to the Gcaleka, the Bomvana and the Mpondo. His diary is of special interest to historians as he is ideally situated to give a commentary on the events taking place on the border at the time, and his status amongst the Xhosa whom he visited gave him access to facets of Xhosa life previously unrecorded.

Shaw is an organizer extraordinary. His diary reflects the personality of one who is very sure of his goals, and single-minded in his pursuit of them. His world-view is a blend of fundamentalist Christianity and firm belief in the advantages of Western culture. His prejudices are based on whether the people with whom he comes into contact are heathens (as he calls non-Christians), and whether they are civilized according to his definition of the word. He has unquestioning confidence in the superiority of

⁵³ Chadwick, O. 1991. Victorian Miniature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 14.

⁵⁴ From Shaw, W. The Story of My Mission. p. 5, in Shaw, William. 1972. The Journal of William Shaw. Ed. W. D. Hammond-Tooke. Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, p. 5.

⁵⁵ Shaw, William. 1972. The Journal of William Shaw. Ed. W. D. Hammond-Tooke. Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, p. 8.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

his culture and insists strongly on its adoption by all black converts. He backed the imperial effort as a method of winning souls for Christianity. Shaw does not have the same level of education as Griffith and Merriman, following as he did in the footsteps of his father and two brothers by joining the army when he was fourteen.⁵⁷ The military experience probably developed his discipline and organizational skills but he evinces little of the aesthetic sensibility which Griffith and Merriman display. Shaw is an extremely effective example of his kind: an energetic missionary and advocate of Western culture.

Bishop Patrick Raymond Griffith, Vicar-Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope, wrote a diary of his journey to the Cape and his tour of the newly established Roman Catholic Vicariate which reveals the personality and policies of a more inward-looking church and its leader.⁵⁸ The young bishop arrived at the Cape in 1838, the head of a small Catholic flock divided by serious financial problems and often going for months, even years, without celebrating mass because of a scarcity of clergymen.⁵⁹ Griffith's initial aim was to find out how many people there were under his care and to consolidate the existing church. The most important part of the bishop's diary is the journal of his travels around his diocese in 1838 and 1839 which extended from Cape Town to the Keiskamma River. The diary is distinguished by the unEnglishness of its attitude and aesthetic.

The bishop's diary is a curious mix combining the author's natural conservatism and the radicalism forced upon him by his position as leader of the Catholic church in a British colony. Intellectually, Griffith is a man of the Enlightenment. He believes that humanity has a fundamental nature, from this assumption he writes a tale about the evils of the slave trade long after it is outlawed in the British Empire. This assumption led to this conclusion in the latter half of the 18th century and the foundation of the abolitionist cause. Aesthetically he loves order. Griffith is never comfortable in wild, open places; he prefers the order and control which man places on nature in the agricultural and urban landscapes. This old-fashioned intellectual and aesthetic stance sits oddly on the shoulders of Griffith whose religious preference is a radical political statement in the country of his birth, Ireland. Griffith runs down the English at every opportunity and often suspects Protestant plots are afoot to reduce the size of his flock. The bishop comes across as a humane but difficult man whose classical tastes are out of step with the vogue for Romanticism.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

⁵⁸ My thanks to Mike Berning, Deputy Librarian, Rhodes, for an explanation of the complexities of Roman Catholic leadership in 19th-Century England.

⁵⁹ Griffith, Patrick Raymond. 1988. The Cape Diary of Bishop Patrick Raymond Griffith For The Years 1837 to 1839. Ed. J. B. Brain. Mariannhill Mission: Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, pp. 8-11.

Archdeacon Nathaniel James Merriman was put in charge of the eastern district of the Cape Colony in 1847 by the newly enthroned Bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray.⁶⁰ He wrote his diary from the day of his arrival in 1848 until 1855, when the diary stops for no discernible reason. His task was to build up the Anglican church in the Eastern Cape by placing clergymen where they were needed, to build churches when finances permitted, and to bring back into the wider community of the church the isolated farmers and others whose religious instincts had lain dormant through lack of opportunity.⁶¹ Last on Merriman's list of tasks, though his missionary instincts were strong, was, "to preach to barbarous people the saving grace of Christianity."⁶² Merriman was often opposed by his congregations as his Tractarian views were distasteful to those of an Evangelical nature.⁶³ Merriman was at his happiest when on his visitation travels to the Anglicans in his vast Archdeaconry. The long journeys on foot (he could not often afford the expense of a horse) suited this man who had a love of simple living and a constitution which enjoyed the forty-mile-a-day walks. Not surprisingly he was often greeted with suspicion and disbelief by his parishioners.⁶⁴ Merriman's diary tells the story of a frontier character of extraordinary energy whose influence can still be discerned today in the East Cape Anglican communion.

Merriman's diary reveals a reserved and conservative man. His determination to be "more close, cautious and reserved" (23.1.1854) after portions of his diary are published without his permission is difficult to imagine in a diary which is very reserved by comparison with the other church leaders. Merriman's reticence is exacerbated by his liturgical conservatism which is greeted with hostility by the more evangelical Anglicans of the Eastern Cape. The archdeacon's classical education is clearly reflected in his aesthetic which often draws parallels between the Cape landscape and classical description. Merriman is the leader least able to accept black people as they are, and does not seem to believe that it is possible for them to assimilate completely with Western culture. The strong ties between church and state, and therefore between church and colony, seem to affect Merriman whose outlook is a colonial one privileging the colonists over the colonized.

The diaries of Shaw, Griffith and Merriman form a unique trio of works by church leaders seeking to establish their denominations in the new colony. This chapter will examine the diaries of these

⁶⁰ Merriman, Nathaniel J. 1957. The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N. J. Merriman 1844-1855. Ed. D. H. Varley and H. M. Matthew. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, pp. ix-x.

⁶¹ Annual Register and Miscellany of the Republic of Cluny. III.15 (1926), p. 64, in Merriman, pp.xi-xii.

⁶² Ibid., p. xii.

⁶³ Ibid., p.xiii-xiv.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. xii.

men to find out why they diarised at all, and who they expected to read the diaries. It will look at their views on women, marriage and family life, and try to define what marriage and fatherhood implied for them. It will analyse their views on their own and other peoples, specifically the Xhosa, Khoi, and San, whom they made contact with in South Africa. Lastly, this chapter will study their attitude to the physical environment in which they found themselves. The aim of the analysis will be to uncover the ideologies and world views of the leaders as far as they are revealed by the unguarded process of diarizing.

The reason for these men to keep diaries at all is not difficult to track down in their writings. Shaw was expected to follow in the footsteps of Methodism's founder, John Wesley, who encouraged his followers to write diaries chronicling their spiritual lives. The Methodist Missionary Committee made diary-keeping a duty amongst their missionaries, requiring missionaries to send back extracts from their diaries so that the spiritual welfare of the missionary and the religious welfare of the mission community could be monitored. The Methodist missionaries were less likely to have "gone native" if they kept in daily textual contact with their leaders in the home country. The act of writing in an illiterate society is a method of reinforcing the otherness of the black community and is a constant reminder of the culture to which the writer belongs. Shaw sends extracts regularly, mentioning this on 11.10.1828, 16.4.1829 and 20.6.1829. His diary finishes before he leaves the Eastern Cape to return to England. The instructions of the Missionary Committee make it unlikely that he stopped diarizing altogether. He may have sent portions of the diary itself in the place of extracts from it to the Committee to save transcription time.

Though there is little in Shaw's diary of the 'confessional' aspect encouraged by Wesley, it does surface when Shaw analyses his life at the year's end:

The past has been a year of more trial and difficulty in my family, & in my work, than any I have experienced since I arrived in Africa. I hope that these trials have had their use, for I can truly say that I know no year in which I have indulged a greater spirit of prayer, or given greater attention to reading, & the improvement of my mind than the past. (31.12.1827)

December 31 of the following year closes a less fruitful year for Shaw:

Thus ends another year of sorrow & joy, of trial and comfort. It has been a year of some improvement and much labour; but I am yet dissatisfied with the degree of my own piety, the extent of my labours, and success in the Mission Work. LORD enter not Thou into judgement with me, for in thy sight shall no flesh living be justified. (31.12.1828)

The confessional does not extend from the personal to the domestic. Shaw's comments on his family life are kept to the barest essentials. His wife's illnesses are not mentioned until they affect his movements or are extremely serious; when he leaves for Xhosaland, "leaving Mrs. Shaw for a season under the care of Dr Campbell" (6.3.1829). He also takes her to Grahamstown when she "having been unwell for several weeks I thought a little change of scene might be serviceable to her" (26.11.1820), though he does not mention the illness in previous entries. These omissions may be an effort to conceal from the Missionary Committee Mrs Shaw's temporary inability to function fully as her husband's helpmeet and companion. Diet, clothing, and climate combined to make the Eastern Cape an unhealthy area for

nineteenth-century English women, but the Missionary Committee did not look with favour on those unable to give their all for the missionary effort. The above entries should not reflect badly on Shaw's relationship with his wife. That he loves her is obvious when in the second week of an unspecified illness he writes: "My dear partner gets worse & worse & great danger is apprehended. Perhaps we must soon part - a tormenting thought" (8.5.1821). Shaw's audience dictates the information about his wife which he is prepared to include in his diary. A missionary's reputation as a serviceable member of a mission station could be damaged if the only topic upon which he speaks in his official communication is the illness of his wife. The diary's ability to reflect the life of a missionary in a troubled area is debased for the modern reader by omissions which hinder our understanding of the man and his context.

The same pattern of omissions followed by brief expressions of fatherly concern typifies Shaw's remarks about his children. His children receive no mention until they reach school-going age: "It is a painful thing to be separated from our children but their advantage requires that we should make the sacrifice" (16.2.1829). Essentially Shaw's diary is a public, not a personal one. He sends extracts of it back to the Missionary Committee, he seldom uses it to express his spiritual shortcomings, and he restricts comments on his personal life to the barest details.

Bishop Griffith leaves the reader in no doubt as to his reason for writing a diary. The diary is a letter diary and a travel journal in one. Griffith wrote that his diary was, "Intended for One whose name shall never appear in the Volume, yet who is the cause and object and foundation of it all" (31.1.1838). A travel journal addressed to a specific person was not a novelty in Europe where letter writing was common amongst the educated, and the 'Grand Tour' was deemed a social and intellectual necessity for those who could afford it. It is thought that the receiver of the diary was Theresa Devereux, whose family was on good terms with Griffith.⁶⁵ This theory is partially confirmed when Griffith seems to break his vow not to mention the person to whom he is writing. At the end of the entry of 23.1.1839, "But 'tis time to say G.N. and G.B. Theresa," the editor adds, "The word 'Theresa' is written in very small characters and is not very clear."⁶⁶

The bishop writes a narrative about his experiences of ocean and African travel, rarely including the woman to whom the diary is addressed in a conversational manner. The tone of the diary varies. Griffith has a neutral tone he employs when conveying what he believes to be objective information; sometimes the contrast between intention and material is amusing, "[Mr Jeremiah, a mulatto's] colour appears to me to be deepening as we approach his own country" (30.1.1838). He uses the same tone when putting forward an argument; his case is clearly and logically presented (see his argument on the equality of humankind, pp. 37-38). Seasickness or uncongenial company results in a tetchy tone; in this mood Griffith is very difficult to please- "Keuler speaks but little English & understands less" (7.9.1838). His communications in the text addressed specifically to his woman friend are sentimental and romantic.

⁶⁵ Griffith, p. xii.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 188.

The boredom which inevitably accompanies sea travel results in this passage which is revealing of his attitude towards his audience and his partiality for the sentimental romanticism beloved of the Victorians:

'Twas this Evening, I think, that Mag and I were gazing on the moon. Was --- looking at it too? We talked of our friends and their remembrance of us, and M mentioned the agreement of Valancourt and Emily in the "Mysteries" (which inclined me to read them) to think of each other at Sunset. The Moon I thought wd answer --- better and on the Moonbeams I gazed and thought of ---'s admiration of Moore's Song of "Mary", "While gazing on the moonbeams". (25.1.1838, see Appendix A for the full text of the poem.)⁶⁷

The bishop's diary is the construct of one oddly out of step with his time. The diary resembles this description of the activities in a salon in mid-18th century France:

They played verbal games, critiqued recent literary works, wrote portraits and maxims, and discussed topics ranging from love to politics to morality.⁶⁸

He also adopts the salon practice of using a pseudonym when referring to his audience. The practices of keeping a diary and a salon seem a curious pair to compare, but they have the same motivating force, the "construction of a refined and predictable world, in contrast to the grimy and dangerous world outside."⁶⁹ The bishop uses his diary to clarify his thoughts on controversial issues like that of racial equality. It offers him the security of the known and predictable in a world which has little of either. But the primary motive for writing the diary is simply that Griffith told his mystery woman that he would send her an account of his travels to, and in, his vicariate. This motive undergoes transformation shortly after the Bishop leaves his homeland. It becomes a means of keeping regular personal contact with a sympathetic and understanding audience when surrounded by the wildernesses of Protestantism and Africa.

Archdeacon Merriman does not specify to whom his diary is aimed. The diary is started on the day on which the Merriman's ship docked in Cape Town's harbour and they began life in the strange land: "On Wednesday 15th November [1848] we anchored in Table Bay." This suggests that Merriman began writing his diary because he felt that he was becoming part of an important historical event, the colonizing and settling of one of the British Empire's stormiest frontiers, the Eastern Cape. This motivation is borne out by the publication of edited entries for 1848-9, and 1853-5 appearing in 1850 and 1856 in the Colonial Church Chronicle. Thus Merriman was writing after portions of his diary appeared in a church periodical.⁷⁰ The material included in the Chronicle was anonymous, though attributed to

⁶⁷ Thomas Moore is a Romantic poet who corresponded with Byron (I am indebted to Ms M. Beard for this point). The memoir introducing the volume of his works describes his poetry as, "graceful and full of fancy and sentiment." in Moore, Thomas. N. d. The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore. London: Frederick Warne, p. xiv.

⁶⁸ MacArthur, E. 1990. Extravagant Narratives: Closure and Dynamics in The Epistolary Form. Princeton: Princeton University, p. 37.

⁶⁹ Backer, D. 1974. Precious Women. New York: Basic Books, p. 9. In *ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

⁷⁰ Merriman, p. xv.

one of the party which arrived in 1848.⁷¹ Merriman is comfortable with his fairly wide audience in the Chronicle because his own identity was not revealed, though interested people could surely have guessed. Bishop Grey's publication of the diary distresses Merriman. The book is accessible to a larger, more varied audience than the church magazine, and Merriman's name is on the cover, denying him the privacy of anonymity. It is this, and the extravagant promise of the title which causes Merriman such discomfort:

The Bishop had before leaving England published some part of my journal and I was truly grieved that my poor narratives of a number of Colonial trifles should be made so much of as to come before the public in an ambitious dress and with the title of "The Kafir, the Hottentot and the Frontier Farmer". It will make me I trust more close, cautious and reserved in future.
(12.1853)

The Bishop has the best of intentions in publishing Merriman's diary: he wants to increase awareness and funds for Anglican missions. There is nothing underhand in this undertaking. The Methodists used extracts from missionary diaries in their newsletters and published where possible to raise money for the missionary effort.⁷² The Merriman diary can be characterized as "close, cautious and reserved." The tone of the diary is detached, and its content includes little of a private, personal, or domestic nature. The publication of The Kafir, The Hottentot and The Frontier Farmer without the approval of its reticent author probably caused Merriman to discontinue the diary two years later. Merriman may have written with a view to publication, but it would be with his own editing, and revisions, and for circulation amongst interested friends and colleagues.

The three churchmen were motivated to write diaries by external imperatives. Shaw and Griffith write to specific audiences who are the originators of the decision to diarise, and Merriman writes with the intention of having his diary circulated amongst an audience of his fellow clergymen. In these diaries the motives for keeping a diary are linked to whom the author thinks the audience will be. Shaw's diary is not of the personal confessional variety advocated by Charles Wesley, he is compelled by the Missionary Committee to send them extracts detailing his activities and those of his congregation. In all probability, Shaw would not have written a diary if the Committee had not required it. The extracts had a potentially large audience; the Committee published portions of their missionaries' diaries in newsletters and in book form to raise money for the mission effort. The diaries of Shaw and Merriman (portions of whose diary were also published) both contain little which is private, personal, or domestic as a result of the threat of publication. Publication was a threat to both of these men: it took their diaries out of the safe circle of readers with similar world-views. It involved risk, the revealing of oneself to an unknown audience whose reactions could not be predicted or controlled. Griffith's intended audience also causes his diary to be written. He writes to a woman, referring to her as " ---," in Ireland about his voyage to South Africa and his first tour of his bishopric. The final sentence confirms that this letter-diary is his only experience of diary-keeping which he did to please his audience rather than from any love of

⁷¹ I thank Mike Berning for this point.

⁷² Ibid.

diarizing: "Here let me take again a last Farewell to journalizing and to --- for whom, as I began it, so also I now conclude it. Farewell" (16.2.1839). The bishop's confidence in his audience is reflected in the freedom with which he expresses his feelings, and opinions on a variety of controversial topics. The content of these diaries is largely dictated by the diarists' conception of who will read the diary, and the diarists become more reticent as the predicted audience increases. Woolf's opinion of diaries published in their authors' lifetime is not quite correct "The good opinion of our contemporaries means so much to us that it is well worth while to tell them lies."⁷³ Rather, it is better not to tell them anything at all.

One of the topics which Shaw and Merriman are most reluctant to discuss in their diaries is their family lives; Griffith, whose vows preclude his getting married, is the most open about his admiration of a woman. The three churchmen all started writing their diaries after they had formed long-lasting mature relationships with women.

There is little in the married men's diaries from which to build a description of family life in the Eastern Cape. This does not indicate unheeding neglect or active avoidance of familial duty. David Livingstone explains the position of a wife in her husband's journal: "For a man to say much about his wife would not only be distasteful to the public, but, as it is in this case, decidedly disagreeable to herself."⁷⁴ The public domain of the Missionary Committee, the Colonial Church Chronicle, and the book is avoided by these wives whose place, they and their husbands felt, is in the private, domestic world. Griffith is not under these constraints; he is writing to a married woman. Her marriage grants her a status which allows Griffith to be very open to her without compromising the respectability of either of them. The possibility of publication does not exist, again, allowing Griffith to be frank.

Marriage for Shaw and Merriman is one of easy companionship, with each partner having a defined role within the marriage and an active interest in the sphere of the other. The English middle-class marriage was usually between partners of similar ages, world-views, and aims in life. This resulted in an easy companionship based on sharing, partnership, and mutuality.⁷⁵ But within this system the husband is the public figure and the wife the private one, hidden from the diary's audience. Unlike women diarists, the men rarely refer to their spouses at all, and the references that do exist are brief. This contrasts with female private diarists who, "paint a flattering picture of female fate as marriage and motherhood."⁷⁶ Merriman and Shaw are not alluding to marital unhappiness or neglect with these rare

⁷³ Woolf, Times Literary Supplement, p. 689.

⁷⁴ Livingstone, David. 1982. Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa. Turnhout: Time-Life Books, p. 8.

⁷⁵ Peterson, M. Jeanne. 1989. Family, Love, and Work in The Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 80-81.

⁷⁶ Blodgett, Harriet. 1989. Centuries of Female Days: Englishwomen's Private Diaries. Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, p. 147.

and brief mentions of their wives; their practice simply reflects how the function of the diary has changed from a public to a private document.

Bishop Griffith's relationships with women were by the nature of his denomination of a different kind from those of Shaw and Merriman. His diary reveals a very close friendship with the woman for whom he wrote the diary. Griffith addresses her as --- and vows that she is "One whose name shall never appear in the Volume" (31.1.1838). As mentioned above (pp. 9-10), Griffith does mention his audience's name once. In identifying his friend by her first name Griffith deviates from the clerical norm. Shaw and Merriman refer to their wives as 'my wife' or by their titles, 'Mrs. S.,' 'Mrs. Shaw,' and 'Mrs. M.,' 'Mrs. Merriman.' This does not reflect badly on either Shaw or Merriman, since the practice of using a spouse's given name was not common until well into the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ The formality of the addresses could also have been induced by the consciousness that an audience of relative strangers was destined to read the diaries. Shaw and Merriman follow the example of the women diarists studied by Blodgett who use their husband's titles when referring to them.

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the marriages of Shaw and Merriman were companionate and supportive ones. Ann Shaw (néé Maw) was a sickly woman whose husband worried much about her fragile health. She died in 1854, and this event coupled with the strain of travelling caused Shaw to have a breakdown.⁷⁸ A particularly debilitating illness causes Shaw to write: "Since I wrote last I have had many painful exercises on account of the severe illness of my wife" (19.5.1821). Shaw records briefly how the illness brings her close to death, but there is clearly anguish behind his words: "My dear partner gets worse & worse & great danger is apprehended. Perhaps we must soon part - a tormenting thought" (8.5.1820). The repetition in the first sentence suggests the writer's anxiety before he expresses it himself.

Ann is involved in her husband's career beyond the maintenance of their home and the bringing up of their children. She takes a 'class' of his congregation.⁷⁹ The class is mentioned for the first time when Ann is ill, "Mrs. Shaw being unwell, I met the class of females" (28.3.1828), or as a matter of course when quarterly tickets are handed out: "Gave Tickets to Mrs. Shaw's Class" (16.5.1828). Ann Shaw is not a stereotypical nineteenth-century minister's wife. She is a wife, parent, and an important part of Shaw's ministry. Her involvement in the life and running of the church in Salem probably ensured its success despite her husband's increasing involvement outside his parish.

Julia Merriman (néé Potter) is a vague figure in her husband's diary, which does not dwell on his personal life. She went with her husband on some of his shorter excursions into his archdeaconry, but is rarely mentioned even on these trips when she was constantly at her husband's side. Merriman restricts

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 109.

⁷⁸ Shaw, p. 14.

⁷⁹ A class is a Bible study and prayer group of small sections of a Methodist congregation. These were compulsory last century.

his comments to concern as to her condition after these trips: "We soon proceeded to Fort Beaufort...[rode] twice through a large flight of locusts...Mrs. M. much tired" (14.3.1850). The couple seem to be drawn closer by a shared experience on one of these excursions to the Amatola Mountains, "I was glad Mrs. M. should see what I consider the most beautiful part of South Africa" (17.3.1850). Here both partners gain pleasure from the work of the husband to which they both contribute.

Both women are to their active husbands 'the weaker sex', and their physical endurance surprises their spouses. Shaw remarks during the five day waggon trek from Port Elizabeth to the settler site on the Kariega River: "My Dear partner is a complete heroine. She shrinks not - but thanks GOD that we have the prospect of soon being useful in his Church" (5.6.1820). Merriman too finds "Mrs. Merriman was less fatigued than I expected" (2.1852) after travelling for two days, from Grahamstown to Port Elizabeth. Both Mrs Shaw and Mrs Merriman participated in their husbands' vocations, underlining what Peterson finds, "was ubiquitous in Victorian upper-middle-class life"; these families "were 'single-career families' but both husband and wife partook of that single career".⁸⁰

The process of childbearing had lost its mystery for these husbands before they landed at the Cape and began diarizing. Shaw arrived at the Cape with a daughter, and he had a son who stayed behind in England with Ann's mother; Merriman arrived with two sons and three daughters. The Shaws went on to have two more children, and the Merrimans one. The only birth which happened while Shaw was writing his diary was that of his daughter Mary Elizabeth. Shaw's record of the event includes little reference to the child:

My dear wife was safely delivered of a fine girl. The Lord was better to me than all my fears. I had dreaded the approach of this time, ever since her late affliction which had weakened her very much...O that this child may become a (sic) heir of glory. (5.7.1821)

The high mortality rate amongst women giving birth means that death is a strong possibility. The stark evidence of many tombstone inscriptions in the Old Cemeteries in Grahamstown is ample evidence of this.⁸¹ Shaw's concern for his wife is based on a very real fear. Merriman displays a blithe lack of interest in the health of either mother or child when his last child is born. This probably stems from previous trouble-free pregnancies and births. That the new father is concerned, not neglectful, is indicated by his putting off the journey to Bloemfontein until after the birth. The tone of the entry illustrates the reticence of a retiring man who is obliged to reveal his private life, "Mrs. Merriman having got through her confinement nearly a month earlier than I expected, I set off...to walk to Bloemfontein" (5.11.1850). Confinement was a subject not to be discussed in public in the 19th century; the silence in Shaw and Merriman's diaries is indicative of the strength of the taboos surrounding childbearing.

⁸⁰ Peterson, p. 166.

⁸¹ My thanks to Mr Andrew Cook for reminding me of this.

Another tragic reality of childbearing was the death of a child. The period 1810-1829 saw slightly under one third of all children dying before they reached five years in Britain.⁸² Primitive conditions and facilities in the recently colonized Eastern Cape meant that these figures are probably optimistic for the region. The Shaws did not escape this ordeal. Ellen Hey was born on 24 February 1826, before her father restarted his diary. Her death causes Shaw to go back to his diary for consolation. That he cared for and loved his daughter is obvious, as is his helpless anguish when she lay dying:

This forenoon our dear little Ellen Hey departed from earth to heaven, aged eleven months and three days. She had suffered greatly for six or seven weeks...We felt much from the absence of all proper medical aid, and were compelled to act according to the best of our judgement. None but a Missionary can know the heart of a Missionary under such circumstances. (27.12.26)

Shaw turns to his diary when there is no support for him in his grief. The final sentence suggests that there is no missionary in the area to whom Shaw can turn. Missionaries are probably aware that their decision to place themselves beyond the reach of all but the most basic services increases their vulnerability to a range of disasters. Guilt and a feeling of helplessness at not being able to summon aid complicate Shaw's response to his daughter's death. The nature of the text and the audience fail the diarist. Shaw cannot pour out his grief and regret because his perception of what it is fitting to include does not allow it, and empathy from people in England is not possible given the subject. These diarists do not mention their children again until they are of school-going age.

The nature of the vocation to which Shaw and Merriman were called involved much travelling and precluded much of the frequent and direct involvement in their children's lives which was the norm for parents of their time.⁸³ The diarists do not record their children's growth, accomplishments, misbehaviours and illnesses as diarizing mothers habitually do.⁸⁴ Merriman tries to develop relationships with his children, even including them in his work. His eldest son John at nine years old wants to emulate his father's adventurous (in his eyes) visitation journeys. The first outing on which John accompanies his father produces little comment. John had no doubt tamed his exuberance and was on his best behaviour in the company of other adults: "Mr. Thompson, Mr. Bendelack, and my son John, accompanied me a few miles on my journey" (11.7.1850). Four months later Merriman sets out again with only his son and servant for company, long entry rings with paternal affection and delight:

My young son John accompanied us the first ten miles, where we were to remain for the night, he having a great desire to be initiated into his father's mode of travelling; to lie in a tent, sleep with his clothes on, or in a kaross, eat a supper cooked in the bush, perhaps hear wild beasts, and divers other things on which his imagination had feasted. The next morning I parted from him in a high state of glee. (5.11.1850)

⁸² Blodgett, p. 186.

⁸³ Peterson, p. 104.

⁸⁴ Blodgett, p. 181.

Julia and John Merriman accompany Nathaniel in his travels to the delight of all concerned. The children become part of a companionate, sharing family as they grow up and are able to take on a larger role within it.

Schooling is one area where fathers take more than a passing interest in their children's upbringing. Education was playing an ever-increasing role in the lives of the English in the 19th-century which saw the literacy rate rise from 41% in 1839 to 99% in 1914.⁸⁵ The strong connection between church and education in the Methodist and Anglican churches meant that Shaw and Merriman were aware of the increasing importance of a good education for their children. The Shaws' attachment to their children is demonstrated when they take them to school in Salem: "It is a painful thing to be separated from our children but their advantage requires that we should make the sacrifice" (16.2.1829). They are reassured by the respectability of the teachers, "to whom we may safely confide the case of our children during their tender years" (Ibid). The welfare of the children is of concern to both parents, the "our" and "we" indicates that the responsibilities of parenting are divided between the partners. School visits reunite Shaw with his children. He is more interested in their health and academic progress than their actual presence, awareness of the audience probably dictated the tone and content of this entry:

Rode down to Salem, where I had the pleasure of seeing my dear children, Matthew Ben, Margaret Ann, and Mary Elizabeth, all well and manifestly improving in useful knowledge. (24.9.1829)

In contrast Merriman sends his son to school with this blunt remark: "My forty-second birthday, on which day I despatched my eldest boy, John, to Capetown, to enter the Collegiate school at Woodlands" (4.4.1851), or this afterthought: "After seeing my son off from Port Elizabeth...I paid a visit..." (7.1852). The Merrimans are more appreciative of the mere presence of their son in their house over holidays:

...[John is] much grown, and greatly enjoying this return to the family after an absence of a year and a half at school, which to a lad of his age is a great deprivation, as well as to his parents. (28.6.1852)

Schooling for both families is of the traditional English variety; a small private boarding school in Salem for the Shaws, and a well-established boarding school in the capital for the Merrimans' son. These two men are both reticent on the subject of their wives and families, but the little they do say suggests loving, companionable marriages and close family ties, despite the constraints of the clerical round.

The picture of family life which emerges from the above is one in which the values and methods by which marital and parental relations are conducted differ little from English ones. There is no perceived need to adapt to the conditions in South Africa though they are manifestly different from those in England. There could be several reasons for this. Firstly, the Shaws and Merrimans assume that they will go back to England at some future date. The parents would want to ensure that their children are brought up in a way which prepares them for their possible return to the home country. The adoption of the manners and customs in use locally is debased; it suggests that the person who adopts such practices

⁸⁵ Vincent, pp. 3-4.

has become as uncivilized as the native inhabitants of the land. David Livingstone is clearly worried about his children's "Englishness" when in Kuruman:

We made it a rule to speak together always in our own tongue, and a law that the children should address us in no other. It was surprising to observe how seldom we had to remind them of the law...When they went on board ship they refused to say another word of the native language, and have now lost it entirely.⁸⁶

The pride Livingstone has in his childrens' decision and his relief when they forget the language are symptomatic of the anxiety to retain that which is English and purge all traces of Africanness from the children. Secondly, as will be discussed below, Africans are regarded as uncivilized and savage. To prevent their children from becoming too African, and to reassure themselves of their Europeanness, both families observed the practices which they had learned in the mother country rather than adopt the more practical ones of the area. The aim is to maintain the class level, what the English a century ago called respectability.

Respectability is, for a Roman Catholic bishop, taken for granted. Griffith certainly believes this, which gives him licence to be more forthright about his feelings towards the woman he writes to than either of the other diarists. Griffith is in love with Theresa. He does not admit this to himself because to do so would be a emotional transgression of his vow of celibacy, and moreover Theresa Devereux is a married woman.⁸⁷ The diary does not suggest that Theresa and Griffith were anything more than friends; the bishop's love is idealistic, romantic, and sentimental. In the courtly tradition, she is loved all the more for being unattainable. The first part of Griffith's diary which is written on board ship contains more references to --- than the second part when Griffith has many new experiences and sights keeping his introspective impulses at bay (there are 48 references to --- in the first part and 38 in the second). The bishop is reminded of --- by two things: the moon and a game of whist. The moon: isolated, silent, solitary, pure, and virginal appealed more to Griffith's romantic imagination than did the sociable card game. Both remind him of happy days in Ireland, but only the moon is invested with symbolic power. The entry in which Griffith adopts the moon as a symbol of Theresa (see pp. 10-11) is filled with references to love: Emily and Valancourt are lovers in The Mysteries of Udolpho, Moore's poem is a love poem to his "Mary", the moon is associated with romance in Moore's poem, and fertility and unreachable love (in the form of Artemis/Diana) in the cosmology of the classical world. The following two entries illustrate the reality of Griffith's feelings for his correspondent. The setting creates an environment which encourages Griffith to reveal the combination of intimacy and longing characterizing his relationship with Theresa:

The Moon bright and Shading the Stars: looked long at her and thought of ---. (4.3.1838)

⁸⁶ Livingstone, p. 9.

⁸⁷ Griffith, pp. xv-xvi.

I looked long and anxiously at the Moon last night, in hopes some other eyes were on her, 'tho she often fled the view for a Black Cloud pursued her all the time & often obscured her Disk. Did you see it? (5.4.1838)

The metaphors in the above underline the bishop's feelings; the moon is pursued and obscured by another which is "Black" and endowed with the negative connotations of the unwanted suitor. A game of whist has the same nostalgic effect, "Do you ask if I thought of my last Partner at Whist? Indeed indeed I did 'many a time and oft'!" (1.2.1838). Griffith has more to occupy his mind during his tour of his Vicariate and writes to --- frequently. The second half of the diary contains little material which might clarify further his feelings towards her as a result.

On 23 January 1839 Griffith is told of a vessel soon to leave for Liverpool and realises that he should post the diary off to the one for whom it was intended. The realisation that the final parting from the text which has been his substitute for conversation with Theresa is imminent makes Griffith act: "I have sent to look for the leaves of all the Fruit Trees peculiar to this Climate and mean to inclose them, after a remembrance &c in this Book" (23.1.1839). The final twenty-four days of writing are, according to the text, littered with the plant specimens that Griffith has collected put between the pages of the diary to give Theresa an idea of the exotic plant life to be found at the Cape. Faced with this parting he tries to crush as much as possible of his experience of the Cape between the pages of the diary. The diction he uses indicates the significance which he attaches to his collection; "enshrine" is used twice to describe how a leaf is put into the diary, a process done "with all veneration" (25.1.1839). The botanical specimens become venerated relics of the relationship which Griffith has conducted on paper with his beloved Theresa. He has come to regard writing to Theresa in his diary as a form of conversation. He is reluctant to part with the particular book he uses as a diary, possibly because of its associations as a surrogate for the person to whom it is addressed.

Theresa acquires many associations in Griffith's text. Her symbol the moon is pure, innocent, and (to him at least) untouched. It is easy to see the parallels that this conception of the moon bears to the image of the Virgin Mary. Mary (also the name of the beloved in Moore's poem) possesses the same purity and is a remote, unattainable presence. These qualities epitomize the position of Theresa in this pious man's life; her purity will remain unsullied because both have taken vows which preclude a sexual relationship between them developing.

The type of work in which Shaw, Griffith and Merriman are involved by its nature encourages a more open view of humanity. The evidence of their diaries points to a liberal, but not colour-blind, attitude to peoples of other races. It is revealing to look at how these men looked at their fellow Europeans before surveying their attitudes to other races, since a positive or negative attitude may be the reflection of the man's attitude to humanity as a whole.

Shaw, an energetic, practical man, notices and praises the traits that he admires in his English fellows as he looks back over the first year that the settlers spent in the Eastern Cape:

The review astonishes the mind. Within one year, desert places have been taken possession of by a multitude of men, the beasts of the field have very generally retreated to make room for them, houses have arisen, & villages spring into existence as if by magic; & what is better than all, many hills & dales have resounded with the praises of the Saviour... (19.5.1821)

This is probably Shaw's conception of the civilizing (in other words, Westernizing) of an uncivilized land. Civilisation involves great changes: "desert places" become "hills and dales," wild animals are replaced by the English, settlements magically spring up, and Christianity is practised. The nothingness which is Africa is replaced by the meaningful symbols of Europe. English institutions have an equally high value in Shaw's eyes. Mr Justice Burton, the first English judge to arrive in Grahamstown on the newly constituted circuit of the Eastern Cape, is greeted by a crowd who "testified their joy at his arrival and the introduction of the spirit & uprightness of English Law by an illumination" (7.5.1828), Shaw, it is clear is one of those inhabitants. Shaw finds the English character lacking in the spiritual sphere. The cares of settling in a new colony have "too generally produced worldly mindedness - violation of the Sabbath & an awful disrelish for the solemnities of religion" (19.5.1821). Shaw has a positive attitude towards his fellow countrymen and believes that they have an important role to play in the civilizing of the country.

Griffith's attitude towards his Irish countrymen is a more extreme one. To be Catholic in Griffith's Ireland was to take a political as well as a denominational stand.⁸⁸ For Griffith, a good Irishman was also a good Catholic: "Saw old O'Donnell and wife from Co. Limerick - genuine good old Papists" (7.7.1838). John Niland is accused by his children of living with another man's wife but the man denies it and Griffith will "believe the man to be maligned - he is an old, rude sensed, ignorant man, but a staunch Catholic from Co. Mayo" (13.8.1838). Griffith adds a rider to this positive view of Catholic Irishmen:

... 'tis strange that these Wexford people, particularly, shd be found every where...but be nowhere as good as at home: while the Unfortunates of the South of Ireland are devils at home, but very steady Catholics abroad. (29.6.1838)

Catholics from the European mainland have the same status as Catholic Irishmen when both are in a foreign country: "Visited by 'a true Israelite', a poor Shoemaker from Strasburgh - gave us the names of several Catholics" (7.7.1838). Griffith's loyalties lie towards his Catholicism and his country.

His treatment of the Protestant English he meets displays his aversion to their religious preferences. He has the traditional animosity of the Irish to England's oppression of the Irish people dating back to the 1534 Act of Supremacy of Henry VIII.⁸⁹ Griffith's remark when an Englishman tells him that St Paul visited the island is extremely patronising: "How blind! how melancholy blind and self-deluded are these poor English!!!" (19.1.1838). England's scholarship is as easily dismissed as its ignorance, Sir E.L. Bulwer's England and the English is indirectly criticized by a character assassination of its author, "I take him to be impudently Anti-Irish as well as anti-Catholic...there is much of the little boy in all his assumed manliness of Criticism" (23.2.1838). Griffith's attitude to the English provides a

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

⁸⁹ Ibid, pp. 1-6.

contrast to the attitudes of Shaw and Merriman; he is an outsider submitting to British rule in Ireland and the Cape Colony.

Merriman is the most nationally conscious of the three clergymen studied. He continually defines the essence of 'Englishness' by praising it and denigrating English people who do not have these qualities. A discussion on Tractarianism reveals to Merriman the "plain honest English good sense" of the converser as this man evidences "an honest unprejudiced English mind" when faced with the truth of Merriman's argument (30.11.1850). A visit to Cuylerville demonstrates: "the dogged perseverance of the English settlers" (4.11.1849) in the face of personal and material destruction by war and wheat rust. Merriman's visit to Genadendal moves him to advocate the rural English lifestyle as being the most stable of all social systems:

...the absence of the inter-dependence of landlord and tenant, of squire and farmer and hired labourer, the absence of magistrate and constable, and other elements which English country life presents, was, I thought, a hindrance to the development of any formed and settled character in their converts. (25.10.1851)

Merriman's attachment to rural England's social system suggests that he did not leave England ideologically. He is in favour of a stable, stratified society because in it the dominance of one group over the others is assured by custom. The English would presumably be responsible for the establishment of this system in South Africa. They would be the landlords, squires, magistrates, and constables (he leaves out the parson, who with the squire directed the parish's spiritual and secular affairs⁹⁰) who managed the affairs of the tenants, farmers, and hired labourers. The lower ranks of this society would be filled by "converts" (Xhosa and Khoi). Merriman's ideal society in the Cape Colony is one ruled by an English gentry class with a Christianized black peasant class. The position of the ruling class is assured by the stability of the system which discourages movement between social strata.

The inhumane side of the English settlers is denied by Merriman when he encounters it. Merriman would rather oppose the 'Englishness' of an action than accept that there is a horrible side to the English character. He does this when he opposes attempts to put Xhosa prisoners-of-war on half-rations: "This way of speaking of mere prisoners of war I thought unEnglish and unChristian" (20.4.1851). A comment that Africans are irredeemable provokes the same reaction: "I was pained by the unEnglish and bitter spirit...evinced in their conversation" (28.9.1851). Merriman can, however, believe that the colonials have become less like their counterparts in the motherland when the lack of celebration on the Queen's birthday elicits this dry response: "there was not much spare loyalty in this part of the Colony" (24.5.1849). Merriman admires "Englishness" as Shaw admires "civilization" (see p. 53). A gentrified society modelled along English lines is Merriman's ambition for the colony; Shaw aims for a society with codes of behaviour and dress which would, in England, be called respectable.

All three men are proud of their home countries and set high standards for their countrymen, though none are blind to the shortcomings of their fellows. Griffith divides the colony's population along

⁹⁰ Chadwick, pp. 9, 13

political lines; they are either Catholic and trustworthy, or Protestant and English and prone to inconsistency and obstruction. Shaw and Merriman judge the people they meet along class lines. Shaw, the son of a non-commissioned officer who followed his father into the army, sees middle-class respectability and propriety as the yardstick of good character.⁹¹ Merriman, the son of a professional and educated at Oxford, sees good character in deference to authority and knowing one's place in the system.

There was a small Dutch farming population in the Eastern Cape during the period when these diaries were written. Their waggons and oxen transported the 1820 settlers, including Shaw, to their locations; and their isolated farmsteads provided rest and refreshment for the travellers Griffith and Merriman. Shaw's contact with Dutch farmers began with the waggon driver who took him to his location, "a son of a Dutch farmer," who has "an uncommonly large whip which he uses with amazing dexterity" (5.6.1820). Shaw makes no comment on the nature of the Dutch people based on his contact with this man, which is in itself a positive comment. It is the Dutch Reformed Church which confirms Shaw in his positive impression. He performs the marriages of two Dutch couples and then baptises three Dutch children, "according to the formularies appointed by the Reformed Dutch church, finding nothing in them contrary to my opinion of decency and religious propriety" (7.1.1822). Griffith is less liberal with his praise of the Dutch people, though he is given a lift by a Dutch man overland to Cape Town and often accepts the hospitality of Dutch farmers in the Karoo and south-western Cape. The Cape Dutch all belonged to a reformed church which may have caused him to adopt an insulting tone when he saw Dutch men wearing their hats indoors, they "appear like Quaker men at a meeting" (15.9.1838). The strength of this insult is explained by a simile coined on board ship when Griffith notes: "Breakfast is now more like a Quaker's Meeting here than a meeting of social beings" (31.1.1838). Individual Dutch people leave Griffith singularly unimpressed. One, Job, is described as "non-descript," and "a slobbish, useless, harmless creature." This definition suggests Dutch descent: "Job is an Africander, that is, a European or one of European Descent born in the Colony" (6.9.1838). Merriman is less forthright in his opinions of the Dutch. His description of a Mr Vresveld [sic] whose farm he visits in the south-western Cape as "an intelligent Dutch farmer" (7.12.1848) carries the implication that Afrikaner farmers are unintelligent. Merriman is divided over the ability of the Dutch as colonizers. He asks in a discussion whether the English or the Dutch have gained more Khoi converts in their years of rule. The English emerge the winners of this important colonizing attribute (11.4.1852). Merriman, however, also admires the Dutch: "that the Dutch Church, by its unity, was able to promote the social well-being of the country, in founding new towns, which an English population of five times the amount cannot do" (11.4.1852). Merriman feels strongly about this Dutch ability to found towns around their churches. The English settlers founded towns in the environs of forts as there is no unity in English churches upon which a town can be based. Merriman's admiration here is based on his firm belief in the English social system which

⁹¹ Shaw, p. 2.

revolved around the parish church and the manor hall.⁹² The similarities between it and the Afrikaner towns through which Merriman passed are clear.

The Afrikaner people are very hospitable and ready to give guidance to travellers, but their abrupt manners and unfamiliar customs raise mixed emotions. Griffith's travelling companion and guide from Grahamstown to Cape Town is a Mr Cuyler. Mr Cuyler's presence does not cause any ink to be spilled other than noting dryly his explanations and descriptions of various items of interest along the road. The journey started on September 4; on 15 September, strained by the unceasing presence of a stranger, and repelled by Dutch manners, Griffith declares: "The Chattering and smoking of Keuler [Cuyler] and all the other Savages sickened me" (15.9.1838). The following day one of Cuyler's tall stories is recorded with this comment: "now I take him to be a liar" (16.9.1838). The seal is set on Griffith's bad attitude to Cuyler when an exorbitant amount is charged for the trip: "Like a fool I paid it and, like a fool have since regretted doing so. He is a Villain!" (18.9.1838). The Dutch people who offer Griffith hospitality are as ill-treated by him as is Cuyler. An old matriarch is described as "The old hag," and the women of that family as "such dirty Savages" (12.9.1838). Another stop produces "Dirty disgusting men" who are "Savages." Griffith is "more disgusted with filth" here than at any other stop on the journey (15.9.1838). Griffith is unwilling to accept Dutch manners, and he can not get used to them.

Merriman's contacts with the Dutch have a far more positive outcome. Merriman's habit of walking makes his first reception "very ungracious at first" with his host and hostess showing "evident contempt and suspicion" (21.8.1849). The attitude that Merriman takes to this is fundamentally different to Griffith's: "I thought that I must go through with it and get used to the uncouth manner of these men" (21.8.1849). Merriman wins his hosts over by noticing their children and giving the weak-eyed wife his "blue spectacles." Merriman's attitude does soon become accepting: "After this 1st essay I became more used to Dutchmen and their ways and less sensitive of their manners" (21.8.1849). Merriman realises the help that his vocation can give him when a kind woman learns that he "was a Leerar" she becomes "doubly kind" (8.9.1849). Griffith is unable to use his status as a clergyman to gain friendlier admission. His status as a Roman Catholic cleric in a strictly Calvinist country is likely to cause hostility rather than hospitality.

Merriman appreciates Afrikaans hospitality when he is on his walking visitations. The journey to Bloemfontein was a long and eventful one for Merriman who acknowledges that "the Boers were very kind and polite to us on this journey, and frequently very hospitable" (15.11.1850). Merriman goes beyond acknowledging Dutch hospitality to comparing them favourably to the English:

...I think the Dutch very much kinder to strangers than English people: the latter, when they knew me, put no bounds to their civility...I found I could not take the same liberty of off-saddling near an Englishman's house, that I could near a Dutchman's. If the former sees you...he seems to forget that he is no longer in an enclosed country...but he rushes out with angry countenance, and wants to know what brings you there, and why you do not go elsewhere. (22.12.1851)

⁹² Chadwick, pp. 9-15.

The uncivil behaviour displayed by the English to travellers on their property is not 'unEnglish.' Merriman explains it in terms of the enclosures in which landlords fenced off what was traditionally communal village land.⁹³ Enclosures had been taking place since Tudor times and were thus very English from Merriman's perspective.⁹⁴ Merriman accepts the English as naturally superior to the Afrikaners, regardless of their national faults.

The churchmen judge the Afrikaners they meet as they would any Europeans. Griffith, and to a certain extent Merriman, are not impressed when they encounter customs which are not European; they cannot see that these customs are adaptations to the African environment. Shaw admires certain qualities displayed by the Afrikaners. Merriman approves of facets of Afrikaner society but his admiration is coloured by his assurance of overall English superiority. Griffith's attitude is of the most extreme distaste of all things Afrikaans. He moves from this to an acceptance of difference, he sees no need to wish the inhabitants of southern Africa were copies of the Catholic Irish.

Europeans in the first half of the nineteenth century had a largely negative attitude to Africans. The debate over the slave trade led to both sides paradoxically reinforcing this attitude. Philanthropist abolitionists had the moral high ground in calling for an end to the trade. Their ideas about the nature of the trade, and what to do with the freed slaves, reflected their paternalistic assumption that Africans would welcome their ideas, though these ideas were formulated largely without consultation with the people they were to affect the most. The slavers and slave owners rationalized that their institution was a civilizing and Christianizing one. Obviously the slaves were not asked their opinions of this viewpoint. The end of the slave trade and slavery little changed this attitude. Africans were still people that Europeans could do things to, for their own good. The ideas and opinions of Africans on what they considered to be their betterment were rarely noticed.

Shaw seems to break the mould, as he does consult with Xhosa chiefs before he establishes missions in their territories, until Hintsa (the paramount of the amaGcaleka) refuses permission for a mission when negotiations break down. Shaw and Rev. Shrewsbury then demonstrate the extent of their egalitarianism; they had planned to set up a mission and "We therefore unanimously determined to take no notice of this message but to proceed according to our previous plan" (18.5.1827). Shaw's attitude to Africans expressed in 1827 is carried over from Europe by him. Shortly before docking in Simonstown, Shaw prays: "O my GOD, let me have a good entering into this country, & make me useful to some of the ignorant natives" (1.5.1820). This attitude is retained beneath a veneer of fairness. The apparent contradiction involved in maintaining the appearance of democracy and the practice of dictatorship originates in two conflicting beliefs. Shaw the Christian wants to show the Xhosa by example the moral

⁹³ Hill, C. 1987. The Century of Revolution 1603 - 1714. Wokingham: Van Nostrand Rheinhold, p. 20.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

and spiritual superiority of his faith. This clashes with his belief that the Xhosa are ignorant and uncivilized. Ignorant people by definition cannot know the value of civilization, or their need to learn to be civilized. Shaw is never consciously aware of the conflict between his Christian faith and his belief in civilization.

Shaw's ambitions in the missionary field are formed before he reaches the Cape. The day before arriving in Simonstown Shaw hopes that his Missionary Committee friends are praying for him, "when Moses held up his hand [as is done in praise and prayer] then Israel prevailed; and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed" (1.5.1820). The metaphor is taken from battle, Shaw is predicting resistance to his work among the Xhosa before he has set foot in the country. The theme of Africans as heathens, ignorant or hostile to the Christian message, as Amalek was an enemy of God's chosen people, is one that occurs in all three diaries. Shaw's missionary interests lead to him commenting on African heathenism more often than Griffith or Merriman.

Griffith's attitude to the black people in the colony differs from those of Shaw and Merriman. He does not intend establishing missions. He arrives at the Cape with two priests.⁹⁵ These three men have to ensure the spiritual welfare of a population spread over the entire Cape region. He has no priests to spare for mission work. Griffith is freed by this circumstance from the view that every Xhosa or Khoi he meets is a potential convert to be won to Christianity.

Griffith first notices racial difference on board ship when he describes a half-caste fellow passenger. "Mr. Jeremiah" is "a mild, quiet, inoffensive young man" whose nature is easily explained: "the subdued, passive spirit of the Negro is perceptible in him" (30.1.1838). Mr Jeremiah was born in India, educated in England and is returning to India to practise law. Griffith applies a climatic theory to explain the man's behaviour. Black people are thought to be passive and subdued because they originate in hot countries where the weather overcomes the desire to engage in physical activity. Ten days at sea and travelling south, Griffith notices: "His colour appears to me to be deepening as we approach his own country" (30.1.1838), though at the time of writing the ship was travelling south, not east. In Mr Jeremiah Griffith has discovered one who is equally European and Indian (black). The bishop's observations concentrate on defining him in terms of European descriptions of black people, and are an attempt at the scientific precision of a kind usual amongst zoologists. Mr Jeremiah possesses no physical or mental characteristic which does not confirm what Griffith already knows to be true about black people. The words used to describe the man are suggestive, "mild, quiet, inoffensive...subdued, passive." Griffith is not able to meet Mr Jeremiah as a European though he is half European and obviously Westernized. Possibly he is incapable of thinking of one with a dark skin in any way other than black. Griffith prefers to avoid the issue and falls back on stock descriptions of Africans. The resulting description is of a nullity.

⁹⁵ Griffith, p. 13.

Griffith's "The Slave, a Tale of Africa" is another prediction of the kind of people and places to be found in Africa. It is reproduced in full:

The bright idea of writing a Tale came into my head today from reading Park's travels: the materials to be supplied (as they are abundantly) by this author, the plot my own. I'd call it "The Slave, a Tale of Africa" my moral the reward of a good action, and horror of the Slave Trade: my hero and heroine Negroes and "Promessi sposi": my finale or denouement happy. Shall I begin? "There's a small Village not far from the Banks of the Niger and near to where a Ferry transports the Traveller to Segoo See Korro, the residence of the King of Bambarra. To this Village a lone White Man, who has suffered much from travel, hunger and fatigue, bent his weary steps after being refused a Passage across the River in consequence of the King's prohibition. 'Twas now verging to the time of Sunset and our traveller had tasted no food all day; but as he had often experienced the hospitality of some of the Natives of the Interior of Africa, he hoped to obtain food and shelter for the night from some inhabitant of the Village which he now reached. But astonishment and fear seemed to fill every one at his appearance, they fled from him as from a wild animal, and shut every door against him which he presumed to approach. A White Man had never before been seen in these remote regions and the costume of the one in question (here describe his dress, the result of robbery and hardship) was not well calculated to conciliate a favourable impression. Disappointed and dejected he repaired to the Shade of a Tree, with the only companion that adhered to him thro' a long and perilous journey: a jaded horse. He had not been long here when a violent wind foretold the coming of a Storm, while the proximity of wild beasts threatened him with death, were this to be his habitation for the night. Yet he had no other Alternative, so he took the Bridle & Saddle off his horse to give him liberty to forage for himself while he resolved, if Beasts shd. come, to get up into the tree & secure himself amidst its branches. But how was he to procure food, pressed as he now was, by the pangs of hunger? The shades of Evg too were gathering, the wind was roaring, the rain was falling, the beasts were nearing and ___" (16.2.1838)

Several things can be inferred from the introduction to the tale which point to the direction Griffith intends it to take. The promise of a happy outcome suggests that the man in the story does not die. The two engaged Africans mentioned in the introduction (the "promessi sposi") probably rescue him from the dangers facing him and offer him their hospitality, though they risk the anger of the king. The couple are subsequently sold into slavery (by the king for disobeying his injunction?), and rescued by the (now wealthy?) traveller when he recognises them as the people who saved his life in Africa. This storyline will give scope to describe the slave trade, reward the couple for their action, and provide a happy ending.

The outline is a familiar one: it follows that of the tale of Baucis and Philemon. Griffith is probably familiar with the story from Ovid's Metamorphoses.⁹⁶ The god Zeus is represented by the lone European and the messenger of the gods, Mercury, is demoted to a jaded horse; neither the gods nor the European can find a place to refresh themselves though they knock on many doors; the poverty of Baucis and Philemon is replaced by the (probable) simplicity of the African couple's lodging which is further reduced to their slavery; and the power of Zeus and Mercury to transform their house into a temple where they pass the rest of their days as its priest and priestess becomes the intervention of the European which frees the African couple from slavery. The bishop chooses an ancient myth as a frame upon which to

⁹⁶ Ovid. 1955. The Metamorphoses of Ovid. Trans. M. M. Innes. Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, pp. 212-215.

hang a description of an exotic continent. The implication of the outline is that human nature has certain universal qualities which transcend culture.

Griffith does not rely on myth to supply a moral, but on a working of a Christian maxim: "Give to every one that asketh thee, and of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again. And as you would that men should do to you, do you also to them in like manner" (Luke 6:30-31).⁹⁷ The tale's aim to expose the horrors of the slave trade suggests that Griffith is attempting to provide an illustration of the abolitionists' motto "Am I not a man and a brother?"⁹⁸ The hero and heroine who are to illustrate the motto are Africans whose act of kindness rescues them from slavery. They are the noble savages originated by Rousseau and held up by the abolitionist lobby. The moral of the story dictates the personality and actions of its protagonists whose origins can be traced to the European creation of the Noble Savage.

The tale has its factual basis in the writings of Mungo Park. Griffith takes liberties with his text even here. The couple are described as "Promessi sposi," or betrothed, a reference to a book of the same name by Alessandro Manzoni published in Milan in 1827.⁹⁹ The concept of betrothal, and the use of the Italian which locates the betrothed in a Roman Catholic milieu, Europeanize the African couple in a way which Park does not do. Park takes African concepts and explains them as well as he is able to his European audience.¹⁰⁰ Griffith takes a European concept and applies it in an African setting. There is no acknowledgement of cultural difference which results in an African couple with a European mindset located in Africa. The setting is of interest for the same reason. There is no description, though Park does provide sketchy descriptions, Griffith prefers to insert three exotic place names and avoids description in any but the vaguest terms. Griffith's avoidance of concrete description is reminiscent of his description of Mr Jeremiah about whom nothing can be concluded on the basis of the description offered (see pp. 40-41). As Griffith has not directly experienced Africa, the generalized nature of his writing is not surprising, but it takes the tale out of an African setting in all but its place names. The factual basis of the story does not exist in any but the loosest sense.

The tale's plot, moral, and factual basis do not suggest that this is a 'Tale of Africa', but that it is a tale of Europe and Europeans set in Africa. The tale does reveal some interesting aspects of the bishop's character. He believes in the universal nature of humankind, and is completely unprepared for the cultural differences he will encounter between himself and those who will guide him and whose hospitality he will seek on his journey to Cape Town. The yawning gap between fact and fantasy is not

⁹⁷ The Holy Bible. Douay Edition.

⁹⁸ Walvin, James. 1973. Black and White: The Negro and English Society 1555 - 1945. London: Allen Lane, p. 177.

⁹⁹ Griffith, p. 58.

¹⁰⁰ Park often gives a "Description," or "Some account of..." the people and places he encounters on his travels. From Park, M. Undated. The Travels of Mungo Park. London: J. M. Dent.

the sign of a particularly ignorant individual; the abolition debate which began in the 1780s created a body of propaganda on Africa and its inhabitants which was more widely read than the travel and geographical accounts written by Europeans who had actually visited the continent.¹⁰¹ Griffith, whose literary effort clearly supports the cause of abolition, is an example of decades of misinformation about Africa.

Shaw does not leave much written evidence which judges African people on any levels other than on the basis of religion and civilization. The indigenous inhabitants of the region are not adherents of the Christian faith; they are thus heathens who need to be brought into the Christian fold. Their cultural and social values differ from those of the settlers; they need to be 'civilized'. Shaw sees a people who are filled with negative but redeemable qualities: "When will this ignorance & superstition pass away" (15.6.1828). It is with this sense of the failings of the African world view that Shaw can remark in a discussion on the Gospels with Hints's counsellors that they "shewed the deplorable state of ignorance in which their minds are involved" (2.6.1827). Shaw is the appalled witness of a 'smelling out' ceremony conducted to find the person who laid curses on a chief's son and his cattle. He recoils "at the sight of such unmixed heathenism, & felt alarmed lest the culprit should be sacrificed" (25.3.1828). Happily this does not occur.

The missionary's civilizing influence is a serious consideration for Shaw. He sees the positive influences of civilization which were introduced at the Bethelsdorp mission where the Khoi are more fortunate than they were "in their former much more uncivilized state" (27.5.1820). Shaw clearly believes that the onus of raising the standard of Africans to civilization lies with the Europeans; Africans from the interior are described as: "these numerous & neglected tribes" (5.11.1820). The portrait of the African which emerges from Shaw's writing is of an ignorant people whose hope for knowledge of Christianity and civilization lies in Protestant mission work.

Shaw does not believe that these goals are impossible ones. His faith is borne out fully with the triumphant baptism of William Khama, the first Xhosa chief to be converted,

So signal a triumph of the power of the Gospel quite delighted our Native Christians, and a very strong emotion was manifest throughout the whole assembly. For myself, I could scarcely command my feelings so as to finish the Service. (11.10.1829)

Christianity is followed by civilization for Shaw, the outward sign of which is dress. Shaw notes that Khama is "respectably dressed in European costume" (2.2.1829), when the chief goes to church in Grahamstown. Shaw gives a sermon to the Khoi of Theopolis and notices: "They were in general decently dressed considering their rank in Society - a very few appeared in sheep skins - their behaviour at public worship was very becoming" (23.9.1821). It is obvious from the approving remarks made when Africans wear Western dress that it is the only mode of dress which Shaw regards as respectable. Shaw believes that the standards he sets are reachable, but he implies that the standards are not the highest:

¹⁰¹ Barker, Anthony J. 1978. The African Link. London: Frank Cass, p. 157.

There are many pious persons in some of the country parts of England who if questioned by their Ministers before the congregation...would scarcely be able to give more satisfactory replies than those we frequently receive... (28.1.1828)

Shaw's energies are concentrated on only two subjects, his Christianizing, and civilizing missions. Shaw's preconception of Africans is that they are ignorant savages. They are not yet redeemed by Christianity or civilization which it is his calling to teach. Though he develops fairly close relationships with a number of Xhosa leaders, learns to speak Xhosa, and spends much time in Xhosaland, nothing short of a complete conversion to Western religion and culture is necessary to gain equality.

Griffith is handicapped in his understanding of Africans by two circumstances: his reading, and his initial acceptance of settler views (the settlers had been in Africa for eighteen years when Griffith arrived, and they had recently fought a very destructive border war). His reading in Europe resulted in an inaccurate conception of African people; they were to him essentially Europeans in strange dress, as is illustrated in the analysis of the tale above: This conception is quickly refuted, and Griffith struggles to accept the reality of the African people he meets. Griffith absorbs the settler mixture of pre-Darwinist theories:

They are a sad race - Boschmen, Fingoes, Caffers, Hottentots-they are all base and barbarous. The last mentioned, tho' the greatest apes of Europeans in dress and Psalm singing are the most thoughtless with the exception of the Boschmen, who, they say here, are a mere remove from the Baboon - the connecting link between Beast and man...the Hottentot...has scarce Intellect to ascend beyond mere animal life. (10.7.1838)

The attitude reflected in the extract is of one who is attempting an objective categorization which is ruined by his low opinion of the subjects. The first sentence implies that all black people in South Africa are of a kind, they are one race. The fact of baseness and barbarity is established before Griffith moves on to discuss the extent to which each group possesses them. The idea of a universal humanity is abandoned; the "Hottentots" can do no more than imitate the Europeans. There is no commonality possible between the two groups. Griffith's comments on the San reflect the theories of a pre-Darwinist world (Darwin's The Origin of The Species was published in 1859¹⁰²). He seems to have a static chain of being in mind on which the San are placed just above the baboon. Social Darwinism applied in the latter half of the 19th-century the notion of a dynamic species developing and adapting to the human race.¹⁰³ The strength and conviction of these words are an indication of the force of settler opinions. The opinions are reinforced like a self-fulfilling theory by biased observation: "my little Hottentot Guide (...the lower part of whose face was a facsimile of the Baboon's)" (21.8.1838), and confirmed by anecdote. Cuyler's story about a lion which terrorized a Khoi village is illustrative for Griffith: "[the villagers] were so terrified as to throw out one of their infants to him each day to appease his hunger and his rage" (10.9.1838). The above entries are in chronological order. They demonstrate how a prejudice can be formed. The newly-arrived settler is bombarded with neat, derogatory, and unsubstantiated

¹⁰² Bolt, Christine. 1971. Victorian Attitudes to Race. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p. 10.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 11.

theories on the origin and nature of the subjects. Griffith expressed the above opinion eight days after landing in Algoa Bay. These theories are subsequently proved by a series of anecdotes which are impossible to verify. The evidence presented to the new arrival eventually convinces by virtue of its bulk rather than the likelihood of its being true. The assertive tone of the above entries suggests that Griffith heard nothing to counter these theories and stories. The homogeneity of settler opinion is probably firstly a result of the recently fought Border War which united the colony against the Xhosa. Secondly it is a way of rationalizing to themselves the greed for Xhosa land and cattle; the Xhosa are not really human beings, a notion which releases the rustler and landowner from moral responsibility for desiring, or possessing what is not theirs. Thirdly, the remarks on the part of the settlers suggest that they fear the Xhosa whose power was not broken in the 1835 war. Fear channelled into aggression provides psychological strength.

The scorn with which Africans are regarded hides a deep fear. Griffith makes no overt mention of his fear, but when alone in an outside room for the night he "expected nothing less than robbery and murder" (13.8.1838). The bishop is spending the night at a farm between Fort Beaufort and Somerset East, the host is hospitable and there is no mention in the entry of the possibility of violence or robbery.

The extremely conservative stance based on settler reports is gradually broken down on his journey from Port Elizabeth to Cape Town. Cracks start to appear in Griffith's conceptions before he leaves for Cape Town when he realises that settlers are not a reliable source: "you'll not find two persons of one mind on any subject in this Colony" (8.8.1838). Griffith hires an Afrikaner, Cuyler, to take him overland to Cape Town. Griffith's relationship with Cuyler's travelling servant Hendrick was not very deep, but the comparison between Cuyler and Hendrick does add to his growing disaffection towards Afrikaners, and the colonial view of Africans. At the outset of the journey Griffith introduces Hendrick:

Hendrick was a slave, descended from European & Negro, he is now old and of great piety for he can read the Bible and sing a Psalm... He is not yet baptized. I suspect he is a fine rogue or thief, so Kr [Cuyler] thinks; at all events he is a good Servant particularly in travelling of this kind. (6.9.1838)

The stresses of travelling reveal much of the characters of Hendrick and Cuyler to Griffith. He writes when he discovers that a towel has gone missing: "Hendrick says he knows nothing, but H., Kr says, is a thief and H. thinks K. not much better 'Nous verrons'[we will see]" (16.9.1838). Personal contact with one of the "other" people leads Griffith to reject the chain of being which places the white above the brown. The bishop comes to a conclusion on the question of race six months after his entry proclaiming the baseness and barbarity of the African people. The following entry written shortly before the diary is posted to Ireland shows that Griffith has returned to the humanist position he held before arriving in South Africa:

What of the diversity of Colour among men? 'Tis seen at home as well to come here to find it. You see a Kaffir - he is black - is it any illumination of mind to see him naked? ...Is the Orange Grove so different from the Orchard? Or Brown or yellow more strange than white? But I have not come hither for these varieties. The Moral Being was my pursuit... difference in colour in such Being causes not such variety in Morality as we are led to imagine. Man is man: his vices, passions and pursuits all naturally the same; his virtues not so much alike, for these depend on

Culture; his talents not the same for they depend - say rather his capacity - depends on physical configuration. (23.1.1839)

This extract is reminiscent of Shylock's words defending the same common humanity from the point of view of the one prejudiced against:

I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is?-if you prick us do we not bleed? (III.i.52-58)¹⁰⁴

Griffith comes to the conclusion that, despite the protestations of the settlers, there are universal traits which humanity the world over has in common, though they are often concealed behind the veil of culture. This conclusion is a more humane one than that of the settlers, but it too is a European construct. Ultimately it is as destructive of real understanding as its racist predecessor.

Merriman has none of the romanticism which colours the thinking of his Catholic colleague. The abolitionist debate ended with the Act of Parliament granting slaves emancipation in 1833.¹⁰⁵ The moral concerns of slavery were replaced by the practical ones associated with building and running an empire. The British turned to the pseudo-scientific theories which classified and "hierarchized" to coin a term, the human race as they offered ways of making sense of the bewilderingly large variety of people who became part of the British Empire. The most popular pseudo-scientific theories were Lavater's physiognomic theory, Lamarck's classification of humanity into six categories, Cuivier's classification into three categories, and Wells' theory that the climate in the Tropics was detrimental to European health as the climate in Europe was detrimental to African health. Western culture has a history of arriving at conclusions about the character of a person, or people on the basis of their physical features, which reaches as far back as Homer and Herodotus.¹⁰⁶ These particular theories have their roots in the Enlightenment urge to classify and rationalize the world and multiplied in number and popularity in the early 19th-century. They take on a sinister aspect when they are incorporated into the Victorian world-view and applied to subject peoples who are usually at the bottom of the classificatory hierarchy. They can be disastrous for the indigenous inhabitants, as Merriman unwittingly confirms:

...it is a great pleasure to me...to find so large a number of the coloured population evidently taking root in the soil, and living independently...instead of withering away before the face of the white man as the aboriginal Hottentots have done before them here, and as the Indians are now doing in North America. (23.1.1848)

Merriman's acceptance of the concept of survival of the fittest and its application to the Khoi and Amerindians conceals the human disaster, and the culpability of England and white America, behind a neat theory. Predictably he later describes the Kat River Khoi as, "far the most advanced and best

¹⁰⁴ Shakespeare, William. 1984. The Merchant of Venice. Ed. J. Russell Brown. London: Methuen.

¹⁰⁵ Walvin, p. 141.

¹⁰⁶ Miller, Christopher L. 1985. Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French. Chicago: University of Chicago, pp. 31-32.

conducted set of people" (11.7.1850). Those who do not "wither away" are the fittest according to the logic of the theory quoted above. They are able to adapt to the new and stronger civilisation.

The fittest race should have the finest human qualities, and Merriman is puzzled when he sees examples of rock art:

...it is singular that this degraded portion of the human family [the San] should have possessed an art of which the other tribes here seem entirely ignorant. (9.10.1849)

San art is superior to that of the other inhabitants of the region according to Merriman's aesthetic judgement. His confusion stems from his notion that the most degraded people should have the lowest proportion of every human capacity. The San should, in accordance with the theory, have little or no artistic ability at all; certainly less than the other black people in the area who have more status in the human chain of being. The theory has a powerful hold on Merriman who leaves the paintings puzzled, but he does not question its validity in the light of physical evidence to the contrary. Merriman, like Griffith, would rather believe an unsubstantiated view of Africans generated by Europeans who have never been to Africa than his own observations, if they are in conflict with this view.

Merriman's confusion over categories amongst African people gives way to certainty on the topic of the place of black people in relation to white. The Xhosa are reduced to one of the plagues visited upon the settlers: "This day was observed as a day of fasting and humiliation, in consequence of the scourges...drought, locusts and Kafir rebellion in the east; unseasonable and excessive rain in the west" (7.2.1851). Merriman differs from Shaw by refusing to believe that the natives are capable of attaining high levels of civilization, in other words, Westernization. They are forever imprisoned in the categories assigned to them by Europeans. The Griquas display an "incapacity...to cope or keep pace with the civilized man" (18.11.1850). Merriman's conclusion about the natives of the Eastern Cape is that they are uncivilized and will always be so.

Merriman does concede that there are areas where Africans outstrip Europeans. Not surprisingly these are in the lowest faculties, those of sensory perception. Merriman's Xhosa servant Wilhelm proposes a detour at night: "I knew that I could trust his Kaffir ear and so acceded to a proposal to which no Englishman would have easily tempted me" (5.9.1849). He is touched by the simple kindness of an African who shares his loaf of bread with him and his servant Jethro, "I have rarely tasted bread which I thought sweeter than that which I ate as the free gift of the poor African black" (22.12.1851). This act is of moral significance rather than illustrative of any superiority on the part of the man who shared his last loaf. Praise of civilization does not mean that Merriman can not see some advantages to African conception. He complains when he sees that the Mfengu are building square houses, "changing their round huts for miserable mud hovels built in the European shape...I could not see that much was gained by this sort of reform" (6.11.1849). Here signs of the acceptance of the colonizer's methods renders a village uncivilized on the grounds of cleanliness rather than civilized on the grounds of design.

Merriman develops a personal relationship with his travelling servant and guide Wilhelm Goliat. Merriman's relationship with Wilhelm is less superficial than that between Griffith and Hendrick. He travels long distances on foot with Wilhelm as his sole companion. Wilhelm is first mentioned when

Merriman visits parishes north of Grahamstown, "I left home on foot accompanied by a Kaffir man (Wilhelm Goliat) to make a visitation" (7.6.1849). Wilhelm ensures himself a mention in the diary when he takes communion: "to my great joy my Kaffir attendant...presented himself among the communicants" (7.6.1849). On their second journey together Wilhelm's failure to arrive on time to leave provokes these lines:

...Wilhelm's tardiness at the outset did not much signify save as indicative of the provoking thoughtlessness and improvidence of his whole race of whose strong and weak points of character I had abundance of opportunities of testing both to my annoyance and satisfaction during my journey. (16.8.1849)

Merriman reiterates his belief that individual characteristics can have racial bases. The strong points of Wilhelm's character embed themselves in Merriman's mind. During the border war Merriman entrusts his children to Wilhelm. They are sent with Wilhelm to a farm outside Grahamstown to give them relief from the tension in the town, "So between the Fingoes and Kaffir Wilhelm I trust my little ones without much apprehension" (1853). The relationship of Merriman and Wilhelm is constructive for Merriman but does not eradicate his basic view that there are fundamental irreconcilable differences between people of different colours.

The three churchmen have different views concerning the nature of the people they encounter in Africa. Shaw believes that he has been sent among ignorant savages, and intends to guide them on the path of knowledge by imbuing them with Christianity and Western culture. Griffith believes in the concept of the noble savage who possesses qualities common to all humanity. Merriman's deterministic view of humanity will not allow him to believe that the people with whom he comes into contact can possibly assimilate into the culture of which he is a part. The Protestant churchmen agree at a basic level that there is a difference between the self and the other, white and black, civilized and savage; they accept their own culture as the ideal, never pausing to consider the merits of the culture they are in the process of dismantling in the name of Christianity and civilization. The Roman Catholic, Griffith, comes to believe that humanity is of a piece at a basic level, and the differences between peoples are the result of a cultural diversity. The churchmen do have one thing in common: their mental construct of the people of Africa is in place before they set foot on African soil and the sometimes conflicting evidence of their senses does little to undermine it.

The Africa known to the European public often differed substantially from the continent's reality in much the same way as its people did from Europe's perception of them. Each man's perceptions of the land is to some extent modified by direct contact with it. The unread European travelling to Africa was at a distinct advantage in the first half of the 19th-century. The Africa accepted by Europe as real was often no more than Mungo Park's West Africa. West Africa contains tropical jungle bordered in the north by desert. It gave to the whole continent a reputation for high temperatures, violent winds and storms, and colourful and predatory animals. The Eastern Cape has few of these qualities: it has neither jungle nor desert; its heat is balanced by an equally extreme cold; and the wild animals (it supported a

large elephant and antelope population) had largely been hunted out of the area before the arrival of the 1820 settlers; moreover, by mid-century, the Xhosa too were having to travel long distances to gather ivory.¹⁰⁷ The Eastern Cape was bound to disappoint the traveller in search of Mungo Park's Africa.

The ability to express an opinion about the merits of a landscape is demonstrated by Shaw, Griffith, and Merriman. All of the above have definable aesthetic sensibilities based on Enlightenment (in the case of Griffith), or Romantic conceptions of the ideal landscape. The Enlightenment ideal was an ordered garden where every plant had its place and was rigorously pruned to ensure the orderliness of the whole. These very formal, symmetrical, and controlled gardens were a product of a world-view which prized reason and order above all other virtues.¹⁰⁸ The Romantics rebelled against the restrictions of the rational. The Romantic expression in landscape architecture is what is known today as the Georgian garden. These gardens sought to harmonize the elements of grass, water, and trees in a whole inspired by nature. The Romantic poets found inspiration in the extremes of nature to be found in the high Alps and the wild places in Britain, especially the Highlands. Predictably, those with a Romantic world-view appreciated the land's wildness, but the Enlightenment world-view could find little to recommend Africa to the traveller.

Shaw, probably the least well-read of the three churchmen, gives little indication of what he expects to find at the Cape. His prayer upon boarding his ship at Deptford echoes the words of a popular Welsh hymn, "Guide me O thou Great Jehovah [Redeemer], pilgrim thro' this barren land" (3.2.1820). It anticipates the barrenness he expects to find in Africa with the spiritual barrenness of the unconverted Africans. He gives no other indication of his expectations of the land; Shaw's ability to focus on little but the spiritual reason for his presence in Africa characterizes his diary.

Merriman gives little indication that he experienced a discrepancy between expectation and reality in his encounter with Africa. The memory of a conversation with an English acquaintance is his only reference:

...after the Diocesan meeting at Wells, I observed, 'Well! after all, perhaps we may some day sit under a palm-tree together in Africa'. I could little expect that in four short years my vision could be thus agreeably realized. (12.10.1851)

The two meet in George. The disparity between "a palm-tree...in Africa" and the coastal forest which surrounds George does not strike Merriman when in George talking to his friend. It did not strike him in Wells either, though he knew he was to go to the Cape whose vineyards had been producing wine for export to Europe since 1743.¹⁰⁹ The said wine became very popular when the British government lowered the duty on wine in 1813, and by 1822 10.4% of the wine consumed in Britain was from the

¹⁰⁷ Peires, J. B. 1987. The House of Phalo. Braamfontein: Ravan, p. 101.

¹⁰⁸ Stuart, David C. 1979. Georgian Gardens. London: David Hale, p. 13.

¹⁰⁹ Guelke, L. "The White Settlers, 1652 - 1780." In Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. 1987. The Shaping of South African Society 1652 - 1820. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, p. 54.

Cape.¹¹⁰ Griffith tastes Constantia wine in 1838 and is "surprised it has got such a great name" (6.4.1838).¹¹¹ It is curious that Merriman did not believe the evidence suggesting that Africa was more than a large desert. The influence of the published accounts of exploration in West Africa is so strong that he believes them rather than the physical evidence on the tables of Britain.

The most informative account of European expectations of Africa is Griffith's " 'The Slave, a Tale of Africa' " (16.2.1838). Griffith credits Mungo Park with the material for his tale, like his fellow churchmen he assumes that Park's observations hold true for the whole continent. In the above (see pp. 67-68 for the full text) extreme view of Africa the animals, weather and accidents of geography all conspire against the European who is battered but unbowed. There are two kinds of animal mentioned in the tale. The European's single horse is regarded as a "companion" who has reached a "jaded" state in his service. The horse is a known quantity, domesticated and reassuring. Africa supplies nameless, formless "wild beasts." The threat that these pose is not due to their fangs, claws, horns, or hooves, none of which is mentioned. The threat springs from the traveller's (and through him, Griffith's) fear of the unknown. The weather has the same lack of specificity, the intensifiers signal extremes but they are not characterized. The traveller is at first hot, he rests in the "Shade of a Tree," then a "violent," "roaring" wind begins to blow and rain starts "falling". The harsh power and unpredictable nature of the weather parallels the hostility of the animals and all conspire to defeat the traveller's will to survive. Griffith conceives Africa as a continent with an undefinable, formless threat, and climatic extreme.

The churchmen telescoped the whole continent into West Africa. Africa, for the European, is a land which is adequately observed in the works of various explorers who describe one portion of it. Shaw gives little indication of what he expects from the African landscape. Griffith and Merriman's expectations lead them to expect a land of extremes, and Griffith expects much predatory wild-life. Their expectations do not prepare them for the reality of South Africa.

Shaw, Griffith and Merriman all landed in Cape Town before setting off for the Eastern Cape. Cape Town is consequently where they gain their first impressions of Africa. Shaw's comment on his first sighting of Simonstown, opposite which his ship anchored during the night, suggests relief at its familiar ordinariness: "[it] stands at the foot of a range of high hills & is a very neat little place" (2.5.1820). Griffith's dry amusement at the sights of Cape Town indicate that he feels superior in a town which lacks the sophistication he is used to on the Continent:

What I saw of the Town pleased me - the houses but not the Streets, reminded me of Holland - the people (black, brown, white, yellow and tawny, all shades & colours) appeared exceedingly ugly, their various garb amusing. (14.4.1838)

Griffith's observation that the people in Cape Town are "exceedingly ugly" is an aesthetic opinion which does not imply a judgement of their moral character on the basis of external features. The comment lacks the distaste he is to acquire after a short time from the settlers in the Eastern Cape. Merriman makes no

¹¹⁰ Freund, W. M. "The Cape Under The Transitional Governments, 1795 - 1814." *Ibid.*, p. 216.

¹¹¹ Cape wines travelled badly (Guelke, *Ibid.*, p. 54).

comments at all upon arrival in Cape Town. Its resemblance to other European settlement made comment superfluous. The men do not take the other towns in the colony for granted as they do Cape Town. The city is the largest urban area in the colony; it is the seat of government; it supplies provisions to a large shipping fleet which docks in its harbour on the way to the Far East; it is the market for the agricultural produce and wine from the interior; it is 168 years old when the first diarist alights on its quay. Cape Town probably resembles European port cities on a much smaller scale, with its cosmopolitan population ranging from senior British government officials, who were often nobility, traders, farmers and wine-growers, to dock workers, labourers, and prostitutes. The familiarity of the town does not strike the men as unusual; there is no reason for them to express surprise when they see an ordinary port town. There is also no reason for them to describe a place which resembles so many other places of their knowledge.

The urban settlements in the Eastern Cape are small when compared to Europe. The capital of the eastern frontier, Grahamstown, evokes few strong impressions from the men who will be its spiritual leaders. Shaw can find nothing to say of the town itself, except that, "although not a new Settlement, [it] is quite destitute of the Gospel...there is no place of public worship," this reflects badly on the townsfolk: "It is not marvellous that iniquity abounds, and that the standard of morals is very low" (4.9.1820). Merriman, like Shaw, notices the state of the Church (though in a physical sense) in Grahamstown, and describes nothing else. Merriman's attitude to the church, twenty-nine years after Shaw's gloomy survey, is little different. He comments on the resident priest's burdens:

...the hopelessness of representing the Church effectually and of combating the numerous difficulties of such a very extensive sphere as is here open to him, seems almost to have overpowered him. (17.1.1849)

The hardy, independent spirit of the town's first inhabitants did not bode well for a priest attempting to instil moral values and some spiritual discipline. Merriman's greater rank, his energy, and unbending Tractarianism ensured that his efforts met with more success. Griffith does notice more than Shaw or Merriman of the town itself:

Town covers much space but houses look like Irish cottages - white - washed and thatched. Surrounded by hills and built on the declivities of one or two - looks straggling. (14.7.1838)

The town's shape is not important in itself. The town's significance lies in its houses which remind him of those at home. Grahamstown has little to offer its spiritual leaders, and has little physically to catch the eye and remark upon when looking back over the day for material to include in the diary.

The churchmen are appreciative of the settlements they encounter in the colony. Griffith and Merriman both visit Uitenhage, their appreciation of the town is a reflection of the land through which they have passed on their way to the town. Griffith writes:

Uitenhage is prettily situated, being nearly surrounded by Mountains of Bush (or bosch) and has abundance of water, though no rain of consequence has fallen there these ten years. It occupies however too much ground - the houses being a great distance from each other, and, though built in the way as intended streets seem no better than a straggling village over too large a space of ground. (7.7.1838)

Merriman rode to Uitenhage, "through such heat as I had not before experienced in Africa" (8.2.1849):

When I got over the crown of the small hill at the foot of which Uitenhage lies and heard the gurgling of water and witnessed the luxuriant vegetation of that place, while all the country round was burnt up, I was ready to cry for joy. (8.2.1849)

Both Griffith and Merriman learn that they cannot judge a town on the level of its sophistication, but rather on its ability to meet their needs as travellers. Their reactions may have been different if they were going to live there. Graaff Reinet is "a beautiful Town," whose irrigation system makes it "quite an Oasis in the Desert. You'd never suppose as neat a Town could exist in such a lone and desolate Country as surrounds it" (22.8.1838). Griffith and Merriman both see inland urban areas as oases where rest and refreshment can be had away from the vast, hot spaces of the hinterland.

Shaw and Merriman approach the landscape with a Romantic mindset. The Romantics saw in the lonely ruins and remains of former times art sanctified by time and deserving to be revered as nature was. These ruins and views were described as picturesque, the works of man and nature in a harmonious whole were eminently worthy of inclusion in a painting.¹¹² The landscape without human influence, extremely high mountains, deep chasms, turbulent rivers and waterfalls, wastes of desert and snow that evoked powerful responses in their viewers were known as sublime. Shaw responds to Table Mountain as to the sublime "where there is enough of romantic grandeur to exercise the eye & to assist the mind in useful rumination" (3.5.1820). The surrounds of the Kariega River which had "remained so long without a population to cultivate it," are "a most romantic spot" (10.6.1820) in its placid isolation. The Kowie Kloof is described in Shaw's most effusive language; water, rock and vegetation combine around him and refresh him mentally as the stream does physically:

It is a most romantic place surrounded by inaccessible rocks & impenetrable thickets, the Kowie River running in the vale below, in a diminutive stream, bubbling as it falls over the stones, clear as crystal, and its water is most sweet & refreshing to the parched lips of the African traveller. (25.8.1820)

Griffith notes the Romantic qualities in a camp of waggons outspanned for the night: "some other Wagons were near, and their fire and group around it brought Banditti to my mind. The scene was highly picturesque" (14.7.1838). The reference to European "Banditti" tames the landscape for Griffith by bringing Africa into a recognizable, though lawless, European milieu. The landscape is further domesticated by Griffith when he translates all Dutch place-names into English, a few examples of this are: "the Sneuberg (Snowy Mountain)", "Bokkeveld (pronounced Buckfield - Goat's field or Country of Goats)" and "the River or 'Fonteyn'" (27.8.1838, 3.9.1838 and 7.9.1838). Merriman provides an interesting version of what Andrews calls picturesque travelling. The picturesque traveller praises the beauties of his own country by invoking foreign (usually Classical) models.¹¹³ Emphasizing the hellishness of the outlands, Merriman describes Colesberg: "situated in a strange spot in a bare volcanic

¹¹² Alexander, Lucy and Cohen, Evelyn. 1990. 150 South African Paintings: Past and Present. Cape Town: Struikhof Publications, pp. 12, 14.

¹¹³ Andrews, Malcolm. 1989. The Search For The Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760 - 1800. Aldershot: Scolar Press, p. 3.

looking country. It seems like a pigmy town planted in a Cyclopean stone quarry" (31.8.1849). The description is of a dry, uninviting country whose lack of beauty calls forth a Classical model. The picturesque tourist looks at the Great Winterberg and uses the agreed picturesque model to describe what lies before him: "the wildest piece of scenery I have seen since quitting Switzerland" (13.12.1850). Paarl is acknowledged as beautiful, "one of the most beautiful spots that the Cape has to boast of," but this attraction is a borrowed one and this "completely foreign looking village" has features which "conspired to remind me of a foreign town on the continent of Europe" (27.10.1851). Merriman's descriptions of the African landscape constantly refer to Classical or European models as if they are a standard to which Africa must strive. The descriptive styles used by the diarists to tame the landscape to their language tend to describe their world views rather than the object of their scrutiny. The reality of the African hinterland sometimes gives rise to a more honest reaction.

The familiar and exploitable within the landscape evoke the most positive reactions. There is little on the European landscape that has not felt the impact of man; cultivation and grazing lands have criss-crossed the earth's surface with fields, fences, and hedges which have changed the numbers and distribution of countless varieties of flora and fauna. The growth of towns has introduced large urban settlements into the rural landscape. The passage of water has been controlled, river channels have been straightened, marshes drained, and land reclaimed from the sea. The three churchmen are taken out of this landscape, typical in Europe, and transported to the largely untouched South African one. The hinterland is a wild one and the hand of man has made little impression on its surface. The plains of the Karoo are disliked by Griffith not only because of their monotony: "Miserable Country all about, stunted bushes and uncultivated plains" (6.9.1838), but because they support no human life:

Karoo signifies Desart but I thought the Karoo no more deserted than other parts of the Country I had passed-nay there are more houses through it from Beaufort to here. (10.9.1838)

Griffith is not a Romantic. His aesthetic is an Enlightenment one which delights in the ordering of nature on rational principles. He delighted in the ordered garden, and cultivated and fenced rural landscape. The far-off horizon and general spaciousness of the flat land makes him feel small, isolated, and vulnerable. Shaw is undismayed at the prospect of this wild land, but to him it has practical value. A walk through Bomvana territory inspires him with a compulsion to tame the land. He is surprised to discover how beautiful, and useful, the land is:

The country...is extensive and abounds with wood and water of the best quality. The soil is generally very rich and it is a country possessing every requisite for most productive cultivation, the numerous springs being well situated for the purposes of irrigation & the corn lands of the Natives without irrigation produce abundantly. But their country...is not near so good for grazing... (16.5.1829)

The entry abounds with words which suggest that the land is measured and assessed rather than appreciated. Shaw's plans for this country do not include those who are living on it. These people do not produce as much as Shaw predicts he can, and he argues that the one whose production is highest has a right to use the land. The Xhosa produce an abundance, Shaw wants a superabundance. The acquisitive

eye being cast over Bomvana land is also a realistic one; Shaw had earlier acquired a similar piece of land for a mission village:

...we found a place possessing very great beauty of scenery, extensive prospect, and the greatest capabilities. There are several strong springs of excellent water, so situated as to render irrigation quite easy. The soil is very rich and there is a large timber Bush very near. (12.5.1829)

The two above sites are surveyed with an eye to their possession by the Wesleyans; Shaw's remarks about the land's suitability therefore serve a practical purpose. Merriman visits the Amatolas and, like Shaw before him, his comments have agricultural implications: "it was a splendidly watered and fine grassy country" (19.1.1850). Griffith, a man trying to consolidate his congregation not expand it by missionary activity, seeks no active part in the taming of the landscape. However, he applauds familiar signs of human impact on the country: "'Twas delightful to get into this cultivated and comparatively green Country after the desolation of the past days" (12.9.1838). The country improves in Griffith's eyes as he journeys deeper into the south-western Cape, where the signs of human impact and greenness which is familiar and comforting are more apparent: "The Country looked better than heretofore - that is, more cultivated and green" (15.9.1838). Merriman finds in South Africa little corners that are forever European. He finds at Fort Cox a couple whose cottage might easily be in the Lake District:

I do not know any where a more exquisitely beautiful spot than their little cottage stands on - on one side of a lovely valley flanked by the Amatola Mountains, with the Keiskamma winding beneath them through a country that looks like a succession of parks and pleasure grounds. (20.3.1849)

Africa is a new Eden to Merriman, his perception of the Cape is explicated in this paragraph:

Every fresh estate and fresh garden that we visit reminds us how abundantly this beautiful climate and soil minister to the physical comforts and luxuries of man - such a profusion of fruits and vegetables is there - which, if more plentiful at this the spring time of the Cape year, seem never to be entirely out of season. (8.12.1848)

Merriman's comments about the African landscape are less vigorously positive than those of Shaw and Griffith, though they partake of all the themes previously mentioned. Merriman's view of Africa is dictated by his experiences of great discomfort from heat and cold while travelling, and refreshment when he finds a farmhouse or settlement where he can rest.

The Africa known to these men before their arrivals is largely their own creation and the creation of those who wrote about the continent for their European audiences. The men adapted themselves to the reality before their eyes, but none can accept it as it is; it has the good example of the formal, symmetrical, controlled, and sublime Europe to live up to.

The most telling explication of the discrepancy between expectations and reality is written by Griffith in an effort to aid his Irish audience's understanding of the land. The rivers, flowers, birds, forests, and fields of Africa lack, the following entry implies, what should be their defining characteristics:

'Rivers without water' (you pass them as a gutter or channel or find no water at all in most of them...). 'Flowers without odour' (you trample geraniums under your feet and see the loveliest tints in innumerable flowers, but 'tis fact, they have little or no fragrance, the commonest green bush has better). 'Birds without song' (and 'tis a pity, for never did more lovely plumage and its

variety flaunt in any land, but a twitter, call or whistle is the most you'll hear). 'Forests without wood' - (Bushes, bush, bosch only fit to burn). 'And fields without grass' - I saw not a bit and I have now travelled 1000 miles in the Colony. (8.9.1838)

Africa is not the negation of Europe, it is simply "without," a void. Griffith's description of the land is reminiscent of his description of Mr Jeremiah. Both have an emptiness, a nullity which, below the surface of the observed landscape and the idea of universal humanity, pervades Griffith's attitude to the land and its people.

Griffith proves this when he rejects Africa because its geography, flora and fauna are not 'African' enough! The observed Africa is nothingness in the face of the Africa Griffith has faith in: the Africa portrayed by Mungo Park:

Thousands of miles have I since traversed, yet how little of Interest or variety, have I found or met?...Here I am in a Country, which at a distance, presents many objects of Marvel, and Curiosity-have I met even one? No, not even a lion, a tiger or an elephant in his native haunts. Nothing have I seen worth crossing a brook to see; yet I have crossed oceans, and wilds and desarts and rivers, and mountains - how much wiser am I than before? Nay - even less wise for I had then notions of variety and beauty existing here, which have all been banished by being 'on the spot'. (23.1.1839)

The Africa of Bishop Griffith is not the land which Mungo Park explored, and the bishop accepts Park's version as the only one possible: therefore the land he traversed is not genuine. Griffith does to Africa in this extract what Said claims Orientalists do to the Orient: a term is originated, concepts developed and categories are devised for it which become a screen between subject and object. What Orientalism has done to the Orient is to determine perception in terms of Orientalism (or Park, in Griffith's diary), instead of Orientalism being determined by perception.¹¹⁴ The Oriental person and place is created by Western knowledge of it.¹¹⁵ But Africanism differs from Orientalism in one important aspect. The Orient is the Other, a negativity; and Africa is a blank, a nullity.¹¹⁶ Griffith at the end of his diary remains a complete European, rejecting Africa in favour of his home continent's sights, sounds, and myths of the Dark Continent. Shaw and Merriman accept the land as it is, not having the desire to state as Griffith does above that they reject the land as something "without" anything.

The three church leaders have little in common besides an earnest desire to strengthen and hopefully propagate their denomination of the Christian faith. The openness encouraged from the time of the Puritan confessional diary does not manifest itself to any great extent in the diaries of the two Protestants. The most candid diary in the study was written by Bishop Griffith. He does not write a confessional, but an affectionate letter-diary to a woman to whom he is very attached in Ireland. The bishop is also the only diarist who manifests an eighteenth-century sensibility when viewing the people

¹¹⁴ Miller, p. 15.

¹¹⁵ Said, Edward. 1985. Orientalism. Harmondsworth: Peregrine Books, p. 40.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

and places he encounters on his visitations. Shaw and Merriman take a more conventional view of the people they meet, they are "uncivilized" and in need of Christian values and western cultural norms. Their attitude to the landscape is also conventionally based on the Romantic model. The three diarists have in common large reserves of energy which they channelled into the successful establishment of their denominations in the Eastern Cape.

3. MILITARY DIARISTS

The seven diarists considered in this chapter have in common an experience of a military structure, be it the local colonial militia or the British imperial army; and most also fought in one of the border wars. Superficially there are few similarities between them: they lived in different periods, came from different backgrounds, and had different reasons for belonging to the military. But the military experience is one that transcends time and circumstance: common to all these men is subjection to strict discipline, having to follow the often seemingly illogical orders of the higher command, the physical hardship imposed by an often irregular and insufficient food supply and exposure to the vagaries of the Eastern Cape weather, and the comradeship found among men facing the same threats, dangers and hardships. These similarities are not immediately apparent as a brief biography of each man will illustrate.

Thomas Holden Bowker is the first diarist in order of writing. He was born in Wiltshire in 1807 and came to the Eastern Cape with his settler parents,¹¹⁷ as part of a large, rather superior family.¹¹⁸ He grew up in complete freedom on his father's farm and taught himself how to read and write.¹¹⁹ Bowker did commando service in the 1828 "Fetcani",¹²⁰ took part in the Sixth Frontier War as lieutenant of the first battalion of the Khoi regiment (during which time he wrote the diary analysed below), and defended Whittlesea in the Eighth Frontier War.¹²¹ He married Julia McGowan in 1854. They had seven children.¹²² Bowker became M.P. for Albany and Victoria East (Queenstown) respectively before his death on the Bowker farm, Tharfield, in 1885.¹²³ Bowker's diary reflects his sense of humour, and his independence of mind, which contributed to his successful political career in later life.

¹¹⁷ Dictionary of South African Biography. 5 vols. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council, 1977.

¹¹⁸ My thanks to Mike Berning for his comments.

¹¹⁹ DSAB.

¹²⁰ The "Fetcani" was a raid undertaken by Henry Somerset to halt a supposed Zulu advance into Xhosa territory. Somerset mistakenly attacked the Ngwane in the neighbourhood and returned home believing that he had repulsed the Zulu. This is one of the episodes in the movement of people known as the Mfecane. See Peires, J. P. 1987. The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence. Johannesburg: Ravan, pp. 86-87.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

Charles Lennox Stretch was born in Bristol in 1797.¹²⁴ He was posted to the Cape with his regiment the 38th (South Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot in 1818. It was involved in the clearing of the Zuurveld in 1820.¹²⁵ 1820 also saw Stretch's marriage to Ann Hart, and he left his regiment to go farming on the Baviaans River.¹²⁶ The Stretches had one child, James St Leger, born in 1822, who died three months after his birth.¹²⁷ Stretch wrote his diary during the 1835 War of the Axe, following which he became a land surveyor and represented several constituencies in the colony's Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council.¹²⁸ He died in 1882 in Somerset East.¹²⁹ The diary reveals the mind of a deeply religious man disillusioned by the conduct of the British during the War of The Axe. The high standards which he set for himself and others, and the energy with which he berates those who do not meet these standards suggest that he is sincere, but stiff and not particularly likeable.

Robert Wigram Arkwright was born in 1822, the son of an English clergyman.¹³⁰ He was educated at Eton after which he joined the British army where he in 1840 purchased a cornetcy and in 1842 a lieutenantcy.¹³¹ He was transferred to South Africa where he wrote a diary of his hunting experiences before selling his commission in 1846.¹³² He lived the rest of his life as a country gentleman: Master of the Oakley Foxhounds and Justice of the Peace for Northampton.¹³³ Arkwright spent little time in the Eastern Cape, and did not fight in a Border War. He is an example of one of the uses to which the British army was put before the Cardwell Reforms: a large finishing school for the sons of the gentry and nobility.

¹²⁴ Stretch, Charles Lennox. 1988. The Journal of Charles Lennox Stretch. Ed. Basil A. le Cordeur. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, p. 1.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p.3.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 142.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Arkwright, Robert Wigram. 1971. Sport and Service in South Africa: The diary of Lieutenant Robert Arkwright. Ed. Edward C. Tabler. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, p. 1.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

Henry Hall was another professional military man. He was born in Dublin in 1815.¹³⁴ He hoped to go to Dublin University but was forced upon his father's death to seek work.¹³⁵ He joined a building company in 1831 and the Royal Engineers in 1839.¹³⁶ He was ordered to the Eastern Cape in 1842 and participated in the 1846 war.¹³⁷ He recorded his experiences of the war in the diary studied below. He made a reputation for himself by building South Africa's first signal tower, building fortifications along the Great Fish and Kat Rivers, producing a series of detailed maps of South Africa, and publishing the first authentic study of South African geography, the Manual of South African Geography.¹³⁸ After a career in the British army largely spent in South Africa, Hall died in London in 1882.¹³⁹ The diary's rather dry content and style does not do justice to its articulate, witty, musical, mathematical, and artistic author.

James Brownlee was born at Tyume mission station in 1824, educated at Salem mission school, and worked as an interpreter in missionary, government, and military service before the 1846 war which he recorded in his diary.¹⁴⁰ He was married to Maria Hockley in 1850 but was killed in the war of 1851 before the birth of his only child.¹⁴¹ Brownlee resembles Arkwright in the devil-may-care attitude of his diary. He seems to relish the thought of adventure and danger: it is hardly surprising that he distinguished himself by his gallantry in the war of 1850.¹⁴²

By far the most eccentric man in this group is Arthur Stephen Flanagan. He was born in Cuylerville, the son of an 1820 Settler.¹⁴³ He lived the life of a recluse, rarely paying visits even to Grahamstown and refusing to leave the locality where he was born and grew up.¹⁴⁴ He took part in and recorded his experiences of the defence of Cuylerville in 1846. This isolated, kindly man was a self-

¹³⁴ Rochlin, S.A. "Henry Hall: Pioneer South African Cartographer and Littérateur." in Africana Notes and News (Vol 14). Africana Museum, p. 251.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp. 251, 252, 258.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 265.

¹⁴⁰ Brownlee, James. 1980. The Diary of James Brownlee. Ed. Alexander Graham Kirkwood Brown. Rhodes University: Unpublished M.A. Thesis, pp. 6-7.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁴³ The Grahams Town Journal. 12.4.1872

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

taught land surveyor, and was his own carpenter, tailor, gunsmith, wheelwright, and shoemaker.¹⁴⁵ He built his own home where he lived alone, unmarried, until his death as a result of a snakebite in 1872.¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, his diary is short and it is chiefly concerned with the shortcomings of those brought by the war into the Cuylerville community: it is not a very satisfying illustration of a singular Albany character.¹⁴⁷

The most recent diary was written by John North Crealock. Crealock was born in 1837 in Littleham, Devonshire and was educated at Rugby School.¹⁴⁸ He was commissioned as an ensign in 1854 and became a lieutenant a year later.¹⁴⁹ In 1856 he came briefly to the Cape before his regiment was ordered to India to help put down the Indian Mutiny.¹⁵⁰ Crealock married Marion Lloyd in 1869.¹⁵¹ They had three sons.¹⁵² He returned to the Cape in 1878 as assistant military secretary to Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir Frederick Augustus Thesiger.¹⁵³ He accompanied Thesiger to the Eastern Frontier where he wrote a diary concerned with the war in progress. Crealock was not a likeable person, though he came to be regarded as a good soldier and leader in his later years, and he commanded a regiment in Gibraltar, India, and Egypt.¹⁵⁴ Crealock's inability to relate to people is reflected in the scathing remarks he makes about his fellow soldiers in his diary; but what also emerges is a soldier passionately involved in his profession, a soldier who is often irritated by the incompetence and lack of common sense displayed by the leadership.

The above diarists represent the full spectrum of military experience in the Eastern Cape. Arkwright, Hall, and Crealock were all professional British soldiers. Arkwright and Crealock belonged to the gentrified world of rural England, while Hall had to make his own way in the world after the death of his father. Bowker, Brownlee, and Flanagan were born in the colony and fought for their own properties and livelihoods rather than the larger Empire. Bowker and Brownlee, like Arkwright and Crealock, came from prominent, respected families, while Flanagan's very self-sufficiency argues for humbler origins.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Flanagan, Arthur. *Diary: 1846*. Cory Library MS 7333(c), Rhodes University. No attempt has been made to alter the spelling or punctuation of the manuscript diaries.

¹⁴⁸ Crealock, p. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

Stretch experienced the Eastern Cape both as an alien and as a native: he was first a British soldier, then an Eastern Cape colonist. The Stretch family was a respected one which had served in public office for generations in Limerick.¹⁵⁵ Stretch's social standing was thus assured as much by his antecedents as his officer status. The diarists are fairly representative of the middle and lower strata of British and settler society and military institutions.

The aim of this chapter will be to analyse the motives that lay behind the writing of these diaries, and the intended audience of the diary: these two factors are often closely linked. It will also look at the diarists' attitudes to the people with whom they come in contact: military and civilian, British and colonial, ally and enemy. Lastly, it will examine their attitudes to their environment, the African land, its climate, and animals.

The nature of the military experience raises the question of why these men wrote diaries at all. The military experience is one that dislocates and disorients. The martial system demands the surrender of the individual's freedom and identity to that of the particular group to which he belongs. Strict discipline is applied and harsh punishments meted out to those whose assertions of individuality affect the cohesion or safety of the group. Added to the hard underlying principles of a well-run army, the Eastern Cape contributed hardships of its own. The fighting strategies of the Xhosa were psychologically stressful to the British: set-piece battles were avoided in favour of ambushes on small patrols, usually in close bush or narrow defiles when the British were within spear range.¹⁵⁶ The Eastern Cape is a physically demanding environment: its unpredictable climate can be cold and wet or hot and dry, and bad roads meant that food supplies were unreliable. The suppression of individualistic tendencies and the stresses created by the military system in general and the environment of the Eastern Cape in particular seem calculated to discourage anything which asserts the existence of the individual, and requires precious time and effort.

But the factors tending to discourage the keeping of diaries are generally the ones which diarists find spur them to regularity and personal revelation. Keeping a diary is an egotistical practice as the self becomes focus and protagonist in an extended piece of writing. Soldiers by keeping a diary can assert and express their individuality to themselves without invoking the wrath of the system designed to suppress it. The private self has freedom of expression in a diary which is unthinkable in the public sphere where the individual merges into the group.

Army diarists bear a close resemblance to woman diarists of the last century. Both were constricted: soldiers by the hierarchy, and women by social pressure. The diary is a way of "admitting to

¹⁵⁵ Stretch, p. 1.

¹⁵⁶ Peires, pp. 147-148.

the fundamental importance of the diary in her own life as a means of self-definition."¹⁵⁷ Defining the self in private when the diarist is for some reason prevented from doing so openly gives the diary a subversive function. England's bourgeois culture of the 19th century assured this function for women's diaries: "women were still able to use their journals to unburden themselves of feelings and views they felt prevented from voicing in public."¹⁵⁸ Soldiers, placed in overtly oppressive hierarchical structures, took advantage of the same function of diaries. C.L. Stretch is one who exercised this function to the full against Colonel Smith, Chief of Staff to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape Colony, Sir Benjamin D'Urban.¹⁵⁹ Stretch refers to Smith as "Braggadocia," a "strange man," a man with a "fertile genius in military despotism," and sarcastically as "the gallant colonel" (22.6.1835, 5.9.1835, *ibid.*, 4.7.1835). If publicly aired these remarks (and many more in the same vein) would have had serious repercussions for Stretch's position and career in the army. Brownlee feels the same freedom in his diary to question the orders he is given, though he obeys them: "What the object of this day's expedition was, no one knows," and "The greatest absurdity to think the men required a guide [Brownlee was chosen], some having been twice there before" (8.9.1846, 29.8.1846). Both Brownlee and Stretch have no choice but to follow their leader's orders, but their diaries reveal the exercise of an independent will.

The daily task of writing a diary, jotting down regularly the chores and the minute details of existence, can be used to control external disturbances in a diarist's life. Simons sees this as the rationale behind Mary Shelley's diaries and it is equally applicable to soldiers:

It could be argued that the catalogue of everyday events that we find throughout the journal was one method that Mary Shelley employed to maintain a sense of order and normality in an existence that was shifting and uncertain. (64-5)

Ponsonby dislikes military diaries: their descriptions of military organization, preparation and tactics have a "sameness;" and daily jottings about the weather, the number of troops and the movements of the enemy, though very important at the time of writing, are not exciting reading.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps the assurance found in sameness and routine is the diarist's goal. A soldier leads an uncertain existence and by noting down the routines of the day a sense of being part of a 'normal' cycle can be developed. Brownlee, in one of his rare candid moments, records the feeling with which he left home to go to war: "Felt very queer on bidding Adieu to my friends, there being a probability of my non-return...I never thought that I would have been so downcast" (18.4.1846). For a soldier separated from home, family, and even homeland, his diary serves to inject a semblance of order and normality into his disrupted world.

¹⁵⁷ Simons, Judy. 1990. The Diaries of Literary Women From Fanny Burney to Virginia Woolf. Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Stretch, p. 145.

¹⁶⁰ Ponsonby, pp. 21-23.

Diaries assert the self that writes them by the mere fact of their being written. On the page, and in the time dedicated to the self, the diarist is for a while freed from being an object or a faceless member of a group whose importance outweighs his own as an individual, and becomes a subject in his or her own right.¹⁶¹ Soldiers join women in their expectations of their diaries when faced with this institutionalised objectification. Women "think less in abstract and universal terms than in concrete and personal ones and less of convincing others of uniqueness than of reassuring themselves."¹⁶² For women, and for soldiers, keeping a diary is "a reaction to leading restricted or subordinated lives that make some personal, more-or-less private, self-assertive act necessary or valuable or appealing."¹⁶³ This is borne out by the regularity with which the diarists write: Bowker, Stretch, Arkwright, Hall, and Brownlee all make regular daily entries. Crealock's diary is not a daily one but the entries are rarely more than a week apart. Flanagan is the only diarist whose diary habit can be described as an irregular one. All except Flanagan regularly make time during the day to be alone and write about themselves, or as Blodgett phrases it, to exercise "the human desire to matter personally."¹⁶⁴

The material chosen by the diarists for inclusion in their diaries is largely dictated by the situation in which they find themselves, and their perception of their role in it. Ponsonby explains the attractions of war to the potential diarist:

War is of such crucial importance while it lasts and so filled with exciting and nerve-racking experiences that a participant naturally wants to make some immediate record of it, however brief.¹⁶⁵

None of the diarists studied is known to have kept a diary either before or after the ones studied below.

The aim of a war diary is to record events and experiences, not trace the workings of the diarist's mind. This intention is expressed by absences rather than presences. Thoughts and feelings are not highly regarded as diary material: when there is no concrete experience worthy of inclusion the diarist will either leave the day out altogether (though there might be other reasons why he should do this) or dismiss it with a few words. The manner in which a diarist writes about his boring days reflects his preoccupations at the time of writing. Stretch and Arkwright focus on themselves: "13th. Remained in camp" and "15th. Sunday. Remained quiet" (13.3.1835, 15.8.1846). Activities which form part of military routine require little explanation: "4th. On duty" and "Went to fort White & then fort Cox" (Arkwright 4.6.1845, 11.11.1835). As in conversation, the weather provides a safe topic: "March 16. Very hot. 80 in one's Barrack room," "Sunday. Cold windy weather continu[es]" and "21 Thursday -

¹⁶¹ Blodgett, p. 86.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 86.

¹⁶⁵ Ponsonby, p. 21.

Very windy" (Crealock 16.3.1878, Bowker 30.8.1835, Brownlee 21.5.1846). When all else fails the diarist determined to write something, the fact that there is no news becomes news: "Friday 26th June 1835. Nothing of particular occurrence happened during this day," "Sunday. Nothing new whatsoever" and "Friday & Saturday. Post from G Town not yet arrived nothing new of any kind" (Stretch 26.6.1835, Hall n.d., *ibid.*). James Brownlee records the day and date but makes no comment, Arthur Flanagan leaves out entire weeks without comment. For the latter two diarists the essence of the diary is the taking down of facts about people and events, not their own thoughts about them. The short entries above and the absences noted reflect a large part of a soldier's experience: boredom. These men did not use their diaries to allay their boredom or to keep a record of their inner lives (a record which would be fuller on the days when there is more time to write). These diaries concentrate instead on external events and physical realities, the so-called 'historical events'. The focus is on the progress of the war in which they are involved, not the progress of their psyches. Their aim is to inform, and when there is no information, diarizing becomes purposeless.

Communication was neither fast nor reliable in the Eastern Cape during the wars. Soldiers garnered information where they could and patched together a picture of the conduct of the war. The primary news source is the events and experiences in which the diarist is personally involved. The entries quoted throughout the chapter are largely of this variety. The personal experiences of the diarists are localized, and the information they can obtain at first hand is very limited as a result. The diarists with an interest in the conduct of the war as a whole had to find other methods of gathering information. The most efficient method is by gossiping, and all the soldiers who did not have access to official communications exchange gossip. The most efficient at gaining information in this way are those recruited locally: British soldiers have to become acquainted with the locals before they could become part of the network. Brownlee's extensive family, and his own friends in units at other parts of the front, afford him a variety of sources of news. He does not demonstrate the extent of his intelligence by repeating it in his diary, but he is confident enough in his assessment of the war to contradict an official report. A patrol's claim to have shot 100 Xhosa and captured 5 000 cattle receives this comment: "This was an official report, the first part of it does not bear the stamp of probability" (25.8.1846). Hall, a British sapper, makes it his business to find out as much as possible about the enemy: he talks to civilians and both local and British soldiers; the most interesting source is "Heale the Caffer trader" who "sat an hour or two with me and gave me many particulars of Caffer warfare which resembled that of it [the?] N A Indians" (n.d.). Those in positions of responsibility gain a greater understanding of the war as a whole. Crealock's position as assistant military secretary to the supreme commander in the Eastern Cape gave him access to every communication addressed to his superior. He has access to the despatches and orders sent from the high command, and between sectors. Crealock has no need to gather news in any other manner when he is handling communications to and from the entire front. His personal unpopularity

probably made him an unlikely recipient of the confidences of those who knew him.¹⁶⁶ Arkwright does not gossip either, and he does not have access to the official communications. He has no interest in the affairs of the area except when they hinder or aid his hunting efforts. He does not need the security provided by knowledge which every soldier tries to obtain in an attempt to act in a manner most likely to create the most damage or save his life. Newspapers provide a fourth source of information for those soldiers who are able to obtain them. Stretch, Arkwright, Hall, and Flanagan read newspapers whenever they can find them. They comment on the war and the deaths and injuries of those whom they know. Only Stretch questions the content of the local newspapers. His opinion that the South African Commercial Advertiser is a good newspaper, though its content is obviously not to the liking of the majority of the settlers, is an example of the great distance between his views and those of the bulk of the settlers (29.8.1835). An event in a diary is largely determined by the sources of the material for the diaries. The most important kind of event is the one in which the diarist is involved; this is followed, in no particular order, by the topics of gossip, despatches and other military communications, and the events covered by the press.

A continuous record of events considered personally significant has implications beyond the events themselves. All who participate in armed conflict are at some level aware of the possibility of their own deaths. The diary form resists endings, or closure, and in so doing symbolically resists death. The diary, like the epistolary novel, consists of: "a series of present moments...and the future has yet to be decided."¹⁶⁷ A diary exists explicitly in the diarist's present, its continuation is proof of the persistence of life. Its immediacy precludes all but the briefest reference to the past, and implies that its author believes that he will live to write the next entry.

Stretch, Brownlee, and Bowker attempt closure of their narratives by finishing their diaries at the time of the armistice or peace treaty at the end of the wars in which they are involved, but the personal comments and routines recorded defy the use of an event outside the diarist as a closing mechanism. This perhaps explains a diary reader's fascination with the text; the external events are not as interesting as the exploration of the mind of a person through the diary, "you (the diarist) yourself emerge and appear out of the sum total of those jottings, however brief they may be."¹⁶⁸

None of the diarists close their diaries satisfactorily while remaining within the diary form. All diaries must come to an end, but their final entries are seldom conclusions. The diaries end suddenly, leaving the reader with a sense of anticlimax, and of being cheated of a full explanation of the personality of the diarist. This feeling seems to stem from a lack of understanding about the diary form. Diaries can close when an event which changes or sums up the diarist's state of mind occurs; Frances Armstrong's diary ends on the day of her beloved husband's funeral; Bishop Griffith closes his diary with a greeting to

¹⁶⁶ Crealock, p. 2.

¹⁶⁷ MacArthur, p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ Ponsonby, p. 5.

its audience in Ireland; confessional diaries close the year with a summary of spiritual health and growth; travel journals close when the journey has been completed; the most extreme example of closure, which combines the termination of narrative and life, is that of Captain Scott:

Every day we have been ready to start for our depôt 11 miles away, but outside the door of the tent it remains a scene of whirling drift. I do not think that we can hope for any better things now. We shall stick it out to the end, but we are getting weaker, of course, and the end cannot be far.

It seems a pity, but I do not think I can write more.

R. Scott.

For God's sake look after our people.¹⁶⁹

The extremity proves the rule, the diary form does not encourage endings. The rhythm of the days opened with a date and usually accompanied by stock comments about the weather is very hard to break in a satisfactory manner.

The studied art of the epistolary novel sheds light on the problem of closure (which is a similar one to that of the diary) by not closing. Miller sees the resistance to closure in epistolary novels as one of the aims of the form. This conclusion can be applied successfully to diaries: "In Miller's theory, too, the desire that motivates narrative seeks not closure but its own perpetuation."¹⁷⁰ Mortimer (in Miller) expands on this point:

Armine Kotin Mortimer notes a generalised progression in narrative between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from familiar endings to a refusal of closure. 'This change is radical and involves several categorical oppositions...a known ending as opposed to a story without an end, unendable or always delayed or deferred; a narrative written in view of an ending versus a narrative written so that it will continue as long as one wishes...[author's trans]'.¹⁷¹

The diaries of Brownlee, Hall, and Flanagan all end in ways which do not finish the narration of significant episodes of the diarists' lives, or the wars in which they fight. It is highly unlikely that they consciously ended their diaries on unimportant days personally and politically for artistic reasons, but they did not intend the last entry to be the final entry. The manner in which these three diaries end demonstrates their authors' reluctance to admit the possibility of closure; there just might be another event which is worthy of an entry in the future.

The non-closure of the diary is an inevitable condition of the diary form. Arkwright is ill at ease with a form which will not allow him to conclude. He solves the problem of the diary's refusal to close, but in doing so he abandons the diary form itself. Arkwright's final sentence is not in the style of the daily record: "A prosperous voyage of 56 days brought us off Dungeness and landing at Folkstone on the morning of the 16th February 1847, I once more set foot on the jolly shores of Old England"

¹⁶⁹ Scott, Robert F. 1913. Scott's Last Expedition. Ed. L. Huxley. London: Smith, Elder & Co, p. 595.

¹⁷⁰ Miller, D.A. 1981. Narrative and Its Discontents. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 266-267. Quoted in MacArthur, p. 28.

¹⁷¹ Mortimer, Armine Kotin. 1985. La Clôture Narrative. Paris: José Corti, p. 226. In op cit, pp.22-23.

(22.12.1846). It is interesting to note that the only diary which closes satisfactorily consciously abandons the diary form in favour of the travelogue. The soldier who is most anxious to close in an acceptable manner is not faced with the possibility of death. Those facing death resist termination of the narratives which are daily proof that they are alive.

A text consisting of "a series of unenlightened present moments,"¹⁷² a text whose author attempts to interpret events before their outcomes are fully realized, can never have the form or wholeness associated with the traditional novel which has a plot constructed with its closure in mind. These fragmented texts are the hallmark of eighteenth century literature. MacArthur uses Pierre Bayle, author of the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1740), to illustrate this point, "Bayle thus chose to divide his authorial voice, to create both a factual historical narrator and a more lively and opinionated commentator."¹⁷³ Bayle creates one of "the pluralistic, fragmented textual forms, such as encyclopedias, dialogues, and letters, that flourished in the eighteenth century."¹⁷⁴ Consciously or unconsciously the military diarists create the same fragmented texts when they attempt factual historical narrative (this appears to be the conscious motivation for the diaries), and express their own opinions on the events in progress.

Behind the motives created by the situation and environment in which the diarists find themselves are the reasons given by the diarists themselves. The diaries are filled with factual information, which calls into question whether they are diaries at all, or chronicles of events. Bowker and Crealock both refer to their diaries using words which suggest that their value is as primary sources of information. Bowker writes that he "Must keep my log book [my emphasis] better hereafter" (20.4.1835); and Crealock, sensing that the patrol he was in was in danger, comments: "I fear this note book [my emphasis] would have ceased here" (21.3.1878). The diarists' descriptions of their diaries as log books and note books are borne out by their contents which are an attempt to record all facts of military importance. At the end of the 1835 war, Bowker has nothing to do and no information to convey; he writes petulantly, "haven't scribbled up my log for some time so we have forgot what I have not been doing" (7.10.1835). Crealock and Stretch take the pursuit of information to its logical limit and turn their diaries into a kind of primary source book not for their role in the war, but for the war itself. They quote verbatim from General Orders, memoranda, letters, terms of agreements, there are lists of those present at court martials, troop numbers, livestock captured, and the names (where possible) and numbers of all those killed on both sides. Hall's emphasis on information becomes obvious when there is none. He routinely notes when no post, newspaper or news arrives in the camp, even if it is the only information he can give. Brownlee's premium on information is demonstrated when he writes that he has to record the information of each day: "22: Wednesday. Finished filling up my journal, which I had neglected from the

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

11th. May, from which period to this the entries are all I have then, on my memory" (22.7.1846). The first entries in Flanagan's and Crealock's diaries betray their intended informative function. Flanagan starts with: "A little after Sun down on the Hill between Mr Whittals and Mr William Lloyds we Saw a body of kaffers at the very top" (27.4.1846), and in the same spirit Crealock commences, "[We] landed at East London [and paid] a hurried visit to the Fort" (4.3.1878). They give no reasons for their actions or explanations of the situations or people with whom they are in contact. Both diarists assume in their opening sentences that they or someone possessed of similar knowledge will read their diaries.

Though the diarists consciously include much of historical interest, the individual who writes also wants to be a significant character in the history he is recording. Bowker's entry at the end of the war suggests one way in which he can be remembered: "General peace, promotions my services not forgotten, expect to be relieved" (20.9.1835). Bowker's services will not be forgotten as long as his diary exists. Brownlee's war effort will be remembered through his diary. His first entry includes this sentence, "Felt very queer bidding Adieu to my friends, there being a probability of my non-return" (18.4.1846). His realisation that death is a strong possibility coincides with his impulse to write a diary. The realisation of mortality in Brownlee acts as an incentive for him to give an account of his actions in the war. In the event of a soldier's death his diary would be sent to his family along with his other personal effects, the diary would prove to its readers his individual meaning and significance.

The above diaries were never published or intended for publication in their diarists' lifetimes, with the exception of Stretch and Arkwright who aimed at or did publish. According to le Cordeur, Stretch based some of his later pamphlets on material from his diary. Stretch's urge to place as many facts as possible at his disposal causes him to go back to previous entries and make marginal notes. These notes add information to that received on the day in question and comment upon the events in the light of the new facts. For instance, the murder of Hintsa was brutally carried out and causes Stretch's longest retrospective note which adds 160 words to his original description of the event. The original entry is emotional:

Directly I heard of the manner [in which] Hintza had been used, I could not conceal my sentiments at such brutal conduct, and Dr Murray and Balfour came to my tent to apprise me my expressions relative to this event had reached the Governor's ears and he was very angry. [A vindication of his anger follows] I then told Balfour that he should hold his tongue in future about contradicting the report. (17.6.1835)

The long note added later is a compilation of the observations made at the time of the killing of Hintsa by three people and confirms Stretch's original assessment of the event. Stretch's unpopular opinions had to be well substantiated in the small society in the Eastern Cape where any view contesting that of the prevailing orthodoxy is regarded as treasonous. Extracts from his diary were thus capable of being published, but he is unlikely to have considered publishing the full document, for it served another more private function.

Stretch's diary is also a confessional. The diary form, looking back over each day and accounting for it, lends itself naturally to confessions and supplications. This topic is the most frequently

covered one in the diary tradition.¹⁷⁵ It was in a sense standardized in the eighteenth-century by John Wesley who encouraged his followers to keep a record of their spiritual state as a devotional exercise. Wesley published extracts of his journal during his lifetime but cut out all references to his spiritual crises and triumphs which he felt "would answer no valuable end to others, however important they were to me."¹⁷⁶ His followers were less reticent. They read extracts from their own diaries in churches and prayer groups for the edification of the congregation. This sharing may account for the uniformity of style in the Methodist confessionals. The following extracts written by Stretch are written in the confessional's formal, quaintly archaic style:

May I learn from others to correct my own faults, and while I am thus debarred from the privilege I enjoy in the colony, may I be more thankful if spared to return. (26.4.1835)

and on his birthday his long, soul-searching entry includes:

[Lord] Forgive me my many thousand sins and imperfections of the last year...a fretful, discontented disposition, insincerity of speaking, and especially, O Lord, defend me from lying lips and a deceitful tongue. (6.5.1835)

Stretch's confessions are typical examples of the style. The diaries of the Reverends Ayliff and Impey, one written before and the other after Stretch, demonstrate the same concern for the welfare of the soul. Ayliff and Impey are more emotional than Stretch, but the style is of a piece. A narrow escape from a puffadder inspires Ayliff to write:

O! What a wonderful deliverance! If I had trodden on it, it is most probable it would have bitten me, which would have cost me my life - Lord, what great cause to be always ready. Lord, make me more grateful. (7.4.1821)¹⁷⁷

Impey is less confident about his spirituality. His spiritual immaturity expresses itself in this entry written shortly before arrival in South Africa:

Alas! that my soul should so soon wander & start aside from her test. I fear lest the anxiety and excitement attendant on an arrival on a foreign shore should draw my heart away from Him in whom alone I have peace. Oh what a wretch am I, how little after all of the life of God is there in me! (16.1.1839)¹⁷⁸

The text is peppered with expressions of gratitude and supplications to the Deity. These expressions are written with sincerity, but do not ring quite true; they are formulations, words, and phrases commandeered from the King James Bible, not the examination of the self by an individual. Stretch's occasional forays into the confessional are saved from this criticism by their brevity.

Arkwright writes in the tradition of the hunting journal, a common variety of the diary form.¹⁷⁹ Ponsonby objects to these journals which lapse into tedium, repeatedly covering the same subject in much

¹⁷⁵ Ponsonby, *English Diaries*, p. 16.

¹⁷⁶ Wesley, Editor's Note.

¹⁷⁷ Ayliff, John. 1971. *The Journal of John Ayliff*. Ed. Peter Hinchliff. Cape Town: A. A. Balkema.

¹⁷⁸ Impey, Revd. William. *Diary: 25.10.1838 - 14.10.1847*. Cory Library MS 15903.

¹⁷⁹ Ponsonby, pp. 22-23.

the same way.¹⁸⁰ These diaries are, according to Ponsonby, only interesting to their authors; even other hunters find them practically unreadable.¹⁸¹ Arkwright was obviously familiar with both fox hunting and the style in which it was diarised. His diary is saved from unreadability by its exotic subject matter. The experience of hunting in Africa is new to him and his education into its ways is fascinating to the modern reader as he reveals an Africa which has ceased to exist, and an attitude to the people, the land and its animals which is both familiar and foreign. It is strange that Arkwright did not publish his diary, since he has the example of African hunters before him, while the skill and enthusiasm he has for hunting is clearly conveyed to the reader. He reads with interest the diaries of fellow African hunters, and remembers them:

I cannot understand why Harris makes so much of murdering these harmless brutes [giraffes], or how he managed to put '17 balls from the deadly grooved rifle', ere he could bring one of those powerless creatures prostrate to the ground. (15.6.1846)

Cornwallis Harris wrote Wild Sports of Southern Africa (1838).¹⁸² Arkwright meets "Cumming, an old Eton acquaintance of mine" while on his way to the hunting fields. Cumming, of the same education and class as Arkwright, returned to England and published, Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa in 1850.¹⁸³ With a published example of an African hunting journal in front of him, and with others of his social position publishing their diaries, it is surprising that Arkwright did not take advantage of the opportunity to profit from the Victorian public's curiosity about Africa.

The intended audience of any piece of writing has a great effect on the style, and the volume and nature of the information that the writer is prepared to reveal. Bowker is the only diarist who mentions an audience directly. He writes:

My yarn is spun, I'm drawing to a close
Another log or scrap of foolscap paper,
Perhaps Ill write the next in verse, who knows
If I can spur my muse into a caper,
Im getting on, I hope you'l not suppose
I ride another's tho I try to ape her
but ah Im near the bottom of my page
So Ill save time and give you something sage.
(2.6.1835)

The above is a very self-conscious piece of writing. Bowker brings the process of writing to the reader's attention in the first three lines. Professional writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have often used their diaries to experiment with style. The Eastern Cape diarists, with the exception of Bowker, above, do not acknowledge the conscious effort which is involved in the writing process. The use of the verse form suggests a self-consciousness about his writing that is inconsistent with the normally casual

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Arkwright, p. 92.

¹⁸³ Ibid., pp. 92, 96.

and even untidy form and style of the private diary. Bowker's strange sense of humour is exercised in a way that relies for its effect on the element of surprise: there is a blank page following the last line of the poem. This line presupposes an unsuspecting audience upon which this trick can be played.

Bowker's intended audience was probably quite small. The diary with its dry entries dealing with the weather and detailing the supply situation is at some points conceivably only useful as a memory prompt in later life. Interspersed with the entries on the business of war, however, are flashes of Bowker's rather black humour which would amuse those who knew him: "one kafir was shot by a sentry last night dead on the spot I hope it will be a warning to him not to come sneaking about any more!" and "the men were in high spirits, the Scotchmen shouted Waterloo, & the hottentots Thlalapanzi the fingoos were very frightened of the kafirs Guns" (6.4.1835, 20.7.1835). Bowker's intended audience is one which is personally known to him and can appreciate his sense of humour.

Arkwright does not seem, at first glance, to have an audience in mind, but one can be posited. Firstly, he uses inappropriate terms to describe "S. African fox hunting" (n.d., 1843). Arkwright always names his quarry 'foxes', and takes care not to fall into 'wolf' and 'weasel' holes, though animals with no European equivalents are given their local names. Secondly, Arkwright mentions taking extracts "from a hunting journal" to put into his 'diary' which he wrote up at his leisure (n.d., 1843). Arkwright follows Pepys who kept at least three notebooks from which he wrote his diary. The diary, written with the help of notebooks, is a fair copy. It is properly punctuated, given the conventions of the time, the spelling is standard, and loose formulations have been tightened. The energy to write a diary and then rewrite it in an improved style (according to the diarist) suggests that Arkwright intended the diary for more than his private perusal. The tradition of the hunting diary form does not encourage privacy, it was a method of displaying to others of the sporting class one's prowess as a horseman and marksman. The style of the diary itself is another class indicator, displaying the writer's education. A good style indicated education, and hunting prowess indicated sportsmanship: a combination of the two characterized a man as a gentleman.

Stretch's diary served a dual purpose. Firstly, he used his diary as the basis for later pamphlets, implying a potentially wide readership. He includes much factual information, quotes letters and reports verbatim, and lists the names of men who rose to prominence during the war. All of these can be referred to when material for pamphlets is looked for. The diary's potential to uncover the misdeeds perpetrated by the soldiers and civilians in the name of the war effort is immense. Stretch gives details of cruelty (4.4.1835, 12.4.1835), broken promises (1.4.1835), the illicit trade in arms and ammunition (22.2.1835, 20-21.4.1835, 15.9.1835), plunder of Xhosa by colonists (20-21.4.1835), bad leadership in the army (8.3.1835), and the abuse of Xhosa women and children, which both sides ordinarily avoided (1.4.1835, 27.4.1835, 3.5.1835). He also uses the margins to add information subsequently received in an effort to get as close to the truth as possible. This motive for writing the diary is connected to Stretch's personal aim of watching his spiritual progress. The diary of war crimes recorded by Stretch constitutes a form of community conscience. He is campaigning against the colonists who commit crimes in the field

while maintaining an air of respectability in their communities. Stretch's spiritual struggles have a related motive, but a different audience. These confessions were written when there was no spiritual support outside his diary to turn to. They follow the form of the Methodist diaries: they were kept and referred to as a barometer of their writer's spiritual development. These spiritual diaries were not meant for other's eyes (although Louisa M. Alcott's parents read her diary when she was a child, her adult diary, like her mother's, was read by no-one before her death¹⁸⁴). These war diarists did not have an overriding urge to make their diaries public and their audiences were very restricted ones.

Diarists sometimes write their diaries with their older selves in mind. Virginia Woolf continually refers to herself in the future as the reader of her own text, and Sophia Pigot often refers to the entry exactly a year earlier, indicating that she is constantly rereading old diaries.¹⁸⁵ The military diarists do the same although they do not overtly refer to this function of their texts. Arkwright, Flanagan, and Crealock's writing suggests that they do not expect others to read it in the form in which it originally existed: they explain nothing. An extensive knowledge of local history and geography would be needed by the reader of Flanagan's diary, which begins, "A little after Sun down on the Hill between Mr Whittals and Mr William Lloyds we Saw a body of kaffers at the very top" (27.4.1846). Arkwright and Crealock are both Englishmen with no ties in the Eastern Cape, so any audience they envisaged would presumably be one from England. But Englishmen unfamiliar with Dutch or Afrikaans would find Arkwright's unexplained use of "yoking," "vrow," and "preloopers" very puzzling, if not unintelligible, though it is clear in the text that Arkwright understands the terms. Consciousness of an uninitiated audience would surely have moved Crealock to more expansiveness than is present in his first sentence, "[We] landed at East London [and paid] a hurried visit to the Fort" (4.3.1878). Hall's diary does not begin as a diary at all. The first seven pages are filled with cost analyses, theorems, and mathematical equations, their neat layout suggesting that they could be consulted whenever a tricky problem arose. The diary which follows has the same spirit; it is a detailed log of daily events in Hall's vicinity which he can consult in later life to clarify factual matters. Hall's diary has all the signs of a private diary in all but one aspect. Hall includes the rather lengthy titles and ranks of his commanding officers. A man who has spent his life in an army would surely not forget the titles and ranks of the handful of men his senior. The use of Maitland's title and name, and calling Lieutenant-Governor Hare by his title put the distance of rank and class between the diarist and those above him "His Honor accomp'd by Cap [?Cuisson] his Aide and Lieut [?Mat] arrived here last night. His Excellency Sir P. Maitland expected to morrow in G. Town" (n.d.). Hall's careful notes on the movements of his superiors is suggestive of the 'royalty watchers' of today, "Sir PM's suite attended Divine service this morning" and "Col Somerset saw or killed nothing yesterday" (n.d.). The use of rank and title also reflect the manners of the age. The nineteenth century was a conservative era, and armies are in general conservative institutions; these two factors together made

¹⁸⁴ Simons, pp. 6, 107.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

members of the military establishment almost instinctively formal and deferent in their terms of address for superiors.¹⁸⁶ Hall's use of rank and title may be interpreted in two ways. Either he included them for the benefit of an audience with less knowledge of the army's commanders than he possessed, or he is unable to break the habit of deference instilled in him during his seven years of military service. Brownlee's diary, as discussed above, is intended either for himself, or his family upon his death. The reticence based on a will to self-protection is balanced by a contradictory urge to let his audience know as much about his daily life as possible. This explains why Brownlee so energetically ensures that there is an entry on each day: "22: Wednesday. Finished filling up my journal, which I had neglected from 11th. May, from which period to this the entries are all I have then, on my memory" (22.7.1835). Simons remarks, "by their mode as written documents all diaries imply readership",¹⁸⁷ but the nature of that readership is often difficult to analyse: even if it is openly stated, the evidence of the text can oppose the writer's conscious intent. A private diary is for these men a fluid concept which can expand to contain an ever-increasing number of people.

Nineteenth century European armies were, like their wars, considered the province of men. The separation of life into the domestic and public spheres, the former presided over by women and the latter by men, was accepted in the nineteenth century. Female participation in any war effort was regarded with distaste unless it was in a supportive role far from the front line. Florence Nightingale's participation in the Crimean War effort drew much criticism and opposition from the army's leadership. Nightingale's conviction that she was called to service by God, combined with enormous self-confidence and vitality, gained her entry to the Crimean hospitals.¹⁸⁸ After the war she had to work as hard to get nursing accepted as a respectable profession.¹⁸⁹ Nightingale had to fight against the traditional perception that women were to be defended, they had no role to play in war. Bowker, Arkwright, Brownlee, and Flanagan are unmarried, and the absence of this permanent relationship in their lives could conceivably have stilled their pens on the subject of family. Brownlee makes one oblique comment which his editor speculates refers to a visit to the home of the family of his future wife, Marie Hockly: "Left [after tea at Mrs Mahony's] to write home seemingly, as Andrew Ridgard says, but another object in view" (4.5.1846). Brown points out that Marie's widowed mother had a school in Cradock in the 1840s, but there is no other evidence to support his conjecture except the evasiveness of the text itself.¹⁹⁰ The married men, Stretch, Hall, and Crealock, are very reticent on the subject of family. There are two

¹⁸⁶ My thanks to Mike Berning.

¹⁸⁷ Simons, p. 10.

¹⁸⁸ Vicinus, Martha. 1985. Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850 - 1920. London: Virago, pp. 19, 255.

¹⁸⁹ Branca, Patricia. 1978. Women in Europe Since 1750. New York: St Martin's, p. 59.

¹⁹⁰ Brownlee, p. 77.

possible reasons for this. Firstly, the evidence in the diaries suggests an out-of-sight, out-of-mind attitude to wives and children. These soldiers are unable, for obvious reasons in the nineteenth century, to have their wives and families near them for extended periods of time during the war. This does not cause them to dwell on their families ("family" is a term used here to refer to their wives and children) in their diaries. Rather the physical absence of family is reflected in their absence from the diaries. Stretch notes the arrival of the letters which his wife sends him and mentions those posted to her. Mrs Stretch's presence in the diary coincides with the physical reminder of her existence, her letters. References to these are very dry inclusions, "Received letters...some old ones from Mrs Stretch" and "Wrote to Mrs Stretch" (25.4.1835, 4.5.1835), are both typical with a slight variation when her name is shortened to "Mrs S." (14.6.1835). During a soul-searching, life-reviewing entry Stretch mentions his own family in terms implying emotional and spiritual concern, but separateness,

And do Thou in mercy, O Blessed Preserver of all men, remember my widowed mother. Grant her true conversion, and finally receive her to Thyself thro' the merits of the Redeemer. Have mercy on my family and turn our hearts from lying vanities unto Thyself, that they may truly fear Thee and live unto Thee through Jesus Christ. (6.5.1835)

The content of the above entry reveals Stretch to be an archetypal patriarch; he holds himself responsible for the spiritual conduct of his family, including his mother! Part of the responsibility he feels for them is to shield them from the public eye, here the casual reader of his diary. Secondly, if the diaries were intended to be read by others, personal information would of necessity have to be kept to a minimum, and a 'public' diary's focus is not on the personal but on the diarist's changing environment. Shaw and Merriman are further proof of the nineteenth-century's efforts to separate the public and the private. The private was never to be discussed in public. Hall and Crealock provide the most astonishing and conclusive evidence of the separation of the Victorian male and female spheres. Both diarists mention their families once. Hall's family is in the war zone but his handling of their very real danger is as dry and bare as lesser events in the war: "I [moved?] of my family from where I live on the flat to the [?] yard" (n.d.). Crealock's tone is similar to Hall's when he refers to his wife, "[I] sent letter[s] to Minnie [?] only" (27.5.1878). A diary intended for family reading might also withhold information deliberately if the diarist thinks that the truth might hurt its readers.¹⁹¹ Ponsonby, writing about diarists' descriptions of military actions, finds that this reticence characterizes the soldiers' diary:

...in British soldier's diaries there is a special characteristic...They write with extreme reticence about dangers and horrors, and they never betray themselves by any display of emotion.¹⁹²

Even in personal diaries a 'stiff upper lip' attitude discourages emotional displays. Finally, the diarists face danger and threats to their lives almost daily and may simply have no time to do more than spare a fleeting thought for those closest to them in civilian life.

¹⁹¹ My thanks to Mike Berning for this point.

¹⁹² Ponsonby, p. 22.

The absence of wives and children from the diaries does not denote an absence of the entire family. Bowker, Arkwright, Brownlee, and Flanagan all had brothers fighting alongside them. The Arkwright brothers do not have a close relationship from the evidence in the diary. Arkwright mentions his brother twice because he is involved in an incident which Arkwright wants to relate. Arkwright's childhood spent at Eton, and his subsequent career in the army has not left him time to develop family relationships. The army now furnishes him with siblings in the form of "brother officer[s]" (9.10.1846). The impression given by the rest of the diaries of brotherly relationships is one of a companionable, concerned, working relationship. Bowker's worries for his ill brother Miles are hardly surprising given the primitive medical technology and backward conditions on the frontier of the day. The nearness of death moves Bowker to invoke God, though he is not in the habit of doing so:

...find poor Miles there very poorly indeed I hope please GOD recovering...Left him with a kiss as I found myself unable to say goodbye. Should we meet no more below may the Almighty under whose blessings we lived and loved each other Grant that we may meet in heaven.
(21.3.1835)

This meeting with Miles is clearly on his mind when he remarks on the health of his family whenever they meet and thanks God for their preservation. Brownlee is in regular contact with his brother Charles whose job as clerk to the Ngqika commissioner Reverend Calderwood involved a great deal of travelling. As is the case with someone well-known and regularly seen by the diarist, there is little need to elaborate upon each meeting, "My arrival at my brother's was a very agre[e]able surprise to him" (2.5.1846), and reference is often made in passing: "Accompanied Proudfoot, Charles, and Brown to John Rennie's la[a]ger" (6.5.1846). Flanagan in his inimitable style follows the other diarists. Flanagan has in common with his brother a disregard for his own safety and a stubborn resolve which was probably the despair of everyone placed in a leadership position at Cuylerville: "He [Flanagan's brother] said he would suffer himself to be shot before he would give up the kraal" (n.d.). Fortunately this sacrifice was not necessary! The diarist's relationships with their brothers are dictated by the perceptions of family ties of the times, and the specific situations in which they found themselves. They have working relationships based on mutual concern and respect.

The aims of the military would lead an outsider to suppose that soldiers would be loyal and sympathetic to their comrades-in-arms. The evidence in the diaries shows this view to be overly optimistic. It defines the nature of the institution as one which encourages comradeship amongst people of equal rank but not between ranks. Most diarists directed their main attacks towards those who operated the repressive system under which they lived: their commanders. The 1835 war furnished an easy target in the form of the abrasive Colonel Harry Smith. Bowker cannot believe Smith's propaganda when he receives it, "Col Smith has taken 4000, 5000, 6000 & 7000 [head of cattle], most probably none of these numbers, but something less, never believe reports, they always deceive me" (25.4.1835). The

diatribe below reveals Bowker's ability to play with language which is to stand him in good stead in his future political career, and provides him with further proof of Smith's lack of common sense:

Major Bagot applies [sic] to Col Smith for tents for the men, he says they dont [sic] want them because it is goining [sic] to Clear up? Continued rain our commander does not command the elements yet he could defend the men against them if he would allow them tents. (6.5.1835)

Bowker disagrees with Smith on the level of common sense: the health and comfort of the soldiers is at stake. Smith's exaggeration of the numbers of captured cattle stretches Bowker's credibility and his refusal to supply tents when needed raises doubts about his concern for the men under his command. Stretch, whose rank and experience necessitate regular contact with Smith, can find nothing to like about the man. Stretch is a religious fundamentalist who left the Anglican Church in favour of the stricter Calvinist doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Church.¹⁹³ Smith had managed to earn for himself a reputation for swearing in the British army which was not noted for its gentlemanly behaviour outside the mess halls. Stretch's first impression of Smith is, hardly surprisingly, a bad one:

...the Colonel [Smith] said, 'Now, Mr Commissary-General, do you hear what Mr Stretch says - that Colonel Willshire had 2000 horses, and that each horse had 10lbs of barley? And you take care that we get the same.' (N.B. This latter part I never stated.) (21.2.1835)

The message in brackets is an example of Stretch's officious way of ensuring that an event is recorded in as objective a way as possible. Stretch's disrespect is fuelled by Smith's equivocal attitude to the subject that Stretch holds dearest: his attempt to lead as sinless a life as possible. A speech "presented a most extraordinary picture of the man. 'You know,' said he, 'I swear like a devil, but I will have the Sunday kept holy'" (22.6.1835). Smith becomes the natural focus of Stretch's disenchantment with the military system. Stretch's own feelings towards Smith are expressed in his sarcasm. He is assured of his judgement by the comments of others which he triumphantly records as a vindication of his opinion: " 'Braggadocia' read prayers... [Marginal Addition: Colonel Smith, so named by an old soldier...]" (22.6.1835). The authority and experience implied by "old soldier" further reinforce the conviction. After a protracted and inconsequential court-martial chaired by Smith, the general derision is gleefully recorded by Stretch: "The whole garrison laughed at such folly" (4.7.1835). These entries add the weight of common consent to Stretch's opinion of Smith. Flanagan rails against the high command, excepting one, believing them too young and inexperienced for the responsibilities placed upon their shoulders. He evidently approves of the commander of the Cuylerville garrison, suggesting that he is suspicious of outsiders to his restricted and safe locality:

When any Snotty Pupy can bounce like a Bull Tiger as there is to many that can not be as men so they make Officers of them. But this is not the case at Cuylerville for we have got a Man for a Commander though a poor man and not covered in fine cloth. (n.d.)

Bowker, Stretch and Flanagan are all residents of the Eastern Cape who are fighting to protect their families and property. They are led by interlopers (in their eyes) from the colonial motherland. Stretch

¹⁹³ Stretch, p. 7.

has a personal grievance against Smith whose flippant attitude towards Christianity provides a reason to use him as an outlet for the frustrations of army life. Bowker focuses on Smith in the same fashion. He is not in close contact with Smith but the element of personal anger does develop, focussing on Smith's disregard for his soldiers' wellbeing. Their anger could also have roots in the different objectives of the army and the farmers. Army commanders want military success, even if this means the temporary sacrifice of certain positions. Destruction is part of their modus operandi. The Eastern Cape men contributed to the war effort primarily as a means of defending their families and saving their property from destruction. The farmers wanted as much as possible to remain intact. Hall witnesses a clash between the hierarchy and a Boer commando under British control:

...great humiliating and moaning going on the Burghers have had a most [?]tumultuous meeting but as every man wants his own house protected unless martial law is proclaimed little [?]good will be done. (13.4.1846)

Martial law was declared on 2 May, three weeks after Hall's prediction. When the military aims of the colonial militia and the British army were not the same the colonials allowed their resentments and frustrations to focus on the men who commanded them.

There were diarists who liked and respected their commanders. Brownlee's descriptions of Sir Andries Stockenstrom reveals a youthful hero-worship of the older, titled man,

Left...as one of the escort for Sir Andries. The night before was the first time I had the pleasure of seeing him... A good speaker, he is a pleasant man to ride with. Very communicative for a man of his station. (7.5.1846)

Stockenstrom earns the respect that is accorded him with his energetic command: "Saw Sir Andries [Stockenstrom] here. He had this day been out ever since day light till 10 o'clock on foot with his burghers" (13.5.1846). Brownlee's positive attitude to Stockenstrom is partly based on the commander's greater age, rank, and experience; but Stockenstrom is also a colonial who is better able to understand the worries of his militiamen. A more firmly grounded respect for their superiors is evinced by Hall and Crealock. These men are both professional soldiers in the British army, and are in constant and close contact with their superiors. Their positiveness has three sources. Firstly, they are trained to expect a military solution to the problems caused by colonial frontiers, and in this their aims are the same as their commanders'. Secondly, they have none of the conflicting interests of family and property near the theatre of war which could interfere with their conception of how the war should be conducted. Thirdly, their decision to join the army presupposes a temperament which is willing to carry out orders, defer to authority, and have sufficient confidence in that authority to entrust it with their lives. Hall naturally defers to, and is intensely interested in, his commander (see p. 132). Crealock has unbounded confidence in his army's leadership, partly based on deference, and partly based on a sound knowledge of military tactics. These men were physically tough: "He [Capt. Gossett] looked well enough as if the mountain air and rain and no tent had agreed with him" (21.3.1878). They were well able to conduct a war:

One word of advice reached the General second hand from an old policeman. 'Sandilli never left this place the whole of the last war, he won't this war either.' This chimed in with the General's own view... (29.3.1878)

and most importantly they were able to inspire their men,

V. Linsingen came up on the scene at this moment and taking off his coat and taking a little nip, which two things means business, proceeded to take his men around the flank. (3.5.1878)

Attitude to authority depends on many factors: the commander's ability to lead well and suffer if necessary with his men; whether the diarist is a colonial or a Briton; the degree of awe in which rank is held by the diarist. The most important element in the formulation of an attitude towards another person is the personalities of both parties.

The diarists' attitude to the Boer community in the Eastern Cape is controlled as much by myths and prejudices of long standing as by personal relationships between Briton and Boer. The Dutch-speaking farming community in the Eastern Cape predated the arrival of the British colonial military and settler establishments. They were the first colonizers to come into contact with the Xhosa and experience the friction inevitable when two pastoral peoples clash in competition for land and cattle.¹⁹⁴ The arrival of the English added another group of competitors to the fight for the same resources. A kind of cultural snobbery further alienated English from Boers. The English had had more recent contact with the European cultural milieu, and all but the most rustic could, with varying degrees of truthfulness, lay claim to a more sophisticated tradition of thought, technology, and fashion than the Boers whose contact with Western culture in Cape Town was infrequent. It was hardly surprising that there was tension between Dutch- and English-speaking peoples. Flanagan in his usual forthright manner deplors the arrival of a Dutch Commandant who, "comes on the place bouncing like a Bull Tiger" (n.d.). He suspects that a conspiracy in high places, rather than a desire to defend the land against the Xhosa, is the real reason behind the Afrikaner's alliance with "the Damned Englishmen as they call us" (n.d.):

We all understood that the lower district Burghers came here to Combat with kaffirs. But I see it is no such thing they have come with Colonels [sic] Johnstones Order or rather to execute his Order that is to flog the Damned Englishman though this was spoke in Dutch which is worse to an English hear we well know the antipathy [sic] that the Dutch bears the English caused by the Measures of Government. (n.d.)

Flanagan's vitriolic attacks on the Afrikaners are backed up by the reactionary settler newspaper The Grahams Town Journal. The concurrence of the printed word with his own thoughts gives Flanagan the confidence to take his thoughts to their logical extreme: "Colonels [sic] Dutch Commandants and Kaffirs are all our Common Enemy I say as the Grahams Town Paper says God help us" (n.d.). Flanagan's forthrightness is unique, the other diarists are probably more aware of the valuable contribution made by the Boers to the war effort.

None of the other diarists openly state their personal antipathies towards the Boers. The diarists prefer to reveal their dislike of the Afrikaners indirectly by selecting information which shows the Afrikaners in a negative light rather than noting their successful efforts. Bowker, who comes from a farm-owning family, writes with approval of the outbreaks of fighting between English and Afrikaner. He

¹⁹⁴ Peires, p. 57.

writes: "Archie Bailie punches a big boor in the guts for steeling his mealie." and "Crause's Comp[any] & Gilfillans returned from Cums [Coombs?] the boor and them had been popping at each other. No harm done" (12.3.1835, 14.3.1835). Aside from the physical attacks, censure follows well-trodden paths. Like Bishop Griffith before him, Arkwright is repelled by lack of personal cleanliness, though Afrikaner hospitality is most welcome after a day without food:

Having pulled this [buck flesh] to pieces with the old Boer & two dirtier sons I soon fell asleep, among the whole family of Boers, about 14 in number & as dirty as the filthiest of pigs. (3.10.1846)

Criticizing Afrikaner soldiering is an obvious way of bringing their competence into question in a war situation. Bowker, on guard duty, notes that "the boors see double...one boor says, he sees a kafir driving out the sheep - the rascal was asleep on his post close to me he had dreamt it - all right in the morning" (28.12.1834). Seeing things which are not there is a feature of Bowker's experience of the Afrikaners, "Somersets Boor blaze away at a tremendous rate having mistaken the relief for kafirs one Rifle man killed another hit" (31.3.1835); and he does not miss the opportunity to exercise his dry sense of humour:

Some boors...mistake our outlying piquet for Kafirs and come galloping into the Camp...ones horse stumbled and he fell overboard and scampered off without his hat. (21.3.1835)

Charges of cowardice convey the biggest insult of all. Bowker makes his opinion plain after a Burgher patrol shoots one of its own men in an attempt to discourage Xhosa attacks, "the most serious consequence like to take place owing to the carelessness and Cowardice of the boors" (31.3.1835).

Arkwright and Flanagan exalt their men and imply that the Boers, by comparison, are cowardly.

Arkwright is present during an engagement between British and Afrikaner forces over Griqua land rights. He does not hide his opinion of their soldiering:

A sharp canter across the flat brought our squadron within sight of the Boers, who hastily retreated to a neighbouring coppice. From this they were dislodged, their notorious good shooting not showing on this occasion. Their astonishment was great when the men formed up under the hill and deliberately fired at them, & what was more astonishing, received their fire, not more than 100 yards distant. They could not make it out - "All a makta, de draghonders ist ne bung for de skeet nie." (2.5.1845)

Flanagan's comparison is theoretical rather than practical, "And we with a hand full of Men Beat them yes [the Xhosa at Cuylerville]...and that is more than the Military:" the military is represented by the Boer commando and their Commandant whom Flanagan takes such exception to above (n.d.). Stretch recounts an incident when two English officers decide to attack a large body of Xhosa in the Fish River bush with their Burgher forces:

With the exception of Jan Greyling, and Nel and three others, all positively refused to enter the bush, and Mr Simmons was obliged to take their guns from them and arm their 'agter ruyters' (8 in number) who behaved well. (9.3.1835)

The four incidents described above imply that the British are the better soldiers. The absence of entries praising the military prowess of the Boers, who had fought the Xhosa since 1779, argues for the existence of prejudice in the diarists rather than a lack of Boer courage in the field.¹⁹⁵ The repetition of the

¹⁹⁵ Peires, p. 140.

negative and the absence of the positive speak volumes about the low esteem in which the Boers were held.

The Afrikaners often had good reasons for going against the orders of their English officers. That the burghers might dislike rough terrain is understandable as they had to supply their own horses which of course they tried to preserve. Stretch, ordinarily an understanding man, does not sympathise: "It was exceedingly dark, and having to pass over some very rough ground previous to ascending to the opposite side of the kloof, the Boers were most grumpy" (1.6.1835). Hall sympathises with the burghers, though they delay the sending out of a patrol for several hours, which clashes with his sense of military duty, "The Dutch Boers from Graaf [Reinet?] ordered to the [scene?] but refuse to saddle up on the plea of fatigue... and not till one o'clock in the morning that a party can be got ready" (n.d.). Hall's sympathy dissolves when he is faced with their refusal to obey orders, though their point is a valid one:

...great humiliating and moaning going on the Burghers have had a most [tumultuous?] meeting but as every man wants his own house protected unless martial law is proclaimed little good will be done. (n.d.)

The Boers have to accept that the army is not a democratic institution: the commanders are answerable to those above, not below, them. The evidence suggests that the English as a whole had a negative attitude to their European compatriots in the Eastern Cape. This attitude is based partly on supposed military superiority, and partly, amongst soldiers recruited in the Eastern Cape, upon competition for the region's limited resources.

There were two other ethnic groups who made significant contributions to the British war effort: the Khoi and the Mfengu. The Khoi were hunter-gatherers and pastoralists in the region stretching from the south-western Cape to the Keiskamma river area.¹⁹⁶ They were integrated into Afrikaans and English society before any of the diarists began to write. The origins of the Mfengu are the subject of much debate. For present purposes two points need be made: the Mfengu, or Fingoes as they were known last century, were regarded as separate and distinct from both Khoi and Xhosa, and there were Mfengu mercenaries fighting on the British side in the 1835 war.¹⁹⁷ Despite the historical differences between these two peoples, the diarists who wrote of them (Flanagan is the only diarist who made no note of either group) noticed the same tendencies in both. The majority of references to Khoi or Mfengu are either steeped in paternalistic indulgence or serve to illustrate the people's supposedly degenerate qualities. The emphasis on the gulf between the colonizing British and the colonized Khoi and Mfengu is, according to Memmi, used to degrade and reject the colonized and is one of the most basic

¹⁹⁶ Elphick, R. "Frontiers of Trade and Agrarian Settlement, 1672-1701." in The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 - 1820. Ed. Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1979, p. 8.

¹⁹⁷ Webster, Alan Charles. "Land expropriation and labour extraction under Cape colonial rule: The war of 1835 and the "emancipation of the Fingo." M. A. Rhodes University, 1991, p. 2.

ideological components of colonial racism.¹⁹⁸ The generalized nature of the comments attributes the predetermined characteristics of the group to every individual member of it. All are guilty of all observable faults.¹⁹⁹ The diarists condemn the Khoi and Mfengu most vociferously for their disregard of what Victorians in general held dear: the work ethic. Bowker notices that "fingoes work very slackly" (27.5.1835), and he contrasts Khoi laziness with the superior discipline and work ethic of the colonials:

Theres nothing to be got out of these hottentots unless you keep close to them, and then if you stand still, they stand still, and the work stands still too. (6.6.1835)

Arkwright's sleepy employees invite a lion attack by not keeping the fire burning through the night. This dire consequence is averted by the Englishman who "kept awake frequently during the night to make the lazy Hottentots keep up a continual fire in the kraal" (29.8.1846). Crealock deplores Mfengu "supiness and insolence [in the morning]. They had turned out very slowly and unwillingly" (29.3.1878). Bowker and Arkwright overtly, and Crealock implicitly, judge Khoi and Mfengu according to their age's creed that work is virtuous, and find them lacking.

The ability to drink alcohol is another yardstick by which the British soldiers judged their comrades-in-arms. The judgements reflected the influence of tradition and class. Tradition and folklore promote beer as manly and strengthening, and spirits as warming and exhilarating.²⁰⁰ There was no class last century which outlawed drink. The middle and upper classes had domestic wine cellars and gentlemen's clubs where drinks could be ordered at any hour. The labouring classes had public houses, 'gin palaces' and certain classes of labourers were paid in drink.²⁰¹ The fundamentalist Stretch deplores the effects of alcohol on the Khoi but does not find fault with a hierarchy which sanctions the tot system for its levies. He implies that the Khoi do not have the strength to cope with strong drink:

...the rum is generally issued late in the evening, which is too powerful for the Hottentots. Consequently the noise and mirth evinced on its issue is intolerable. (12.4.1835)

The above quotation also implicitly contrasts the Khoi with those for whom a tot is not too powerful: the British soldiery. The British are more manly than the Khoi. The abuse of alcohol last century was most prevalent in the working class. It divided the working class into two sections in the minds of the other classes: a labourer was either respectable, and sober, or a dissolute abuser of alcohol. Arkwright's Khoi servants drink gin, a habit which plagued the working classes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There were large numbers of 'gin palaces' in Britain, and they were most plentiful where the poverty was greatest.²⁰² Arkwright's class prejudices, like his hunting jargon, arrived intact on South African shores

¹⁹⁸ Memmi, A. 1965. The Colonizer and The Colonized. London: Souvenir, p. 71.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 73.

²⁰⁰ Best, Geoffrey. 1982. Mid-Victorian Britain 1851 - 1870. Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, p. 241.

²⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 240-41.

²⁰² Ibid., pp. 241-42.

and were transformed into racial prejudices. He thus notes sarcastically the Khoi partiality to "their beloved gin shops & grog-loving vrows" (17.9.1846). As the English working class drank away their pay, so too did the Khoi after Arkwright paid them off in Port Elizabeth "quickly transferred to the gin shop" (19.11.1846). The native Eastern Cape residents have nothing to say on the subject of drunkenness. Presumably it was a common, unremarkable sight, not censured by or exclusive to any particular group. The visitors and newly-arrived settlers demonstrate the definitions of masculinity and class prejudices of their homeland when they air their views on the subject of drink. None of the diarists disapprove of drink on moral grounds, though the religious revivalists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries strongly condemned alcohol. The diarists, whatever their private opinions on the topic, were used to the military system which tolerated drinking at all levels, and provided those at the lowest levels with drink. An army without alcohol was unthinkable. The inability of the local people to handle their alcohol proves the manliness and social superiority of the colonizers.

The British fitness to rule over these people and their land is justified in their own minds by their patent willingness to work harder and be more self-disciplined. Each remark made in the diaries about the failings of the colonized further legitimizes the colonizer's continued presence, and the right to rule over the land and its people. Similarly, the presence of British soldiers is justified by the ineffectiveness and cowardice of the Khoi and Mfengu levies. Bowker and Crealock express their opinions with cutting irony, "Some fingoos sent with a despatch from here they were not very willing," (28.4.1835) and:

A shot glanced off a rock...which had the effect of making all the hulking great germans take shelter behind a large tree ...while Fingoos etc. crouched behind any piece of available cover. We were not awe struck by the pluck shown by many. (3.5.1878)

The extracts above illustrate the reactions of British and settler soldiers to others' understandable efforts to stay alive. Stretch introduces another element to the description of Khoi conduct. His account of a skirmish compares a brave British officer with his cowardly troops, and Stretch has none of his fellow soldiers' understated style:

The Hottentots of the 2 companies evidenced great cowardice, which prevented Lieutenant Sutton from dispersing about 100 who got up to his rear guard and fired some shots at him. (21.7.1835)

Arkwright's oxen are scared away from his camp by lions. The following extract confirms the preconception of Khoi cowardice and its patronizing master-servant style: "each Tottie boasted of his courage; he 'was ne bung for de leo nie', but not one would venture away from the waggons" (20.4.1846). The Khoi and Mfengu are lazy, they are cowards, and drunkards according to the diarists. They are patronizingly treated, as if they are children, not wholly responsible for their actions. Bowker and Arkwright confirm this when they use the diminutives 'Tot' and 'Tottie' when they refer to 'Hottentots'. This diminution of the name, combined with their attitudes as reflected in their writings, reveals their view of the Khoi who are childlike, cowards, and unfit for any social role above that of servant.

A likely reason for the British soldier's negative attitude to their Afrikaner, Khoi and Mfengu compatriots is xenophobia.²⁰³ This xenophobia can perhaps be explained as a displaced class fear. The Khoi and Mfengu especially came from societies whose social structures were unknown to the British. The soldiers did not know where the two groups fitted into the class structure of the army which was a mirror-image of Britain's social structure. The Khoi and Mfengu did not have a defined position in the colonial social fabric as they were never an integrated part of the settler society. The British army, in contrast, had a very definite pecking order. Until the Cardwell Reforms of the 1870s the officers in the British army purchased their commissions.²⁰⁴ This practice ensured that commissioned officers were superior to the rank and file not only by dint of their rank but also in economic terms. Furthermore, the landed gentry who served as Lords-Lieutenant appointed their own militiamen until Cardwell deprived them of the privilege.²⁰⁵ The deference of the militia to their commanders who were also probably the county's social elite, landlords, magistrates, or Justices of the Peace, was the norm. The sons of the gentry serving in the army abroad were thus unused to militiamen who did not automatically defer to them as their economic and social superiors. These class divisions, maintained by money and rank, were taken for granted. They were easily transferred to the local militiamen in all portions of the Empire. The uncertainty about these matters in the Eastern Cape led to distrust and fear.

Underlying the diarists' protestations that the Khoi and Mfengu are cowardly, lazy, drunkards, and childlike is the image of the ideal empire-builder: courageous, active, manly, and able to hold his drink. The essential empire-builder is defined by the novelist G. A. Henty who wrote popular novels for boys in the second half of the nineteenth-century. His heroes, role models for generations of British boys, are manly, courageous, truthful, modest, earnest, and believed in fair play.²⁰⁶ They pour scorn on cowards and drunkards.²⁰⁷ They are the ideal of the British gentleman.²⁰⁸ The diarists' view of the average British soldier is close to this definition, but modesty often prevents them from saying so. Instead, they denigrate those who are not British, and have no temperance or courage. Arkwright's reaction to his Khoi servants' reluctance to herd oxen in an area known to have lions in it (see p. 152) contrasts to his attitude to pain. To face lions requires courage, and to endure pain without complaint is also a courageous act. Arkwright breaks his collarbone and stoically writes that "nothing was to be done but grin & bear it" (15.5.1846). To ignore pain rather than allow it to interfere with an important pursuit

²⁰³ I am indebted to Mr M. Berning for this point.

²⁰⁴ Thomson, David. 1951. England in the Nineteenth Century. Harmondsworth: Penguin, p. 132.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Arnold, Guy. 1980. Held Fast for England: G. A. Henty Imperialist Boy's Writer. London: Hamish Hamilton, pp. 52-53.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 53.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

is also regarded as an act of courage. The ideal seems to be to give, and not to count the cost. He is told by David Livingstone, who inspected the break, that he should rest for three weeks "but I think I shall not be able to wait so long" (21.5.1846). The British soldiers in the Eastern Cape have an ideal of manhood by which they judge themselves and their fellows. Few could live up to the high standards set by the ideal.

Brownlee, the son of a missionary brought up on a mission station, does not have the same preconceptions regarding Khoi and Mfengu conduct. He relates an incident where four men were killed and four wounded, "They were attacked by Kafirs and beaten back...The retreat attributed to the Fingoes who ran and were followed by the Hottentots" (22.8.1846). His neutral tone, and use of 'attributed', which introduces the element of doubt always present but not necessarily acknowledged by gossips, distinguish his writing. The annals of military history are filled with accounts of 'tactical retreats'. Those retreating are certainly not blamed for their actions. Likewise, Brownlee does not blame the retreating party for the deaths suffered by the patrol: it is a reality of war. He does not suggest that cowardice is a feature of the peoples as the above diarists imply, and takes camp stories with a healthy pinch of salt.

By contrast, the diarists' approach to the Xhosa is not a continuation of their attitude to the native levies. Xhosa social, economic, and military classes did not in any way threaten the status quo of the ruling class on the other side of the border. A general indicator of the diarists' attitudes to the Xhosa are the words used to refer to them, other than the term 'Kaffir' which was in general neutral use. With the exception of Brownlee all the diarists employ other words to describe their foes. Brownlee had close contacts from an early age with Xhosa converts in the mission station on which as he was born and raised. Xhosa was the language he used outside the home with his childhood friends Richard and Bryce Ross (also missionaries' sons). He remembers those days when visiting the destroyed remains of the Perrie station: "We then spoke in Kafir and the sounds of their voices calling me by name as the Kafirs did, seems as if still in my ear" (30.8.1846). Brownlee's experience as a child preclude him from using derogatory terms or even naming the Xhosa the enemy. Bowker, Stretch, Hall, and Flanagan use the unemotive 'the enemy' when describing the Xhosa. The word allows the Xhosa no individuality. It is faceless and nameless: a useful word in any soldier's vocabulary which masks the humanity of the people he is trying to kill. The use of this word is in keeping with one of the aims of the diaries to provide factual descriptions of the war. Crealock writes of 'rebels', a fairly neutral word during the Ninth Frontier War which the British regarded as a local uprising rather than a full-scale war. Technically the Xhosa were rebels: subjugated peoples in rebellion against their conquerors. The terms above could be drawn from any war diary from John Evelyn's in the seventeenth-century onwards.²⁰⁹

These commonplace descriptions of the people being fought underwent a transformation when the British allies were faced with soldiers whose tactics were radically different to those in accepted use in

²⁰⁹ Evelyn was in Charles II's service during the Anglo-Dutch war of 1662. He refers to the enemy as "the Dutch" and "the Hollanders" when he is roused. From: Evelyn, J. (n.d.) The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq., F. R. S. From 1641 to 1705-6. Ed. Bray, W. London: Frederick Warne, pp. 362, 368,

the Western world. The Xhosa tactics evolved in response to the innovations of horse and rifle for which they initially had no answer.²¹⁰ Natural cover and the cover of darkness became all-important. The Xhosa learned to avoid formal battles in favour of ambushes; they harassed the rearguards of columns; and they attacked in rainy weather when gunpowder was rendered useless. Their constant use of spies and communication by signal fires did not conform to European ideas about the proper conduct of a war.²¹¹ An enemy which did not conform to expectations of warfare created uneasiness and fear. The sporting Arkwright disapproves of "the most detestable warfare" (12.11.1846). Xhosa tactics were seen as ungentlemanly and sly. The Xhosa gained a reputation for treachery as a result; they could not be called courageous or resourceful soldiers. Arkwright compares the French and Xhosa as enemies and appreciates the Europeans because they are honest and open. Following on from this he implies that to die at the hands of the French is a more likely fate than to be killed by the Xhosa who are inferior soldiers:

...I first heard of the melancholy death of Capt. Bambrick, my brother officer; he was an old Waterloo man & to escape the Blancs to be butchered by these rascally Kaffirs seems too hard a fate. (9.9.1846)

Arkwright also describes the Xhosa on another occasion as 'wily' (12.11.1846). Bowker shares the same expressions as Arkwright with reference to the Xhosa, they are "wily," "rascal[s]." (both 2.5.1835). A visiting chief's escort comprises: "too many to be trusted with Cold Iron" (2.5.1835), the Xhosa "have humbugged us" (6.5.1835), they are repeatedly "too cunning" (5:17 & 18) and suspected of "treachery" (8.9.1835). Even in their negotiations with the British allies they talk "shrewdly" (2.9.1835). Bowker's choice of descriptive words implies that the Xhosa are criminals. No other diarist describes the Xhosa as "villain[s]" and "blakguards" (23.4.1835, 7.8.1835). The assertion of a criminal element in the Xhosa nature, should be seen in the light of Bowker's own situation. Firstly, some of his vitriol can probably be ascribed to youthful passion. Secondly, his family owned several farms which made them vulnerable to attacks, stock theft, and crop burning. The young soldier's emotion could be caused by fear for his family, property, and livelihood. Cattle rustling was a constant threat to communities on both sides of the border even during peaceful times.²¹² These concerns manifest themselves in an arrogant attitude to the people who threaten him. Crealock's description of his enemy as "incorrigible" (10.5.1878) has none of Bowker's strength of emotion or profanity. But he has no material possessions which the Xhosa could conceivably destroy or drive over the border. The Xhosa frustrated their opponents who grudgingly came to respect their martial prowess. That the diarists were not moved to use any of the choicer terms undoubtedly at their command indicates unacknowledged regard for their foe's abilities.²¹³ The

²¹⁰ Peires, p. 140.

²¹¹ Ibid., pp. 140-143.

²¹² Ibid., p. 55.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 139.

inherited myths and daily realities of warfare contributed to a negative view of the Xhosa based on a fear of their very real ability to hold their own in the field.

A comparison of the Zulu and Xhosa experiences of colonization throws an interesting sidelight on colonizers' attitudes. The Zulu kingdom fought two wars against acquisitive Europeans: first the Voortrekkers in 1837, and the British in 1879. They gained a reputation as "the noblest of savages" after a resistance which lasted forty-two years.²¹⁴ The Xhosa fought nine wars, the first in 1779, and the last in 1878: almost a hundred years. The Xhosa were more effective defenders of their territory on the basis of the time spans and the number of engagements fought before absorption into the British Empire. The Zulu reputation as a warrior nation, built up after their defeat at Ulundi in 1879, reflects well on the British soldiers who were obviously the greater warriors. The Xhosa reputation for cunning was built up to explain the frustration of repeated attempts to subdue them. The blame is reflected away from the colonists who are thwarted by their underhand enemy.

Crealock, writing after Xhosa power was effectively broken, recalls a myth whose origins predate the colonial conflicts. He sees "parties of Caffres on all the plateaux beyond, comfortably sunning themselves" (28.3.1878). His description is reminiscent of one of the arguments put forward to defend slavery in the late eighteenth-century: the African, living in a world which provided abundantly without the need to cultivate, and in a climate which discouraged physical labour, lived a life of indolence and slothfulness. The pro-slavers argued that slavery took Africans away from their native savagery and brought them into contact with the civilized ways of the Europeans.²¹⁵ One of the important aspects of this civilization is the work ethic which steadily gained acceptance through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The lack of this virtue in Africans argued for slavery which, it was claimed, was capable of instilling it. The tone of Crealock's remark indicates that he believes in the work ethic, and in an African incapacity to work.

All the diarists on active duty (excluding Arkwright and Flanagan) were impressed, frustrated, baffled by, or admiring of the Xhosa surveillance system and their ability to take advantage of the smallest amounts of cover. Bowker's metaphor emphasizes the Xhosa vigilance, and the threat they represent to his way of life. The Xhosa become "The wolf [which] makes a great noise but dares not attack the Camp one rascaly Vidette nearly caught napping" (28.3.1835), and four months later the same metaphor appears, "the wolf or the kafir howled about the place" (20.7.1835). Xhosa vigilance and willingness to inflict damage at every opportunity reflects itself in Bowker's strong language when he realises that he is being watched: "find a kafir fire in the top of the Clugh where the blackguards are watching us" (7.8.1835). Stretch's war is filled with "many warnings of the activity displayed so often by the enemy's scouts" (29.3.1835). He notes Xhosa watchfulness, but is not disturbed by it "They...were merely on the look out" (31.3.1835), and praises rather than fears their espionage:

²¹⁴ Guy, Jeff. 1982. The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom. Cape Town: Ravan, p. xx.

²¹⁵ Curtin, P. D. 1964. The Image of Africa. Madison: University of Wisconsin, p. 255.

Their vigilance and activity is worthy of admiration, and if only one voice is heard, the opposite hills are sometimes covered with their comrades watching our movements.
(29.4.1835)

Part of the Xhosa reputation for cunning stems from the experience of soldiers who witnessed for themselves the disconcerting Xhosa habit of camouflaging themselves perfectly, and the dire consequences of not taking their seemingly unceasing vigilance seriously.

The British allies did grudgingly respect their enemies who refused to accept defeat for a century. During this period there were nine border wars ranging in intensity from large raiding parties to full-scale invasions. The cross-border tension continued unbroken through the periods of peace: both sides engaged in stock-theft. Violence and frustration characterized these periods: settlers organized commandos to retrieve their cattle from across the border; the Xhosa had no recourse when theirs were rustled. The Xhosa's legitimate defence of their land and stock, and their success relative to the size and resources of their nation, gave them a manly, warlike image in the minds of Europeans.²¹⁶ Bowker's sarcastic "I hope the bold sons of kakabe have got a drubbing today," (15.2.1835) is undermined by the element of doubt introduced in "hoping," as if they were capable of giving the allies a beating. He again betrays an unconscious respect in his description of Tyali's base: "The Ammatole Mountains Charlies Stronghold" (22.3.1835). Bowker's use of the word "stronghold" carries with it the implication that the Xhosa are regarded as a formidable enemy, whose strength and power can not be underestimated. The Xhosa methods of warfare and their determination to inflict the maximum amount of damage prevented the British ever taking an outcome for granted. They also ensured the respect, if not fear, of the British and their allies.

The Xhosa gain the respect of their enemies when they prove to have the qualities of the finest British men. Stretch finds that the British ideal of manhood is embodied in the Xhosa chiefs Maqoma and Sonto. He records a conversation with a fellow soldier when he says of Maqoma that he "was a brave man...he was that sort of a man that would come out on the flats and fight - also Sonto" (11.5.1835). Maqoma's good sense fortunately prevented his leading his comparatively badly armed men to almost certain death on the plains.²¹⁷ Stretch also commends the conduct of the Xhosa soldiers in general: "They appear to possess much personal courage" (12.4.1835). Crealock is similarly impressed, "2 or 3 Caffres were conspicuous in their pluck and leaving the Bush a yard or two would from behind a stone fire into us" (6.4.1878). Stretch's sense of fair play and his religious sensibilities are impressed by Phato's promise to the missionary Mr. Young that if war should break out, "I will see you safely conducted to the Gualana Post or probably farther" (12.2.1835): and Sutu's refusal to destroy Burnshill

²¹⁶ Hammond, Dorothy. & Jablow, Alta. 1970. The Africa That Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing About Africa. New York: Twayne, p. 45.

²¹⁷ The Xhosa were caught in the open on the Gwanga plain during the War of The Axe (1846 - 1847). British cavalry charged the exposed Xhosa and 500 died, completely unable to defend themselves. Peires, pp. 150-51.

Mission Station, "She said, 'It was God's house'" (27.4.1835). The conduct of the Xhosa was that of gentlemen in the eyes of Stretch and Crealock.

The nine border wars were fought to decide who would control the Eastern Cape's land and resources. Stretch, as usual the lone voice, appreciates the depth of Xhosa attachment to the land:

The country is beautiful in the extreme, having the Chumie and Amatola in full view. The broken lands issuing from the main ridge, interspersed with wood and covered with fine grass, presented a fine subject for the pencil...one cannot feel much surprised that Macomo would [not] easily relinquish it to the English...The gardens and houses in the vicinity of the Chumie River mark the strong attachment the Caffres bore to this retired and peaceful-looking vale. (30.3.1835)

An understanding of Xhosa attachment, and the emotion invoked by the prospect before him does not blind Stretch to the reality of the situation. The valley is deserted, and its potential to become a battleground is acknowledged in the concession that it is only "peaceful-looking." Bowker and Stretch both have farming backgrounds and have lived in the Eastern Cape for sufficient time to know the motivations of the settlers. They find it easier to understand why the British want the land rather than why the Xhosa want to keep it. The arrival of Governor D'Urban in Grahamstown prompts Stretch to reveal the real reason for the war in the eyes of many:

Like other puzzled conundrum guessers they knew nothing of his intentions respecting the division of the Caffre Territory, which in their own imagination was already divided. (17.2.1835)

Bowker dryly notes the settler reaction to peace with Hintsa, "Most people disappointed at peace being made with Hintsa. Some shed tears on their disappointed hopes" (1.5.1835). Although Bowker and Stretch deride the potential land-grabbers, the idea of appropriation seduces them. Bowker makes a particularly revealing remark:

Some people have been getting mealies to sow when they go home, I intend to sow a few acres on the banks of the Kye, just to get mealies to roast next year if I live as long! (7.5.1835)

The Kei remained under Xhosa control until 1847. Bowker intends to plant mealies which will be ripe when he next fights in the area. Xhosa territory will contain his fields. It will, in a sense, become his land. Both Bowker and Stretch subscribe to the old belief that the inhabitants of Africa do not deserve their land. John Davis wrote of the Cape in 1598 that "we found such, both for plenty and pleasure, as seemed to deserve a far better sort of inhabitants than it had," and of the people he met he found "some of the most base and brutal in the whole universe."²¹⁸ Bowker expresses the same sentiments: "Marching towards the Ammatoli Mountains through a most beautiful Country, far too Good for such a race of runaways as the Kaffers" (31.3.1835). Bowker implies here that the Xhosa are morally unfit, as "runaways," to possess the land which the industrious British farmers could utilise more efficiently. The idea that the land is underutilised by the Xhosa is implied in many of Bowker's comments while on patrol in Xhosaland. He also makes plans which propose how to use the land's potential fully. He has little

²¹⁸ Quoted by van Wyk Smith, M. 1990. Grounds of Contest: A Survey of South African English Literature. Cape Town: Jutalit, pp. 1-2.

doubt that he will one day possess the land he has such high hopes for, it is "between the Bashee & Kye rivers...the finest pasturage in kafirland" (7.5.1835). The planned farming activity springs naturally to mind when the land is surveyed: "the appearance of the Country is very fine it will make excellent sheep farms" (31.3.1835). Stretch's mental colonization, like Bowker's, disregards the obviously legitimate presence of Xhosa on the land that he wants to improve: "The country about the Amatola and Buffalo Mountains is better calculated for grazing than irrigation...but small portions could be selected," and "the valley is very romantic altho' wild, and some good farms could be made" (1.5.1835, 1.6.1835). The question of land pulls Bowker and Stretch in two directions. They are disgusted by the obvious greed of the colonists who hope to profit from the spoils of war; but they also regard Xhosa land as raw material. It is an undomesticated resource to be acquired and moulded into a domesticated, productive version of Europe in Africa. They take for granted that those best able to exploit the land should possess it, and in their eyes those people lived in the Cape colony.

The British and their allies successfully wrested land and cattle from the Xhosa in the nineteenth century border wars. One of the first steps taken was to proclaim the ownership and Anglicization of the land by naming or renaming its geographical features. The renaming and Anglicization of features in the landscape is also an attempt to leave a reminder of the first settler's presence bequeathed to posterity. Crealock's comment on the inspection by General Thesiger of the country over which the last border war was fought contains both of these elements:

...he [the General] gave orders for his first personal inspection of the tract of country that soon became so familiar, and in which so many places will ever after bear the names given them since that first ride of his. (14.3.1878)

A sense of the discovery of a new land pervades this entry. The land, it seems, has never been "familiar" to any before the writer's present. Its features were not named: their naming by the British soldiers ensures their place in posterity. Governor D'Urban directed the names of three significant hills to be changed. Stretch's method of deploying information acknowledges that the Xhosa did have names for various features, that they tamed the landscape for themselves. He rather emphasizes how possession of these sites has emphatically passed from the Xhosa to the British:

1st. The beautiful and commanding hill called by the natives 'Ikanda' is henceforth named 'Victoria'.

2nd. The double crested hill...called by the natives 'Inlaba Tempi' 'McDonald's Hill'.
(25.6.1835)

The linguistic possession of the land follows certain courses in the diaries. Firstly, the possessors might not know the names given by the dispossessed to the land's features. If this is the case, the land is named by its putative discoverers. The people who lived on the land before the soldiers and settlers can be ignored. Secondly, if the Xhosa names for the sites are known, they must be renamed. The war of 1835 was fought in an area which had Xhosa names in common usage until Governor D'Urban's communication changed them on British maps. Renaming is a conscious decision which symbolically replaces one order with another. Thirdly, the sites are named after people (the list above includes: "Mount Jackson, Fort White, Fort Murray, King William's Town, and Fort Beresford"). Fort White, and

presumably the other places bearing surnames, is named after an officer killed in the war. The naming of King William's Town serves a double function. It flatters the reigning monarch at a time when British interest in the Eastern Cape was high. King William's Town was the site of the Tyume mission station, founded by John Brownlee in Gcaleka territory. Its new name signals the end of European activity in a Xhosa land. The activity now takes place on British soil, in a town with a British name. It symbolically places the monarch, and with him his country, firmly in the middle of the land recently won in his name. The practice of renaming natural features gave to those features an English cultural and ideological indicator and separated the Xhosa 'theirs' from the British 'ours'.

The acquisition of land affected the soldiers' way of looking at it. Their very descriptions of it indicate their desire to remould the landscape into one recognizably European. Stretch's description of Maqoma's land (see p. 81) defines natural beauty according to several Classical artistic precepts. He creates a picture which owes the deployment of its elements to the tradition of the leading landscape painters of the late seventeenth century: Claude, Salvator Rosa, Gaspard Dughet, and Nicolas Poussin. Firstly, the land presents a view. A view allows the eye to wander from one object of interest to another. The structure of the view follows the principles laid down by Claude and Dughet.²¹⁹ The eye moved through three distances moving from foreground through middleground to a background which forms the horizon. The gardens laid out in the late eighteenth-century all sought to present those wandering through them with views upon which to feast their eyes. The eighteenth-century poet James Thomson captures the emotion stirred up by a fine view:

And what a various prospect lies around!
Of hills, and vales, and woods, and lawns, and spires²²⁰

Thomson's lines point to the second criterion of a good landscape: variety. Variety is expressed through concordia discors, the ancient doctrine of the harmonizing of discords.²²¹ Stretch contrasts the continuity of the "main ridge" with the "broken lands" in front of it. The darkness of the "wood" forms a contrast with the lighter "fine grass," creating a Claudean recession of contrasting bands of light and dark.²²² The quiet domesticity of the Xhosa settlement in the foreground counters the grandeur of the Tyhume and Amatola mountains in the background. The constituent which unites the contrasts in a landscape painting is the deployment of the above elements in space. Stretch takes the reader from the background which has an awe-inspiring grandeur, through a middleground rendered interesting through contrasts in texture and colour, to the signs of the simple, idyllic life of those living in the settlement in the foreground. The observer of the picturesque was not interested in realism, but the idealization of the

²¹⁹ Andrews, p. 29.

²²⁰ Thomson, James. "Summer." 1853. Thomson's Poetical Works. Ed. Revd. George Gilfillan. Edinburgh: James Nichol, II.1438-39.

²²¹ Andrews, pp. 17-18.

²²² Ibid., p. 18.

natural.²²³ Stretch's idealized description of the land over which a war was being fought is an example of the style and attitude of the advocates of the picturesque.

The picturesque ideal had lost its popular appeal when Crealock arrived in South Africa in 1878. The revolution in English painting inspired by the Dutch masters and led by Constable and Gainsborough away from idealized landscapes to realistic and atmospheric ones is apparent in Crealock's descriptions and renditions of the South African landscape.²²⁴ His description of the approach to Haine's Mill reflects an interest in minutiae in addition to the immediately apparent features of geology and flora:

Everything looked as usual - frowning Krantzies surrounding dense rolling billows of forest - thin wreaths of blue smoke here and there telling of a Caffre stronghold. As you came (sic) nearer to the trees they lose their bush like appearance and you find they are huge forest children. Butterflies of a thousand hues sailed here and there over the undergrowth and beautiful birds flitted across the glades. (24.3.1878)

The progressive movement is from the large cliffs to the small fauna. There is little of the sense of depth associated with the picturesque landscape. The description also shows the influence of natural history: a popular pastime in the Victorian period. Crealock is not a natural historian, but he has acquired what Merrill terms the mid-Victorians natural historian's ability "to see nature in a more intent, closely focused way."²²⁵ Crealock does not have the picturesque aesthetic, he is not a natural historian, his descriptions of landscape are an attempt to capture the reality of the scene before him.

The influence of painting (Crealock is a watercolourist) on his written descriptions illustrates his desire to render the landscape accurately:

But it was a lovely ride, the Amatolas stretching out before us as we crossed their lower spurs connecting them with the Buffalo. Forest flowers at every step and all the most vivid colouring of the moss, bog and heather of our own highlands lit up by a tropical sun in the clearest of atmospheres. (21.3.1878)

The patina which overlay the art of the picturesque school, no matter where the subject was located, was the mellow atmosphere for which Italy is famous. This does not exist in the above description which specifies a clear harsh atmosphere. Ruskin's injunction to observe Truth when painting the natural world is taken very much to heart by Crealock.²²⁶ Crealock's taste was for the landscapes which reminded him of his home country. The land described above catches his attention because it reminds him of Scotland transformed by the harsher quality of the South African light. A patrol which travels up the Gwengwe Valley to Isidengi hill passes through scenery which delights Crealock. Its constituents are similar to those to be encountered on a ramble in the English countryside:

²²³ Ibid., p. 28.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Merrill, Lynn L. 1989. The Romance of Victorian Natural History. Oxford: Oxford University, p. 11.

²²⁶ Andrews, p. 33.

...our cavalcade would have delighted the eye of an artist as clambering over the broken ground, now on foot, now on horseback, we threaded the windings of this lovely valley, which was a succession of broken boulders, huge forest trees and winding streams. (20.3.1878)

The wildness of rocks, wood, and water is not foreign to Crealock, who does not mention its exotic nature. It is the familiar wildness which can be encountered on a smaller scale in Europe. There is nothing new in Africa for Crealock.

The war diarists wanted to record the wars in which they fought, and their roles in those wars. They did so almost to the exclusion of all other considerations. They are not demonstrative of their feelings, not unusual in any nineteenth-century diary, but they give away even less of themselves than either the churchmen or the women. They notice little of the world around them, though the country over which they fought was often unknown even to those who lived in the Eastern Cape. Though these diaries are the least literary works studied here, they are of some use to historians, as they give the facts and can be used to verify the accounts of others. For the reader who opens a diary for pleasure, the diarists reveal little of their personalities, their goals, their tastes, or their attitudes to anything other than the war in which they are involved.

4. The Diaries of Two Women

Forty years on, still pale and transplanted, my Granma
Violet,
late afternoons I'd wait with a small boy's fascination
until, parasoled, behatted, watering-can in hand
carefully you'd tread, down kitchen steps
into Africa.
"Granma Kemp" Jeremy Cronin²²⁷

It was not unusual for the genteel middle- to upper-class woman of the nineteenth century to keep a diary. Books offering young women advice about how to conduct themselves properly encouraged the diarizing habit, and bound diaries were printed specifically for this market from the late eighteenth-century onwards.²²⁸ Both women whose diaries are studied below belong to the genteel middle-class. Sophia Pigot is the daughter of an army officer with an independent income. Her days are spent acquiring the obligatory social accomplishments: competence in music, dancing, sewing, and light reading. Frances Armstrong is the wife of the first Bishop of Grahamstown. Her life revolves around her expanding family and her ailing husband. Both women have servants, but are used to doing light housework. Their diaries record the daily domestic rounds of two average middle-class nineteenth-century ladies whose arrival in the Eastern Cape was to alter dramatically the course of their lives.

Sophia Pigot was the first to write her diary. She came from a relatively successful, close-knit family whose men served in the military establishment. Sophia's father, George Pigot, was a country gentleman based in Berkshire and commuted regularly to London. He had in his younger days purchased a majority in the 9th Light Dragoons and seen action in Ireland, was at the capture of Martinique and Guadaloupe, had helped quell riots in the Windward Islands, Monte Video, and Buenos Aires.²²⁹ Rainier describes George Pigot as a man "of means and influence."²³⁰ He was certainly treated with respect by the civil and military establishment in the Eastern Cape. He was a member of the gentry class who came out to the Eastern Cape in the hopes of setting himself up as a landed member of an African version of the British ruling class original. Pigot snr. brought out with him indentured labourers who were to work the land for him and ensure that he retained a lifestyle which lived up to his expectations. He did not stay in Britain itself as the Napoleonic wars were followed by an economic slump which

²²⁷ Cronin, J. 1983. Inside. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, p. 62.

²²⁸ Blodgett, p. 24.

²²⁹ In FitzRoy, V. M. 1955. Dark Bright Land. Cape Town: Maskew Miller, p. 26.

²³⁰ Pigot, p. 8.

impoverished many in the class to which he belonged. He hoped to avoid this fate by translocating to Africa. But he did not research the area very carefully. The Eastern Cape was not suitable for the intensive farming which he intended to practise there. His indentured labourers were able to leave him with impunity when they realised that the land was not as fertile as they had been led to expect. The rule of law had too tenuous a hold over the area to be of use to Pigot against his labourers, and they left. Sophia, unaware of the dynamics behind the move to the Cape, resented it, as it uprooted her from the comfortable and sociable lifestyle of the fast-disappearing world of gentrified rural England.

Frances Armstrong is of the same class as Sophia Pigot. She married a man who was accepted in "the first circles,"²³¹ though his pastoral focus, and thus his parishes, were in the poorer areas. Little is known about Frances' life before her marriage. The biography of her husband only records that she was the daughter of Edward Whitmore, Esq. She married one of the priest-vicars of the Cathedral of Exeter, John Armstrong, the son of "a physician of eminence."²³² Her marriage, unlike Sophia Pigot's, took her out of society, which her husband regarded as distracting to his very important work in the parish. Frances thus married knowing that she was not going to gain social status from the connection. John's subsequent swift ascent to the office of Bishop assured him and his wife a high standing in the hierarchy of the Southern African Church of England and in the society of the Eastern Cape.

Both women arrived in the Eastern Cape with certain expectations regarding their lifestyles and standing in the society into which they moved. Sophia was the second daughter of Capt. George Pigot, an independent gentleman from Chieveley in Berkshire. Her sister, Kate, was two years older than Sophia which gave her more status in the society of the time. The evidence in the diary suggests that they regarded themselves as equals. Sophia's expectations were not realised as the aspirations of her father to become a gentleman farmer were dashed by the realities of the relatively infertile land. The leisured life which she led in Berkshire was transformed into one in which hard farm work was the norm. The family was certainly not impoverished by the move, but neither was it financially successful. The contrast is reflected in Sophia's diary which records the Berkshire days of reading, dancing, musical evenings, and rounds of visiting. Work is restricted to sewing, and hay-making in season. Work becomes her chief occupation in Pigot Park, the Pigots' location in the Belmont Valley. The nature of the work is varied but more strenuous, as she works in the fields, the kitchen, and at her sewing.

Frances Armstrong is the wife of the first Bishop of the new diocese of Grahamstown, John Armstrong. Very little about her life has come to light in any context other than in her capacity as the wife of the bishop, whose duty was to bring up their family and remain in the background of her husband's career. The memoir of the life of the Bishop written after his death in 1857 concentrates on his public life practically to the exclusion of his private one. Frances was married in Exeter in 1843, her

²³¹ Carter, T. T. 1857. A Memoir of John Armstrong, D.D., Late Lord Bishop of Grahamstown. Oxford: John Henry and James Parker, p. 24.

²³² Ibid., pp. 6, 32.

maiden name was Whitmore.²³³ Some insight into her character can be gained by looking at the kind of man with whom she chose to live. John Armstrong was regarded as a good preacher, diligent priest, and known for his traits of kindness, sweetness, and the tireless and methodical manner in which he pursued his pastoral duties.²³⁴ The indications of his personality in Carter's memoir and his wife's diary suggest that he was a good, caring father and husband.²³⁵ The reserve towards the wife of a famous man which is present in the memoir is not present in the diary. The very diligence of the man caused his health to fail, and rest, or at least a more restful environment was recommended by his doctor. The invitation to become the first Bishop of Grahamstown seemed to offer a solution, especially as the doctor felt that the climate would aid his patient's recovery. The Armstrongs duly packed their home and arrived in the Eastern Cape in 1854 with their six surviving children (a seventh child died when he was 18 days old in August 1848 and was buried in England²³⁶). Frances Armstrong's diary gives an insight into the life of a woman devoted firstly to her husband and children, and secondly to the success of her husband's career.

It is sometimes difficult to discover why a diarist keeps a daily record as only a few are obliging enough to spell out their motives. Frances does hint at her motives, but Sophia leaves no clues. Sophia's motives, of necessity, change when she exchanges her sheltered, secure existence in the Berkshire countryside for the militarily and physically (at that time) unsettled wilds of the Eastern Cape. The differences in length and content of the English, voyage, and Eastern Cape entries suggests that the purpose of keeping the diary changes over time, and that there is more than one reason for writing.

Reasons for keeping a diary have a habit of multiplying as the diary progresses. This is most pronounced in Sophia's diary which does not seem to have a clear purpose other than that of the fashion of the day. Sophia begins her diary as a record of the significant events in her life. Re-reading past entries inspires Sophia to use her diary for another purpose. It becomes a way of remembering personally important events for the future, "I am five feet two inches and an eighth. A very fine day. I am to remember what I am doing today" (28.5.1819). The diary's function as a window on to past times becomes more important when Sophia faces the family's move to the Cape which will affect her entire future. The diary serves as a link with memorable times past, "Fine fun, walked to the farm, I [walked?] with Mary, remember what I am doing this time next year, tell her" (12.9.1819). The diary format provides an element of continuity. The space provided encourages daily entries and so links one day to the one before it and the one after it. Sophia recognizes this and extends it (in the entries above) to link one day to another a year later. The entry remains a constant when the diarist moves away from it in time and space.

²³³ Ibid., p. 32.

²³⁴ DSAB.

²³⁵ Carter, T. T. 1857. A Memoir of John Armstrong, D.D., Late Lord Bishop of Grahamstown. Oxford: John Henry and James Parker.

²³⁶ Carter, p. 114.

The diary's ability to preserve the moment for reference in the future becomes valuable as a coping mechanism when the Armstrongs' youngest child dies. The grieving mother writes a detailed account of the death of the child and the preparations for her funeral, and justifies it, "I have written all this because I want to remember everything" (15.12.1854). The Armstrongs are a close couple, so close that he takes her with him on a tour of the outlying parts of his bishopric. The danger posed by the imminent outbreak of war was outweighed in his mind by the hope that new scenes might distract her focus from her newly buried child. Bishop Armstrong and his wife made a loving team as they worked together in the ministry from the time of their marriage. The early death of the bishop put a stop to his wife's diary. Mrs Armstrong rounds off her diary in an effort to bring it to closure. More than in any other diary, the gradual lapse from daily entries as her husband dies, and the final entry, "19th. Monday. Burial" (19.5.1856) provides this diary with a definite close which the diary form does not go against. The fate of Frances Armstrong after the death of her husband ceases to be important, the diarist set out to write a family history which reached closure with the death of the husband who was its cornerstone.

The myriad events recorded by Sophia which have no direct bearing on her life all tend to emphasize the sameness rather than the difference in English and Eastern Cape settler life. A more extreme example of this normalizing function can be found in Mary Shelley's "extraordinary career" which is not reflected in her diary.²³⁷ An example from Shelley's diary illustrates her reticence: "Saturday 12 [1817]-Charles Clairmont-Four days of idleness. Letters from Shelley, he is obliged to stay in London. Read Comus."²³⁸ This dry text does not mention that (Charles Clairmont's sister) Claire Clairmont's baby is born in the Shelley house during this time. A parallel in Sophia's life occurs in her record of her father's second marriage to Elizabeth Tomkinson. The day's entry runs as follows: "Went to a wedding for the first time!" (3.12.1819). The point of keeping a diary is not to note the unusual: "Routine events in themselves, however banal, were recorded and valued for the contribution they could make to the total pattern of her experience."²³⁹ The essence of Sophia's and Mary Shelley's diaries is thus as much in what is left out as in what is written. French feminist writers define this as one of the essential features of women's writing: "The 'Feminine'...is to be located in the gaps, the absences, the unsayable or unrepresentable of discourse and representation."²⁴⁰ Sophia's diary style serves to create an element of stability in a life at first filled with daunting new experiences outside the schoolroom, and followed by an intimidating move to a remote and unfamiliar country.

Sophia's diary provides her with a sense of continuity in her life during a period characterized by discontinuities. Sophia's first year in the family home since she was four years old is in 1819. It is a

²³⁷ Simons, p. 61.

²³⁸ Ibid., p. 67.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 63.

²⁴⁰ Jacobus, Mary. "Is There a Woman in This Text?" p. 138.

year filled with social, spiritual, and personal rites of passage. The first time that she attends a musical evening is in the first month of diary-keeping. Sophia also learns the hectic social round of calling and being called upon. Calls made and received are recorded so systematically that a day without either is commented upon, "Saw no one" (examples occur regularly in the English diary). Sophia's first trip to London is significant for more than one reason. She visits the centre of an empire, not knowing that she will soon be an inhabitant of its periphery. Ironically, Sophia remarks upon the structures which contain the nuclei of the established church and the imperial economy whose farthest outworks will soon be familiar to her, "saw Exeter Change [the Royal Exchange?], St. Paul's Church and the Bank"(8.3.1819). The abrupt change in Sophia's social life from the confines of boarding school to the rigid English social system is one of the reasons why she felt it important to record the events of her first year 'out' in society. Part of the motivation for writing the diary is to record the 'happenings' in the world in which the diarist lives. Her world is a local one which extends little farther than her large extended family who live in her immediate vicinity. She lives in the troubled times of the post-Napoleonic War depression with its attendant political and social unrest, but this is of no interest to her.

Frances' diary is written with specific aims in mind. Her African journal is a personal one. It begins on the day on which her first journal (a letter diary to her sister) ends. The second diary's overlap with the first on October 11, 1854 is an overlap of day, but not topic. The first journal ends at the point of natural closure for a journey:

And here, having arrived by God's great mercy safe on the shores of our new country, I will end this uneventful journal with a thankful heart for our safe passage through the perils of the deep and the earnest and heartfelt desire to begin with fresh energy and vigour the new and arduous life which is before us. (11.10.1854)

The second diary marks a beginning. The passage from the ship to the shore at Algoa Bay is dealt with at the close of the first diary and the second looks to the land over which her husband has been given spiritual control, and her new home:

At about 12 o'clock on this day we landed by God's great mercy and loving kindness safe on the shores of the Bishop of Grahamstown's diocese, and the country of our adoption. (11.10.1854)

This diary begins listing the Bishop's party and the dates and places of birth of the Armstrongs' six surviving children. The journal of the voyage does not introduce or contextualize any family members as it is written to one. Frances, acting on the impulse provided by the first diary, has assigned herself the task of family historian. The diary is obviously focused on its author, but the concerns of her young family and physically fragile husband take up much of her real time and feature heavily in her diary. The diary reflects Frances' involvement and pride in her husband's work. She writes out in full the messages of welcome from the Colonial Chaplain, and the Churchwardens (12.10.1854). She also includes her husband's reply to one of the letters from a dissenting (anti-Tractarian) group. Frances also includes the names of all who are confirmed by her husband, she mentions every occasion on which John preaches and often the topic of his sermons, the psalms chanted and the chant used (18.10.1854). These bare descriptions seem to be for the sake of the information, but her pride in the success which her husband

meets in the Eastern Cape occasionally shines through, "the number of communicants was very large, larger, the old clerk said than had ever communicated before" (22.10.1854). Frances finds fulfilment through her husband's vocational success and in bringing up her children in what she perceives to be the correct fashion. The diary reflects both these concerns.

The person or people to whom the diaries were written have a very powerful influence on the diary's style and the material included in it. Virginia Woolf uncompromisingly places the diary's desired audience at one remove from the world of the diarist:

There can be no doubt that good diarists are those who write either for themselves or for a posterity so distant that it can safely hear every secret and justly weigh every motive. For such an audience there is no need either of affectation or of restraint.²⁴¹

The material in both diaries reflects the restraint exercised by their writers. To apply Woolf's hypothesis, Sophia and Frances must have intended their diaries to be read by a wider, more contemporary circle than their future selves or posterity. Woolf's views about diaries written with a general public in mind are also applicable to more restricted audiences:

But a diary written to be published in the author's lifetime is no better than a private version of the newspaper, and often worse. The good opinion of our contemporaries means so much to us that it is well worth while to tell them lies.²⁴²

Neither of the diarists wrote deeply personal diaries. Both concentrate on the events in their lives rather than their reactions to those events. An extreme example of this occurs when Frances' baby daughter dies. She describes the death and its aftermath in fine detail but does not record her own reactions to the tragedy at all. Her diary is not a confessional, though it is possible that her frequent letters to relations in England were of this nature. The clipped style of Sophia's diary and its emphasis on events in the outside world rather than those of a private and personal nature are reminiscent of the style and concerns of a newspaper which presents, with little analysis, the news of the day. Sophia does not lie overtly as Woolf suggests that some diarists do: she prefers to conceal by not writing at all. The diarist also attempts to conceal some of the written contents of her diary. Sophia writes her anguished farewell poem to Hugh Pigot upside down, its contents too personal to be read by the casually prying eye. The unwanted reader is further discouraged when Sophia writes in a code of her own invention. The code conceals secrets and potentially embarrassing material. The diary contains little of Sophia Pigot herself, her private or her public character, both of which are hidden behind the bald facts of her daily existence.

Sophia never mentions who is being discouraged from reading her diary by the elaborate measures mentioned above. Kate is the only person who handles Sophia's diary, and this is with Sophia's permission, "Kate writing my 'Journal'" (20.10.1820). The editor can find no changes in the style of the handwriting to indicate which portions are written by Kate.²⁴³ The entry above is the only one which

²⁴¹ Woolf: 1920, p. 689.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Pigot, p. 147.

mentions the diary being handled by any person other than Sophia. It is written twenty months after the commencement of the diary which suggests that it is a rare event. With the exception of Kate, the diary seems to be a private one. The audience in mind in a basically private diary like Sophia's is likely to be the diarist herself in future years.

The audience of Frances's diary is different from that of Sophia's. The introduction of the family and the bishop's party assumes that the reader has not had access to the previous diary of the voyage to the Cape. The list of children's names, ages and dates of birth, and the references to "us," not "I," suggest that the diary's focus is on the family. This diary is Frances Armstrong's private history of her family's life in Africa: to be read by family members in the future. Frances keeps the diary, but she sends extracts from it to her English correspondents: it acts as a prompt to be turned to when writing a more coherent history of the family for an audience overseas. Frances copies out portions of the diary and sends them to England: "Copied journal for England" and "I finished my journal and sent it by her [a woman returning to England]" (12 and 14.2.1855). The precise descriptions of vegetation and scenery which distinguish the diary are not exercises in description, but renditions of the scene to be turned to later when writing to strangers to the land. Frances follows the example of the Methodist missionaries who were obliged to send extracts from their diaries to the Missionary Committee in London, and Bishop Griffith who kept a diary with the intention of sending it in its entirety home to Ireland.

Diarizing was one of the conventional habits of nineteenth-century middle- and upper-class women. The other ways in which these women occupied their time are a good indicator of the changing status of their families. Stone describes the life of "the quality" as one in which women were brought up to observe "conformity to elaborate rituals of behaviour."²⁴⁴ These women demonstrated a "knowledge of...music, dancing and needlework."²⁴⁵ Needlework is the only ladies' accomplishment mentioned by Stone that is of practical domestic use. Sophia is capable of turning her hand to a number of domestic tasks, but the one described as 'work' is needlework. Handsewing, at which Sophia is proficient, is a time-consuming and exacting activity and occupies many of Sophia's waking hours. Sophia's sewing is not of a purely decorative nature, she sews dresses, "baby linen", and mends clothes. Every one of the Pigot women sewed virtually every day. Sophia and Kate ensured that neither's sewing project of the moment lagged as one would sew when the other was not able, "I was working for Kate all day long," and a group effort was on hand to speed up the finishing of a garment, "Harriet Goddard making Kate's habit, working all day" (5.10.1820, 1.8.1820). Sophia and her sister were able to turn their hands to a large range of tasks associated with living in rural areas and in a state of domestic comfort but not luxury. Sophia and Kate helped to mow hay. The diary records days of hard work put in by both of the sisters as part of the community's collective effort. At Pigot Park the sisters are, as Sophia puts it, "Obliged to lay

²⁴⁴ Stone, Lawrence. 1977. The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500 - 1800. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, p. 656.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

aside the accomplishments of the Drawing Room for those of the Kitchen and farm yard" (3.12.1821). If capitalization is an indication of favour, Sophia states her preference clearly. The sisters also help reap the farm's first wheat crop, and make a variety of dishes after a large boar is slaughtered. The Pigot daughters contribute much to the domestic economy of their household by their willingness to learn many different skills. Their main strength is their ability to sew which saves on the labour cost involved in producing clothes in the days before the invention of the sewing machine. The colonial experience is not an easy one for Sophia. She works harder and does more manual labour in the Eastern Cape than she does in England. The bright hopes with which her family set out for Albany were dashed and this is recorded in the increased labour expected of the Pigot women who had been brought up to expect a life of ease.

Frances experiences a move up the social ladder. Her husband's status as Bishop of Grahamstown placed the Armstrongs in the middle and upper echelons of the city's society, and the church ensured that its new bishop had the means to maintain the position. Frances is a caring mother who likes to supervise her children personally, but she has two maids should she feel she needs a break from the nursery (11.10.1854). She pays social calls and receives visitors, she attends as many of her husband's services as she can, and she keeps the diocesan books. She has no domestic duties other than those she assigns to herself which are directly connected to the welfare of her husband and children.

The family is the most important social unit in the nineteenth century. It is all the more important for women, who were brought up to expect to spend their lives largely within the confines of a family unit headed either by the father or the husband. Sophia and Frances are at different stages in terms of their status as members of families. Sophia is dependent on her father: she is just out of school and is of marriageable age. Frances is happily married with six children. Sophia indulges in a quite predictable love of the entertainment which the gentry afforded themselves: the social round of visiting, dancing, playing the piano, reading, and writing. Frances indulges in the equally predictable charitable and philanthropic work which suited her role as the wife of an altruistic and energetic clergyman. Their positions in society are dictated by their sex and their role in their families.

Sophia is the second daughter of Capt. Pigot; the eldest, Kate, is two years older than Sophia. The position of the daughter in a gentry family at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a tenuous one. She was expected to either remain a spinster and care for her parents in their old age,²⁴⁶ or add to the family's prestige by marrying a man of the same or a higher class. Both 'honourable' spinsterhood and 'honourable' marriage gave the daughter a good standing in the country society whose sense of order was upset unless the women in it were dependent on either husband or father, and the pre-eminence of the male as head of the household was ensured. This was the society into which Sophia Pigot was born and

²⁴⁶ Maria Edgeworth expected to spend her life as her father's companion and housekeeper; and Beatrix Potter was expected by her parents to look after their needs in their old age. The custom was an accepted one. See Lane, M. 1989. *Literary Daughters*. London: Robert Hale Ltd, pp. 57-58, 171.

she accepted its dictates. This rather restricted view of the place of women in early nineteenth century English society ignores the support networks which both diarists enjoyed. Sophia lived with and near many members of her extended family with whom she formed friendships and who guided her through her social life. Frances's chronicle of the voyage to the Eastern Cape is written to her sister, and she seems to correspond with several people in England. The indications of her diary and her letter-writing activities suggest that Frances felt that her support was in England, not the Eastern Cape. The support of family and friends was an important part of life in England for both diarists. They made up for its lack in the Eastern Cape by throwing themselves into their work, concentrating on the life in their immediate families, and communicating regularly with England.

The Pigot family consisted of Captain George Pigot, and his two daughters Kate and Sophia. The Captain has no wife at the start of the diary and marries as his second wife his cousin Elizabeth Tomkinson shortly before embarking for South Africa. Sophia's father is a remote figure in his daughters' life, the distance being less a matter of choice than a matter of circumstance. He was an officer in the 9th Regiment of Dragoons and went with his regiment wherever they were posted. The emerging Empire required British soldiers to spend much of their career abroad. Pigot's regiment was no exception; service in it took him to Ireland, Martinique, Guadeloupe, the Windward Islands, Monte Video, and Buenos Aires.²⁴⁷ In a fragment written (the editor speculates) towards the end of her life, Sophia writes:

...went to school at Miss Wright's, Cannock, when only 4, remained there till I was 14, only leaving for the holidays now and then to visit friends, never went home. Papa generally away with his regiment.²⁴⁸

Capt. Pigot retired from his regiment in 1808, the year that Sophia turned four; her memory of her father's absence from her early life is clear but the reason that she constructs for this is untrue. Generally Capt. Pigot's appearances in his daughter's diary are brief. Sophia records his arrivals and departures from their home, the first mention of her father sets the pattern for the rest: "Papa went to Chievely" (20.1.1819). The lack of contact between father and daughter is not out of keeping with the notion of conventional family roles,

...since the father traditionally has occupied outside cultural space and been absent from the inner family sphere, while the daughter has been restricted to the inner one.²⁴⁹

Sophia, a conventional young woman, accepts her father's absence from the family home and her upbringing as part of a natural course of events. His absence and the permissive pre-Victorian attitude to parenting mean that Capt. Pigot's control over his children is not as strong as in the severely patriarchal

²⁴⁷ FitzRoy, p. 26.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁴⁹ Boose, Lynda E. "The Father's House and The Daughter in It: Structures of Western Culture's Daughter - Father Relationships." in *Daughters and Fathers*. Ed. Lynda E. Boose and Betty S. Flowers. 1989. Baltimore: John Hopkins University, p. 20.

period that followed. Sophia and Kate were variously sent to boarding school, relations, friends of the family, and neighbours and presumably acquired their taste for socializing, and their accomplishments, manners and education from these sources rather than from the home.

One area of a daughter's life over which fathers, however lax, never fully relinquished control was the choice of marriage partner. Paternal control was especially strong during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the middle and upper classes. The father ceases to direct his daughter's life and 'gives' her to her husband, thus:

...losing one's daughter through a transaction that the father controls circumvents her ability to choose another man over him, thus allowing him to retain vestiges of his primary claim.²⁵⁰

Sophia defies her father's traditional claim over her potential choice of partner when she writes about a man whose name remains a mystery. This mysterious man reappears several times in the diary and remains nameless throughout: "Mr. Somebody came," and "Mrs Logie sent for Vegetables, wrote to say Someone would be here tomorrow" (17.11.1820 and 21.8.1821). The information is withheld from the man closest to Sophia: her father. The diarist's resistance to her father's will, so exciting at the time, is perceived by her as a mistake in later life. Capt. Pigot insists upon his control over his daughter's future partner and in later life she approves of this:

Met Colonel Wilson on bridge etc. Said if ever I marry I hope my husband may be exactly like that-and I hope my dear, said my dear papa, that he may be exactly the reverse. Fortunately for me papa's hopes were realised and not mine-²⁵¹

Pigot was better able to judge soldiers after twenty one years in the army, than Sophia was after fifteen years of rural seclusion. But the phrasing of the remark as a deliberate paralleling but negation of Sophia's naive exclamation has a decided, final tone, not a cautionary one. The father's remark seems to allow his daughter no choice in the issue of her future husband.

Sophia, if she can have little choice over her own future partner, is able to question the choice of her father. Without mentioning her father or stepmother Elizabeth Tomkinson (Pigot's first cousin²⁵²), she records one day that she began "Talking of the propriety of marrying Cousins" (27.8.1820). Sophia's small resentments and distance from her father do not alienate her from him. Heilbrun posits the father as the driving force behind "the daughter seeing a destiny beyond her mother's or that 'normally' ascribed to women."²⁵³ One of the ways in which a father may inadvertently cause a daughter to wish for his style of life is "...by the evident fact of his more challenging, worldly, and exciting life compared with that of

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 31.

²⁵¹ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁵² Ibid., p. 14.

²⁵³ Heilbrun, C.C. Afterword. Boose, p. 419.

any woman within her sights."²⁵⁴ The example of her father's lifestyle does not tempt Sophia to overstep the bounds of her early socialization but the attraction of her father's world is evident in her fascination with what he is doing outside the home, rather than how he interacts with his daughters in their domestic setting. She vicariously lives through her father in Boose's "outside cultural space." (20) Sophia notes down every time her father arrives at or leaves their home, she gives details of his social life, and evinces curiosity about his business transactions. Every attention paid to her by her father is noted, "Papa told us each [presumably Sophia and Kate] a secret. We are to try who can keep it the longest," and "Papa went to Newbury, bought me a scarf" (3.6.1819 and 22.7.1819). His business is especially fascinating to her when it is in reference to the Cape, though there is no indication that the business is explained to her. All family illnesses are noted as a matter of course, but her father's illnesses allow Sophia to focus her attentions on him in a way which is acceptable to him. Sophia is so concerned about her father's health that she puts it before her own. The ordering of the two entries below, after Capt. Pigot had fallen from his horse is indicative of his daughter's priorities:

Friday 1st December...Dr. Clark came, looked at Papa's leg. I had my tooth drawn...
Saturday 2nd. Foggy mornng: Papa better-Gum bad. [1820]

Even though the pain of a pulled tooth must keep her ailment very close to the front of her mind, Sophia gives precedence to her father's injury. Heilbrun identifies a type of daughter, like Sophia, who is unable to break out of the role prescribed for women which, "...represents lack of autonomy and confinement in a routine that is...in the upper classes, insipid."²⁵⁵ The daughter's desire for a less restricted way of life focuses on her father, "The girl wishes to be like him [the father] but where that is not possible, comforts herself for her own deficiency by caring for him."²⁵⁶ Capt. Pigot is often away on business or social calls and excludes his daughters from both. The world created by Sophia in her diary is by contrast one in which her father's movements and health are meticulously recorded.

The absence of an interested father in Sophia's life does not imply that she lacked father figures. The first and primary substitute father in Sophia's and Kate's life is Capt. Pigot's younger brother Hugh. Hugh had had a successful career in the British navy which had been rewarding both socially and financially before Sophia or Kate came to live in his home.²⁵⁷ His wealth was matched by his generosity: his London and Berkshire houses were regarded as home by a number of his relatives, including the Pigot family.²⁵⁸ Besides the material comforts the Pigot daughters derived from Hugh, he was prepared, and happy, to devote his time to them. The sisters respond to the attention by opening up

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Pigot, pp. 8-9.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

parts of their lives to Hugh that they do not reveal to their father, "read our manuscript books to Uncle Hugh. We have never showed them to Papa" (26.8.1819).²⁵⁹ Hugh is also included in their games. Significantly, he finds time to play with the sisters when their father is unable to on the excuse of business: "Papa had a letter about the Cape. Uncle, Kate and I went out walking, hid ourselves in a wood North Heath" (2.10.1819). Beyond Sophia's evidence that Hugh genuinely enjoyed the company of his two nieces, his attitudes and feelings to them are unknown. Hugh fulfils many of the functions of the father in the nuclear family unit, both Sophia and Kate include him in their literary interests, their play, and probably in their daily routines in ways that are too familiar to be deemed necessary to put in a diary.

Sophia's closeness to this older man, a comforting, fatherly, authority figure who is not her father allows her to experience in a safe, pre-marital form the fulfilment of the fictional heroine in much of her reading:

By making her at last the idealized and chosen love object of a (usually older) authority figure, such as an employer, godfather, or clergyman, the fiction not only allows the heroine to remain a good girl loyal to her father, it satisfies the daughter's fantasies of perpetual childhood security through union with the father masked by her status as wife.²⁶⁰

For the most part the diary treats Hugh and George Pigot in the same manner. But Hugh is also mentioned in contexts from which his brother is excluded. Hugh is allowed to penetrate further into the private lives of the sisters than their father, he is not only included in their play but is defended from the assaults of others, "Jane and I quarrelled about Uncle H" (4.7.1819). Sophia does not regard her diary as a confessional, its function is to record the events which make up her days. When she leaves England and has to part from her beloved uncle she expresses herself in poetry to convey her feelings of loss. The poem covers four days in the diary, a hefty amount in a diary composed of regular daily entries. The poem is of sufficient importance to override the urge to keep a daily record. The poem is written upside down, a small attempt at concealment of the feelings contained in it. Although Sophia makes an effort to conceal the poem, the compulsion to write it down is too strong. While Sophia's poetic abilities are questionable, her message is clear:

Oh come the woeful and the last farewell
Sad was the sound, e'en as a funeral bell
To part from him, from one I love so true,
As from my [tender?] dearest Uncle Hugh.

Twas not his form or face did gain my [heart?]
Twas not his look from which I ... [to part?]
But for his virtues fair [so clear to view?]
My kindest friend, my dearest Uncle Hugh.

Although to fare across the seas go we

²⁵⁹ Manuscript books were compiled by women in the nineteenth century, they consisted of extracts of poetry and prose that attracted the imagination of the compiler.

²⁶⁰ Boose, p. 34.

My breast and bosom filled with ...
 I still will love and always ...
 The [picture?] of my darling Uncle Hugh.

Oh that the day should come
 That I once more thy ...
 Oh you will see I've to my word been true.
 And often sighed, and thought on Uncle H[ugh?].
 (10-13.11.1819)

What the 44-year-old Hugh made of this infatuation can not be guessed at in the thin writing of the diary. It does not indicate that Hugh favoured Sophia over her sister, and he spends little enough of his time at Chieveley in their company. Hugh must have realised that his niece was infatuated with him, and the indications are that he tactfully ignored it to prevent it from destroying their relationship.

The relationship between Sophia and Kate bears a close resemblance to those of many modern siblings. The precedence given to the older sibling by Victorian parents is not observed by the Pigot parents and relations who live in a more permissive age. Mrs Pigot died before Sophia started her diary and the sisters' father is often away from home, leaving them de facto parentless and their play unsupervised; they were free to do as they pleased. The girls are given their freedom to play as they wish, "We played in the hayfield all day" (29.5.1819). There are very few entries which record angry differences of opinion between the sisters, suggesting that their life spent working, reading, socializing, and playing together produced temperaments able to deal with each other's idiosyncrasies without resorting to verbal violence. Sophia does not mention her natural mother in her diary. Her father's second marriage is to a relation of his, Elizabeth Tomkinson, who is closer to Sophia in age than she is to her husband. The relationship between Sophia and her father's new bride is based partly on the shared experience of one generation of the family community in England:

In my Cabin all morning working-Mama with me some of the time. Went to sleep with her after dinner in their bed...Mamma Tickling me, made a great noise, fine fun...
 Talking to Mamma of old times-. (21.3.1820)

Sophia's diary does not only record the discontinuities and changes in her life after leaving school and emigrating to the Cape. The essential subjects present in the diary are remarkably similar in England and the Cape.

The absent father remained such after the family moved to Albany, though the family dynamics changed in many ways to cope with the new environment. Capt. Pigot does interact more often with his daughters, he goes for walks with them, talks to them, and includes them in more of his social activities. This interest may be a function of the girls' age. The sisters have finished their schooling and are socially 'out', both of which give them the opportunity to socialize with their father in his circle. They have also matured intellectually and, probably to their father's relief, are able to engage him in adult conversation. The increased communication within the family results in a better understanding between its members; one indication of this is the decrease of entries similar to: "Papa very angry" (27.5.1819). The father-daughter relationship is healthier in degree but not essence after the family move to Albany. Capt. Pigot continues in his role as occupier of the "outside cultural space" and his daughters likewise in

respect of the inner one. Pigot's status gave him access to the upper echelons of the colonial governing class, and he continued with social and public duties in much the same way as he had done in England.

The Pigot sisters were brought up as members of "the quality" with "conformity to elaborate rituals of behaviour",²⁶¹ and a "Knowledge of...music, dancing and needlework".²⁶² Sophia's English diary records a busy social round the etiquette and rules of which are learnt with and from her sister. The sisters are enthusiastic, if not skilful, musicians. Their parents encouraged this to the extent that four months after their arrival in the Eastern Cape it is deemed necessary to tune the piano: they were living in a temporary wooden dwelling waiting for their house to be built! "Mr. Dale came and tuned the Piano. Left some Music to copy" (9.10.1820). The reason for this keenness was the importance for the social round of the ability to play music. Sophia goes to her first musical evening early in her first diary, "Music for the first time, liked it very much" (5.1.1819). She went at least five more times in that first month of her diary. Sophia and Kate also practise duets at Chieveley and Pigot Park (in Albany), though only Kate appears to sing, "Mr. Armstrong and Wentworth dined here and singing. Kate a sore throat" (2.3.1819). The attachment to music which characterizes the Pigot household is also present in the Armstrong one. It seems to be a rule that an English woman abroad cannot feel herself at all comfortable unless the piano is tuned after the voyage over, "Piano tuned finally" (20.11.1854). The sisters were tutored in the finer details of society living by their extended family, but are forced to depend on each other for support and companionship because they have an absentee father and no mother.

The Armstrongs had a companionate marriage. They lived in two spheres: Frances in the domestic, and John in the public one, and both were devoted to the success of the career of the husband. This was the norm in nineteenth-century England. The husband was active, and the wife passive in their pursuit of a common goal. The Armstrong marriage deviates slightly from the norm because the strain of overwork in England has left John physically delicate. Frances often sacrifices her own comfort for the sake of her husband. She confesses as much in her diary, though not in so many words:

I persuaded the Bp. not to come home for two or three nights as I feared the wretchedly uncomfortable unsettled state of the house might make him ill...I had to sleep on the floor but then I had the privilege of sheets which no one else had! (30.10.1854)

Her casual attitude to life on the frontier, which is certainly rougher than she is used to, is not applied to her husband, whose health and vocation are of serious concern to her. A small example of the dedication of Frances to her husband's career occurs on the day he goes to visit a condemned man, "he [the Bishop] promised to see him at 5 on Friday morning, so I sat up till ½ p 4 to secure his being awakened" (16.11.1854). Frances spares no effort to ensure that her husband gets the physical comfort and practical support he needs to function efficiently.

²⁶¹ Stone, p. 656.

²⁶² Ibid.

Frances' contribution to the marriage was mainly in the domestic sphere as befitted a Victorian matron. The move into the new house is supervised by her. John is not even staying in the house. The chaos attendant on the move is her province:

Tuesday 31 [October 1854]. Hugger mugger in perfection...

Thursday Nov. 2. Hugger Mugger crescendo at any rate not diminuendo, and visitors beginning to swarm.

Friday 3. Slight improvement. Bishop came home.

Sat. 4. Things improving, a better aspect.

This is not to say that Frances disregards her health because of her family. After the eruption of a boil on her face, both partners in the local practice pay a house call. The ordering of the patients and complaints does not privilege one above the other:

Mr Edmunds and Dr Campbell came to see me. They also saw the Bp. and gave a good report of him, considering that the mischief was no longer in the lungs but most probably in the Trachea. They say my complaint is Erythema²⁶³ and I am to live well and later Sarsaparilla.²⁶⁴ (24.11.1854)

Frances does have a sense of her own importance. The companionate marriage does not privilege one partner above the other. Both are necessary for the successful running of career and household. The indisposition of the wife is as serious as that of the husband in the domestic as well as the personal sense.

Frances's journal records two disasters in the Armstrong family: the death of the baby Ruth and the death of Bishop Armstrong. The document is thus a touching and important piece of family history. Frances lived in an age of declining infant mortality rates. She had none of the detachment from her young children brought on by the possibility of their deaths which characterized child rearing from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.²⁶⁵ The diary reader has an advantage over the diarist: he or she can return to the entries preceding an important event and search for signs of its coming. Frances suffers for two days with a boil on her face, and calls her doctor. In retrospect, the real significance of the doctor's visit is not Frances' health, but that of her baby.

Boil worse and a most irritable rash all over my face. Sent for the Dr. ...Tonics, Porter, wine and plenty of food recommended, also to wean my dearest Ruth who also is poorly and getting thin. (15.11.1854)

The doctor's advice is probably fatal. This sickly child is taken from the only source of nutrition which also protects her against any number of minor ailments. A month after this advice was dispensed, Ruth was dead. None of the restoratives seem to be of the variety whose properties would affect a breastfed baby if taken in moderation. The last illness of the child seems to be a painless one; Frances is not unduly worried until the day before Ruth's death. Ruth's final day, up to her death at 3.10 pm, is

²⁶³ Superficial inflammation of the skin in patches (OED). The wideness of this definition and the general nature of the medicines recommended suggests that the doctors had no more than a general idea of what was wrong with Frances' skin, or how to cure it.

²⁶⁴ Dried roots (tropical American smilax), or extract of these used as a tonic (OED).

²⁶⁵ Stone, p. 70.

recorded in detail by Frances. The doctors tell the family not to hope at 12 noon and from that time until her death she lies in her mother's arms. Her final moments are not witnessed by Frances who, though she relates only the facts, communicates her grief through her actions. Frances also tries to shield her husband from the stress attendant upon the deathbed:

She got weaker... Her Papa came in. I sent for him as she was looking beautiful and placid but as he looked at her I saw a shade come on and entreated him to go. In a moment a look of startled surprise came on. Eleanor wanted me to give her up but I would not though I could not look at her. They told me that she was slightly convulsed and in two or three minutes they said it was over and she was gone. (11.12.1854)

A description of the body an hour after death when "every shadow of distress or suffering had passed away" and the time of death finish the day's entry, "About this day I can say no more" (11.12.1854).

Frances is a lonely figure at the death of her daughter. She forbids her husband to support her, though his pastoral experience would be of great comfort. The other person in the sick-room, the English maid Eleanor Pridume, is regarded as more of an irritant than a support. Frances is never more isolated than at the death of her daughter.

Frances has none of the fear of death characteristic of this century, she has already buried one child. No-one tries to shield her from it:

I went there [to the room where Ruth is laid out] alone very early and stayed some time, she was beautiful her hands like wax and quite soft. In the afternoon she was put in her little white coffin. At night I went in to say my last good night to her. (14.12.1854)

The stress attendant on nursing the dying child and the sleepless and interrupted nights are followed by the release of the death. The mother is given the privacy and freedom to come to terms with the bereavement,

About 4 o'clock Eleanor and I put flowers in her coffin, white Sweet Williams round her head which looked like a bridal wreath. Then I went away while Miss Hughes and Robert came to see her. Then Eleanor took her last look, and left me with her. Then I took my last look and last farewell, and covered her dear face... (15.12.1854)

Acceptance of the fact of death is hard, especially for Frances who seems to isolate herself from John who should be her greatest support. She can only find comfort in the solitary pursuit of "...read[ing] sermons of Archd. Manning 'Thoughts for those that mourn'" (18.12.1854). The pain of an unaccepted loss is graphically recorded when the Armstrongs return from the funeral: "We returned to our home where she was not" (16.12.1854). John is not allowed to provide his withdrawn wife with the support she needs in her grief, so he formulates a practical solution: he takes his entire family with him on his first tour of the bishopric.

Frances' diary of the tour shares certain characteristics with that of Lady Anne Barnard's tour of the south-western Cape in 1798. They both fill the pages with descriptions of the people, and places they encounter on their travels by ox and mule waggon, and the inevitable bizarre and unusual experiences. Discomfort and dirt are unavoidable on a trip of this nature, and Anne and Frances are not only resilient, but capable of taking everything in their stride. Anne's sense of humour allows her to make light of any situation:

I feel all those sort of ridiculous inconveniences which I cannot help (provided they do not happen at home) as jests - Jane as injuries - Johnnie as nothing at all, or, if as anything, as 'the devil's own circumstance,' - and Mr. Barnard remembers how it was at St. Lucie, and how much worse that was than the present ill, be it what it may. (23.5.1798)²⁶⁶

Frances lacks Anne's sense of humour, but she too is able to rise without flinching to meet any contingency:

...at last succeeded in getting some breakfast, but when it came it was no easy matter to eat. The milk jug was full of flies, flies in a close swarm when I put the spoon into the sugar basin, drowning wretches were rescued from the tea and we thought ourselves lucky not to get them into our mouths.

(4.1.1855)

The dictates of politeness force Frances to overcome her distaste at the methods of storage and serving of amasi in Mhala's territory. She drinks amasi from a basket:

These baskets are very closely woven something like the little Portuguese ones and seem quite milk, if not water tight. The sour milk which is first shaken in a skin and then poured into the baskets, (neither of them being ever cleaned) tastes very much like cream cheese which has been kept rather too long, the children liked it much. (15.9.1855)

Frances, the decorous bishop's wife, is often placed in situations which test her resilience: she sleeps in a waggon, she has to learn to deal with a large population of biting and stinging insects, tiring journeys between towns with the prospect of having to carry mattresses and make beds at the end of the day, and all this during a summer heatwave with hot berg winds. Frances probably surprised herself: she certainly surprises her audience.

The companionate marriage is seen working effectively for the common cause during this first episcopal journey. Both Armstrongs contribute to the effort to bring a mission station to Mhala's people:

...it was interesting to watch the Kafirs from the first groaning or squeaking note [of the portable harmonium] till I played a good full chord. The operation was just over when the Chief arrived. The Bishop...addressed Umhalla through the Interpreter telling him that the missionaries were come to do him and his people good and to teach them to worship the true God and he hoped Umhalla would receive them kindly. When he ended his speech and went out ... I played psalms and chants to the Kafirs on the harmonium and they were much delighted... (16.9.1855)

The message which is the object of the trip is sandwiched between harmonium playing. Thus the husband's zealous organization of the missionary effort is rendered more palatable to the Xhosa by the wife's musical ability.

The small society on the border forces Frances out of a purely private role into the success of the Bishop's career, "I wrote a report of John's speech at the tea party [to honour the arrival of the new bishop] for the Frontier Times" (16.11.1854). Visitors are another aspect of the episcopal round in which the wife of the bishop has an important part to play. On 6 Nov 1854 Frances records having 20 visitors; these include a "Genl. Jackson" whose rank suggests that he sought the company of the Bishop as much as the Bishop's wife. Private visits and tea parties become part of Frances' way of life from this moment on. There are days when the entire entry is a list of those whom she has called upon.

²⁶⁶ "St. Lucie" is St Lucia, Windward Is.

The activities of the children are more interesting during John's absence on his second episcopal tour as Frances has no other familial company. This does not imply that Frances is a neglectful mother when her husband is at home, rather that she and her husband are the best company that the other has. The time without her husband is also occupied by visiting the grave of her dead daughter Ruth. Frances visits the grave regularly, but when John is away she visits it three times in the two weeks. This spate of visiting may be caused by Ruth's birthday which falls a fortnight before John comes home. Frances' grief over the death of her child still causes her pain, a pain which she feels she can not express in front of her husband for fear of increasing his worries.

Frances is the family educator. She passes her accomplishments on to her children, "Played chess with boys, played on the piano to little ones" (28.2.1855). The following entry begins with the word "Lessons" which implies that social accomplishments are not the only ones Frances is prepared to teach her children. Middle-class mothers taught both their sons and daughters the basics of reading, writing, and mathematics as a matter of course in the nineteenth-century.²⁶⁷ Discipline in the Armstrong household seems to be of the conventional Victorian variety. Confining a naughty child is a typical punishment for a minor infringement of discipline; "F.[anny, 7 years old] very disobedient and naughty sent to her room for the afternoon" (30.11.1854). On the whole, the Armstrong children seem happy and secure. There is no mention of repeated disobedience or tantrums which would indicate neglect or insecurity.

Frances Armstrong ends her diary on the day of her husband's funeral. The love, companionship, protection, material security and status afforded her by her husband and his vocation are taken from her overnight. Ironically, John comes to Africa to recover his health. Exhaustion brought on by overwork leads his doctor to recommend the Cape Colony as a place where he might be able to regain his strength and health. He did no work at all on the voyage out to South Africa as a sign of his new resolution. Unfortunately, as soon as he was settled in his diocese he returned to his old and self-destructive work habits.

Africa does do him good. Frances' remarks on his health gradually thin out until after his third episcopal visitation journey undertaken alone she is able to say that he is in good health, "The Bp. returned from his long visitation looking much stronger though very much sunburnt and feeling very tired [my emphasis]" (16.5.1855). This entry occurs a year before his death. John obviously has no idea how to control or delegate his work-load. He arrives back from a service on a wet day, "Wet day. Bp. alone went to Ch. and caught cold" (6.4.1856). This cold worsens, but he will not stop to rest and recover, "Bp. went to Church but not well enough to preach" (27.4.1856). The following Sunday he is not well enough to go to church at all. The disease has settled in his lungs, "Purpura began" (8.5.1856). At this point Frances realises that her husband's chances of survival are slim. The following day his lung collapses. Frances averts her eyes from the scene she is witnessing, there is none of the detail which

²⁶⁷ Peterson, p. 140.

accompanies the death of her daughter. The import of the following entry has to be inferred, "Great exhaustion came on. H.C. [Holy Communion] in the night" (15.5.1856). The person who is exhausted is likely to be John, and the communion is probably the Last Rites, conducted at his bedside. There is no entry on the day John Armstrong dies. It is perhaps unnecessary for Frances to write down the date of the event which would cause such grief that it is impossible to forget.

The family is the most important group of people in the lives of both of the women diarists. The most important person in that group is the father or husband who is the traditional head of the family. Sophia's father is a distant figure and she longs for a close relationship with him. Frances' husband overworks himself and needs much caring for, he is a kindly man who loves and is loved by his wife and children. Despite the distance between the Pigot father and his daughters, both families could be described as quite close, and it is from the security of this small unit that they look out to the people of the Eastern Cape.

Sophia and Frances have very different attitudes towards the people they encounter in the Eastern Cape. Sophia views the African people as amusing or recalcitrant curiosities when she first arrives. The waggon trip to the location and the first months of settling in reveal Sophia's fear of these people whose languages and customs are beyond her immediate comprehension. She decides not to try to understand the cultures she comes into contact with and turns her back on them. Frances' initial impression is mediated by the knowledge that the people she meets are potentially members of her husband's diocese. She has no contact with Afrikaans, Khoi, or San people. The status of her husband's position, and the power of the state church give Frances the security to view the people she meets with a less biased eye.

Sophia's initial intentions towards the Africans (here I include the Afrikaners, Khoi and San, who are all foreigners in Sophia's eyes) are admirable. She is taught to count to twenty in Xhosa (or so she thinks) by one of her fellow settlers on the Northampton, "Mr. E[lley] gave me 20 in Caffre" (10.4.1820). Mr Elley actually taught her to count to 20 in Hindi, but her willingness to learn is to her credit. Sophia displays the same willingness to learn when 'Miss Philipps', Kate and Sophia are "all learning Dutch in the evening" in their tent at Algoa Bay (21.5.1820). The Pigots' efforts to learn the languages in their part of Africa are at first sight commendable ones, but the motives for learning are hardly praiseworthy. Language is a cultural construct. To learn another's language is to some extent to acknowledge the culture from which that language springs. The settlers did not see language in this light. Cultural integration, or even exchange, fostered by good communication is not a goal for the new inhabitants.

Sophia's good intentions reflected in her language learning do not extend to an acceptance of the culture of the other. She reacts to a group of Afrikaners playing Snip Snap Snorum (a favourite game of hers) with derision, "saw some Dutch men who played Snip Snap etc., laughing very much at them" (23.5.1820). Difference is again emphasized when a San boy imitates the English at a ball: "the Bush boy took off all the gentlemen; we danced more, then he took off the Ladies, made us laugh very much" (12.6.1820). Sophia reacts to Afrikaners and San who copy English activities by rejecting and degrading

them. Memmi points out that this is one of the ideological components of colonialism. Differences between communities are stressed and there is no thought of joining communities.²⁶⁸ The colonizers are able to do this because they do not believe that communication is possible. They give up the effort to interpret the thoughts of the colonized and firmly draw the line between the civilized 'us' and the uncivilizable 'them'.²⁶⁹ Sophia's attitude to the inhabitants of the Eastern Cape is the colonizer's attitude to the unindividuated colonized.

Sophia's rejection of the possibility that the Africans whom she encounters can understand and be understood by her culture without becoming a laughing stock is followed by the realization of their difference. Difference is interpreted by Sophia to mean inferiority. The Khoi are shamefully different. She is so shocked by their nudity that she hides the revelation of it in her diary by using code, "Met a number of Hottentots, men and women, all [code: naked]" (19.6.1820). Nudity is taboo for Sophia, she feels that even the mentioning of it should be hidden. It is shameful. The prudery for which the Victorians later became famous reflects itself here in one who unquestioningly accepts her values as the ones by which all others are judged.

The Afrikaners also prove to be threatening at close range. Their overtures of friendship to the newly arrived English are snubbed, "A Dutch Boor came in, frightened us very much, talked a great deal...a Dutch girl came to see us, we could not get rid of her" (25.6.1820). The very people whose efforts will enable the English to settle the land with a minimum of discomfort are rejected by their new and inexperienced neighbours who consider themselves superior on the basis of their stronger links with Europe. Europe is for the British the yardstick of civilization. The Afrikaners, who have adapted their ways of living to African conditions and a largely cashless economy, are rejected by the British as they would reject country hicks:

Could not get any Milk for tea, it was too wet for the idle Dutch people to go and fetch their cows in to milk them, therefore they remained out all night. (22.6.1820)

Efforts to adopt the trappings of the culture which the English regard as their own, and attempts to meet the English as equals are greeted with derision. Sophia believes in the ubiquitous nineteenth century values of industry and cleanliness. She derides those who do not possess the former and approves of those who possess the latter: "A Dutch family passed in a Waggon, went to see them, very clean etc" (28.10.1820). Sophia's prejudice against Afrikaners is implied in her surprise at their cleanliness. The immigrants do not want to see themselves as having anything in common with the local inhabitants. The Afrikaners, Khoi and San people of the Eastern Cape are appreciated only for their capacity to contribute to the comfort of the settlers. The settlers have no intention of integrating their societies and in the manner of colonizers everywhere they emphasize and entrench difference, ignoring similarities.

²⁶⁸ Memmi, p. 71.

²⁶⁹ Mannoni, O. 1956. *Prospero and Caliban*. London: Methuen & Co, p. 19.

Sophia and Frances approach the Xhosa in a different way. In 1819 the European settlements in Albany narrowly escaped annihilation at the hands of the Xhosa. Although they successfully defended the Zuurveld and drove the Xhosa over the Great Fish River, the Xhosa were by no means a defeated people. Sophia is sufficiently interested in the Xhosa before her arrival to learn what she believes is their counting system before her arrival in the Eastern Cape. Frances sets aside time every day on board ship to study her Xhosa grammar book with three clerics bound for the Pirie mission station. The excitement and activity that accompanies the landing and continues for the first three months in Algoa Bay, Grahamstown, and Blou Krantz gives Sophia no opportunity to comment on the Xhosa. When the opportunity arises the enquiring attitude has disappeared. The Xhosa, unsubdued people in an uncolonized land, have become a focus of Sophia's fears of her new home. An incident in which about 600 Xhosa went to Clay Pits to gather cosmetic clay with the knowledge and permission of the relevant authorities but not the settlers highlights settler paranoia.²⁷⁰

Frances takes a refreshingly different attitude to that of most of the newly-arrived settlers upon seeing the indigenes for the first time,

The first sight of these noble finely formed men with their animated intelligent countenances was very striking. I felt at once that they might become "a people" and the various coloured people we saw in Cape Town. (11.10.1854)

Her eagerness to see the good in people is a trait which she shares with her husband, it enabled him to reach to people who were considered by, and who considered themselves beyond the pale of the church.²⁷¹ The Armstrongs have a positive attitude to the people they interact with on a personal level, but Frances, certainly, regards distinct groupings of people with a different attitude. Frances does not think that the black African people she sees are "a people" in the sense of a community with a group identity. The very determined resistance to British encroachment put up by the Xhosa presupposes a united, co-ordinated plan of defence which would only be possible if the Xhosa were a united people. This unquestioning assumption that African people do not have a community is not based on fact: Frances has not spent enough time in the Eastern Cape to know first-hand whether this is true, and gives no sign that she knows the history of the region before she arrives. The assumption she makes seems to be based on a myth about the place and people of Africa. Africans cannot form their own communities because the idea of community is one which implies social organization. This myth is linked to the myth which denies that black Africans have religion or rationality, it proposes that they are in reality beings who know only superstition and sensuality.²⁷² The idea of community is a European one which this woman from Europe can not comprehend pre-existing European settlement in Africa.

²⁷⁰ Pigot, p. 148.

²⁷¹ Carter, pp. 423-424.

²⁷² Miller, p. 43.

The gloomy picture of English attitudes painted above does not present all sides of the story. The English do appreciate local talents, provided they do not pose a threat to their interests. Sophia's diary treats the Khoi servants in the same fashion as the English ones. Sophia notes that she "Sent Pratt for a book," and in the same style "Mr. Rogers sent his Hottentot with 'Ivanhoe'" (12.7.1820 and 25.7.1821). In their capacity as servants, Sophia can admire the Khoi, "a very good Hottentot waited on us" (25.6.1820). The above entries illustrate another aspect of Sophia's treatment of people in the new colony; the English servant is distinguished from the Khoi one by the use of his name. -The Khoi servants are not given separate identities. The treatment in Frances' diary of a man who is to be their servant has a businesslike tone to it which suggests that servants are treated like servants no matter their origins, "Our new Bechuana man came for the first time, he is to have 30s per month" (20.11.1854).

Pluralizing and depersonalizing form part of the portrait constructed by colonizers and employers of the subjugated or socially inferior peoples with whom they come into contact in England and the Eastern Cape.²⁷³

Sophia, an impressionable and unquestioning fifteen-year-old, probably reflects general settler attitudes to the people who inhabited the area before their arrival. Capt. Pigot deals with people ranging from the highest echelons of government to the lowliest of farm servants. Through him and his dealings Sophia is able to mirror faithfully a facet of settler society. Her attitude, first one of curiosity, becomes one which refuses to understand the local people. She attempts to ignore them as much as possible. There are very few references to Africans during the last year of the diary. She makes no attempt to learn Xhosa after her arrival, and no attempt to learn about the Xhosa by talking to those who know more than her. This attitude denies her access to the lives of her new neighbours who remain permanently unknown once she has adopted the attitude that they are unknowable.

Frances knows of no person who is unknowable. Everyone she meets is either Christian, and therefore to some extent a known, or non-Christian with the potential to be converted. Her handling in her diary of the congregation of the Grahamstown cathedral (which is mainly white and English) illustrates her attitude to her fellow colonists. Diocesan visits raise no comment, probably because Frances was an experienced parish visitor in England. The spirit in which the soldiers are treated by Frances in the first service which she attends in Grahamstown probably reflects her expectations based on her experiences with a home for unmarried mothers in her husband's parish in England: a careful assessment of their spiritual health is made, "The soldiers march from the Barracks to the Church with the band playing, and the Officers all attend in uniform. The soldiers paid the greatest attention to the Service" (29.10.1854). This assessing attitude to the church's congregation is admitted to and continued in the Sunday School, "the amount of knowledge was infinitesimal, there was a large attendance of children of all classes and it might be made a considerable centre for good" (29.10.1854). The experience of opening and overseeing the running of a home for unmarried mothers in England had not imbued the

²⁷³ Memmi, p. 85.

Armstrongs with an indulgent attitude to the failings of their fellow humans. Signs of repentance are necessary to convince the bishop of a person's fitness for heaven, "The Bishop approved and supported Mr Heavyside in his resolution not to give Xian burial to a notorious drunkard" (17.2.1855). Everyone has the potential to meet Frances as a spiritual equal if they show a sincere regard for the Christian faith.

Frances meets the Mfengu in a setting which will to some extent dictate her attitude towards them. Even if this is taken into account, the approval she expresses is the same as might be voiced when encountering a new congregation in England, "There was a large congregation in the good sized school room and they were most attentive, the singing was really beautiful, the voices so round and rich" (22.10.1854). The comments which accompany this first meeting of a new community are in a familiar context for the bishop's wife: the church service. There is little indication that Frances interprets this service as the place where she meets the "other." There can be no otherness in a congregation observing the same liturgy as her own.

Frances is restrained when she meets a group of people. Her diary suggests that she is not a sociable person, preferring the company of her family and the preoccupations of her household to the elevated society in which she moves as the bishop's wife. She is more comfortable in the company of one person or a small group. She is impressed by the Christian chief of the Gqunukhwebe, Khama. Her description of him acknowledges his self-assurance, and his air of authority. He endears himself to her when he pays attention to her two-and-a-half year old child:

In the afternoon Mr Lange brought Kama to see us. He is a very fine tall well made man with good quiet manners. His forehead is magnificent and his feet long and narrow. As he walked away one might have taken him for an English officer, two attendants came with him. Little Grace made great friends with him and got on his knees, he danced her and was very good natured. The Bp. showed him some of the coloured scripture prints and gave him his choice of them allowing him to take 3. (19.12.1854)

Khama has all the attributes of an English gentleman in Frances' eyes. He is well-mannered, religious, and has the bearing of an officer. The only reason to suppose that he is not English is the colour of his skin. Frances does not subscribe to the view that African people are inferior to Europeans, the only difference is on the physical level: that of skin colour.

Frances does not expect anything of the people in the Eastern Cape and is thus satisfied with those she encounters. She does not understand the Xhosa she meets; but she does not expect, and so does not find, an 'other' with whom it is impossible to connect over the abyss of difference.

Frances' social reserve affects the quality of her writing at no time more than when she goes with her husband to visit the Xhosa chiefs to ask permission to build missions. She does not have the sociable and open character which is reflected in the writings of Anne Barnard. Frances' descriptions delineate appearances, there is very little which brings the individual alive in the text. Her description of Mhala captures his appearance in terms which are easily understood in those times, but which give no indication of his bearing as a leader:

Umhalla is considered a very frightful man but I must confess I have seen many uglier in England, he is a shabby looking old man and his best dress, corduroy trousers and an old frock coat and a soldier's cap. (15.9.1855)

Frances's description of Mhala's wives has the detachment of the ethnographer rather than the engagement of a participant in the scene:

They [Mhala's wives] were dressed in a sort of shift of skins, tight across the bosom and descending half way to the ankle, they had bracelets and anklets of brass made by the Kafirs themselves and earrings and a blanket over all, they generally wore a cotton handkerchief on their heads. (15.9.1855)

The description continues for an increasingly detailed 117 words. The audience plays a large part in this burst of description. The visit to the Xhosa chiefs presents Frances with an opportunity to tell her correspondents in Britain about the people who have not accepted British rule and Western culture, who live in the "Caffre bush," which Charlotte Brontë, writing seven years before Frances, equates with "the Himalayan ridge," and "the plague-cursed Guinea coast swamp."²⁷⁴ Frances judges the Xhosa she meets in terms of the English society she is familiar with. The approval or distaste accorded to Xhosa in terms of physical features, traditions, and behaviours can be interpreted as reflections of the society from which Frances has come. This of course leads to some bad misjudgments of Xhosa society:

And Mr Fleming having fortunately brought some beads up with hm we (that is the chicks and I) worked hard at stringing them into necklaces for the women and children. I am almost ashamed to say that the great Umhalla with his 4,000 [?] and innumerable assegai men was not above giving a hint for some dark blue beads, and the next morning he appeared in a necklace of them! I believe 8 of Umhalla's 9 wives were present and many of his sisters and his old Mother the most awful moving mass of fat, while I played to them they sat three deep round the building listening with profoundest attention. They were of course all anxious to get beads but there was no pushing or rudeness and no signs of jealousy. (16.9.1855)

Frances has no idea of the value of beads in Xhosa society, and she does not know that body fat is the mark of a woman well provided for by her husband. The Xhosa Frances meets provoke a mixed reaction. She is unprepared to accept that there are any cultural norms other than her own. Cultural relativism is not a concept which many Victorians accepted. Her misunderstanding of the culture to which she is exposed causes her to be both attracted and repelled by the people and their ways of life.

The impression that Frances is comparing the reality of the people she meets with an ideal model constructed on another continent becomes inescapable when she meets Xhosa converts at St Luke's mission station:

...the demi-semi-civilization of the village was cold and most unpicturesque, the mud huts looked more like pictures of hovels than the compact mud beehives of the genuine Kafir, and the men in old corduroys and shabby wide awakes did not contrast favourably with their wilder countrymen in the toga-like blanket, a black woman in a gown too is not a pleasing sight, it made us long for some new invention combining the free grace of the savage with the decorum of the Xian. (17.9.1855)

²⁷⁴ Brontë, Charlotte. 1980. *Jane Eyre*. Ed. Margaret Smith. Oxford: Oxford University, p. 397.

The model by which Frances measures these Xhosa Christians is derived from Rousseau's Noble Savage who, like the unchristianized Xhosa, exists in a 'natural' state (that is to say, an unwesternized state). The Bishop's wife can not imagine a state of nobility independent of Christianity and so modifies the Noble Savage to a being whose nobility is defined by a Christian 'decorum'. The state of savagery is manifested in their clothing. A Xhosa out of the traditional garb is somehow a less "genuine" person.

Frances' own children quickly discover playmates among the Xhosa. The acceptance of the Xhosa which the Armstrong parents display, and the purpose of the visit is reflected in their children, "In the afternoon the children amused themselves with keeping a play school" (16.9.1855). The behaviour of the Xhosa children delights Frances; Xhosa society does not approve of violence directed at children, and this is reflected in the children's behaviour "in their school and their play afterwards it was pleasing to see how quiet and gentle and free from any kind of ill temper they were - there was not an angry word all day" (Ibid.). The Armstrongs' children unconsciously play an important role in building trust between the chief and their father. Mhala says to the Bishop, "...he hoped we would come again and that as the Bishop had brought up his children he meant to be good friends" (17.9.1855). The open and friendly attitude adopted by the Armstrongs to these unknown people is reciprocated by all whom they meet in their tour of the bishopric.

Sophia Pigot and Frances Armstrong have no objective knowledge of Africa when they embark for the Cape. Sophia does not appear to read travel accounts or histories, both of which could potentially regulate her expectations of the Cape Colony. Apart from her reading there is nothing to suggest that she wishes her horizons to be broader than those of the comfortable and secure gentry class to which she belongs. Sophia's only connections with the emerging empire are through her father whose regiment was posted to South America; and her paternal grandfather who was Governor of Madras. Governor Pigot died in office in 1777, 27 years before Sophia's birth, and Major Pigot retired from service when Sophia was four years old.²⁷⁵ She never mentions either event in her family history in her diary, and neither source of colonial reference could prepare Sophia for the reality of the Eastern Cape. Frances's interests are even more insular than those of her fellow diarist. She takes her position as the wife of a clergyman very seriously. She concentrates her energies on the practicalities of her husband's vocation. She acts as a sounding board when there are difficult decisions to be made, and is actively involved in the bringing up of her growing family. Her reading matter consists of sermons and church histories. The diaries reveal nothing in the reading or interests of either woman which betrays any curiosity about or knowledge of Africa, or indeed any of the colonies. Attempts to gain a knowledge of Africa are based on perceived practical considerations and are made at such a late stage that they are of little value upon arrival. Both women endeavour to learn some Xhosa on the voyage to Cape Town, little realizing that there would be

²⁷⁵ Pigot, pp. 11-12.

very little opportunity for them to use their knowledge on the British side of what was in essence a closed frontier.²⁷⁶

Sophia and Frances arrive in a land which is essentially unknown to them. An encounter with any unknown is unsettling; especially when the secure known world is at least three months voyaging to the north. These insecurities cause people to search for the known in the unknown landscape. The insecurity caused by a lack of knowledge does not encourage a ready acceptance of the unknown as an entity in its own right. The newcomer's object is to find the familiar in which to base their security. The more a newcomer feels they "know" about a place or person, the more secure they feel. The quality of the knowledge has no bearing on its power to create a feeling of security. The alien observer aims to create a landscape in the mind which compares to a mental model of Europe at all times. When this has been achieved, Africa loses its power to undermine the security of its European settlers. Both diarists provide evidence of this unconscious project to judge Africa by Europe's standards and when they snatch at any similarity between the Eastern Cape and England.

At first glance the Eastern Cape promised to outdo all but the most inflated expectations of it. Coetzee contends that though "In its isolation from the great world, walled in by oceans and unexplored northern wilderness, the colony of the Cape of Good Hope was indeed a kind of garden,"²⁷⁷ the garden myth failed to take root in the Cape.²⁷⁸ Sophia Pigot's reaction to the South Western and Eastern Cape contradicts this view. An outbreak of small-pox on board ship effectively barred those on her ship from actually setting foot in Cape Town, but the view of the town from the ship left Sophia with a positive impression, "Looking at the Shore through a glass, liked it very much indeed - very much vexed that no one could go on shore" (27.3.1820). The area around Cape Town provided Sophia with the first fresh fruit she had eaten since she left London three months before: "Henry M. sent us an immense basket of fruit, Grapes, Pomegranates, Gooseberries, Figs, etc" (28.3.1820). This Cape, beautiful and bountiful to Sophia, is the same in Frances's experience. Frances does disembark for a short while in Cape Town because John had to meet his colleague Robert Gray, the Bishop of Cape Town. Her overriding impression of the Cape is that it is the original of which the paradise recreated in the English greenhouse is a pale imitation. Frances has an interest in plants which heightens her appreciation of the floral richness of Table Mountain. A walk creates an impression of the plant life which is to remain with her for the rest of her stay in South Africa,

... most lovely walk up the slopes at the foot of Table Mountain, covered with heath, magnificent Proteas in bloom, Mimosas with the yellow bottle brush flowers so prized in England, and lovely smaller shrubs which I have often used from English greenhouses to make up choice bouquets. (30.9.1854)

²⁷⁶ Peires, p. 54.

²⁷⁷ Coetzee, J. M. 1988. White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa. Sandton: Radix, p. 3.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Frances' genuine interest in plants makes a walk on Table Mountain a pleasure, but Africa's plants are invested with an additional value by virtue of their commercial value in England.

Both Sophia and Frances leave Cape Town with a positive impression of the colony. They embark on the last leg of their journey with the expectation of a similar landscape at Port Elizabeth. The illusion is hard to shake but the marginal climate, the lack of spectacular geological formations, and the unsettled state of the region soon convince the women that they have not arrived in a paradise.

Algoa Bay, though it has a very different character to that of Cape Town, engenders a similar response. An exploratory walk reveals a wild, but not unfamiliar, beauty in the landscape: "Delightful walk and very beautiful country. Came home, sorting the flowers...looking at the rock - very beautiful" (4.5.1820). Upon first encountering the African continent Sophia sees the land in terms of the familiar rather than seeking to define it in terms of its own reality. Her aim is clearly not to define the real but to seek security in the known.

The familiar is not something which Frances has to search hard to find. The land has, in one sense, been appropriated for the Armstrongs before their arrival by the formation of the Diocese of Grahamstown which defines John's spiritual jurisdiction. The first sentence of the diary sets out her attitude to the Eastern Cape:

At about 12 o'clock on this day we landed by God's great mercy and loving kindness safe on the shores of the Bishop of Grahamstown's diocese, and the country of our adoption.
(11.10.1854)

The placing of the diocese before the country of adoption suggests a degree of snobbery or pride in her husband's position and that she is able to accommodate the fact of the move better if she thinks of it as a clerical appointment to a diocese rather than her new home.

The experience of the south western Cape creates a set of expectations in the travellers' minds; the women find a seeming paradise on earth. Moore, in his book on the frontier mind, defines the earthly paradise thus:

The Earthly Paradise is by tradition a far-distant region of extraordinary fertility, blessed with noble trees, fountains, and rivers, screened by a perilous barrier-mountain or sea- over which only the valiant may pass.²⁷⁹

Coetzee's description of the Cape above locates the paradise described above in the Cape. The Cape of the English imagination does partake of some of these qualities. The region is thousands of miles and a perilous voyage away from England, it is fertile, wooded, well watered, and shielded from the rest of the continent by a range of mountains. This is what the newly arrived settlers expect of the Eastern Cape based on their experiences of Cape Town. The Eastern Cape has an added advantage at the time of the settlers' arrival: it is uninhabited.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ Moore, Arthur K. 1963. The Frontier Mind. New York: McGraw-Hill, p. 11.

²⁸⁰ Peires, p. 63.

There is one aspect of Moore's Kentuckian paradise which the settlers do not find in the Eastern Cape: an undomesticated land. Kentucky is fruitful, but it is wild and disordered, "Kentucky connoted abundance in all desirable things and boundless liberty for all."²⁸¹ Albany's landscape is of a more restrained, civilized variety, as Governor Lord Somerset leads the Secretary of State Lord Bathurst to believe:

...a succession of Parks...in which upon the most verdant carpet, Nature has planted in endless variety. The soil well adapted for cultivation, is peculiarly fitted for Cattle and pasturage.²⁸²

This is not to suggest that there was anything very orderly about the landscape of the Eastern Cape, but it is perceived to have an innate harmony. This colonial paradise recalls the ideal of the Arcadian landscape interpreted in the grounds of the wealthy by 'Capability' Brown: "The Brownian landscape was worked out in three elements alone: wood, water and grass."²⁸³ The ideal is realized in British gardens by "swelling lawns, glittering lakes and dusky and distant forests."²⁸⁴ Somerset evokes all three Brownian elements: the land has "the most verdant carpet," its fitness for cultivation implies an abundant water supply, and the comparison to the English park presupposes that it is well wooded. In fact, without the classical allusions, Albany as seen through Somerset's eyes resembles the Georgian garden of Sir George Wynne "where wood, field, water and plantations are carefully intermingled and decorated with statues."²⁸⁵ Albany is not seen as a wild paradise as is the American frontier. It is described as if it were a typical Georgian garden during the "vogue for this extensive and rural gardening."²⁸⁶

The Georgian garden is a form which Sophia's gentrified family circle would have come into contact with in their daily social rounds. Sophia's delight in the striking rocks and water features, and in picking flowers signifies an aesthetic based on the Georgian garden and the Romantic picturesque ideal. The conventional beauty of the land is described according to the same criterion as those employed by Somerset in his letters to Bathurst; but Sophia also acknowledges the wildness which Somerset's letter implies does not exist. Her invocations of the picturesque are in opposition to the classical ideals of neatness, smoothness, balance and elegance which underlie the governor's aesthetic. William Gilpin moved towards a definition of picturesque beauty in the 1790s:

²⁸¹ Moore, p. 3.

²⁸² Butler, Guy. (ed). The 1820 Settlers: An Illustrated Commentary. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, p. 46 quoted from Theal (ed). Records of The Cape Colony. Vol XI. p.305: Somerset to Bathurst, 24th April 1817.

²⁸³ Stuart, p. 42.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 43.

²⁸⁵ Hunt, John Dixon. 1986. Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination 1600-1750. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 190.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

'picturesque representation' is distinguished by roughness and ruggedness, as in the outline and bark of a tree or the craggy sides of a mountain.²⁸⁷

Perhaps the Pigots had to take the most positive view of the country possible because they were to settle in it, and as a result saw the land as a beautiful, bountiful one. Sophia believes literally and metaphorically that the land which her father is to take possession of is the Cape of Good Hope, not the Cape of Storms.

The journey from Port Elizabeth to the Pigot location illustrates Sophia's aesthetic sensibility. She sees in the land what Somerset saw before her: "beautiful country, very parkish, saw a number of deer, birds, Goldfinches, flowers, honeysuckles" (21.6.1820) and adds material from her own aesthetic, "...saw a man beneath us riding on a Bullock, crossing the water, very picturesque" (20.6.1820). Sophia's first impression of her the land on which her new home will be built, though positive, indicates its beauty born is of the land's infertility, "...arrived at Blue Krantz - very beautiful rock" (21.7.1820).

The land in the Grahamstown diocese is of a different order to that in the environs of Table Mountain. Frances sees nothing which can be equated with the English landscape. The language which Frances uses to describe the wilder area is not the language of the English countryside and garden, it is the language introduced by the Romantic Movement to describe and appreciate the wild places of Europe:

We passed one most beautiful spot, Howieson's Poort, high rocks covered with geraniums and other flowers - great arums growing by the side of the road and a lovely stream running over rocks... (26.10.1854)

The combination of uncultivated vegetation, rocks, and water is an extremely satisfying one to the Romantic who could give himself up to the contemplation of the peace of the presiding spirit of nature. Sophia's Romantic nature is not secure enough to see beauty in desolation or in the lack of humanity's stamp on the landscape, as Wordsworth does in his poetry.²⁸⁸

Paradise would not be complete without a serpent, and Sophia senses an unseen, unnamed threat in the landscape. The episode below encapsulates Sophia's experience of the African landscape: the discovery of a beautiful land, momentary terror when faced with the unknown, followed by reassurance when the familiar reasserts itself:

...Kate and I walked on, sat on top of the hill a little making poetry on the beautiful scene before us. We walked on to overtake the Waggon, heard something in the Bush, very much frightened, almost cried, ran back, met the Carriage. Got in, went over a beautiful road, like the best in England. (19.6.1820)

Sophia first attempts to tame the landscape by placing it in the aesthetic conventions familiar to her. She describes it in the character, sentiment and style of the Europe of the day in much the same way as the

²⁸⁷ Gilpin, William. 1792. Three Essays. in Andrews, Malcolm. 1989. The Search for The Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800. Aldershot: Scolar Press, p. 57.

²⁸⁸ Bewell, Alan. 1989. Wordsworth and The Enlightenment. New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 272.

early Europeans in Australia described their land.²⁸⁹ She finds a view; landscapes were normally surveyed and painted from a vantage point. She uses poetry to capture the landscape, and in so doing hopes to tame it. The land will not be easily captured. Its unknown element has the ability to frighten the insecure. She copes in the new environment by treating the familiar as if it is English and retreating in fear from the strange as if it is eternally unknowable.

The Pigot sisters are able to persuade themselves that they have found in the landscape the classical ideal which was the vogue in Europe at the time. They even go so far as to search for elements of this garden, elements which have to be created artificially in England, "Kate and I walked to the other side of the Road, looking for grotto places" (5.8.1820). Sophia seems to know in advance that her experiences will confirm an unshakeable pre-existent view. What Tzvetan Todorov says of Columbus is equally applicable to Sophia three hundred years later,

[Columbus] knows in advance what he will find; the concrete experience is there to illustrate a truth already possessed, not to be interrogated according to preestablished rules in order to seek the truth.²⁹⁰

The process of naming, of Anglicizing, is another method of using language to make the unfamiliar familiar, "The Men brought some beautiful flowers which we immediately named 'Man of War'" (1.10.1820). Captain Moresby of the Northampton takes this a step further,

He took a spade and gave to each of the Ladies an acorn to put into the ground, that the oaks which grow there, may keep in remembrance the many happy hours which we spent at Algoa Bay. (12.6.1820)

The land which is patently not like the homeland is made to resemble it by physically changing its face, and deploying language to rearrange it to fit the expectations of its newest settlers.

Sophia's vision of Africa as an earthly paradise survived largely untouched until the Pigots settled on their location. Paradise, when viewed from the ship, displayed many advantages to the eager young settler. In Africa, as in Genesis, Eden harbours an undefined evil which Sophia either identifies with the snake or can not name at all. Familiarity with the environment disperses some of Sophia's fears about the evil in the garden, and hard experience forces her to dispense with her view of the Edenic garden altogether. Sophia copes with the harsh realities which she encounters by creating a world in her diary which is not far removed from the one which she has left behind. The familiar is noticed and the unfamiliar is pushed into the background of her consciousness.

The problem which Sophia has to face is that the land is not as she thinks it should be. The preconceptions and the processes of naming and owning do not render the land instantly and completely knowable. Africa reserves an element of the unknown which is not present for her in the land in which

²⁸⁹ Smith, Bernard. 1988. Place, Taste and Tradition: A Study of Australian Art Since 1788. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, p. 28.

²⁹⁰ Todorov, T. 1984. The Conquest of America: The Question of The Other. New York: Harper & Row, p. 17 quoted in: Greenblatt, S. 1991. Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of The New World. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, p. 88.

she grew up, and it frightens her: "we walked to the Cloof-rather frightened" (3.8.1820). The terror is especially acute when darkness hides the proximity of the unknown, "Heard a very odd noise at night, very much frightened" and "Slept last night in a Room with holes in the wall where Snakes might crawl in and out as much as they pleased" (2.9.1820 and 25.6.1820). Interestingly, she focuses this fear on to the snake: God's and humankind's cursed enemy. Sophia's experience of Africa at night is fully expressed over a hundred and fifty years later by V.S. Naipul:

Going home at night!... I never liked it. I never felt in control. In the darkness of river and forest you could be sure only of what you could see-and even on a moonlight night you couldn't see much... The river and the forest were like presences, and much more powerful than you. You felt unprotected, an intruder.²⁹¹

Nights and days filled with nameless fears affect Sophia's unconscious as well as her conscious world. A little over a month after her arrival at the Pigot location she "Had a dreadful dream that I was shot" and the next day is still "Very much frightened about my dream last night" (5-6.9.1820). The emphasis is on the sensation of being shot, not on the agent doing the shooting. Her unconscious mind reflects her conscious fears of the nameless malevolent forces present in her new homeland.

Sophia learns to cope with the strangeness by treating Africa as if it were England. The activities she records are often different from those engaged in in England, but she retains her style and the content indicates that she has acclimatized herself to her new home by noting the similarities between the two places. The following entry was written after the Pigots had moved into their permanent dwelling at Pigot Park, but could easily have been written in Chieveley three years earlier: "Very hot day. Much better, came to breakfast very late-brought up a little Turkey. Kate and Agnes washed their heads. Reading the 'Encyclopedia'-studying Picquet and Chess" (21.11.1821). The Sophia of the final entries in December 1821 suggests that Africa is not knowable to her.

Sophia never meets a 'real' Africa in any sense of the word during the time of writing. She lands on the shores of Africa with very little knowledge of the land in which she is to spend the rest of her life. At first she notes the differences between Europe and Africa, the familiar and the strange, but this phase does not result in a desire to know the other for its own sake.

Frances regards the scenery as one of the main reasons for going on the trip. The journey starts in unpromising territory, "The first three miles or so were very bare and uninteresting but the scenery soon improved." (3.1.1855) Scenery not only 'improves', but is improved by the viewer. Frances' first description of the landscape on the road to Fort Brown is an indication of how she constructs landscape:

...the Ecce Pass about 7 miles from Grahamstown is truly grand. The road is cut in the side of a mountain with a deep perpendicular ravine below and high rocks covered with the [?] bush of the country on the opposite side, the road winds perpetually opening fresh beauties of outline at every step and the flowers though rather on the decline at this season were very beautiful especially a wild convolvulus (or perhaps Japonica) deep bright lilac with a dark centre which grew in profusion. (3.1.1855)

²⁹¹ Naipul, V. S. 1986. *A Bend In The River*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, p. 14.

Frances' taste is for the contrastive and the dramatic. She consciously constructs vistas within the landscape which have certain basic components. Frances' aesthetic is rooted in that of the Seventeenth Century landscape painters Salvator Rosa, Claude Lorraine, and Gaspard Dughet.²⁹² An appreciation of the landscapes produced by these men, combined with a classical education with a sprinkling of pastoral poetry produced what Andrews calls a "picturesque tourist."²⁹³ Picturesque tourists had an awareness of the constituents of the ideal landscape, and the ideal arrangement of the constituents of a landscape and measured every view against this.²⁹⁴

The exact nature of the landscaper's idea of a view to be praised for its "beauties of outline" is illustrated by Frances:

A little beyond the Ecce Pass we came to Fort Brown, a lonely little tidy looking Fort with some nice hills in the background. The bush and distant hills continued very beautiful and the air most delicious. (3.1.1855)

The ordering of the landscape into three components, foreground with the fort providing an interesting focus, the "nice" hills forming a background to the fort in the middle distance, and the beauty of Amatola mountains in the far distance. This tripartite structure was used by Claude and Dughet and much imitated in English painting.²⁹⁵ The Italian scenes painted by these men were given atmosphere by the use of mellow brown tints. The harsh African sun does not produce these mellow colours in the landscape, but the sensitivity to atmosphere which Frances has picked up from the Italian paintings is reflected in the attention she pays to the "air." Framing hills and a river serve to focus the eye on Fort Beaufort and enhance the entrance to the town, "We reached Fort Beaufort which is prettily situated in a large basin of hills, having crossed the Kat River by a really pretty, well built bridge, quite a wonder here" (4.1.1855). The framing effect of the hills is reminiscent of the classicized and idealized landscape of the Seventeenth Century which framed views as a method of focusing the eye on the view in question.²⁹⁶

The English tourist's habit when touring his own country was, according to Andrews, to "loudly acclaim the native beauties of the British landscape by invoking idealized foreign models - Roman pastoral poetry or the seventeenth-century paintings of Claude and Salvator Rosa."²⁹⁷ The method which these tourists use is transferred to the Eastern Cape, but the models change. Frances gazes at the Koonap and acclaims its beauty by invoking an English model,

The scenery at the ford is most beautiful, reminding us strongly of the Wye though the banks are higher, the turns and twists are very like and the monotonously wooded banks, you do not see the

²⁹² Andrews, p. 4.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

water at the bottom as you proceeded along the road but the height prevented this from our waggon. (4.1.1855)

Conversely, the English model also provides a yardstick with which to measure the lack of aesthetic value in a scene. Frances' first sighting of the Fish River elicits this response: "...we got to the banks and found the very muddy very ugly river, as muddy only more red than the Wye" (19.9.1855).

The Amatola Mountains are a revelation to Frances. The ordering of the scenery in the description is, as before, after the prescribed classical mode proceeding from foreground to background, framing the whole with mountains, rivers, or trees and she responds to the Claudian technique of creating depth by alternating bands of light and dark:²⁹⁸

The green basin with the well built Fort [Keiskamma Hoek] in the middle and varied foreground with the river and its wooded banks, little walking or riding bridges and ford...the beautiful Amatolas round the whole, some wooded and some with a summit of crags... One great beauty of the hills consists in the deep folds or plaits the hollows generally filled with bush while the convex part is soft green running up into the higher part of the mountain and causing most beautiful effects of light and shade. I am told the Amatolas are not high for mountains...but their perfect proportions add to their grandeur. (11.1.1855)

Pope in "An Essay on Criticism II" employs the same movement from the viewer to the farthest background to describe the nature of learning. The diarist and poet also evince the same joy at the discovery of a breathtaking view:

So pleased at first the towering Alps we try,
Mount o'er the vales, and seem to tread the sky,
The eternal snows appear already past,
And the first clouds and mountains seem the last;
But, those attained, we tremble to survey
The growing labours of the lengthened way,
The increasing prospect tires our wandering eyes,
Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise!
("An Essay on Criticism" ll. 225-232)²⁹⁹

Frances' descriptions of the landscape through which she passes draw heavily on classical European methods of deciding what an interesting landscape is, selecting what is interesting in the landscape, and deploying information about it. The admiration of a piece of scenery also causes an emotional reaction: joy. Comparison and association with models drawn from foreign regions is very satisfying when the landscape before one's eyes is close to the model which is the yardstick of aesthetic perfection.

Frances is very interested in the plant life of the Eastern Cape, especially the flowering plants. She applies the same criterion to the plants that she does to the landscape; they are measured against the European equivalents. The comparison goes curiously awry. The plants she admires in England are from Africa. On this journey she discovers wild specimens of well-loved English greenhouse plants. Frances' predilection for comparing the objects she finds in Africa with an improved European model results in

²⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

²⁹⁹ Allison, A. W. et al. 1970. The Norton Anthology of Poetry. New York: W. W. Norton, pp. 401-402.

some amusing comments. The delight of seeing something which is associated with home is flattened for the reader by the knowledge that Frances is actually seeing it in its native habitat for the first time:

The scenery was beautiful in the extreme, the road winding among soft grass hills covered with exquisite bush, like a most lovely park but with large greenhouse plants in wild profusion on all sides, immense jessamine bushes much larger and sweeter than our English jessamine. (12.1.1855)

The first service held in the chapel near the chief Mhala's village is decked out in flowers and greenery by the Bishop's party. The combination of the familiar form of service, which Frances accompanied on the harmonium, and the building's resemblance to an typical English church affects Frances' view of its decoration. The flowers become greenhouse flowers in England, as the scene is sufficiently English: "it was a most soothing, enjoyable service and the half finished building with the exquisite greenhouse looking plants looked lovely" (16.9.1855). The reiteration of the exclamations delighting in wild plants which are only found in greenhouses in England stems from more than an aesthetic source. Greenhouses were expensive to build, stock and maintain, and Frances appreciates the plant life for its class associations:

...you might have imagined yourself in some nobleman's grounds with enormous expense lavished on expensive shrubs and flowers only that the said shrubs and flowers would not have flourished in the same lovely profusion. (19.9.1855)

Frances comes upon a scene which she can not define in terms of any tangible European model when she goes for a walk near King Williams Town:

We had a very nice walk to a most lovely spring surrounded by high rocks with lovely wreaths of creepers hanging over the water and the pendant birds' nests from a large tree looking like a fairy place of one's imagination. (18.9.1855)

Difference, strangeness, and a very limited human encounter characterize Sophia's and Frances' experiences of the other, providing evidence for Said's thesis.³⁰⁰ The diary indicates that they do not make a significant number of acquisitions of information about the land and its people, but they are comfortable with the state of their knowledge. This phenomenon has less to do with a lack of opportunity to gain knowledge (though these were few enough), than the comfortable feeling that enough is known about the new environment to enable it to be controlled. Knowledge and power are directly linked:

Knowledge means rising above immediacy, beyond self, into the foreign and distant. The object of such knowledge is inherently vulnerable to such scrutiny...To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for 'us' to deny autonomy to 'it'-the Oriental country-since we know it and it exists, in a sense, as we know it.³⁰¹

Sophia makes no attempt to gain knowledge and Frances gains but little but both believe themselves to have a working knowledge of the country and its inhabitants. The mythic Africa concocted in nineteenth century Europe forms the basis of their knowledge; Dale elegantly sums up the point:

³⁰⁰ Said, 43, 46.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 32.

The mind abhors a vacuum, and where facts are in short supply, myth stands ever ready to cast its narrative nets over the yawning gaps.³⁰²

Sophia and Frances reflect two facets of nineteenth-century womanhood. The first, embodied in Sophia, centres mainly on the self. Sophia strives to obtain social refinement which will increase her status and widen her choice of potential husband. Frances embodies the second which places the self below the welfare of others, especially the family. The two are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The two can rather be seen as different stages in the life of the middle-class woman of the century. The mother Frances is as accomplished as Sophia and teaches her children what she knows. The unmarried Sophia is learning how to sew and cook in preparation for the day she takes on these responsibilities in her own household.

³⁰² Dale, Peter N. 1990. The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness. London: The Nissan Institute & Routledge Japanese Study Series, p. 1.

5. CONCLUSION

The diaries studied are so diverse that they resist any attempt at generalization. They were written by people who represent every stratum of society. The early leaders of the Methodist, Roman Catholic and Anglican churches: Shaw, Griffith, and Merriman; the missionary's son Brownlee; the farmer and the farmer's son, Stretch and Bowker; the English country gentleman, Arkwright; the poor, semi-literate recluse Arthur Flanagan; the ladies brought up in genteel English society, Pigot and Armstrong; and the professional soldiers Hall and Crealock, all wrote diaries. The reasons for writing, the audiences written to, the attitudes to the people, both English and African, and to the land reflect the infinite variety of the people who lived in the nineteenth-century. There are similarities between the diaries, but they are not predictable ones which can be related to the denominations, professions, or sexes of the diarists.

The initial reason for the diaries' variety is in the diarists' motives for writing at all. The question of motive is intimately bound to that of the intended audience of the diary. A significant proportion of diarists wrote diaries to their future selves. This kind of diary is re-read periodically when its author wants to review his or her life and find a larger pattern than that revealed over relatively small periods of weeks and months. Hall, Brownlee, Flanagan, Pigot, and Crealock wrote diaries which document facts about themselves, the places and people they encounter; there is little explanation of exotic and unusual people and places which would be necessary in a diary intended for a wider audience. Pigot is the only diarist to mention that her future self is the intended audience of her diary. These diaries spring from the confessional diaries advocated by Puritan divines in seventeenth-century England. The Puritans emphasized that the diaries should trace the fortunes of the spirit; but this was replaced in time by the secular version represented above which retained its original retrospective aims.

A few diaries appear to be written by the authors for their personal edification, but a closer examination proves that the motive is more ambitious and the audience is wider. Bowker does not mention an audience at all, but indirect evidence suggests that it extends beyond the self. Bowker always refers to his brother as "my brother Miles," the reader is not expected to know who the brother of the author is (Brownlee does not refer to his brother in the same way). Merriman never mentions his audience though it obviously includes the Bishop of Cape Town who publishes extracts from the diary, without the author's permission, when it comes into his hands.

A variation of the diary written to the future self is the diary written with the intention of publication at some future date. Stretch intends to publish portions of his diaries. His disapproval of the conduct of British commanders and troops in the 1835 war, and the advantage taken by private citizens of the unstable situation for private gain moved him to keep a log of the war. He used the material in his diary to illustrate his point in pamphlets published after the war. Arkwright writes with the vague

intention of publishing. He had read accounts of African hunting trips and tried to emulate them in his account of the amount and variety of game he had hunted. He lived the life of a country gentleman with an independent income upon his return to England, but never finished preparing his journal for publication. The diary form is difficult to publish without extensive editing; its ability to resist closure is not compatible with the aim of the novel or biography which is to narrate a story.

The letter, another literary form which resists closure, has a strong affinity with the diary form. Three diarists, Shaw, Griffith, and Armstrong, use their diaries in conjunction with letter-writing. The audience of the letters becomes in time the ones to whom the diary itself is written. Shaw and Armstrong write diaries which are referred to as sources for their letters to England. Shaw is compelled by the Methodist Missionary Committee to keep a diary and send back extracts. Griffith's letter-diary of his travels is addressed to a beloved friend in Ireland. The letter-diary form was popular amongst grand tourists in the eighteenth-century and is another indication of his strong affinity for the practices of the previous century. Armstrong's diary does not have as defined an audience as Shaw's and Griffith's. She uses her diary as a reminder of recent events and scenes which she can include in her letters to relatives and friends. There is no way of predicting the intended audience of the diarists studied here. The motives and audiences are as individual as the personalities of those who wrote the texts.

Direct evidence about the people who wrote the diaries is surprisingly difficult to gather. The diarists are on the whole reticent on the subject of their personal lives. The soldier diarists are the most unwilling, as a group, to reveal themselves to their audience. The soldier diarists share the perception of men as strong, emotionless, resistant to discomfort and pain, and this manifests itself in their diaries in their inability to write about themselves. With the exception of Stretch, the soldiers write little more than the events of the day. Stretch's diary chronicles events and occasionally serves as a confessional and has more in common with Shaw's diary, which serves the same function, rather than the diaries of his fellow soldiers. Pigot shares the reticence of the military diarists, though her motives for withholding personal information are probably connected to an adolescent shyness and fear of discovery rather than an inability to reveal her feelings at all. Though the soldiers and Pigot are extreme examples, the average nineteenth-century diary was not intended to be a psychologically revealing document.

The psychologically revealing diary is a rarity. Only two diarists can be said to open their hearts in their diaries. Armstrong's diary is not emotional, her energy seems to be channelled into raising her family and helping her husband in his work, but her accounts of events indicate her feelings towards them. Her entry on the day her child dies details every turn in the baby's condition and the actions of family members, doctors, and servants. There is no need to recall emotions which can only cause more grief. The candid diary of Griffith has more in common with twentieth-century diaries than any of the others. He is open about his feelings towards the woman to whom he is writing and about his attitude towards the people he meets in his Bishopric. It is ironic that the diary closest to those of the twentieth-century in this nineteenth-century collection is written by a man whose roots are in the eighteenth-century.

The diaries' authors are reserved about their personal relationships, with the exception of Griffith and Shaw. Griffith is open about his admiration for the audience of his diary, a young wife living in his old parish in Dublin. His priestly vows and her marriage vows give him the security to express his romantic sentiments without scandalizing either himself or the woman who will read the diary. The other men who wrote diaries in this study seem to have regarded their diaries as documents for the chronicling of their public lives. Shaw's wife's health is a constant worry. The entries which reveal this are very scattered. A truer reflection of his frame of mind would have been possible if the Missionary Committee had not frowned on excessive attention to personal matters in the extracts which they received. As a group the diarists do not regard the diary as a safe repository for the storing of details about their relationships, whether they are married or not.

The majority of the diarists meet black Africans for the first time in the course of their diarizing. Shaw, Pigot, Griffith, Arkwright, Armstrong, Merriman, and Crealock share this experience, but not the reaction to it. Shaw, Griffith, and Merriman reach the same point in their attitude to Africans; they learn by experience that humanity is fundamentally the same and treat the people they meet with respect. Arkwright and Crealock, who are sent to the Eastern Cape to fight against the Xhosa, belittle them as a matter of course. An enemy who is perceived as inferior cannot possibly win a war, and this raises the morale of the troops. The two soldiers focus on the same perceived defect in their assessment of African character: laziness. This trait hard to account for in a people who were only subdued after nine wars spanning nearly a hundred years. Arkwright shares with Bowker a conviction that the Xhosa are cunning. The other soldiers are less open; the Xhosa are enemies who have to be respected because they are not easily beaten.

The men from the Eastern Cape who were called up to fight in the border wars differ in their attitude to the Xhosa. Bowker is the only one who rails against his enemy. This is probably a reaction to the thought that his property is in danger of being rustled, burnt, or stolen by the invading Xhosa. Stretch, Brownlee, and Flanagan have little bad to say about the people they fight. Stretch has a strong Methodist faith and has been in the colony for long enough to be disgusted with the greed for land which he regards as at the bottom of the settlers' will to fight. Brownlee was brought up on his father's mission station and grew up with Xhosa children. He uses the relatively neutral term "enemy" to describe the Xhosa and makes no comment about the morality of either side in the war. Flanagan rarely refers to the people he is fighting; he is too busy railing against the British regiments posted to his area and the Boer commandos sent to guard the hamlet of Cuylerville where he lives. The energy expended on highlighting the faults of the allies leaves little for a character assassination of the enemy.

Pigot and Armstrong arrive on African soil with an eagerness to meet African people. Their diaries trace their progress as one learns to accept and the other rejects the Other embodied in the Xhosa. Armstrong arrives with a positive attitude; this dissipates during her child's last illness and her husband's initial bout of illness. Her concentration on her family is broken to an extent when she accompanies her husband on one of his visitation tours which takes him to three Xhosa chiefs. She accepts the Xhosa she

meets and delights in her children's acceptance. Pigot has none of the assurance and maturity of the older woman. The Xhosa are the Other to her and though she makes an effort on board ship to learn their language, she draws back in fear when on land. The English become the only people mentioned in the final year of the diary in any capacity except that of servants. Pigot fears the Africans she meets and in her diary this is acknowledged by their absence.

Aesthetic sensibilities do change as the century proceeds. The diarists' tastes reflect the evolution of taste during the nineteenth century. Griffith's tastes spring from the aesthetics of the Enlightenment, though he is writing in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. His love of the orderly, neat landscapes upon which the impact of human occupation can be seen reveals the Enlightenment's love of the rational and ordered. He was educated in Portugal and in Rome where Enlightenment thinking had not been overtaken by the Romanticism of the north. He shows no signs of the Romantic sensibility which delighted in the wild and the desolate; the landscape untouched by humanity. The taste for the Romantic in landscapes is present in Pigot, Shaw, Merriman, and Armstrong in the early and mid-nineteenth century. They find delight in wild places, views framed and possessing the requisite foreground, middleground and background, in the interplay of light and dark, and rock, grass, trees, and water. The restrictions on landscape imposed by the early picturesque landscape artists had dissipated by the time Crealock arrived with diary and easel in the late 1870s. His paintings and descriptions of the land reveal that the restrictions of the earlier part of the century do not hold any longer. The land is represented more realistically; there is less attempt to make every view conform to the ideal.

The military diarists prove to have little interest in the aesthetic value of the land over which they fight. This is not to say that they take no notice of the land. Arkwright enjoys his hunting trip all the more because it is not England with its fences, gamekeepers, and official hunting seasons. South Africa is for Arkwright a region beyond the reach of his country's laws, where he can indulge in his love of hunting without censure. Bowker and Stretch view the land in practical terms; their Eastern Cape farming backgrounds allow them to appreciate the value of the land over which they fight. Their descriptions of the land extol its agricultural potential and reveal their wish to possess it.

6. APPENDIX

While Gazing on The Moon's Light

by Thomas Moore

While gazing on the moon's light,
 A moment from her smile I turn'd,
 To look at orbs, that, more bright,
 In lone and distant glory burn'd.
 But, *too* far
 Each proud star,
 For me to feel its warming flame;
 Much more dear
 That mild sphere,
 Which near our planet smiling came;
 Thus, Mary, be but thou my own;
 While brighter eyes unheeded play,
 I'll love those moonlight looks alone,
 That bless my home and guide my way.

The day had sunk in dim showers,
 But midnight now, with lustre meek,
 Illumined all the pale flowers,
 Like hope upon a mourner's cheek.
 I said (while
 The moon's smile
 Play'd o'er a stream, in dimpling bliss),
 'The moon looks
 On many brooks,
 The brook can see no moon but this;
 And thus, I thought, our fortunes run,
 For for many a lover looks to thee,
 While oh! I feel that there is but *one*,
 One Mary in the world for me.

From Moore, Thomas. N. D. The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore. London: Frederick Warne, pp. 209-210.

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