

THE DIARY OF JAMES BROWNLEE

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THE BROWNLEE FAMILY

James Brownlee was born in April 1824. He was the second of three sons (and five daughters) born to the missionary John Brownlee, and his colonial born wife Catharine.¹ The importance of James as an historical character is obscured by that of his father and elder brother Charles. James had a varied career which was cut short by his untimely death in March 1851 at the youthful age of twenty-six years and eleven months. We are fortunate that he has left a vivid account of several aspects of the Seventh Frontier War in a diary which he kept from April to September 1846. The diary also points to the significance of his family in the history of the Eastern Cape.

John, the pater familias of the Brownlees, was born in the village of Wishaw in Lanarkshire, Scotland, in May 1791.² He was originally trained as a 'gardner'³ and subsequently studied theology at Glasgow University. In 1816 he was accepted as a missionary by one of the oldest missionary societies in southern Africa, the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.), an interdenominational body whose work at the Cape dated back to 1799.⁴ Brownlee sailed from London on 18 October 1816 and during the voyage, on 30 October, was one of a group of L.M.S. missionaries to be ordained.⁵

After his arrival at Cape Town, Brownlee spent a brief period at the society's parent station in southern Africa, Bethelsdorp (founded in 1803), and subsequently at Somerset (now Somerset East), a government farm named after the then Governor of the Cape colony, Lord Charles Somerset (April 1814 - April 1827).⁶ In November 1818 he resigned from the L.M.S. in protest at certain irregularities affecting the society's financial affairs. But he was also irked by restrictions which the society

imposed on his freedom of action.⁷ In that respect he was a typical L.M.S. missionary: "independent in every sense of the word, and so jealous of control that even the best of them could protest against anything so 'papal' as a Superintendent."⁸ But the fact that he had resigned from the society probably earned Brownlee the sympathy of one of the society's sharpest critics and detractors, Governor Somerset.⁹ Be that as it may, shortly after his resignation, Brownlee was appointed by the colonial government as missionary and government agent to 'Kaffirland'.¹⁰

Kaffirland was the territory on the 'black' side of the eastern Cape frontier. After the Fish river had been made the eastern boundary of the Cape colony in 1798,¹¹ Kaffirland comprised the area lying between the Fish and the Kei rivers.¹² Like the area beyond the Kei and up to the Umzimvubu river, Kaffirland was mainly occupied by various African peoples belonging to a distinctive language group known as Nguni,¹³ and more specifically, a discernable group within that broad category known as southern Nguni. Unlike their northern counterparts (which included the Zulus of Natal) the southern Nguni, of which the Xhosa were the main group, tended to belong to loose tribal clusters that were prone to fissions.¹⁴ This had been the fate of the Xhosa when in the eighteenth century Rharhabe (reigned ? - 1782),¹⁵ a chief of the Xhosa royal lineage, broke away from the original amaXhosa group, which from 1775 was known by the name of Rharhabe's senior brother, Gcaleka (reigned 1775 - 1778).¹⁶ Rharhabe settled in the territory identified above as Kaffirland. Then, just at the time of Brownlee's new appointment, there was a split even within the Rharhabe when Ndlambe (reigned 1782 - 1828),¹⁷ second son of Rharhabe, threatened to usurp the paramountcy of the latter's senior or right-hand descendant, Ngqika (reigned 1778 - 1829).¹⁸ At this juncture Ngqika called

on Somerset for help against his rival Ndlambe, and in this way the colonial forces became involved in what has gone down in history as the Fifth Frontier War (December 1818 - August 1819).¹⁹

These events forced months of waiting on Brownlee, and it was only in June 1820 that he and his wife were able to proceed across the Fish river to set up a mission station in Ngqika country. This was in the Tyhume valley, and it was from there that Brownlee set off two years later, in 1822, on an expedition across the Kei and so became the first missionary to take the gospel to the Gcaleka. A similar expedition followed in 1824, this time to the Thembu, another southern Nguni people settled between the Mbashee and Mthatha rivers.²⁰

Another notable venture which came to fruition in the same years was the printing at the Tyhume of the first elementary book in the Xhosa language. This book, 'Incwadi Yokuqala Ekuteteni Gokwamaxosa',²¹ an aid to spelling and Christian devotion, was the joint effort of Brownlee and those of the Glasgow Missionary Society who were helping at the Tyhume, William Thomson, John Rennie and John Ross.²²

Such activity on the part of Brownlee was part of a wider phenomenon in the 1820's and 1830's, when in general missionary activity in southern Africa was greatly expanded.²³ Brownlee, wishing to participate in this movement, resigned his civil commission and in July 1825 rejoined the L.M.S.²⁴ Under the aegis of the society he set off for the Buffalo river. There, in January 1826, he founded a new missionary enterprise centred among a relatively obscure Xhosa people, the Ntinde.²⁵

This mission was burnt in the Sixth Frontier War²⁶ after the Brownlee family had been forced to abandon it. On 24 May 1835 Governor Sir Benjamin

D'Urban (January 1834 - January 1838)²⁷ established the township of King William's Town (named after the reigning British monarch, William IV) on the site of the former station. This embryonic centre was dismantled in 1836 when the colonial office in London rejected D'Urban's expansionism and the colony's border was effectively pulled back to the Fish river.²⁸ Brownlee nevertheless stayed at the station which he had refounded in April 1836. Ten years later, in April 1846, the Seventh Frontier War broke out.²⁹ Brownlee, in compliance with an order issued a month previous for all missionaries to return to the colony, moved to Fort Peddie.³⁰ There he remained for the rest of that year. In June his mission was once again destroyed by hostile Xhosa. Early in 1848 Brownlee returned to the re-established King William's Town only to find his land had been appropriated (without compensation) by the colonial government. Undaunted he built a new station on the outskirts of the town.³¹

In the next frontier³² war, his station assumed a rather different role. It became a sanctuary for missionaries and their tribes people - over 3,000 people in all.³³ In the post war years the mission prospered.³⁴

This was the legacy of John Brownlee, "one of the greatest missionaries who ever came to South Africa".³⁵ How greatly he was esteemed by both black and white was demonstrated in January 1867, a year before his retirement, when 18 ministers and some 800 to 1,000 black and white friends met in King William's Town church for a celebration of Brownlee's 50 years in southern Africa.³⁶ Not long after, in January 1871, he suffered a stroke. He died 11 months later on Christmas Eve.³⁷

Much of what John Brownlee had stood for was carried on by his eldest son, Charles Paccalt, who was born at the Tyhume in March 1821. Brought up

with the Xhosa, Charles spoke their language fluently and had a thorough understanding of their customs. At the age of 15 he accompanied the first American missionaries to Zululand³⁸ and acted as interpreter in negotiations with the Zulu chief Dingane.³⁹ Charles returned to the cis-Kei at the end of 1837 and took up farming.⁴⁰ In the Seventh Frontier War he served with the burgher forces.⁴¹ In December 1846 he was appointed clerk to the Reverend Henry Calderwood,⁴² then the Ngqika Commissioner, whom in October 1847 Charles succeeded with the rank of Assistant Commissioner.⁴³ Brownlee was promoted to Commissioner the next year.⁴⁴ After a dispute between Governor Sir Harry Smith (December 1847 - March 1852)⁴⁵ and the Ngqika paramount chief Sandile (reigned 1840 - 1878)⁴⁶ in October 1850, Charles was temporarily appointed leader of the Ngqika.⁴⁷ On the outbreak of war in the same year, he became guide to Sir Harry Smith. Two years later when his commissionership was abolished, he became captain of a levy comprised of those "marginal people between the Xhosa-speaking and white colonial societies",⁴⁸ known as the Mfengu, who had been allies of the colony since 1835. Brownlee helped negotiate peace with the Xhosa chiefs in March 1853 and then returned to his former position which had been recreated. As Commissioner he attempted to minimise Ngqika participation in the cattle-killing delusion of 1856 - 1857.⁴⁹

With the incorporation into the colony in 1866 of the territory between the Keiskamma and Kei rivers known as British Kaffraria, Brownlee became Civil Commissioner for the newly proclaimed district of Stutterheim. Two years later he was appointed Resident Magistrate for Somerset East. In 1872 the Cape acquired responsible government. Due to his wide knowledge of the Xhosa⁵⁰ and his ability to retain the confidence of the chiefs, Charles Brownlee was appointed as the self-governing colony's first Secretary

for Native Affairs. In this office he worked hard for the advancement of the colony's black population. On the dismissal of this ministry in February 1878,⁵¹ Brownlee chose to resign with his colleagues. Charles's successor retained him as Chief Commissioner for Native Affairs until December 1878 when Charles was appointed as Chief Magistrate of the newly annexed trans-keian district of Griqualand East. In 1883 Brownlee was knighted. Two years later he resigned through ill health and retired to King William's Town where he died on 7 August 1890.⁵²

Of much less obvious prominence is James Brownlee, the missionary's second son who was also born at the Tyhume station. Both James and Charles received their initial education from their father before they were sent to the church school at Salem, which enjoyed a high academic reputation.⁵³ In December 1834 James and Charles returned to their home at the Buffalo for the school holidays and were caught up in the Sixth Frontier War. In an attempt to stay out of the hostilities the Ntinde had moved to a safer location and left the station defenceless. Hostile Xhosa manhandled the Brownlee family, looted the mission and then burnt it having forced the occupiers to flee. The two eldest boys appear to have behaved bravely throughout this trying episode.⁵⁴ The family returned to the colony and the boys to Salem.

Soon after, the American missionaries on their way to Natal met John Brownlee. Since the latter had long favoured missionary work among the Zulu he consented to his two eldest sons accompanying them as interpreters.⁵⁵ Charles left for Natal at the end of 1835. Quite when James left for Natal is uncertain, but there is evidence that he was with his brother in Natal in the second half of 1837.⁵⁶ When Charles returned to the colony James stayed on as interpreter to the American Board missionary, the Reverend

Henry Venables.⁵⁷ The Zulu chief Dingane seems to have taken a liking to James⁵⁸ and the latter was regularly at the royal kraal at Umgungundlovu. As interpreter James was summoned to the kraal only hours after the massacre of Pieter Retief and his voortrekkers on 6 February 1838.⁵⁹ James met Dingane several more times before the Americans decided it expedient to leave Zululand.

After a period of some two years in Zululand, James returned to the Buffalo station where he helped his father by teaching black children. In December 1838, at the Buffalo, James met the redoubtable Dr. John Philip, the L.M.S. Superintendent (1819 - 1847).⁶⁰ The latter wanted to use James as a teacher. Hence Philip took James to Cape Town to receive further professional training.⁶¹ Quite when James returned to the Buffalo mission is uncertain. However we do know that by the second half of 1840 he and his eldest sister were in charge of the missionary school there.⁶²

Apparently James was not prepared to settle down permanently to such work, for in February 1841 his father applied to Lieutenant-Governor Hare⁶³ for James to be given the post of interpreter. The missionary it seems hoped that the position might enable James to continue his studies in Grahamstown. Whether James occupied this post at any time is unknown for no information exists on his movements for the years 1841 to 1845. Certainly James was Market Master in Cradock by the end of 1845.⁶⁴ He held this position until he volunteered for the Cradock burgher force on the outbreak of the Seventh Frontier War in 1846. From this yeomanry he transferred to another unit as an officer⁶⁵ before becoming interpreter to Lieutenant-Colonel Hare.⁶⁶ In the first three months of the war he was not involved in organised military activity against the enemy. In July 1846 however, he participated in the central campaign of that year which took place in the hills and valleys of

the Amatole region.⁶⁷ He probably left government service when the white burgher forces were demobilised in mid-September 1846, and went to work on his brother's farm, Haining, in the Baviaans river valley.⁶⁸ James was still prepared to do burgher duty if needed, but it is not known if he was required.⁶⁹

He was not to farm for long. On 15 February 1848 he became clerk to Charles on the latter's appointment as Assistant Ngqika Commissioner.⁷⁰ For this James received £150 per annum and free housing. He and Charles finally built their own houses near Fort Cox and both seemed settled. While at Fort Cox, James married Marie Hockly⁷¹ circa April 1850.⁷² On Christmas Eve 1850 war yet again erupted on the frontier. The brothers having anticipated such an occurrence, had already sent two of their sisters (who had been living with them) and James's wife to Cradock. While in refuge at the nearby Fort Cox, the Brownlees' houses and possessions, worth more than £1,000, were burnt by the Xhosa.⁷³ The fort was under siege until the end of January 1851.⁷⁴ In mid-February Charles and James went to King William's Town to aid their father. Apart from work to complete the new mission, the two brothers were kept busy organising the defence and provisioning of the large number of refugees from nearby missionary institutions.

Charles and James were also actively involved in the war. Both distinguished themselves by their gallantry.⁷⁵ On the evening of 28 March 1851 some 300 cattle belonging to Mfengu resident at the station were stolen.⁷⁶ The tactic of drawing small groups of colonial forces into inaccessible areas and then ambushing them was a known Xhosa tactic in both the Sixth and Seventh Frontier Wars.⁷⁷ But on this occasion it is possible that the ploy had a quite specific purpose. This was to lure out Charles⁷⁸ and so avenge the insult meted out to Sandile in October 1850 when Charles had been temporarily

made chief of the Ngqika. If that had been the purpose, Sandile was disappointed because Charles at the time of the raid was confined to bed. He had recently been severely wounded in a skirmish which had taken place somewhere between Burnshill and Fort White (at the present day M'Kinnon's Box).⁷⁹ James with 14 followers, presumably Mfengu, gave chase.⁸⁰ He did not wait for military reinforcements from King William's Town. The pursuers caught up with the raiders at the Izeli river and James decided to retake the cattle even though his force was outnumbered. His party was ambushed and James, struck by an enemy spear, fell from his horse.⁸¹ Despite the assistance of two Mfengu, James was unable to remount. He died shortly after and his small band, hard pressed, leaderless, and out of ammunition, had to leave behind his body and those of two Mfengu who had fallen in the fray.⁸²

When the body was recovered the following morning it was found to be headless. The two Mfengu who had been left for dead the previous evening testified that they had seen the Xhosa remove the head.⁸³ It has been suggested that the decapitation was a previous instruction of Sandile in the eventuality of Charles Brownlee falling into Xhosa hands.⁸⁴ The rarity of this form of mutilation gives credence to the belief that the whole episode of the previous day was premeditated. Also, Charles Brownlee's account of what Sandile said when his warriors presented him with James's head, "You should not have killed this man",⁸⁵ implied the wrong man had been killed. Some authorities have argued that the head was offered as a sacrifice to Umlanjeni,⁸⁶ the prophet whose actions had helped spark off the Eighth Frontier War.⁸⁷ This theory is not verifiable. It would appear that the head was later recovered and apologies for the deed tendered by Sandile.⁸⁸

James was buried on Sunday 30 March in the King William's Town military

cemetery. The Graham's Town Journal commented: "In him the Government has lost a valuable servant and the community at large a valuable member."⁸⁹

On the following Friday his wife gave birth to a daughter, Katie. James left no debts but his insurance policy valued at £1,000,⁹⁰ was invalidated through his death being an act of war⁹¹ and there was no government pension for his widow and child. So through no fault of her husband the young widow faced financial difficulties. Charles, together with Marie's brother-in-law, David Mahoney,⁹² did their best to help her financially until she remarried.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

At 6a.m. on 16 March 1846 a party of four Khoikhoi⁹³ or coloured provisional constables set out along the Queens Road⁹⁴ to escort two handcuffed pairs of prisoners from Fort Beaufort to Grahamstown.⁹⁵ At 11a.m. when they were some seven miles out of Fort Beaufort they halted by the Kat river to rest and cook some meat.⁹⁶ They were then surprised by a group of 40 Xhosa armed with spears. After a brief but fierce skirmish in the course of which a nearby farmhouse, belonging to Mr. Mildenhall, was struck by three musket balls⁹⁷ and one of the attackers was shot, the guards and one pair of prisoners fled to the farm. The assailants had come to rescue the one Xhosa prisoner, who was known as Tsili.⁹⁸ He also answered to the Dutch name Kleintje⁹⁶ (i.e. 'little one'). Kleintje, in a semi-drunken state had helped himself to a hammer-headed axe, valued at 4d., in the store of Mr. Holliday, who ran a store on Fort Beaufort market square.¹⁰⁰ On finding their man handcuffed to one of the Khoikhoi prisoners the assailants severed the latter's arm and threw the body into the river.¹⁰¹

Colonial forces subsequently tracked the spoor two and a half miles east to four kraals (or villages) occupied by people of the released prisoner's tribe. This was the Dange.¹⁰² Their chief, named Tola, whose own kraal¹⁰³ was situated on the Keiskamma river between Fort Beaufort and the abandoned site of Fort Willshire, was himself a notorious cattle thief. Such was his reputation that three years earlier in June 1843, Lieutenant-Colonel Hare with 600 men had crossed the border into Kaffirland in an unsuccessful attempt to capture him.¹⁰⁴ Now as he was confronted by a detachment of colonial soldiers, Tola admitted knowledge of the incident and offered to return the two guns captured by the raiders. But he refused to co-operate in finding the murderers

and the prisoner. Tola argued that his men had been unjustly accused of stealing the axe, that he as chief should judge the men, including the rescuing party, and that the constables had caused the bloodshed by firing first.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile Sandile, Tola's superior, was believed to be sheltering the fugitives. Sandile like Tola believed that only stock thieves should go to Grahamstown for trial,¹⁰⁶ and when asked to co-operate, the Paramount returned a defiant reply: "I cannot give the murderers or Kleintje up;¹⁰⁷ they are not to be found. Kleintje is dead; for his brother [the one Xhosa killed in the skirmish of 16 March] has been killed, and that is enough. The Governor weeps over the Hottentot [Khoikhoi] and we weep over our man."¹⁰⁸

Unlike Sandile however, Lieutenant-Colonel Hare was not prepared to let the matter stop there. The dead Khoikhoi was a colonist murdered within the colony. Taking Sandile's reply as a declaration of war, Hare called the burghers of the eastern districts to arms at the end of March. In mid-April Hare invaded Xhosa territory. The invading force met with a disaster. This occurred on 17 April when in an ambush at Burnshill between 800 to 900 of its oxen and 60 of its waggons were lost, and 17 of the escort were killed.¹⁰⁹ As a result, martial law for the eastern districts was declared on 21 April,¹¹⁰ and on the following day, Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland (March 1846 - January 1847)¹¹¹ declared the whole of the colony to be under such law.¹¹² From neither side was there a formal declaration of war. It was a case of the frontier simply sliding into war in March and April. One incident, the Kat river skirmish, had acted as a spark to ignite an increasingly volatile frontier. The encounter at Burnshill further fanned the flames. Similar was another incident on the 24 May. This time the Xhosa attacked a waggon train carrying supplies from Grahamstown to Fort Peddie:

43 waggons were lost and four of the escort perished.¹¹³ After this success the Xhosa poured into the colony. With that invasion, the Seventh Frontier War, known as the War of the Axe, had commenced.

"The Kaffirs say", so ran a leading article in the G.T.J.,¹¹⁴ "we have been fighting for a paltry axe, - the Colonial authorities, to avenge an insult offered to the Majesty of British law. But the fact is, both are equally wide of the mark. The ostensible cause of hostilities was only the last of a catalogue of insults and aggressions upon the British government in the person of its subjects. The closing act precipitated the crisis, but was by no means the cause of it". "That", concluded the Journal, "had its roots spread far wider and deeper".

Essentially the roots of conflict between white and black on the eastern Cape frontier lay in a competition for land between the two races dating perhaps as far back as 1778.¹¹⁵ Yet there had been no lack of attempts made to regulate trans-frontier relations in a peaceful way. Most recently there was the Treaty System.¹¹⁶ This system sought to reverse the previous policy followed by Governor D'Urban which entailed the annexation and possible settlement of the lands between the Fish and Kei rivers.¹¹⁷ Andries Stockenstrom,¹¹⁸ the author of the system, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Cape in 1836. He was to implement the new policy even though he was placed in the invidious position of having to report to D'Urban as his superior. Stockenstrom was also extremely unpopular with the colonists of the eastern regions¹¹⁹ on account of evidence he had given in London before a select committee investigating the condition of aborigines in the Empire.¹²⁰ His evidence had been extremely critical of the treatment meted out by colonists to the non-whites.¹²¹ For these reasons the system of treaties as devised by Stockenstrom lacked the necessary acceptance to enable it to succeed.

This was typified in the case of the diplomatic agents accredited to chiefs with whom treaties were signed. These officials were assigned the task of mediation in trans-frontier disputes. But to enforce acceptance of their arbitration the agents required the co-operation not least of the military authorities. This was not forthcoming in that the military treated both the civil agents of the government and the chiefs with scant consideration.¹²² The system was seriously weakened when Stockenström, after a libel suit, resigned from his office in August 1838 and was succeeded by a lieutenant-governor who was blatantly antipathetic to the treaty system. This was Lieutenant-Colonel Hare.

Shortly after, the Treaty System was irreparably damaged by an action of the new Governor, Sir George Napier (January 1838 - March 1844) who had succeeded D'Urban in January 1838. Napier in January 1839 ordered the Government Gazette to publish 'Non-Reclaimable Lists' which purported to show figures of stolen colonial stock which was not reclaimable under the original treaty system. From 1841 these extremely unreliable figures were regularly submitted to the chiefs for repayment. The extent to which the 'Non-Reclaimable Lists' were able to affect adversely the level of trust and co-operation between Xhosa and colonial government was aptly summarised by one C.L. Stretch, the agent to the Ngqika:

"Napier by this order to the Agent General opened the flood gates of all the Mischief that followed the publication of this order that the 'Not-Reclaimable List' be kept, thereby giving Every one an Opportunity to make statements of theft that never occurred - and which the Colonial rogues too eagerly avail themselves of."¹²³

Napier, whose priority was to avoid war at all costs, diminished black trust still further when in December 1840 he made minor amendments

to the treaties in favour of the colonists.¹²⁴

The breakdown in communications between the colonial government and the treaty chiefs was further exacerbated by the next Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland (March 1844 - January 1847). Maitland was not a cautious man. His reaction to the lawlessness on the frontier was to impose new treaties on the chiefs in 1844 - 1845. These treaties altered the fundamental basis of the original agreements which had endeavoured to treat the chiefs as equal partners in the treaty system. Henceforth the Keiskamma was to be the colony's border and other clauses attacked the jurisdiction of the chiefs and tribal custom.¹²⁵ Stretch noted:

"the acts of Sir P. Maitland decidedly were the cause of the war in 1846 - for after the first interview at Beaufort, all the Chiefs declared, 'he smelt of war', and all his subsequent acts confirmed the worse fears of the Caffers."¹²⁶

The Xhosa came to fear that they would follow the Khoikhoi into tribal disintegration and loss of identity.¹²⁷ Rumours and hostile views emanated from the colonists and their organ, the G.T.J. Angry at the lack of compensation for their losses in the previous war and eyeing the cis-Kei lands enviously,¹²⁸ the colonists demanded pre-emptive strikes against the Xhosa. Rumours that commandos would be sent against the tribes led Sandile to ponder:

"many strange words of war have been delivered at my kraal, that it was the intention of the Government to invade my country with a commando and destroy my people."¹²⁹

Through the decade following the Sixth Frontier War, stock theft and acts of violence escalated. In the early years of the Treaty System the chiefs attempted to prevent raiding from their side of the border.¹³⁰

Many colonists however failed to appreciate that rustling is endemic in a frontier situation. Colonial authorities had always tended to exaggerate the control chiefs had over their subjects.¹³¹ Moreover, although he had come of age (as Paramount) in 1840, Sandile was aware that many of the chiefs still looked to the former regent (1829 - 1840) Maqoma,¹³² for leadership. Consequently, these two chiefs, vying for support, were less strict on their warriors than they might have been. Also, chiefs had little control over bandit groups which operated in the Fish, Koonap, and Kat river valleys. Drought¹³³ in the early 1840's together with smallpox and plagues of locusts hit the overcrowded cis-Kei lands and made the denial of former Ngqika lands in the Kat and Mancazana valleys especially galling.¹³⁴ A growing war party which Sandile either could not or would not subdue became increasingly confident. A regular army officer on the frontier reported four days after the Kat river incident:

"there is a strong war party among the Kafirs, chiefly composed of those who have risen to manhood since the late war, who would gladly avail themselves of any plausible pretext to force their better-disposed, or more timid brethren, into collision with the colony...".¹³⁵

Correspondingly, frontier colonists had become increasingly fearful:

"It is notorious that the Kaffir people, since the last war of 1835, have possessed themselves of a very large number of horses and arms, the former chiefly stolen from the colony; the latter, we blush to admit, supplied to them by unprincipled traders on the frontier. They are thus rendered an enemy of a very formidable character, having it in their power to overrun and lay waste the settlement, before a military force could be brought up against them."¹³⁶

Not only was reciprocal goodwill lacking, so too was the means to enforce compliance with the treaties.¹³⁷ British governments gave the Cape colony a low priority in imperial expenditure.¹³⁸ Also, troops needed on the eastern frontier were situated on the northern border to watch the steadily deteriorating trans-Orange situation into which the colonial government was being drawn.¹³⁹

Depredations and distrust spiralled together. Attacks on colonists and their Mfengu allies heightened the tension.¹⁴⁰ Hare's military intervention against Tola in the cis-Kei in 1843 was seen as an ominous precedent by the tribes. Plans to erect a new military post in the Ngqika area in January 1846 resulted in a confrontation with the increasingly hostile Sandile at which the Lieutenant-Governor backed down.¹⁴¹ From the beginning of 1846 the frontier was in a state of continuous alarm through the Xhosa waging what was in effect undeclared war. April 1846, to the surprise of the government at Cape Town,¹⁴² saw the commencement of a war long expected by both black and white on the eastern frontier.¹⁴³

The war was initially one of confrontation. The peak of this phase of the war was an action which was the largest onslaught since the battle of Grahamstown in 1819. Between 8,000 to 10,000 Xhosa attacked Fort Peddie on 28 May. The attack was repulsed with heavy losses to the Xhosa.¹⁴⁴ This defeat together with the rout of a Xhosa force taken by surprise on the Gwanga river on 8 June,¹⁴⁵ in which several hundred Xhosa were killed, forced the Xhosa to adopt methods of guerilla warfare. These were tactics evolved from cattle rustling and involved a far greater use of guns and horses than in previous wars.¹⁴⁶ Interesting in this regard is the proclamation against the selling of guns and ammunition to the Xhosa, issued by Governor Maitland as late as 23 April 1846.¹⁴⁷ Another tactic of the same warfare now adopted by the Xhosa was to isolate military posts, of

which a good example was an attempt by the Xhosa to divert the channel which supplied water to the military establishment of Block Drift.¹⁴⁸ Other tactics involved the disruption of communications, ambushing supply waggons, and the destruction of fodder. In this latter ploy the Xhosa were eminently successful. In May 1846 in Albany alone they destroyed a minimum of 230,000 pounds of oat-hay.¹⁴⁹ This immobilised the garrisons of the Fish river forts. Colonial forces were shadowed and small detachments lured into ambushes. By day the Xhosa could not be found and at night they harassed the military camps. Maitland, who had taken overall command of the forces on 1 May, could only conduct a frustrating war of attrition. His forces burnt huts, destroyed crops and grain pits, and seized cattle. He wrote despairingly to the colonial office in September 1846:

"You will hardly expect to find in those Reports anything that can be called brilliant or decisive. Since the affair on the Gwanga, the Kafirs have avoided meeting our troops... . As they will neither face us, nor even hold the bush against us, but content themselves with alternately avoiding our force and stealing our cattle, and firing on our small parties and endeavouring to intercept our convoys, the warfare, on our part, can have few larger features than skirmishes and occasional captures of cattle, by the repetition of which the enemy must be gradually subdued, and forced to evacuate the country...".¹⁵⁰

By the end of May 1846 most of the Xhosa had been driven out of the colony.¹⁵¹ A month later, having gathered the largest force hitherto assembled on the frontier,¹⁵² Maitland was able to take the offensive. The Governor's plan was to corner the Xhosa in the Amatole basin and there force a decisive victory. The enemy however eluded his grasp and by September lack of forage for horses and oxen forced the colonial forces to retire to the Keiskamma line.¹⁵³

Simultaneously the Xhosa, although undefeated, ceased major hostilities. The drought of 1846 had broken in September and they were eager to return to their gardens as this was the last month they could sow and hope to reap a reasonable harvest.¹⁵⁴ The Xhosa not only refused to accept the proposed annexation of the cis-Kei lands, they also declined to fight.¹⁵⁵ As a result of their passive resistance the war petered out at the end of 1846.¹⁵⁶ From the middle of 1847 there was a renewal of sporadic fighting. With the surrender on 19 December of the last warring chief, Phato (reigned 1812 - 1859?),¹⁵⁷ the fighting finally ceased.¹⁵⁸ It was not, however, until 23 December 1847 that the war was officially terminated. On that day the chiefs formally acknowledged their surrender and Governor Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the annexation of the lands between the Fish and Keiskamma rivers to the Cape colony as the district of Victoria East, and those between the Keiskamma and Kei rivers to the British crown as the colony of British Kaffraria.¹⁵⁹

EDITORIAL NOTE

THE DIARIST AND THE DIARY

The diary of James Brownlee is very much that of a young man. The frequent absence of entries show that he was also not a dedicated diarist. The diary covers the period from Sunday 18 April 1846 to Saturday 12 September 1846. The diary was obviously meant to be private as the style is loose and he felt no need to give the full names or details of people and places he mentioned. It is therefore peculiar that the diary reveals little of the inner James. A notable exception, surprising in the light of his family background, is the entry of 22 April which reveals James's lack of religious conviction. We are fortunate to have confirmation of this characteristic in the pages of Mrs. Philip's Journal: "He is not decidedly pious but is seriously inclined and should God give him grace his intimate knowledge of the language may make him extensively useful."¹⁶⁰ James ventured few opinions, his diary is really a travelogue to which he added a record of facts and incidents which he found of interest. The style is that of a detached observer who rarely displayed emotion. The overall picture is one of a very sociable young man attracted by the adventure and camaraderie of war but who nevertheless had a very practical streak. Twice in the course of the frontier war financial considerations dictated a military transfer.¹⁶¹ Brownlee's approach enables the historian to glean substantial information on everyday aspects of burghers at war. The diary further shows how close knit frontier society was and the speed with which news and rumours travelled.

The diary, which is over 10,000 words in length, covers seventy-one handwritten pages. It was written in a lined, octavo sized (18cm x 11cm) hard covered black notebook.¹⁶² Also in the notebook are 129 pages of Latin,

Greek, German and mathematical exercises. These form no part of the diary, and were apparently written by one H. Brownlee while he attended Dale College, a boys' school officially founded at King William's Town in 1877. This feature of the notebook discounts any possibility that James discontinued his diary through a shortage of writing space.

Why James stopped writing his diary is unknown. If one considers the deterioration of weather conditions on the frontier in September 1846 and that his unit was about to retire into the colony then it may be surmised that James was too distracted to keep up his entries. It is probable that James was demobilised with the majority of the white burghers in September 1846.¹⁶³ Once back in the colony and no longer a participant in the war, James would no longer have been motivated to keep up his diary.

EDITORIAL METHOD

The editorial method has been to keep transcription alterations to a minimum. James's spelling of the names of people and places reflected contemporary uncertainty and flexibility. These names together with his phonetic spelling of Xhosa words have therefore been left as they appear in the manuscript. Modern usage has been indicated in the footnotes.

The main textual alterations have been to facilitate comprehension and to make the text more readable. This has necessitated alteration in the writing of capital letters and punctuation. Brownlee, in keeping with the custom of his day, used capital letters virtually ad libitum. Except where the capital contributes to the atmosphere of the text modern usage has prevailed. James in line with his verbal economy made extensive use of abbreviations. The full word is bracketed behind each abbreviation except

where the abbreviation has recently been explained.¹⁶⁴ Standard abbreviations of rank or title are expanded only on their first occurrence.

The text is basically clear and well written. Some fading has occurred but seldom to the point of illegibility. Brownlee's illogical use of capital letters however makes some of the text difficult to read as he varied the style of the letters. Capitals with which one has especial difficulty are the D, F, H, J, K, and R. His word endings sometimes lapse into an almost straight line. With words ending in '-ing' James often put the 'in' above and within the 'g'. Similarly, where the last letter of a word is '-y', the preceeding letter was invariably incorporated into the 'y'. In addition, through carelessness rather than inability to spell, he frequently omitted letters in words. The missing letters, in square brackets, have been inserted in the correct position. Words simply spelt wrongly have been left uncorrected and the word sic, in square brackets, placed after the mis-spelt word. Rounded brackets belong to the author. Where a word is unreadable the word 'illegible' has been inserted in a square bracket. If there is doubt about spelling, a question mark in a square bracket follows the word in doubt.

The diary contains references to a large number of people. Many were frontier inhabitants, who because they tended to move as the colony expanded, are difficult to trace. Others, such as western Cape burghers and British regular army officers, reflect the magnetic effect of the colony's frontier wars. These factors, together with Brownlee's habit of only noting surnames, have often made identification difficult, and sometimes impossible. In addition, death notices rarely exist for people who died outside the colony or whose estate was valued at less than £50.¹⁶⁵

The relevant footnotes, in a consecutively numbered sequence, are grouped after the introduction, main text, and appendices.

LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

In addition to the conventional technical words and phrases such as op.cit. and Chap. etc., the following abbreviations have been used:

I) THOSE USING THE AUTHORS SURNAME

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| <u>Bergh</u> | <u>'James Brownlee - 'n Oosgrenspersoonlikheid in eie reg',
South African Historical Journal, no.10, November 1978,
pp.26-37.</u> |
| <u>Cory</u> | <u>The Rise of South Africa, 6 vols.</u> |
| <u>Galbraith</u> | <u>Reluctant Empire: British policy on the South African Frontier,
1834 to 1854.</u> |
| <u>Hockly</u> | <u>The Hockly Family in South Africa: 1820 - 1964.</u> |
| <u>Holt</u> | <u>Greatheart of the Border: A Life of John Brownlee, Pioneer
Missionary in South Africa.</u> |
| <u>Morse Jones</u> | <u>Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa, Part 1.</u> |
| <u>Pringle</u> | <u>Pringles of the Valleys.</u> |
| <u>Stockenstrom</u> | <u>Narrative of Transactions connected with the Kaffir War
of 1846 and 1847.</u> |
| <u>Theal</u> | <u>History of South Africa since 1795, 5 vols.</u> |

II) MISCELLANEOUS

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| <u>Almanac</u> | <u>Almanacs and Annual Registers for South Africa, the Eastern
Province, and the Cape of Good Hope: 1834, 1845, 1846, 1847,
1848, 1849.</u> |
| <u>Army List</u> | <u>List of the Officers of the Army and Royal Marines: 1829, 1850-51.</u> |

<u>C.F.T.</u>	<u>Cape Frontier Times.</u>
<u>D.S.A.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of South African Biography, 3 vols.</u>
<u>E.P.H.</u>	<u>Eastern Province Herald.</u>
<u>G.M.S.</u>	Glasgow Missionary Society.
<u>G.T.J.</u>	<u>Graham's Town Journal.</u>
<u>L.M.S.</u>	London Missionary Society.
P.P.	British Parliamentary Paper.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Catharine (20 October 1794 - 27 January 1871), née de Jager. John and Catharine were married on 4 April 1818. Her father, a Swellendam farmer, was a staunch member of the Dutch Reformed Church: Holt, p.12.
2. J. Sibree, London Missionary Society: a Register of Missionary Deputations etc., from 1796 to 1923, p.15. However, John Brownlee's tombstone in King William's Town is inscribed August 1790.
3. Rev. G. Brown, Personal Adventure in South Africa, p.234.
4. M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa, Vol.I, p.238. For further details on the L.M.S. in southern Africa see J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, Chaps. XII, XIV, XVI, XIX; R. Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, Vol.I, pp.481-582.
5. B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p.10.
6. Somerset: D.S.A.B., II, pp.685-691.
7. Holt, pp.10-13.
8. E.A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa, (3rd. edition), p.151.
9. Ibid., p.150.
10. Holt, pp.14-16.
11. Theal, V, p.39.
12. For an official contemporary definition of 'Kaffirland' see P.P. 1848, XLIII (912), p.11, Sir P. Maitland to Earl Grey, 20 January 1847.
13. Nguni people: Wilson and Thompson (eds.), Oxford History of South Africa, Vol. I, Chap. III.

14. See W.D. Hammond-Tooke, 'Segmentation and Fission in Cape Nguni Political Units'. Africa, Vol. XXXV, no.2, April 1965, pp.143-167. For an alternative theory see J.B. Peires, 'The Rise of the "Right-Hand House" in the History and Historiography of the Xhosa', History in Africa, Vol.II, 1975, pp.113-125. For further information on the Xhosa see J.B. Peires, 'A History of the Xhosa: c.1700-1835', unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1976.
15. Rharhabe: D.S.A.B., II, pp.569-570.
16. Gcaleka: D.S.A.B., II, p.258.
17. Ndlambe: D.S.A.B., I, pp.586-589.
18. Ngqika: D.S.A.B., I, pp.590-593.
19. Fifth Frontier War: Cory, I, Chap. XII.
20. For details of these trips see Holt, pp.30-33.
For a map showing the relative position of these tribes see E.J.C. Wagenaar, 'A Forgotten Frontier Zone' - Settlement and Reaction in the Stormberg area between 1820 - 1860', unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1973, map 6, p.227.
21. See D.S.A.B., I, p.68.
22. Thompson: D.S.A.B., I, pp.789-791; Bennie: D.S.A.B., I, pp.68-69;
Ross: D.S.A.B., I, pp.681-683.
23. Holt, p.104.
24. Holt, pp.61-62.
25. The Ntinde numbered some 2,000 persons in the 1830's: P.P. 1836, VII(538), p.563, Q.4545.
26. Sixth Frontier War (December 1834 - September 1835): Cory, III, Chaps. II, III, IV; Galbraith, Chap. VI.
27. D'Urban: D.S.A.B., II, pp.205-207.

28. Galbraith, Chaps. IV, V, VI, VII; W.M. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer, and Briton, Chaps. IX, X, XI.
29. Seventh Frontier War (April 1846 - December 1847): Cory, IV, Chaps. IX, X.
30. Holt, p.116.
31. Holt, p.123.
32. Eighth Frontier War (December 1850 - May 1853): Cory, V, Chaps. VII, VIII, IX, X.
33. Holt, p.126.
34. Holt, pp.130-131.
35. R.W. Rose-Innes, Rev. John Brownlee, a Veteran Missionary and the Founder of King Williamstown, p.7.
36. Holt, p.134.
37. For further information on John Brownlee see Holt; D.S.A.B., I, pp.129-130.
38. Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.179, ftn.2.
39. Dingane (reigned 1828 - 1840): D.S.A.B., II, pp.194-196.
40. Bergh, p.29; D.S.A.B., I, p.126.
41. Burgher forces: see Appendix A.
42. Calderwood: see ftn. 197.
43. D.S.A.B., I, p.126.
44. Ibid.
45. Smith: D.S.A.B., II, pp.673-677.
46. Sandile: D.S.A.B., II, pp.614-616.

47. Cory, V, pp.299-300.
48. T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, (2nd. edition), p.54.
See also ftn.249; Appendix B.
49. C. Brownlee, Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History, pp.135-170. For further details see E.A. Dowsley, 'An Investigation into the circumstances relating to the Cattle Killing Delusion in Kaffraria 1856 - 1857', M.A. thesis, University of South Africa, 1932.
50. Which he demonstrated in the chapter he contributed to Colonel J. Maclean's book, A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs.
51. For details of the attainment of responsible government and the dismissal of the ministry of which Brownlee was Secretary for Native Affairs, see P. Lewsen, 'The First Crisis in Responsible Government in the Cape Colony', Archives Year Book for South African History, 1942, II, pp. 205-263.
52. For further information on Charles Brownlee see J.S. Bergh, 'Die Lewe van Charles Pacalt Brownlee tot 1857', unpublished Ph.d. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1977; D.S.A.B., I, pp.126-129.
53. D.H. Varley and H.M. Matthew (eds.), The Cape Journals of N.J. Merriman, 1848 - 1855, p.125, ftn.43. The church of which the school was a part is still used although it is in a serious state of disrepair.
54. Brownlee, Reminiscences, pp.22-28.
55. James, like Charles, spoke Xhosa fluently. This would suffice as a good basis for Zulu.
56. Bergh, p.28.
57. Venables: D.S.A.B., II, p.810.
58. G.E. Cory (ed.), The Diary of the Rev. Francis Owen, p.110.
59. Cory, IV, pp.45-48, ftn.57.

60. Philip: D.S.A.B., I, pp.612-620. It was Philip who had persuaded John Brownlee to rejoin the L.M.S. in 1825.
61. Holt, p.127, ftn.5.
62. Berqh, p.30.
63. Hare: see ftn.302.
64. Almanac, 1847, p.286.
65. Diary, entries for 28-29 April.
66. Diary, entries for 14-21 July.
67. See Appendix C.
68. Berqh, p.33, ftn.45.
69. Berqh, p.33, ftn.46.
70. Berqh, 'Charles Pacalt Brownlee', Stellenbosch thesis, p.33.
71. Marie Hockly (11 June 1830 - 1 August 1908), born in Graaff-Reinet, was the sixth child of the 1820 settlers Daniel and Elizabeth Hockly (Hockly, pp.1-6). In 1846 Marie and her widowed mother were living at Cradock. After the death of James, Marie later married Edward Hughes of Ellesmere, near Burghersdorp. She died in East London: Hockly, p.22.
72. The April dating (Berqh, p.34, ftn.55) is itself suspect. Attempts to find any record of the marriage have proved a total failure.
73. Berqh, p.34.
74. Cory, V, pp.320-324.
75. Berqh, p.35, ftn.65.
76. Berqh, p.36.
77. See ftn.343; ftn.387; Cory, IV, pp.489-500.

78. J.H. Soga, The South-Eastern Bantu, pp.212-213; Bergh, p.11; R.H.W. Shepherd, Brownlee J. Ross. His Ancestry and Some Writings, pp.9-10.
79. Brownlee, Reminiscences, p.5.
80. Bergh, p.36.
81. According to the Shone Diary (M.S.10,713.1. Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown), entry for 3 April 1851, James was killed near Murry [Murray] rock. A report in the G.T.J. (Extra, 1 April 1851, p.1, col.2) quotes a maize field near Fort Beresford as being the scene of the ambush. The death notice (Cape Town Archives, M.O.O.C. 6 September 1855, no.1035) filed by Charles, states that James died at the Izele [Izeli] river (See Appendix D).
82. The G.T.J. (Extra, 1 April 1851, p.1, cols.1-2) gave a vivid, if probably exaggerated account of the episode, "...the Kaffirs had swept off about 300 head of cattle belonging to the School Kaffirs and Fingoes at Brownlee's Station. James Brownlee, with 14 men from the Station, started in pursuit, and came up with the enemy near Fort Beresford. They were found posted in a mealie garden, greatly superior in numbers, Brownlee, however, engaged them, and received an assegai in the back. His party then placed him on his horse. At this time the Kaffirs charged them, and poor Brownlee shot two of them - but the man who was supporting him on the horse being struck by assegais, fell, as did Brownlee at the same time. The remainder of the party finding themselves so outnumbered fled...". This account also stated that 12 or 13 Xhosa were killed in the fray. A second report (G.T.J., Extra, 1 April 1851, p.1, col.2) intimated that James had been caught alive and tortured. Another source is the Rev. G. Brown (Personal Adventure, p.235), who stated that James begged the Xhosa to spare his life and referred to the Brownlee's well known friendliness to the Xhosa. Hockly (p.22) also indicates that James was tortured.
83. Bergh, p.11; Shone Diary, op.cit.
84. Soga, South-Eastern Bantu, pp.212-213.

85. Brownlee, Reminiscences, p.6.
86. Brown, Personal Adventure, p.236.
87. Cory, V, pp.292-296.
88. Shepherd, Brownlee J. Ross, p.10.
89. G.T.J., 5 April 1851, obituary, p.4, col.2. For further details on James Brownlee see Bergh.
90. Death Notice, C.T. Archives.
91. Holt, p.129.
92. Daniel Hockly: see ftn.215.
93. Khoikhoi: see ftn.283.
94. The Queens road which spanned the 46 miles distance between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort was laid out by the famous road engineer Andrew Geddes Bain in about 1838 and completed in 1842: Cory, IV, pp.243-245; G.D.R. Dods, 'Nineteenth Century Communications in the Zuurveld', unpublished M.Sc. thesis, Rhodes University, 1960, pp.67-73.
95. Cory, IV, pp.422-423.
96. C.F.T., 17 March 1846, p.4, col.2.
97. C.F.T., 17 March 1846, p.4, col.2.
Mildenhall: see ftn.299.
98. Brownlee, Reminiscences, p.309; Soga, South-Eastern Bantu, p.223.
99. Theal, VII, p.1; D. Rivett-Carnac, Hawk's Eye, p.122; A.J. Smithers, The Kaffir Wars: 1779 - 1877, p.193.
100. Cory, IV, p.422; A. Gordon-Brown (ed.), The Narrative of Private Buck Adams, p.114; Soga, op.cit. p.223.
101. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.84, Maitland to Lord Stanley, 31 March 1846, enclosure 2a.

102. The Dange: see D.S.A.B., III, p.93.
103. Theal, VI, p.190.
104. Galbraith, pp.162-163.
105. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.87, Maitland to Stanley, 31 March 1846, enclosure 12a.
106. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.86, Maitland to Stanley, 31 March 1846, enclosure 9a.
107. A man believed to be the murderer of the guard was handed over to the colonial authorities by Sandile in November 1846. He died the same night from a suspected ruptured blood vessel (G.T.J., 28 November 1846, p.4, col.1). Cory (IV, p.503) states that Kleintje was surrendered at the same time.
108. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.87, Maitland to Stanley, 31 March 1846, enclosure 10a.
109. Theal, VII, pp.5-6.
110. G.T.J., second Supplement, 21 April 1846, p.1, col.1.
111. Maitland: see ftn.196.
112. G.T.J., 25 April 1846, p.1, col.1.
113. Theal, VII, pp.12-13.
114. G.T.J., 15 August 1846, p.2, col.1.
115. In 1778 the Fish river was declared the eastern boundary of the Cape Colony: Cory, I, pp.35-36.
116. Galbraith, Chap. VII. See also ftn.28.
117. Davenport, South Africa, p.99.
118. Stockenstrom: see ftn.222.
119. G.T.J., 8 September 1836, p.1, col.1.

120. P.P. 1837, VII(425), pp.60-74.
121. J.M. Urie, 'A Critical Study of the Evidence of Sir Andries Stockenström before the Aboriginal Committee in 1835: viewed in the light of his statements and policies before 1835', unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1953.
122. Davenport, South Africa, p.100.
123. G.B. Crankshaw, 'The Diary of C.L. Stretch: a critical edition and appraisal', unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1960, p.2. quotation 2. This thesis also contains an analysis of the Non-Reclaimable Lists.
124. Cory, IV, pp.353-354. For an overall view of Napier's policy see Galbraith, Chap. VIII.
125. Cory, IV, pp.379-384; Galbraith, Chap. VIII.
126. C.L. Stretch, Correspondence between C.L. Stretch, Esq., the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Colonial Government of the Cape of Good Hope, p.18, Ngqika agent to the Cape Town Colonial Secretary, 24 February 1848.
127. Vacillating colonial government policies confused and worried the chiefs. From May 1835 to January 1845 there had been five treaty settlements on the eastern frontier. The treaty system was officially terminated by Governor Smith in December 1847.
128. A.C.M. Webb, 'The Immediate Consequences of the Sixth Frontier War on the Farming Community of Albany', South African Historical Journal, no.10, November 1978, p.47.
129. Crankshaw, 'The Diary of C.L. Stretch', Rhodes thesis, Chap.V, p.123.
130. Ibid., Chap.IV.
131. Peires, 'The Rise of the "Right-Hand House"', History in Africa, II, 1975, pp.116-119.

132. Maqoma: see ftn.352.
133. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer, and Briton, pp.276-277.
134. These former Ngqika lands were now part of the Khoikhoi Kat river settlement: J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937, Chap.VII.
135. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.85, Maitland to Stanley, 21 March 1846, enclosure 6a.
136. G.T.J., 28 February 1846, p.4, col.1: Address to Maitland from a Port Elizabeth public meeting.
137. An essential element of the treaty system was an unarmed native police force. There were never more than 60 of these underpaid law enforcers (Crankshaw, 'The Diary of C.L. Stretch', Rhodes thesis, pp.115-116).
138. Galbraith (p.62) noted that, "judged on a purely economic basis, the actions of British governments and their representatives at the Cape sometimes seem little short of lunacy".
139. Across the Orange river Boers had come into conflict with Griquas and Basutos. Colonial governments were committed by treaties to the latter tribes. From December 1842 troops were stationed at Colesberg, and in 1845 they had briefly intervened across the Orange: Cory, IV, Chap.VI; Galbraith, Chap.IX.
140. Cory, IV, pp.364-366.
141. The fort was to be near Block Drift (Cory, IV, pp.413-416).
142. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.3, Maitland to Stanley, 17 November 1845.
143. G.T.J., 16 March 1846, p.2, cols.3-4.
144. Cory, IV, pp.450-451. For a contemporary account of the attack see J. Frye (ed.), The War of the Axe and the Xhosa Bible. The Journal of the Rev. J.W. Appleyard, pp.63-64.
145. Cory, IV, pp.458-460. For a contemporary account of the battle see Major-General J.J. Bisset, Sport and War, Chap. XII.

146. J.B. Peires, 'A History of the Xhosa from 1770 to 1850', forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Chap.IX.
147. G.T.J., 2 May 1846, p.1, col.1.
148. E.P.H., 13 June 1846, p.3, col.2.
149. W.A. Maxwell and R.T. McGeogh (eds.), The Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs, p.31.
150. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.154, Maitland to W.E. Gladstone, 18 September 1846.
151. Theal, VII, p.11.
152. The force consisted of 3,207 regular army officers and men, 624 Cape Mounted Riflemen (ftn.358) officers and men, and 5,564 white irregulars (i.e. volunteers and levies). There were also 800 Khoikhoi and coloureds serving without pay, and 264 white officers with 4,049 paid Malays, Mfengu, and liberated slaves (Theal, VII, pp.16-17). A further 3,000 burghers acted as home-guards in lower Albany and Uitenhage.
153. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.181, Maitland to Grey, 14 October 1846.
154. Peires, forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, Wisconsin University, Chap.IX; Cory, IV, p.499.
155. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.184, Maitland to Grey, 14 October 1846.
156. Cory, IV, p.504. Maitland, believing the war to be terminated, revoked the proclamation of martial law on 13 January 1847 (G.T.J., 16 January 1847, p.1, col.1).
157. Phato: D.S.A.B., III, 684-685.
158. Phato surrendered on 19 December: Cory, V, p.53.
159. Cory, V, pp.104-105.
160. Bergh, p.30, ftn.28, quoting Mrs. J. Philip, 25 December 1838, from, 'Journal of a visit to several of the stations of the Society in South Africa'.

161. See ftms. 65,66.
162. The Diary, M.S.14.313, is held by Cory Library, Rhodes University. The identity of the donor is not known.
163. Bergh (p.33, ftn.45) believes Brownlee resigned from the military on the retiral of Lieutenant-Colonel Hare. However, Bergh's evidence (M.S.9127 Lovedale Collection, Cory Library, Rhodes University, W.R. Thomson to J. Ross, 25 January 1848) only shows that James ceased his military duties at the same time as Hare retired. This coincided with Maitland's disbandment of the white burgher forces.
164. The sole exception to this rule has been the word 'government'. Four different abbreviations for this word appear in the Diary entry for 1 September. To avoid clumsiness, one standard abbreviation has been used.
165. There is however a death notice for James Brownlee, whose estate was worth less than £50. This anomaly may be explained by the manner of his death, the prominence of his family on the eastern frontier, and the diligence of his brother Charles.

THE DIARY OF JAMES BROWNLEE

April 1846

18: Left Cradock¹⁶⁶ in company with the yeomanry of that village or rather volunteers.¹⁶⁷ Felt very queer on bidding Adieu to my friends, there being a probability of my non-return. Had their wishes and prayers for my safe return. I never thought I would have been so downcast. Our company consisted of 35 in number, rather motely [sic] in appearance, some with huge cavalry swords, others with pistols. Characters and employments as various:- Doctors, Lawyers, Preachers, Publicans, Carpenters, Wheelwrights [sic], Tailors, Cob[b]lers, Sailors, and mounted on horses belonging to as many breeds.¹⁶⁸ This day we proceeded as far as the farm of Mr. C. Thornhill.¹⁶⁹ Our fires were soon lighted, and we began to allay the calls of nature. This done some of us strolled about to other fires, where we were entertained by singing, joking etc. Most of the singers had brought with them a good allowance of 'Aqua Vitae',¹⁷⁰ so that their spirits were in fine order. This way we brought in the Sabbath.

19: At 10a.m. we left Mr. Thornhill in the direction of Vlekpoort.¹⁷¹ The first drift we crossed, our Qt. Mstr. [Quarter Master] had an upset, by some supposed to be sham. Our rout[e] continued for about an hour up the Vlek poort. Scenery very bold and striking, noticed here and there an eagle's nest among the highest rocks. Called at John Robert's commonly called John Houtbeen.¹⁷² Within $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour of sunset found ourselves at Prospect, the property of Mr. Wright Esqr. Here I was put out to guard horses - rather strange work.¹⁷³

20: On mounting one of the men got a fall; no bones broken. We were this day obliged to march without our bugler,¹⁷⁴ who was unable to ride. After marching for an hour we saddled off¹⁷⁵ in a fine grassy spot.

For amusement most of the party commenced firing at an anthheap.

Shooting¹⁷⁶ very creditable, rather question if all the parties would have fired as well had Kafirs¹⁷⁷ been the marks. Two hours from this brought us to the Tarka¹⁷⁸ post, some-times called Fynn's¹⁷⁹ post after the Resident Agent for the Tembookie tribes.¹⁸⁰ No signs of this being a post excepting the military who are stationed here. After drawing up in line before the residence of the Agent we were ordered to march further up till we reached a place occupied by a Mr. H. Louw.

21: Men grumbling, no rations, the wagons not having arrived the night previous.¹⁸¹ Rode up to the post in company with the Qtr.[Quarter] Master. Was introduced to the Knott family. While breakfasting here the Qt.M. [Quarter Master] signified that he was stepping over to the Agents. Mr. Knott thought by this he was hurrying me, on which he exclaimed, "Poor brute! don't hurry him, he looks like he is half starved." Thought to myself how compliment[ar]y. Had some of our horses shod, one of which struck a man on the arm and breaking it.

22: Remained at Louw's. One of our mess amused us by reading an account of Paddy the great Irish swimmer, and several other entertaining stories. In the afternoon Joseph Smith¹⁸² proposed that we should have a short service. One of our mess read a chapter and Smith offered up a prayer - the most appropriate I ever heard considering our situations, our removal from friends and the lik[e]lihood of being so soon in danger. My heart was full. I envied him because he was a Christian, I not. Mr. Scanlen¹⁸³ joined us this evening from Cradock, w[h]ere my friends were still well.

23: Removed down to the post and encamped 400 yds. east of it.

24: Before turning out our horses we saddled up and went through a few of the cavalry exercises, and very creditably.

25: Left the Tarka post and proceeded to Post Retief.¹⁸⁴ On our way one of the party in mounting got seated behind the saddle. His horse commenced bucking and threw him. He had a pipe in his mouth when mounting which he never let go. Got the skin off my toes in consequence of walking down the Wi[n]terberg¹⁸⁵ pass. At the bottom of the pass, rested at a place belonging to one Boucher,¹⁸⁶ which we found uninhabited. Between this and Post Retief we found all the places we passed also deserted by the inhabitants, but still tenanted by flocks of geese, ducks, and fowls. On drawing in line and dismounting we had the cheers of the lookers on for the uniformity of our movements. The bugler however was cried down for sounding after time. Poor fellow, his lips were sore, his horse uneasy and he no horse man. Quartered for the night beneath the verandah of the officers quarters. Had some difficulty in procuring fire wood. A soldier greatly assisted us by sawing some up for us. I found true what I had read: "Soldiers and sailors show a great deal of kindness but have little sympathy".

26: Sunday. Attended a service held by Capt. [Captain] Cahill,¹⁸⁷ officer com. [commanding] the post, in the barrack room. After reading the service from the Prayer Book he read a sermon from a text in Habbakuk: "Look unto your ways".¹⁸⁸ Was out on horse guard this afternoon. Wished to have written to friends in Cradock. This evening on duty again, felt very poorly sick at the stomach. I know my not writing will be a disappointment to my friends as I faithfully promised to do so. This opportunity was direct, through Mr. Beck who returned home.

27: Monday. This morning at two the bugler blew for us to get ready to march.¹⁸⁹ Would far sooner have remained, feeling very sick. We were off by three. Had not gone far before a halt was sounded, the cause of which was one

of the farmers' biscuit bags had got turned. At little after break of day got to Weagle's.¹⁹⁰ Halted here. Laid myself down most part of the time and by the time we started felt easier. A little after leaving got notice that Bear's¹⁹¹ cattle had been taken¹⁹² and requesting assistance, which we did not think proper to give.¹⁹³ On the top of the Blinkwater¹⁹⁴ hill called a halt when ten men under Mr. Scanlen went forward[sic] as an advanced guard. We passed through the bush, no Kafirs visible. Reached Fort Beaufort¹⁹⁵ about sunset. Out from the village we were met by his Excellency the Gov. [Governor].¹⁹⁶ The only remark he passed was that our horses were in very good condition. Too late to look up friends, and no wood to cook food with, the only alternative left was to go to a confectioners[sic], w[h]ere after drinking two bottles of ginger beer and eating divers cakes I felt amply provided for the night; and ruminating on my boyish days when I used to make such havoc amongst confectionary[sic], retired to bed in one of the baggage waggons. Here I was shortly joined by a Mr. Templar, lately a lodger in Cradock. Gave I thought at first of disputing his right. On further consideration I deemed it best to let him lay. He expatiated largely on the beauties of the sea. After this subject had been duly handled he spoke on the littleness and shallowness of some of his fellow soldiers.

28: Called on Revd. [Reverend] Calderwood¹⁹⁷ and dined there. He told me that his station¹⁹⁸ had been fired by the Kafirs. Had a proposal from Mr. Ayliff¹⁹⁹ to return with him for the purpose of raising a body of men of which he would take command and I act as an officer under him. Agreed to it.

29: Separated from the Cradock Volunteers with a great deal of reluctance. They proceed to Fort Brown,²⁰⁰ I return to Tarka post in company with

Mr. Ayliff and 4 others. The only inducement that made me return was the pay²⁰¹ - I was out on govt. [government] duty without a salary and my business at a standstill.²⁰² Called at the Blinkwater post where we took dinner. Arrived at Post Relief. Here the officers refused us quarters saying as an excuse that some of our party had made the place in such a filthy state and left it so.

30: Just as we were starting the issuer²⁰³ of this post in whose house I had breakfasted asked me if I knew his wife, who knew me well. I said no, upon which she informed me that she was a daughter of Mr. Kirkman.²⁰⁴ This instantly opened my eyes. I had not seen her for 11 years. Got to Fynn's post at sunset.

MAY

1st: Proceeded to Mr. Webster's²⁰⁵ in company with Mr. Brown w[h]ere we remained that night. Were very kindly entertained.

2: Rose before sunset to start. Was met by my host who had coffee ready for me. After drinking to my heart's content, left for the Baviaan's river.²⁰⁶ While on my way had an increase to my stud but unfortunately the animal was dead. By way of change fired 3 or 4 shots at some ree[d] bucks²⁰⁷ but without effect. My arrival at my brother's²⁰⁸ was a very agre[e]able surprise to him. Found him and Mr. Proudfoot²⁰⁹ both well. Had not been long there before I made up my mind to proceed to Cradock. On acct. [account] of the horses we did not start before sunset, getting there at 12. While busy stabling our horses we were heard by Mr. Hockly,²¹⁰ who supposing we were intruders had come out with a stout shilelah.²¹¹ For this occassion[sic] he had to sheath his sword, and extend the hand of friendship. We were not long seated before we were joined by the good

lady²¹² of the house, from whom we received quite a sisterly reception. But few minutes elapsed, before we were executing in a masterly manner the offices of eating and drinking. Two weeks absence from home had made me only feel the want of comfort instead of inuring me to hardships. To see a well spread table again seemed something new. I could not help mentioning to Alfred Hockly how I often had thought upon what he had said in a joke, namely, I would often think upon the bread and butter I had eaten in his house.

- 3: Sunday. Saw most of my friends this mng.[morning], thankful to say well. Attended divine service in Union Chapel²¹³ and dined with Mr. Munro²¹⁴ according to custom.
- 4: Sent for one of my horses, was detained by his not appearing. Went about to see my friends. Was asked to tea at Mrs. Mahony's.²¹⁵ Left to write home seemingly, as Andrew Ridgard²¹⁶ says, but another object in view.²¹⁷
- 5: Started from Cradock at 1 o'clock a.m. followed by a dog belonging to Mrs. Hockly. Saddled off at the Thorns²¹⁸ w[h]ere after making a large fire we laid down and soon fell asleep, not having slept the previous night. I had often slept here before. On our way called at all the Koesters[?] at Hains's[?]. We met Haram[?] where after taking sundry swigs of wine (home made and young) we proceeded, some of the party evincing uncommon youthfulness and light heartedness. Staid[sic] a few minutes at the watch.²¹⁹ Men Very discont[ent]ed to remain.
- 6: Went in search of my dog which I found at the watch. On my return fired at a vulture. The shot so startled my horse that it made a bolt, breaking my bridle reins and giving me a long walk on foot after it. It paid dearly for the chase. Accompanied Proudfoot, Charles, and Brown to John

Rennie's²²⁰ la[a]ger.²²¹ While there Sir Andries [Stockenstrom]²²² arrived on his way to the Tarka post. As we were proceeding thither it was proposed that we should escort him there, thus making an escort of Bav. riv. [Baviaans river] burghers needless.

7: Left the Bav. river before sunrise as one of the escort for Sir Andries.

The night before was the first time I had the pleasure of seeing him; his feature very plain, fine forehead, a great deal of fire in his eye. A good speaker, he is a pleasant man to ride with. Very communicative for a person of his station. Got to the post at 1p.m. After an hour Sir Andries left for the watch camp, 2 hours farther.

8: A company of the 45th. Regt.[Regiment] arrived here in the afternoon under command of Capt. Seagriem,²²³ Towards sunset Sir Andries arrived with 200 burghers,²²⁴ intending to proceed that night to Post Relief.

9: Determine to go to the Baviaan's river, resign my situation. My captain not agre[e]able to the latter proposition but willing that I return to the Bav. [Baviaans] river and remain till such time as he require my services. I accordingly left today and arrived at Proudfoot's at 8p.m. I find my brother and him intend starting for the Cowie.²²⁵

10: Leave Haining²²⁶ rather early, very cold, a sharp frost having fallen during the night. Off saddle at Lyndoch.²²⁷ Attend preaching.²²⁸ At 3p.m. start for Vander Ness's.²²⁹ Two miles from the house we are informed that the Kafirs have surrounded one of D. Pringle's²³⁰ herds. Go off in the direction, see no Caffres. While out are joined by a party from Lyndoch, who join us. We scour the bush, no Caffres, no spur[sic],²³¹ and take a circuit round the hill opposite Mr. Pringle's. Return home at dusk.

11: Monday. Left Lyndoch this mng.[morning] with the intention of proceeding

to Vanderness's farm. On our way about 3 miles from the place, we were overtaken by Thomas Pringle²³² dispatched by his uncle to request us to return and assist in taking the spoor of Fleischer's²³³ sheep, which had been taken the previous night. This was rendered unnecessary as immediately after joining us, he observed Kaffirs driving sheep, which we had no doubt of being Fleischer's. Send Thomas down to Vanderness's, while we proceeded to where the Kafirs were. Halted when within 400 yds. of them. They enquire what we wish - we say the sheep. They tell us to go home as we should get nothing, and further tell us we could see that they had no fear of us as th[r]ee days previous they had attacked Vanderness's place in the middle of the day and taken the cattle.²³⁴ We asked to what tribe they belonged, they say Amararabe.²³⁵ They ask who we are - answer Tembookies.²³⁶ We staid[sic] there half an hour awaiting the return of Thomas. From the position the Kafirs occupied they might have fired on us without our being able to retaliate. The answer we obtained from Vanderness's camp was, could they get protection for their wives and children while out, they would willingly assist us, otherwise not. Thinking it dangerous to be safe[?] in our position we rode to V.[Vanderness]. Here we learned that they had seen the Kafirs coming along ever since sunrise. It was about ten or eleven now. While here were joined by Dods Pringle, who had followed the spoor of the sheep till near where we had seen the Kafirs, but deeming it imprudent to attack them with so weak a force had left them. The Kafirs were 50 in number or upwards. This was the first time D.P.[Dods Pringle] said that he had ever seen Kafirs with property which it was not advisable to try to retake. He did his best to get some of V.[Vanderness] men to join us to attack the Kafirs at daylight next mng.[morning] but without success. In the evening we returned to Lyndoch. On the way a

horse belonging one of the party knocked up . Sent off by D.P. two men to a party of Hantam²³⁷ people to come up the next day to aid in pursuing the Kafirs.

12: Tuesday. Proudfoot went up the river to call the people from there.

In the afternoon left with D.P. and my brother for Van.[Vanderness]. Pass the party of Hantam Boors.²³⁸ After being told what duty they were required for, one very innocently asked if by setting the Cowie forest on fire they could not expel the Kafirs. Take up quarters for the night at Mr. Humphrey's.²³⁹ About 10p.m. the party from the upper end of the river arrive.

13: Wednesday. Leave this mng. at break of day. On entering the bush find

that the sheep²⁴⁰ have passed,²⁴¹ and determine to proceed to the Cowie, where we obtain forage for our horses and a sheep for ourselves. In about fifteen minutes after it was skinned, there were no vestiges remaining save the skin and a few bones. Saw Sir Andries [Stockenstrom] here. He had this day been out ever since day light till 10 o'clock on foot with his burghers. Saddle up at 11 and proceed on our way to the Koonap post.²⁴² About 4 miles this side, observed a number of cattle grazing near the bush, which we supposed to be stolen cattle. Make off towards them, every one anxious to be there first. After all they turn out to be cattle belonging to the Mancazana post.²⁴³ At the heights leave the post to the right and go in the direction of Mr. Vow's,²⁴⁴ w[h]ere we off saddle till sunset. The party here seperate[sic] part going up the Mancazana on their way to Baviaan's river, part returning by Abram Botha's. On account of our horses are obliged to rest at a place lately occupied by a Mr. Atwell. Find the home stead burnt. The one at Mr. Vow's was also reduced to ashes. Pass Abram

Botha's and off saddle at a place belonging to one of his sons. Amused our selves eating half ripe oranges which we had taken at A.B.'s [Abram Botha].

14: Thursday. On catching our horses at 4 in the morning when about to depart, find three missing.²⁴⁵ Start off with another person in the direction of Baviaan's river, no signs of horses or spurs[sic]. Return and go as far as A.B.'s with as little success. Raining all the while. On our return move into a house on the place, make a fire and warm our selves. When properly light renew our search but with no better luck. Having sent three of the party on a head for horses, and packed the saddles on some of the horses, the remainder with the exception of two had to walk. We had not walked many hundred yards before we discovered fresh spoors of cattle. The Kafirs who were driving them must have made off with our horses. None of us having taken anything with the exception of the oranges, since the morning before, we did not delay; reaching Lyndoch just as the horses were starting to come out to us. Left Lyndoch in the afternoon in company with my brother and Messrs. Blaine and Coleman, the two latter belonging to the Colesberg burghers.²⁴⁶ Called at Eilden²⁴⁷ and then went home having been out on duty five days, the whole of which time we had been riding our horses.

Friday.15th. Remain at my brother's.

16: Saturday. Receive an order from my commanding officer for me to return. Send back the men and promise to return on Tuesday.

17: Sunday. Attend no church to-day.

18: Monday. Go down to Piet[?] Mans[?].

19: Detained on account of my horse.

20: Leave for the Tarka post. Two miles from the house fall in with a party of men from Cradock under command of Samuel Debeer.²⁴⁸ Wait and ride with them acting as guide. Call at Websters and take a late breakfast or rather an early tea. Reach the Tarka post at sunset. Mr. Ayliff not at the post. Take up my quarters with Debeer's men who treat me with kindness and show me marked attention, especially Albert Reessies[?].

21: Thursday. Very windy.

22: Friday. Debeer's party called out to assist in retaking some Fingoe²⁴⁹ cattle from the Tembookies.²⁵⁰ Officer in charge refuses to go.

23: In quarters. Nothing having been heard of Mr. Minter²⁵¹ and his par[t]y who went after the stolen cattle, a party of volunteers offer to go in the morning, to see what he is about.

24: Sunday. Start for the Tembookie country to Nqilas²⁵² krale[sic].²⁵³ An hour this side meet Minter and his men returning with 400 cattle which they had captured from Nqila. We return here.

25: Monday. Light rain. Had a visit from Robert Pringle;²⁵⁴ proposes to me to ride with him to Joubert's²⁵⁵ camp.

26: Tuesday. Leave for Joubert's riding a mare taken from the Kafirs which is claimed on the road.²⁵⁶ Not knowing that Joubert's camp had moved we go a long way out of the road. R. Pringle makes known his intention to purchase horses. Several offered at very extraordinary prices, which he declines buying. Seeing him not anxious they reduced their prices, upon which he purchased two. We start at dark, Mr. Blain goes with us. A few hundred yards from the camp his horse came down with him and Englishman like he landed on his head. He was completely stunned by the fall, and we had some trouble in getting him to Haslope Hills²⁵⁷ where his wound was dressed.

- 27: Wednesday. Propose to go recruiting. Mr. Ayliff agre[e]able and borrows a horse for me. Leave at 1p.m. having as an after rider²⁵⁸ a Bushman²⁵⁹ ab[ou]t 4 feet 6. Call at Webster's from where I ride with Mr. Minter, also on a similair[sic] errand with myself. Get to Proudfoot's an hour after dark, find no one at home. Knock up some of the blacks who provide us with tea etc. We had not long finished our repast before the masters returned.
- 28: Thursday. Proceed to Lyndoch. On our way are informed that our mission as far as regards the Baviaan's river is fruitless, the Comdt.[Commandant] D.Pringle having given orders that no man should leave the Field Corn-etcy.²⁶⁰ This was confirmed by D.P.[Dods Pringle].
- 29: Friday. Return to Proudfoot's.
- 30: Saturday. Sent home my after rider, intending to follow on Tuesday.
- 31: Sunday. Spent this Sabbath in the way commando²⁶¹ Sabbaths are usually spent.

JUNE

- 1: Monday. Went out shooting.
- 2 and 3: Amusing ourselves with ball practise etc.
- 4: Thursday. Left in the afternoon for the Tarka post, slept at Websters.
- 5: Friday. After breakfast proceed to the Tarka post, having an addition to our number in G. Webster, who afforded us much amusement by the way.
- 6: Saturday. Nothing stirring.
- 7: Sunday. Have a visit from J. Taylor²⁶² from Cradock, extract whatever news I could from him. Friends well in Cradock.
- 8: Monday. Go as far as Groen Neck²⁶³ with my brother to assist him with

his horses. Commence drilling today.

9: Tuesday. Hear a great deal of firing, a party sent out to see what it arose from. Turns out to be firing in Joubert's camp on acct.[account] of some of the men going home.²⁶⁴

10-11: Drill.

12: Friday. Have an accession to our men of 42 Fingoes.

13: Saturday. Some of the men refuse to proceed to Fort Beaufort should they be required. Consequence is we are ordered to leave on Monday. Leave after sunset for Baviaan's river, but go no further than Mr. Webster's.

14: Sunday. On getting to my brother's he was not at home, not having returned from Somerset.²⁶⁵ Sent for fresh horses.

15: Monday. Left at three in the mng.[morning], got to the post²⁶⁶ about 8a.m. Our company were all started off having got a report that the Kafirs were taking the Fingoe cattle. Report proved to be false.

16: Tuesday. Move off for Fort Beaufort. Get as far as Bouchers'. Remain there for the night, rationless.

17: Wednesday. Commence early this morning and reach Post Retief at 8, and halt there for the day.

18: Thursday. On our way to the Blinkwater post passed the skeleton of a Kafir who had been killed at the commencement of the war. Reached Blinkwater post about sunset. Find Revd. James Read²⁶⁷ here. Heard him preach.

19: Arrive at Fort Beaufort. Am asked to take up my quarters at the Revd. Kayser's,²⁶⁸ which I accordingly do.

20th: Saturday.

21: Attend the Wesleyan chapel,²⁶⁹ heard the Rev. Smith²⁷⁰ preach.

22: Monday. Got hauled over the coals for not having left word where I was to be found, and informe[d] if I thought that was the way I had to do my duty the sooner I went home the better.

23: Tuesday.

24: Wednesday.

25: Ordered off for Fort Armstrong²⁷¹ to fetch corn. Sleep at a place belonging to Jan Jiry[?].

26: Friday. Arrive at Fort Armstrong, see the Laing's²⁷² here.

27: Saturday. Return for Fort Beaufort. Passed the remains of three waggons destroyed by the Kafirs. For the night bivouac a little below the junction of the Blinkwater and Kat river.²⁷³ During the night are awakened by the cries of one as if in danger. Supposing it to be Kafirs attacking the man crying out, rush to the spot with my gun and find that the man had been sleeping, and the corporal was taking his gun, when he supposing him to be a Kafir began to cry out.

28: Sunday. Enter Fort Beaufort.

29: Monday. This afternoon receive orders that we are to proceed to Graham's Town²⁷⁴ in the morning.

30: Tuesday. Our company with 92 men besides, take charge of sixty wagons,²⁷⁵ on their way to Graham's Town for supplies. Commanding officer, Adendorff. Outspan²⁷⁶ below the watch tower²⁷⁷ on the Graham's Town side. In the afternoon pass the two waggons in which Mr. McDiarmid's property was burned.²⁷⁸ Stay for the night at Leeuw Fontein,²⁷⁹ receive good entertainment from R. Ayliff.²⁸⁰

JULY

- 1: Wednesday. Meet with J. Leiter, belonging to Debeer's company. Dine at Tomlinsons,²⁸¹ pay 3/6 for dinner. Sleep at Koonap post.²⁸²
- 2: Thursday. By 4 in the mng.[morning] are on our way. Outspan at the Fish river. Pass by the bones of a Hottentot²⁸³ who had been shot by the Kafirs. For the night stay at Fort Brown.
- 3: Friday. Inspanning at break of day we go as far as the finger post.²⁸⁴ Pass through the Ecca bush.²⁸⁵ Take up quarters for the night at Botha's hill.²⁸⁶
- 4: Enter Graham's Town and draw up the waggons at the mill²⁸⁷ near Col. [Colonel] Somerset.²⁸⁸ Have a great deal of trouble in getting the men rationed, who refuse to take some of the meat on acct.[account] of its being so poor.
- 5: Sunday. Rain during most part of the day. Have the honor of a visit from Captain Shaw²⁸⁹ of the Graham's Town Yeomanry.²⁹⁰ Attend no place of worship, being ashamed to appear in present clothing amongst the citizens of the town.
- 6: Monday. Busy the most part of the day in distributing clothes, shoes etc. to the men. About sunset had a call from John Hughes,²⁹¹ who persuaded me to go to Mr. Locke's.²⁹² He had heard I was in the suburbs on Saturday but hardly credited the report as I had not shown my face on Sunday. Hearing the same on Monday he at last ferreted me out himself. Find the Lockes well, see Mr. Calderwood here, who immediately asks an explanation of my conduct in not attending service on Sunday. Give an excuse, though to him very unsatisfactory. Attend a prayer meeting in Trinity Chapel.²⁹³ The first time I entered the place. Very good attend-

ance and I thought more ladies than men. Saw no faces as I was sitting in a back pew. Took supper at Mr. Locke's.

- 7: Tuesday. Draw our forage for horses, in doing which I had first to knock up the store keeper - a very fiery looking personage, face covered with grog blossoms[sic].²⁹⁴ Leave Graham's Town and outspan this side of Botha's hill. This side of the Ecca heights try the men in mounting and dismounting, halting from the canter. One man very a[w]kward, an officer of the night. Have a visit from some of the Beaufort Rangers, most of them tipsy.²⁹⁵ Learn from them that Gordon Nourse is shot by the Kafirs.²⁹⁶
- 8: Wednesday. Pass through the Ecca bush. Outspan at the finger post, take breakfast here. Am sent round by Fort Brown to draw the rations for the men. Find the rest of the waggons out spanned at the Fish river where we stay for the night.
- 9: Thursday. Witness a dance, performers Fingoes. Four of us go out shooting but see nothing. On our getting to the Koonap post order dinner, pay 3/9.
- 10: Friday. On the top of the Koonap are detained by rain and outspan. For pastime dig in a umpemba,²⁹⁷ not very pa[la]table, it being so dry. On preparing to start find that some of the oxen are lost. Find the oxen and go to Leeuw Fontein, and get part of the left side of a pudding for dinner. We had not been long here before some of Adendorf's men were brought up for having killed some sheep they had stolen in the veldt.²⁹⁸ The humanity of their commander sentenced them to pay the value of the sheep, to be stopped off their pay, if not forgotten.
- 11: Saturday. Go as far as Mildenhals's,²⁹⁹ the place where the Hottentot was shot that occasioned[sic] the war. Not having an efficient conductor,³⁰⁰ when starting again find some of the oxen lost. Consequence

is have to remain for the night.

12: Sunday. Get into Fort Beaufort about 12 in the mng.[morning]. The supplies for horses arrived very opportunely as the Beaufort horses were that day eating Caffre corn stalks.³⁰¹

13: Monday. Receive our pay up to the 30th. June.

14: Tuesday. Apply to Col. Hare³⁰² for situation of interpreter. Promises to think of it and let me know in the course of next day.

15: Wednesday. Hear that Dods Pringle is to arrive today. About sunset start for the camp where Stockenstrom's people were.³⁰³ Was saved the trouble of going very far by meeting my brother, with whom I returned to the camp and slept there for the night.

16: Thursday. Take a ride to burgher camp at Birklands. Stayed a very short time and return for parade.

17: Friday. Obtain leave to go to Birklands. Stay one night over, change horses with my brother.

18: Saturday. Return to Beaufort with C. Ross.

19: Sunday. Receive our pay up to the present date. Part with Ayliff my superior officer, he seemed to regret our parting, so did I. Pecuniary considerations were the cause of my leaving as Lieutenant pay 2/6, interpreter 7/6. Assist him in getting off.

20: Visit Birklands camp and remain for the night. News arrives that Stockenstrom has entered the Tembookie country, with a force of 700 men.³⁰⁴

21: Tuesday. Part with my brother at camp, the camp having gone to the heights above Birklands. I return to Beaufort. Obtain the papers containing a copy of my appointment of interpreter - appointed on the 18 July.

22: Wednesday. Finished filling up my journal, which I had neglected from the 11th. May, from which period to this the entries are all I have then, on my memory.

23: Thursday.

24: Friday.

25: Saturday.

26: Sunday. Leave Fort Beaufort to take the field. Enter Kafir land by way of Block Drift.³⁰⁵ Bivouac there for the night. Take up my quarters with my brother. He leaves at 12 in the night for the Tyumie Hoek.³⁰⁶

27: Monday. Before sunrise the marching bugle is sounded, when we begin to march. Encamp for the night opposite the Tyumie³⁰⁷ station and beneath that part of the Amatola range nearest it. The Kafirs show themselves in considerable numbers on the mountain opposite us, calling out to us that we were losing time as the sun was going down.

28: Tuesday. Called by Col. Hare³⁰⁸ and asked to take a despatch to the camp of Sir Peregrine [Maitland] then supposed to be at the Green river.³⁰⁹ Started an hour after sunset having an escort of ten men among whom was Hermanus.³¹⁰ Took the Regu road.³¹¹ Night very dark. Cross at the Regu drift. Though it had formerly been a wagon drift yet on account of the darkness we could hardly find our way down or out on the other side. While crossing we must have been heard by the Kafirs, as they sounded their alarm. They however did not think proper to come thus far. Saddled off at Fort White,³¹² at the Mundiza³¹³ and again at the head of the Tshaxa.³¹⁴ Here we staid[sic] till day light.

29: Wednesday. On waking found myself at a loss which way to go, a heavy mist preventing me from seeing the mountains. On the mist clearing away I

found myself as near to King Wlms.[Williams] Town as to the Green river,³¹⁵ so I made up my mind to proceed there, expecting to find Jan Tzatzoe³¹⁶ there. On nearing the station found all the Kafir kraals deserted. I still had hope, and this only forsook me when seeing the ruins and ashes of my father's house. I thought of the many many happy days I had spent there when a boy and how changed evrything was, compared to what things were when I was there the last time, twenty-eight months back.³¹⁷ Want of time prevented me crossing the river³¹⁸ and taking a close inspection. On our way to the Green river passed a great many horses and oxen which had been shot from incapability to proceed further. Also a wagon which had been burned. Two miles from where the Green river is crossed by the Graham's Town road³¹⁹ we saw the wagons belonging[?] to the Governor's camp³²⁰ moving up the river. This was the largest train of wagons I had ever seen, in number 220. On coming up to the wagons delivered the despatches.³²¹

30th: Detained when asking when I could leave - was politely answered by Col. Somerset to wait till I received orders. Heard firing today, which I afterward learn to have been from Col. Hare's division in the Amatola mountains.³²²

31: Friday. Leave the Green river at the Mundizeni,³²³ receive the despatches for Col. Hare. Start at 3p.m. See three Kafirs at the Debe Neck.³²⁴ Saddle off at the Qanda³²⁵ till dusk. Just before crossing the Keiskama³²⁶ am obliged to leave one of the men's horses. The same thing occurs after crossing. At about six miles from Col. Hare's camp,³²⁷ in sight of the camp, we are way laid by Kafirs who when within 30 yds. of us fire at us. No effect besides that of giving us a fright.³²⁸ We return the fire and then proceed, reaching the camp in safety at about 9p.m. Very kindly

treated by Capt. Dunford,³²⁹ offered a bed and asked to breakfast the next mng.[morning], both of which I respectfully declined, for more reasons than one.

AUGUST

- 1st: Saturday. Ride over to Sir Andries Stockenstrom's laager³³⁰ to fetch my baggage and see my brother and others. On the way pick up a horse value 2 or 3£ which I give to my boy.³³¹ Am disappointed in not finding my brother, and hear that the night he left Block Drift he had been thrown from his horse, got severely hurt, and had broken his gun stock.
- 2nd: Sunday. Move from the camp to join Col. Hare at Fort Cox.³³² Pass the burned remains of a gun carriage³³³ and the burned remains of a load of coffee. Reach Fort Cox at 3p.m. Hear a detailed account of the Amatola fight.
- 3rd: Monday. Reconnoitering party etc.³³⁴
- 4th: Tuesday. Two thousand men leave Fort Cox this day for the sources of the Keiskama.³³⁵ Cross the Qeqe[?].³³⁶ Cattle and horses are seen in the bush, too late to take them. Shoot one Kafir (Ryneveldts party),³³⁷ and take another³³⁸ without assegais or kaross³³⁹ - turn out to be half mad and afterwards released. Very cold night, hard frost, I do not suppose there was a man who slept.³⁴⁰ My feet were in very great pain.
- 5th: Wednesday. Proceeded to the bush, nearly all the infantry sent in. See no Kafirs, take a few lean cattle which the Kafirs were unable to take away or did not think worth their while to take. Slept on the Kieskama.³⁴¹
- 6: Thursday. Leave for the Governor's camp.³⁴² Go up a kloof that runs into the Qeqe[?] and pass near the bush where the Kafirs in the last war attacked Charles Bailie and his party.³⁴³ On the neck between Tabehdoda³⁴⁴

and the Hoho³⁴⁵ saw the Gov.[Governor] camp to the S.[South] of Perrie.³⁴⁶ When within 3 miles of the camp, changed our route and proceeded to Fort White.³⁴⁷ At the Nmgesha³⁴⁸ passed Stockenstrom' waggons.³⁴⁹ From his people obtained something to eat, not having eaten anything that day since sunrise and then a small piece of meat. My horse came down with me here. I had the fortune to fall unhurt but broke the stock of my gun. Slept at Fort White.

7: Friday. Return to camp.³⁵⁰ Had some misgivings about my horse being able to carry me back. He did better than I thought.

8th: Saturday.

9th: Sunday. Received letters from Fort Peddie.³⁵¹

10th: Monday till 14th: Friday - in camp. Appearance of rain today.

15: Saturday. Interpret message to Macomo.³⁵²

16: Sunday. 1100 men under Capt. Hogg³⁵³ leave for the Windvogel's Berg,³⁵⁴ those of my mess among the number. Rain and thunder this afternoon.

17: Monday.

18: Tuesday.

19: Wednesday. The Kafirs succeed today in taking 32 oxen, wound[?] one of the leaders. Pursuit is made but the party fall in with no Kafirs. Horses put on 4 lbs. barley.³⁵⁵

20: Thursday. Hear of rather a curious circumstance. A man reported to have been shot and left dead is found at the Governor's camp³⁵⁶ - well.

21: Friday. The Kafirs, emboldened by their success on Wednesday, act the same part today and take 4 or 5 spans³⁵⁷ of oxen. Not a shot fired at them. The Cape Corps³⁵⁸ are sent in pursuit, but return without even

having seen the Kafirs.

22: Saturday. Heavy firing heard this mng.[morning] in a direction west from this. Get sugar and coffee issued to me at the rate $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. coffee, 1oz. sugar per diem.³⁵⁹ Patrole[sic] of 400 men which went out on Thursday at 1 o'clock returned this afternoon. They were attacked by Kafirs and beaten back - 4 men killed, 4 wounded. The retreat attributed to the Fingoes who ran and were followed by the Hottentots.³⁶⁰ One of the men killed, Daniel Stretch.³⁶¹ The party took 60 oxen from the Kafirs, which the Kafirs retook twice. The firing heard in the morning, was during the engagement. Wounded men brought in hardly able to sit their horses. One of the men killed was left behind through fatigue occasioned [sic] by the pace taken in retreating.

23: Sunday. Attend church parade and hear the prayers read. Men drawn up in a hollow square, reader in the middle.

24: Monday.

25: Tuesday. Warned to be in readiness to proceed to the General's camp but not receiving farther notice remain. Hear that Capt. Hogg with his men had shot 100 Kafirs without losing one of his men and had captured 5,000 cattle. This was an official report, the first part of it does not bear the stamp of probability.³⁶² Numerous fires lighted in this neighbourhood. Today 6 lbs. barley.

26: Wednesday. This morning as a serjeant was visiting the sentries he was shot by one of his men. The sentry had challenged which the serjeant on account of the wind did not hear.

27: Thursday. Hear from the General's camp that the chief Stock³⁶³ had given himself up and that Umhala³⁶⁴ was to give himself up today. If so, then

there is a probability that the other chiefs will follow their example and thus soon terminate the war.³⁶⁵

28: Friday. Received a note from Major Smith³⁶⁶ requesting an explanation for my not having gone on Tuesday with the party to the General's camp. The following is a copy of the note sent.

Sir. It having been reported to his Honor the Col. Comdg.[Colonel Commanding] that altho.[although] you received instructions from Lieut.[Lieutenant] Molesworth³⁶⁷ the actng.[acting] Brigade Major to the division to accompany the express sent to his Excellency's Camp on the 25 Inst.[Instant] with despatches, for the purpose of guiding the party to that point, you did not do as directed. I am directed to require from you an explanation, for thus omitting the performance of so essential a duty.

I have the honor

Sir

Your most obdt.[obedient]

True Copy

J.S.[?] Smith

Fort Cox

Major

August 25 1846

D.A.Q.M.S.[Deputy Assistant Quarter Master].

I called and gave what I thought a satisfactory explanation. 4 lbs. barley.

29: Saturday. Part of the men who had refused facing the Kafirs last week sent out again today.³⁶⁸ Not alone, but with 3 or 4 companies of the Ninety First and 27 Regiments³⁶⁹ who return without doing anything. About 11, warned to guide a party of men taking an express to the General's camp. The greatest absurdity to think the men required a guide, some having been twice there before. Start at one, $\frac{1}{2}$ passing between the Tab-endoda and Fort White. See some Kafirs, who make the best of their way

into the bush. Pass through Perrie station, which has shared a fate similair[sic] to that of the other mission stations.³⁷⁰ Arrive at the Governor's camp at 5p.m. Go to Mr. Conway's³⁷¹ tent, where I off saddle and stay for the night. Both myself and horse well provided for. In the course of the evening am introduced by an old schoolfellow to a man I supposed a friend of his. By way of calling his friend's attention he first of all gave him a kick and then introduced me to him. I found my friend or acquaintance, the very same he was when we parted nine years ago, his head as empty as ever. He perhaps did not have so much bashfulness as he used to have, which only made matters worst[sic].

30: Sunday. Was rather surprised on coming out of the tent this mng.[morning] to hear the corporal telling me they were already saddled up and prepared to start. Of course I immediately saddled my horse. Found the road rather slippery, it having rained a little during the night. I thought we would be drenched by the time we arrived at Fort Cox. I was mistaken as though it continued cloudy it rained none. Before starting I got my gun which I had left with Sir Andries [Stockenstrom] division to be repaired. It was now serviceable. On passing Perrie and seeing everything in so desolate a state I could not help thinking how many pleasant visits I had had there and how happily I had spent many a day there when a boy. Who would not be a boy again? Bryce³⁷² and Richard³⁷³ Ross with whom I had so often played here were now on the sea, many hundred miles distant.³⁷⁴ Many pleasing recollections crowded on my mind. Hardly a spot on which I looked but I could remember something having occurred there. 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. Some men belonging to Sir Andries's division passed this day on their way to the

General's camp.³⁷⁵ From them we learned that the men belonging to that division had got permission to return home,³⁷⁶ and had entered the colony at the Tarka post. I will thus be deprived of the pleasure of seeing my brother.³⁷⁷ The men report 5,000 head of cattle to have been taken, but very poor. No Kafirs were shot. As usual the division is again short of supplies.³⁷⁸ NO FORAGE.

31: Monday. Five men of the ClanWilliam burghers,³⁷⁹ while out today cutting grass were fired upon by Kafirs. One of the men was wounded in two places, severely but not dangerously. As usual the Kafirs pursued escape. Men were sent in pursuit. On seeing them approach the Kafirs retired. On their retiring they immediately showed themselves, calling out to us we wished them to make peace, but that they would fight as long as they had life. The Kafirs in their attacks upon ourselves and cattle have invariably had spies looking out while the acting party were busy.

SEPTEMBER

1st: Tuesday. Four women from Macomo came in today with a message from him from saying that if the Govt. [Government] wished to treat with him, Col. Hare was to send somebody out to him, with whom he would come in to Fort Cox. He disclaimed having taken any part in the war, saying he was a Govt. man and if the Govt. wished, he had no objection to come in with his men as an ally to Govt. Two men had a fight this evening in which one kicked the other and broke his leg beneath the knee joint. Heard a new song from the Fingoes this evening, the words are: Wena Wakwa Nhambe, Wena Wakwa Nqika, Gamain Wahliwa Zizinja Zako.³⁸⁰

2nd: Wednesday. Express arrives today from the Governor's camp bringing a report that the chiefs were assembled there. Too good to be true.

Three/four horses belonging to the ordinance department either lost or taken by the Kafirs. Sky cloudy towards sunset, every appearance of rain, but it having been dry so long, people will hardly judge by appearances.³⁸¹ I never in my whole life found it so difficult a task to get through the day. No books to read.

3: Thursday. Col. Hare left this morning for the General's camp, it is said to make a plan for attacking the Kafirs in the Amatola who are daily annoying us. Some of Stockenstrom's division passed us today on their way into the colony, nearly all walking having lost their horses and thrown away their saddles. One burgher pointed out to me as being worth 10,000£. A young man, he was also tramping it on foot. Hear today that the Kafirs had taken from Beaufort 150 horses belonging to burghers stationed there.³⁸² After losing four horses yesterday, one would have thought measures would have been taken to prevent the occurrence of such a circumstance. No[?], every thing seems left to fate, or our commanders perhaps calculate that the Kafir commissariat is better supplied than ours, and think to get them back fat from the Kafirs. Today they took 7 more belonging to the hospital waggon. It seems there were only two herds with the horses at the time, and two Kafirs took the horses, one, becreeping[?] the men who were laying down at the time, he fired wounding both of them. The men fled and the Kafirs made off with the horses. The two men were carried in to camp, one of whom died $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after coming in, the other is likely to follow him. Both were wounded through the belly but one from the back and the other from the side.³⁸³ A party of ClanWilliam burghers returned this evening from the General's camp, they have permission to return home.³⁸⁴ Stock was at the General's camp with a doz.[dozen] of his men.

4: Friday. Col. Hare returns from the General's camp in the afternoon late.

Orders are given that the division (with the exception of 400 men of the 91st. under Col. Campbell)³⁸⁵ will march at 7 in the morning. Man that was wounded yesterday died last night.

5: Saturday. Division moves for the Debe, where we pitch our tents.³⁸⁶ Near our camp were found the bones of Captain Sands, which were buried. His shirt, or part of it, was found with his name as also his socks and spectacles.³⁸⁷

6: Sunday. Receive notice to prepare myself to start for Block Drift. About 1p.m. had a smart shower of rain with hail. Forty Hottentots belonging to ClanWilliam division march off today on their way home, refusing to do duty any longer. Cannons were turned out and men sent after them with orders to fire on them if they persisted in going. The men thought it better to return than to risk their lives.³⁸⁸ Start at 4p.m. with 12 men of the Cape Corps and the conductor Mr. Murray.³⁸⁹ Object in going to Block Drift is to ascertain if the road thither is passable by way of Knapp's Hope.³⁹⁰ Find the station burned down. Near where Mrs. Birt was killed³⁹¹ we are overtaken by a very heavy shower of rain, which in a few minutes drenched us to the skin. Ride very hard and get to Block Drift a little before sunset. Take up quarters with the issuer Mr. Jolly in a house belonging to Mr. Hooles.³⁹² Am well entertained, getting a fill, a glass of grog and a bed. Dried my clothes by the fire and then went to bed.

7: Monday. Am ordered back with 100 oxen having as an escort 20 men of the Ninety First, 7 Fingoes, and 16 men returning to the camp including the Cape Corps men. The oxen were some of those captured by Capt. Hogg - wretchedly poor, so that we were obliged to go on slowly. The 27 men

return at the Keiskama from where 18 of us drove the cattle to the camp distant about 6 miles. On our way we got rain again.

8: Tuesday. Having been out in the wet the last two days, I called this mng. [morning] on Captn. Wright³⁹³ to enquire if my services were required today (the division was going out on a 3 days patroll[sic]). Undoubtedly was the answer. As I expected to remain I did not get up till the bugle had blown for the men to fall in, and after learning that I had to go, hurried myself to draw my rations so I was first about mounting, when Lieut. Molesworth told me to go to the head of the column to guide the men, but without telling me where to. Seeing the men about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile on the road to Mr. Niven's station³⁹⁴ I of course thought that was the direction we were going. When getting at the head, Mr. M. [Molesworth] asked me if I knew where I was going I told him what I thought, when he said no, it was to Kayser's station that we had to go, in the opposite direction. The men were then marched back, and I was asked how it was I had taken the wrong direction. We then marched to opposite Mr. Kayser's station and then struck out towards Igqibihre. Here we found Col. [illegible] also patrol[ing]. From him we learn that the Kaffirs had entered the colony in three divisions or bodies.³⁹⁵ Determine on returning to the camp.³⁹⁶ Col. Hare rides on a head with his body guard. I remain with the division, with instructions to guide the division back to the camp. From the time of our passing Mr. Kayser's station till the time we joined the camp I acted as guide over a country which I had never seen before. Fortunately everything turned out well. What the object of this day's expedition was, no one knows. We marched the whole day along the waggon road, seeming rather to avoid the Kafirs, than to come in contact with them. Some hundred huts were burned. These the contemptible enemy that we are fighting think it

beneath them to burn in the colony. This is fighting and scouring the bush. What opinion the military entertain of the Kafirs I know not, but from the way matters were conducted today I would infer that they think much more of the Kafirs than they do of themselves. I heard one of the provisional captains³⁹⁷ say today that he would as leave as rather be employed in the most servile capacity, rather than patrole[sic] in such a way. Here was an instance of the characters described by Gray in his "Elegy on a country churchyard".³⁹⁸

9: Wednesday. Part of this division ordered to march to Block Drift and Funa's Kraal.³⁹⁹ The remainder to follow in a day or two. The reason for the division moving in seperate[sic] parts is to prevent the Kafirs from thinking that we have made a bolt. Our moving across the Keiskama, and into the colony will no doubt as Sir Andries [Stockenstrom] says, have a moral[e] effect. Party have been prevented from moving today on account of the rain. This insures[sic] me the company of Smith and Knight⁴⁰⁰ a day longer. On their leaving I will feel very dull.

10: Thursday. Ryneveldt's party and part of the Clan william burghers leave today for Fort Beaufort.⁴⁰¹ Waggon with supplies arrive.

11: Friday. Division moves towards Commando Drift.⁴⁰² Encamp for the night between Com.[Commando] Drift and where Col. Somerset formed his camp the day previous to going to Burns Hill.⁴⁰³

12: Saturday. Detained on acct.[account] of the weak state of our oxen. See a butterfly today, the first I have seen this season. Very bad water here. Draw rations of tobacco and soap. We are at present very liberally supplied, getting in addition to our 1½ lb. meat and ¼ lb. biscuit:- loz. coffee, ½oz. sugar, 2oz. rice, 1/12 gill salt, 1/12 gill vinegar per diem besides ¼ lb. tobacco and ½ bar soap per week.

13: Sunday.⁴⁰⁴

NOTES TO THE DIARY

166. Cradock was founded in 1812 as a frontier outpost on the farm Buffel's Kloof on the Fish river. In 1814 a township was proclaimed and named after Governor Sir John Francis Cradock (September 1811 - October 1814). In February 1837 the village was declared the seat of a magistracy for a district of the same name: D. Smith (ed.), Cradock 1814-1964. 150th. Anniversary Brochure. For a contemporary description of the Cradock area see Almanac, 1848, pp.99-104.
167. The Cradock burgher (white) volunteer force consisted of two companies; one infantry, the other cavalry (yeomanry). In April 1846 these forces numbered 139 non-commissioned officers, rank and file (Despatch 154 (Executive), printed in Cape Town 1848, Sir Henry Pottinger to Earl Grey, 20 October 1847, Accompaniment [I], p.155, Pottinger Memorandum, 9, January 1848, enclosure 10.
168. Burghers were required to equip themselves with gun, horse and saddle.
169. Almost certainly Christian M. Thornhill (1818-1892). Christian was born in England and his father Christopher led a party from Middlesex in 1820 (Morse Jones, p.14) to the Cape colony. In 1837 Christian married Letitia Margareth Bailie (widow of Lieutenant C. Bailie, see ftn.343). He served as a captain of the Cradock Mfengu levy in the Eighth Frontier War. Christian was responsible for the building of the Cradock Church of England (commenced in 1857): Morse Jones, p.162.
170. 'Aqua Vitae' in this instance refers to brandy, a spirit that was very much a part of everyday frontier life: A.P. Brink, Brandy in South Africa, Chap.V.
171. The Vlekpoort (Dutch, vlek: spot; poort: gorge) is the main tributary of the Tarka river and flows into the Commandodrift dam.
172. Houtbeen, Dutch: wooden leg.
173. The Xhosa were adept horse thieves, see ftns.245,382.

174. The bugler was the means of communication for units. This function would be even more important where a language problem existed between white officers and their non-white troops.
175. Saddle off: to make a temporary camp while the horses, minus their saddles, are rested.
176. The usual firearm for colonists in this period was a smooth-bore, breech loading percussion gun. The 1830's had seen the change from flintlock to percussion but it was not until the 1850's that rifled barrels replaced smooth-bores. In the 1860's the muzzle loaders were in turn replaced by breech loaders. G. Tylden ('The Development of the Commando System in South Africa, 1715 to 1922', Africana Notes and News, Vol.XIII, no.8, December 1959, pp.303-313) states that the smooth-bore was extremely accurate at 200 yards and over, and that the loading of a loose bullet or buckshot took about three minutes. Percussions took slightly longer. I. and R. Mitford-Barberton (The Bowkers of Tharfield, p.63) however, give the smooth-bore flintlock muzzle loader an effective range of only 60 yards, with up to four shots a minute being possible (this higher rate of fire is substantiated by Colonel A.F. Malan, Directorate Military Museums, S.A. Defence Force). Misfires were less common with percussion caps than with flintlocks (Bisset, Sport and War, p.92).
177. Kafir, Kaffir, Caffre, Caffer, from the Arabic Cafir or Kafir, meaning infidel (T. Pringle, Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, pp.281-282). The term was not then regarded as derogatory. Indeed one finds a Xhosa tribesman describing his people as Kafirs to a governmental committee in the 1890's: C.P.P. G.4. of 1883, p.102, Q.1630.
178. Tarka, from the Khoikhoi 'taraxa' : 'a place rich in women' (Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, Vol.X, p.425). Until the 'Great Trek' of the 1830's Tarka was a predominantly Dutch area. By 1846 British settlers had bought many of the farms formerly owned by Boers. The farms were mainly used for stock raising. There was an administrative post on the upper Black Kei river, where the government agent for the northern tribes resided: R.N.S. Ainslie, J.A. Meintjes, R.F. Philip (eds.), Tarkastad Centenary: 1862-1962. Souvenir Album.

179. Henry Francis Fynn (1803-1861) was born in London and came to southern Africa in 1818. He helped establish the first trading station at Port Natal (now Durban) and open up trade with the Zulus. In the Sixth Frontier War he served as interpreter at the governor's headquarters. Fynn became resident agent at the Tarka post in 1837 and four years later, justice of the peace for the Cradock district. In August 1846 his office of resident agent was abolished, though it is possible that he was dismissed (Cory, IV, p.508, ftn.) for his part in an expedition (ftn.304) that led to hostilities with the Thembu chief Mapassa (ftn. 180). From 1849 to 1852 Fynn was the British resident with the Mpondo. In that latter year he returned to Natal as Assistant Magistrate in Pietermaritzburg. Four years later he resigned. Fynn was recognised as an expert on the Natal tribes and his diary (J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm (eds.), The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn.) is regarded as a valuable primary source for Natal history: D.S.A.B., I, pp.305-306.

180. i.e. The Thembu.

In the 1820's a body of Thembu (later known as the emigrant Thembu) left their traditional lands around the Mbashee river and settled in the area now known as Glen Grey (a Queenstown district). Another group, under similar pressure from tribes moving down from the north-east, left the Mbashee in the late 1830's and with the Thembu paramount chief settled on the Imvani river, a tributary of the Great Kei. The main Thembu body however stayed at the Mbashee. In 1831 Mapassa (D.S.A.B., II, pp.438-439) became chief of the emigrant Thembu. This chief kept his people out of the Thembu paramount chief's sphere of influence, and displayed hostility to the colony. Though not fully embroiled in the Seventh Frontier War, Mapassa's people did steal cattle and shelter stock stolen by Xhosa combatants. Mapassa was linked both geographically and by marriage to the Ngqika. His 'great place' was five miles east of Shiloh, and Fynn's intervention into the chief's territory in July 1846 led to continuous clashes throughout 1846 and 1847. Umtirara, Thembu Paramount from 1844 (Theal, VII, pp.8-9) maintained the traditional Thembu pro colony and anti Ngqika stance: Wagenaar, 'A Forgotten Frontier Zone', Rhodes thesis, Chap.I.

181. Supplies were always a problem. Rather than have their waggoners commandeered by the army, waggoners kept their vehicles out of the eastern districts (G.T.J., 18 July 1846, p.2, col.2; G.T.J., 25 July 1846, p.2, col.2; G.T.J., 15 August 1846, p.2, col.2). Xhosa stock thefts and the effects of drought decimated the army's supply of oxen. Only Stockenström, who arranged his own commissariat (the military chest for buying and distributing supplies) kept his troops adequately fed (G.T.J., 22 August 1846, p.3, col.4). Burghers serving with the regular forces felt themselves to be inadequately rationed. This exacerbated the ill feeling between the Burghers and the military authorities. At the end of 1846 the Deputy Commissary General was obliged to visit the frontier to defend his department against accusations of mismanagement (E.P.H., 17 October 1846, p.2, col.3).
182. Joseph Smith, a carpenter (C.F.T., 7 July 1846, p.4, col.4) in Cradock, had been one of the first to volunteer in 1846. He joined the Cradock (white) Infantry. As a favour for a friend, Smith then did a spell of duty with the Cradock Yeomanry (with whom Brownlee saw him). On 16 May 1846 Smith fought at Farmerfield (G.T.J., 6 June 1846, p.2, col.5; Cory, V, pp.440-441) under the command of T.C. Scanlen (ftn.183). Shortly afterwards, having served for some two months, Smith returned to Cradock and rejoined his infantry company. When he was ordered to undertake another spell of duty with the Yeomanry Smith refused to join them, and under Ordinance 19 (G.T.J., 9 May 1846, p.1, col.2) he was arrested and put in jail (G.T.J., 11 July 1846, p.1, col.1; p.2, cols. 4-5). He was later released on instructions from Cape Town (C.F.T., 11 August 1846, p.4, col.5).
183. Thomas Charles Scanlen (1806-1870) was the son of William Scanlen, the 1820 Irish party leader (Morse Jones, p.13). Charles Scanlen's farm, Waay Plaats, near the Fish river, was destroyed in the Sixth Frontier War and he moved to Cradock. He served with the corps of guides throughout this war. In the Seventh Frontier War Scanlen was a supernumerary lieutenant with the Cradock Yeomanry. Again in the Eighth Frontier War he served as a volunteer and on the Cradock board of defence. Scanlen was a municipal commissioner from 1846 to 1848. In 1855 he was elected to the House of Assembly: Morse Jones, p.153.

184. In 1836 Governor D'Urban established a military post on the upper waters of the Koonap river in the little Winterberg mountains. To honour Pieter Retief (D.S.A.B., II, pp.585-589) who had been active in the defence of this area in the Sixth Frontier War and a field cornet from 1835, D'Urban named the station Post Retief (Cape Archives, D'Urban collection, accession 519, Vol.XII. pp.69-73. D'Urban despatch to Stockenstrom, 6 March 1837). The post was built on Retief's farm.

185. The Winterberg is a considerable range of mountains some 25 miles north of Fort Beaufort.

186. Boucher's Kloof (Dutch: ravine) is marked on Henry Hall's map of the eastern Cape (1856) as a pass through the Winterbergs on the road to Post Retief. According to Morse Jones (p.81), the kloof was named after Priestwood Boucher (? - October 1856), an 1820 settler of Pigot's Berkshire party (Morse Jones, p.12). Morse Jones is alone in listing a Priestwood Boucher. C.T. Campbell, British South Africa, 1795-1825, p.133; H.E. Hockly, The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa, 2nd. edition, p.208 ; T. Sheffield, The Story of the Settlement, p.258; G. Mc. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol.XII, p.429, all list Bouchers, but none of whom is Priestwood. It is unfortunate that Morse Jones neither indicated his sources nor where Boucher's farm was. From the Diary entry and Hall's map one can roughly place the farm just south of the Winterberg on the road from the Tarka post to Fort Beaufort.

187. Captain John Campbell Cahill of the 91st. Argyllshire Foot Regiment. He was promoted to the rank of captain in April 1842: Army List, 1850-51, p.303.

188. This is either a misquote or a précis of the sermon. There is no text in Habbakuk with even a bare resemblance to 'Look unto your ways'. Nor is there a sermon with such a title according to A. Cruden, A Complete Concordance to the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha.

189. The destination was Fort Beaufort. The distance to be covered was 27 miles by waggon road (R. Godlonton and E. Irving, Narrative of the Kaffir War, 1850-51, p.80.

190. Hall's map shows Wiggle's farm on the left bank of the Gola river. Historians differ over the spelling of the name of the family of Bradshaw's 1820 party from Gloucestershire (Morse Jones, p.7). Hockly, The Story of the British Settlers, p.259, and Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, XII, p.471, list Wiggall; Campbell, British South Africa, p.142; and Morse Jones, p.65, give Wiggill. Uncertainties in embarkation lists and Brownlee's erratic spelling of names produce these variants. The farmer in question was probably George who died aged 55 in May 1871 at Aloe Grove, Bongola near Queenstown, the residence of his brother Elijah. The family farm of Bram Bush was in the Winterberg (G.T.J., 2 June 1871, p.1, col.1).
191. William Bear (1783-1873) was an 1820 settler of Dyason's London party (Morse Jones, p.9). Bear's farm, Wellington, was a rallying point for nearby farmers in the Seventh Frontier War (G.T.J., 4 April 1846, p.3, col.4). A blacksmith by trade, he received land from the Kat River Commission in 1853. According to his obituary (G.T.J., 1 December 1873, p.2, col.6) Bear had latterly been an hotel keeper at Fort Beaufort before moving to the Transvaal where he died at the age of 90. His notoriety was mentioned as was the fact that his wife had served on board a Man-of-War.
192. The G.T.J. (6 June 1846, p.3, col.4) printed a letter from William Bear of Ellington [Wellington] in the Winterbergs, which described how Xhosa raiders seized 300 cattle from his laager on 27 May. Five men from the laager chased the thieves and recaptured 250 of the cattle. The Xhosa escaped into a large kloof (Bush Nek). The next morning, Bear with seven men went to the kloof and after a skirmish captured two horses from the Xhosa. Spoor indicated that the cattle were still in the kloof but the colonists were too few in number to risk a foray into the bush. Two days later some 300 Xhosa armed with guns again attacked the laager. The attackers were repulsed and then pursued. The bodies of eight Xhosa were later found.
193. Charles Scanlen subsequently blamed W. Gilfillan (Civil Commissioner and Commandant of the Cradock Yeomanry) for the denial of aid to "old Mr. Bear". (G.T.J., 17 October 1846, p.3, cols.2-3). Scanlen stated that

though there were 140 well mounted men, Gilfillan decided that they must obey previous orders and proceed directly to Fort Beaufort. Scanlen incorrectly dated the incident as 25 April.

194. The Blinkwater (Dutch: to shine) hill was in the former Ngqika lands. On the river of the same name there was a small military post.

195. In 1822 a military blockhouse was built to watch over Maqoma in the Kat river area. The strong point was named after the family of Governor Lord Charles Somerset. A village which was founded in 1823 grew rapidly in the years after the Sixth Frontier War. In 1846 the original fort was replaced by a much stronger one. A Martello tower (the only other in the colony was at Simonstown) was built and mounted with a 9 lb. gun together with formidable defences: K.R. Gibbs, 'Martellos!! And their Armaments', Journal of the Historical Firearms Society of South Africa, Vol.VIII, no.1, June 1978, pp.3-11.

196. Sir Peregrine Maitland, an experienced soldier and a veteran of the Napoleonic wars had formerly been Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada (1818-1828) and of Nova Scotia (1824-1834). From 1834 to 1838 he commanded the Madras army. When he arrived at the Cape in March 1844 Maitland was already 66 years old. As Commander-in-Chief he personally conducted the colonial forces on the frontier during the Seventh Frontier War. He was recalled to England in January 1847 and once home he retired from the army: D.S.A.B., II, pp.431-433.

197. The Rev. Henry Calderwood (1808?-1865), a Scottish Presbyterian minister, had joined the L.M.S. in 1838 and travelled to the Cape in the same year. He worked at Fort Beaufort until 1845 when he moved to establish Birklands station (ftn.198). Calderwood acquired a knowledge of Xhosa that enabled him to publish in that language. The outbreak of war in 1846 forced him to retire to Fort Beaufort where in September of that year he became adviser to Maitland. The following month he resigned from the L.M.S. to become Commissioner for settling displaced Xhosa tribes. Calderwood's clerk and ultimate successor was Charles Brownlee. In 1848 Calderwood was made responsible for settling Mfengu, and, for the establishment of four military villages in the Tyhume valley. He became Chairman of the Mfengu education board, for the newly established district of

Queenstown, and finally Chairman of the Native Improvement Board. Calderwood enjoyed the confidence of governors and chiefs alike: D.S.A.B., I, pp.148-149.

198. Birklands was established some seven miles from Fort Beaufort. In April 1846 Calderwood abandoned the station which was then burnt by the Xhosa (G.T.J., 2 May 1846, p.3, col.1). The mission was later rebuilt. In the Eighth Frontier War the non-white inhabitants of the station were suspected of disloyalty by the colonial authorities. Consequently they were moved in 1853 to another site on the Tyhume river outwith the colony. The Methodist minister, John Ayliff (D.S.A.B., I, pp.28-30) accepted an offer of the Birklands station (henceforth known as Healdtown) for a Mfengu settlement. Healdtown grew rapidly as a black educational centre until its closure in 1970: Rhodes University Divinity Department, Some South African Missionary Institutions, pp.18-21; L.A. Hewson, Healdtown: 1855-1955. Centenary Brochure.
199. John Ayliff (1821-1878) was the eldest son of the Methodist minister John Ayliff, an 1820 settler of Willson's London party (Morse Jones, p.14). John was instructed by Maitland to raise a levy, and with the rank of captain (appointed on 29 April 1846) he formed the Cradock Mfengu and Khoikhoi levy. This levy was still serving 12 months later (Despatch 154, Accompaniment[I], p.150, enclosure 9c). In April 1847 Ayliff was appointed Commandant of the native levies. Two years later he became Interpreter to the High Commissioner of the newly formed British Kaffraria. From 1862 he was Treasurer of Natal until his appointment as judge of the newly constituted Bantu High Court: D.S.A.B., II, p.17.
200. Until 1835 the small military post about 17 miles from Grahamstown on the bank of the Fish river was known as Hermanus (ftn.310) Kraal. Governor D'Urban enlarged the post in 1835 and renamed this fortification after its commander, Lieutenant Robert Boyd Brown of the 78th. Regiment. The new building, one of the biggest forts in the eastern Cape, was finished in 1838 at a cost of £4,000. The fort was garrisoned until 1861. For a description and contemporary illustration see P.R. Kirby, 'Fort Brown (Hermanus Kraal)', Africana Notes and News, Vol.XII, no.1, March 1956, pp.5-10.

The Cradock Yeomanry was now presumably on its way to Farmerfield.

201. Brownlee served as a lieutenant and was paid at the rate of 6/6d. a day until 17 July 1846 when he became interpreter to Lieutenant-Colonel Hare: Despatch 154, Accompaniment(I), p.150, enclosure 9c.
202. Brownlee's former position was that of Cradock Market Master.
203. The commissariat gave out contracts for the supplying of goods required by the military. These supplies were distributed by issuers at stores.
204. Mary Kirkman (1814-1907) was the daughter of John Kirkman of G. Smith's 1820 Lancashire party (Morse Jones, p.13). On 27 November 1839 she married Richard Joseph Painter (1803-1881), son of S.R. Painter of Sephton's Methodist party (Morse Jones, p.13). Mary was Richard's second wife and they had 10 children. Their farm, Yellowwood Trees, in the Kroomie area was abandoned when they fled to Fort Beaufort in early 1846. They did not return to their land until 1853. Richard was a member of the Legislative Assembly for Fort Beaufort from 1854 to 1861 and for Somerset East from 1864 to 1865. From 1866 to 1868 he was the elected member for the Eastern Districts: I. Mitford-Barberton and V. White, Some Frontier Families: Biographical Sketches of 100 Eastern Province Families before 1840, pp.217-218. James Brownlee had probably been at school with Mary Kirkman in Salem.
205. Ainslie, Meintjes and Philip (eds.) (Tarkastad Centenary, p.12) have recorded one Robert George Webster, a farmer at Doernhoek (named Tryvale by him) in 1837, near Palmietfontein in the Winterberg . This however seems too far east to fit Brownlee's route from Cradock to the Baviaans river.
206. The Baviaans (Dutch: baboon) river is a tributary of the Fish river. The valley, which came to be known as Glen Lynden, was one of the six field-cornetcies composing the district of Somerset. For a contemporary description of the valley see Pringle, Narrative of a Residence, Chap.III.
207. Reed buck(Dutch: Rietbok). For further details see P.L. Sclater, The Book of Antelopes, Vol.II, pp.157-164.

208. On 15 May 1842 W.D. Pringle (ftn.230) and William and James Proudfoot (ftn.209) signed an agreement to last for five years by which the farm Haining (part of Pringle's estate) was leased, together with 915 sheep. Some time after, Charles Brownlee entered into an agreement with the Proudfoots to either sub-lease an area or farm Haining in conjunction with them (information supplied by Professor J.V.L. Rennie from the Pringle papers at Lynedoch). It is possible however that W.D. Pringle himself divided Haining into leasable portions as R.P. Rennie (Mitford-Barberton and White, Some Frontier Families, p.240), son of J.B. Rennie (ftn.220) also farmed at Haining.
209. It is logical to assume that William and James Proudfoot were brothers (Bergh, 'Charles Pacalt Brownlee', Stellenbosch thesis, p.123). In the Amatole campaign W.D. Pringle, Robert Pringle (ftn.232), Charles Brownlee, and William Proudfoot were a very close knit group (W. Ainslie, Sixty-Six Years Residence in South Africa, p.26). One cannot tell which Proudfoot was with Charles on this instance.
210. Alfred Moore Hockly (1822-1883) was the fourth child of Daniel Hockly of Bailie's London party (Morse Jones, p.7). Alfred was born in Uitenhage, schooled in Grahamstown and then settled in Cradock. He was town undertaker (Almanacs, 1845-1848) and acting Market Manager (C.F.T., 8 August 1846, p.3, col.1) when James Brownlee joined the Cradock Volunteers. From 1848 Alfred was Municipal Commissioner at Cradock. He later moved to the southern Orange Free State near Philippolis and Jagersfontein: Hockly, pp.16-19.
211. An Irish cudgel traditionally of blackthorn or oak (H.W. and F.G. Fowler, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, 4th. edition, p.1153).
212. Jemima Hockly (1824-1875), née Hughes. The Hockly's had 12 children: Hockly, p.16.
213. In 1821 a congregation had been formed in Cradock. A chapel chiefly for military personnel was built in 1841, but within a short time coloureds were allowed entry and it became known as the Independent Chapel. The building was handed over to the Congregational Union of South Africa by the L.M.S. for use by the coloured congregation. In 1841, the Union

Chapel congregation became known as Trinity Church: D.R. Briggs and J. Wing, The Harvest and the Hope, p.49; G.F. Ferguson, C.U.S.A., pp.145-6.

214. The Rev. John Munro (Monro according to Sibree, London Missionary Society, p.22), (?-1848). A Congregationalist, he arrived at the Cape in 1821 as an assistant missionary with the L.M.S. Munro went to Bethelsdorp where he was superintendant of schools from 1823 to 1826. In 1827 he became a minister at Grahamstown, and from 1838 for the Khoikhoi of the Kat river settlement mission. In 1839 he became resident minister at Cradock. Munro moved to Cradock where he retired in 1846: Briggs and Wing, op.cit., pp.145-146.
215. Elizabeth Ann Mahoney (1815-1875), née Hockly, was the sister of Alfred Hockly (ftn.210) and eldest child of Daniel Hockly. In 1832 she married Daniel Mahoney (1807-1852), the son of the 1820 London party leader, Thomas Mahoney (Morse Jones, p.11). Daniel and his wife initially lived in Grahamstown before they moved to Cradock where he became Municipal Commissioner and undertaker (Almanacs, 1846-1849). After Daniel's death the widow moved to Lynedoch, the farm of W.D. Pringle, who had married her sister Harriet Hockly: Hockly, p.7.
216. Andrew Ridgard (1816/1817-?), born in Scotland, was the son of Ezra Ridgard, a saddler of Pringle's Scottish party (Morse Jones, p.12). Ezra received 100 acres in Pringle's Baviaans river settlement alongside the Rennies (ftn.220). Ezra soon moved to Cradock with his family in the early 1820's. Andrew in the early 1840's (perhaps with his brothers) returned to the small family farm, Beaumont (or Glen Beaumont): Information supplied by Professor J.V.L. Rennie.
217. Elizabeth Hockly (1791-1862), widow of Daniel Hockly, had opened up the first Cradock school in the early 1840's. She was still in Cradock in 1846 (Hockly, pp.1-6). It is entirely possible therefore that James had gone to visit his future wife, Marie Isabella Hockly.
218. Thornhill? Ftn.169.
219. i.e. The men on guard duty.

220. John Brown Rennie (1799-1850), a Scottish farmer, had come to the Cape with the Pringle party. The farm Craig Rennie was named after him. John married Catherine Heatlie Pringle, the sister of W.D. Pringle: Mitford-Barberton and White, Some Frontier Families, p.239.
221. In the Sixth Frontier War farmers had tended to abandon their farms and seek shelter in the towns. In 1846 many farms were made into strongholds or laagers (Afrikaans: defensive encampments). To these laagers the farmers brought their waggons and stock. They hoped to defend their farms from these encampments (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.116, Maitland to Stanley 24 April 1846). The examples of Bear (ftn.191) and Fleischer (ftn.233) show the skill of the Xhosa at raiding laagers, especially at night.
222. Andries Stockenstrom (1792-1864) was a former landdrost of Graaff-Reinet (1815-1828) and Commissioner General for the eastern districts (1828-1833). Stockenstrom's evidence before the Aborigines Committee was critical of the colonists' treatment of non-whites, and this together with his role in the reversal of D'Urban's annexation policy of 1835 made him a highly unpopular figure at the Cape. The military ability he had demonstrated in the Fourth and Fifth Frontier wars was not however questioned. On 2 May 1846 at the request of the frontier colonists, Maitland appointed Stockenstrom Commandant-General of the eastern district burghers, with the rank of colonel on the staff. After playing a major role in the Amatole campaign he led an expedition into Gcalekaland (ftn.375). Ill health and disputes with the colonial authorities led to his resignation in November 1846. In the post war years Stockenstrom played an active role in Cape politics until his resignation from the Legislative Council in 1856: D.S.A.B., I, pp.774-778. For further details see C.W. Hutton (ed.), The Autobiography of the late Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart., 2 vols.
223. Captain C. Seagriem of the 45th. (Nottingham) Foot Regiment. A report of 15 May (P.P. 1847,XXXVIII(786), p.131, Maitland to Gladstone, 15 May 1846, enclosure E) referred to the arrival at Tarka of Captain Seagrave with the company of the 45th. Regiment from Colesberg to strengthen the former post. A contemporary who had met Seagriem at Colesberg remembered

him as, "a very little man, and a very crusty man". (P.S. Campbell, Reminiscences of the Kafir Wars, p.8). Seagriem was militarily active in the Tarka area during the Seventh Frontier War and achieved a certain notoriety when he destroyed a village in error (Cory, IV, p.479). For details on the service of the 45th. Regiment in southern Africa see Johannesburg public library, 'Catalogue of British Regimental Histories with notes on their service in South Africa', p.43.

224. These were the burghers from Colesberg and the Tarka area which Stockenstrom had gathered together for clearing the Xhosa out of the colony (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.131, Maitland to Gladstone, 15 May 1846, enclosure E).
225. The name Cowie is derived from either the Xhosa 'qohi' meaning a pipe (G. Botha, Place Names in the Cape Province, p.161) or the Khoikhoi 'kuwi', meaning noisy or rushing (C. Pettman, South African Place Names, p.26). The Cowie bush was then some 18 miles in extent and five to seven miles wide. Somerset estimated that it would take at least 2,000 men to clear the area of Xhosa (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.134, Maitland to Gladstone 15 May 1846, enclosure G). Charles Brownlee, a member of Stockenstrom's burgher forces was off to join the latter who intended to clear the Cowie.
226. Haining, originally called Cloeteshof, had belonged to one Charles Sydserff who had sold it to W.D. Pringle's father, Robert, the original 1820 settler. (See Pringle, pp.17,59). W.D. Pringle inherited the farm and changed the name: Information supplied by Professor J.V.L. Rennie.
227. Lyndoch (modern Lynedoch) was the 5,648 morgen farm on which W.D. Pringle lived. The farm lies in the Baviaans river valley, where the Pringles were established in 1820. W.D. Pringle bought the farm for £900 in 1840. Lynedoch originally belonged to Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham (ftn.274). Graham had named the farm after his cousin, Lord Lyndoch: Pringle, p.205.
228. The Glen Lynden church, just south of Lynedoch, was built in 1828 by the Scottish settlers of the area. The church still stands today: Dr. J.V.L. Rennie, 'The 1820 Scottish Party', Grahamstown Historical Society Annals, 1972, Vol.I, no.2, p.16.

229. Cornelius Frederick van der Nest of Bush Fontein farm on the Plora river in the Baviaans river valley (G.T.J., 13 June 1846, p.3, col.2; G.T.J., 20 June 1846, p.3, col.3). He was a former field cornet of Baviaans river valley and elder of Glen Lynden church (Almanac, 1834, pp.204l,204m). Nest's laager was attacked on more than one occasion in the course of the Seventh Frontier War (G.T.J., 13 June 1846, p.3, col.2). Thomas Pringle (Narrative of a Residence, pp.320-322), while critical of Nest's ruthless attitude towards non-whites nevertheless concluded that, "he is really one of the most respectable of these frontier boors, and, apart from his hereditary prejudices in regard to the natives, is generally, and I believe justly, considered as a decent, good-natured, and well-disposed person". (ibid., p.322).
230. William Dods Pringle (1809-1876) was the youngest son of Robert Pringle. Dods (D.S.A.B., II, p.568) was the first occupier of Lynedoch and the possessor of other Baviaans river farms. He served in the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Frontier Wars. In June 1846 Stockenstrom appointed Dods Deputy Commandant for the Mancazana and Baviaans river burgher forces (G.T.J., 13 June 1846, p.2, col.2). As one of Stockenstrom's principal officers, Dods played an active role in the Amatole campaign. In the Eighth Frontier War he served as a captain in the burgher volunteer forces. Around 1848 he married Harriet Townsend (née Hockly. See Hockly, pp.8-12), James Brownlee's future sister-in-law. The link between the Brownlees and the Pringles was of long standing, for John Brownlee had been a friend of Dods's uncle, Thomas Pringle (Pringle, Narrative of a Residence, pp.232, 312, 347).
231. Spoor, Dutch: track, trace, print.
232. Thomas Pringle (1826-1891. Pringle, p.67), was the son of William Pringle (who had emigrated to the Cape in 1822 and was the first occupant of the Baviaans river farm Eildon). Dods Pringle was Thomas's half brother. When William died in 1837 Eildon was shared out amongst his eldest sons. Rather than share Eildon, Thomas took a farm on the upper reaches of the Mancazana on a quitrent basis (R.F. Kennedy (ed.), Journal of Residence in Africa, 1842-1853, Vol.I, p.118). In 1859 Thomas obtained a farm on the Black Kei south of Queenstown. There is then a large gap in the information

available on Thomas. On 24 February 1891 he and his daughter (aged 70 and 17 respectively) were found murdered on his farm three miles from Kokstad (Grocott's Penny Mail, 2 March 1891, p.3, col.8): Information supplied by Professor J.V.L. Rennie.

233. Spencer Fleischer of Postosson's Kloof, see ftn.241.
234. The G.T.J. (13 June 1846, p.3, col.2) reported that around 5p.m. on Tuesday 5 May (this does not tie in with the attack being three days previously, which would be 8 May) hostile Xhosa attacked van der Nest's laager, killed two Khoikhoi and siezed the cattle, goats, and oxen of the inhabitants. The oxen and goats were recovered immediately and most of the cattle and sheep some days later near the Mancazana post.
235. AmaRharhabe: see ftn.15.
236. There were a considerable number of Thembu labourers resident on farms in the Baviaans river valley (Pringle, Narrative of a Residence, p.113). Some of these would have been conscripted for service in non-white levies, while others motivated by hatred of the Ngqika and the lure of booty, would have volunteered (see Appendix B).
237. The word Hantam is a corruption of the Khoikhoi *han ami*, which means bulb mountain (Pettman, Place Names, p.21). New Hantam was a field corn-etcy in the Colesberg district which had first come under colonial authority in 1824 (T. Gutsche, The Microcosm, p.47). Stockenstrom had gone to meet the (New) Hantam burghers (of which there were about 200) at Tarka (C.F.T., 2 June 1846, p.2, col.3). These burghers could not have been from the Hantam in the western Cape as the first burghers from this original Hantam did not leave Cape Town until May 1846 (G.T.J., 23 May 1846, p.3, col.4), arriving in Grahamstown in July (G.T.J., 18 July 1846, p.4, col.2).
238. Boer, Dutch: agriculturalist.
239. Probably W.S. Humphreys (Almanac, 1846, p.340), Humphries (Almanac, 1834, p.204m), the clerk to the Glen Lynden church.
240. The large numbers of sheep (both wool and mutton) stolen in the Seventh Frontier War suggest that Xhosa tactics had changed from the preceeding

war when sheep, by and large, were ignored by Xhosa raiders (Webb, 'Consequences of the Sixth Frontier War on the Farming Community of Albany', South African Historical Journal, November 1978, p.44).

241. A report from the Baviaans river (G.T.J., 13 June 1846, p.3, col.2) gave a slightly different account of the incident: On 8 May the Xhosa attacked and burnt Fleischer's homestead. The stock was saved and W.D. Pringle with a few burghers chased after the raiders. The pursuers saw 50 Xhosa in occupation of a high flat between Bush Fontein (i.e. van der Nest's farm) and the Kaga river. That evening another party of burghers arrived and a plan was made to attack the next day under the command of W.D. Pringle. That night however the Xhosa, with their booty, retreated back to Kaffirland.

242. The name Koonap is derived from the Khoikhoi onab, which means 'crooked' (Pettman, Place Names, p.28). The Old Koonap post (C.F.T., 9 June 1846, p.2, col.3), also called the old Gola (Arrowsmith's 1848 map) or Guala (James Wyld's March 1843 map, 'Grahamstown and the out posts', Cory Library, M.P. 412) post, just south of present day Adelaide, lay at the junction of the Koonap, Mancazana, Cowie, and Gola (now called the Waterkloof) rivers. The military post had been abandoned (probably after the Sixth War) before the Seventh Frontier War (Wylde's map, op.cit.). It had probably been reoccupied at the commencement of the Seventh War (C.F.T., 5 May 1846, p.4, col.5) and it was certainly functioning as a burgher (if not a military) strongpoint by the end of May 1846 (C.F.T., 26 May 1846, p.2, col.5; p.3, col.1). See also ftns.244, 296.

243. The name Mancazana is derived from the Xhosa Umkasana or AmaKasana, which means 'river of girls' (Pringle, Narrative of a Residence, p.122). The Mancazana river is a branch of the Koonap river in Glen Pringle. The fort was built at the junction of these two rivers in former Ngqika lands.

244. T.W. Vouw or Vowe was Field Cornet for the Mancazana area in 1846 (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.72, Maitland to Stanley, 21 March 1846, enclosure 31c). Vowe's house was burnt by the Xhosa in May 1846 (C.F.T., 26 May 1846, p.3, col.1) and he moved into the Old Koonap post. On the death of Gordon Nourse (ftn.295), Vowe became Assistant Commandant in charge of the old

post and neighbouring farms (G.T.J., 18 July 1846, p.1, col.1).

245. In Reminiscences (pp.296-297), Charles Brownlee narrated how a Ngqika he had later befriended, had stolen some horses from 'Ungolo' (Abram Botha) at Doorn Kloof during the Seventh Frontier War. The burghers on guard duty had fallen asleep and the horses strayed. Of the burghers' 15 horses, the Xhosa had taken three, one of which was W.D. Pringle's favourite bay. Charles Brownlee was one of the burgher party. It is not possible to check whether this incident refers to the horse theft of 14 May 1846.

246. Colesberg was originally the site of an old L.M.S. station near the Toornberg or Torenberg (Dutch: Tower mountain). Governor Sir Lowry Cole (September 1828-August 1833. D.S.A.B., III, pp.163-165) established a town and renamed the settlement Colesberg (Pettman, Place Names, pp.70, 103). In 1837 the magisterial division of Colesberg was created. In the Seventh Frontier War some 400 Colesberg burghers served on the frontier (C.F.T., 26 May 1846, p.4, col.5; p.2, col.5).

247. Eildon, the 4,200 morgen Baviaans river farm which initially belonged to Thomas Pringle (D.S.A.B., I, pp.656-659) was taken over and developed by his brother William Pringle (1780-1837. Pringle, pp.64-65) after the latter's arrival at the Cape in 1822. Both Thomas and William were half brother of W.D. Pringle.

248. Samuel Pieter Marthinus de Beer (? - November 1860), a church elder and captain of the Cradock European Infantry. Samuel de Beer spoke in defence of Joseph Smith (ftn.182) who was of the former's company (G.T.J., 11 July 1846, p.2, col.4).

249. The Mfengu (a Xhosa word meaning 'hungry people who seek work': J. Ayliff and J. Whiteside, History of the Abambo, p.10) were a conglomerate of tribes people displaced by the Zulu chiefs in the early nineteenth century. The Gcaleka paramount chief Hintsa (reigned 1804 - 1835. D.S.A.B., I, pp. 382-385) offered them sanctuary. In the Sixth Frontier War the Rev. John Ayliff convinced D'Urban that the Gcaleka had enslaved the refugees. As a result D'Urban allowed some 16,000 Mfengu to settle in the colony (Cory, III, p.145). The last of the Mfengu in Gcalekaland joined their compat-

riots in the colony during the Seventh and Eighth Frontier Wars. In the last four frontier wars the Mfengu fought on the side of the colonial forces and as a result were regarded as pariahs by other tribes. For further details see R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865', 2 volumes, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1976.

250. These would be Mfengu cattle from the Haslope Hills mission (ftn.257), which was close to the Tarka post. The Thembu raiders were presumably from Mapassa's tribe.
251. Captain T.L. Minter, formerly of the 'Hope' steamer (G.T.J., 30 May 1846, p.4, col.4) had vowed revenge when the Xhosa burnt his house and property at the Blinkwater (C.F.T., 26 May 1846, p.2, col.5). Minter (with the self appointed rank of field captain) together with Henry Fynn (ftn.179) formed the Tarka levy in June 1846. Investigations into the levy in 1847 revealed that this motly group contained three white deserters, various suspect Xhosa (which included Hermanus, ftn.310, with 50 of his own men), and some Khoikhoi and Mfengu. A total of some 188 active men (Despatch 154, Accompaniment [C], Tarka levy, p.60, Pottinger Memorandum, 22 October 1847, enclosure 2). Not only was the levy unauthorised but Hermanus was found to have illegally received pay as an ensign, and forage for his horse. Moreover, Minter had embezzled the pay and rations of the other Xhosa (and locked up those who complained). Minter was arrested in March 1847 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment with hard labour. The levy (which was not officially mustered until February 1847) took part in the Amatole campaign and was disbanded in May 1847 (Despatch 154, Accompaniment [C], pp.58-59; enclosure 23, p.71; enclosure 25, p.72; enclosure 26, pp. 72-73; enclosure 29, p.74; enclosure 30, pp.74-75).
252. Nqila would be one of Mapassa's tribe.
253. Kraal comes from an old Dutch word for a village or animal enclosure (J. Branford, A Dictionary of South African English, p.126).
254. Robert Henry Pringle (1822-1897), also known as Robert the Devil (Pringle, p.65). Robert was the son of William Pringle of Eildon, and step nephew to W.D. Pringle. Robert lived at Eildon but later gave up his share of the

farm. It is believed he then took a farm, Easterstead, on the Black Kei river, south of Queenstown. In 1864 Robert was arrested for fraud and found to be insane. He was acquitted of the criminal charge in 1865 by which time the farm had already been sold. Further details of his life up to 1897 are as yet unknown : Information supplied by Professor J.V.L. Rennie. See also Pringle, p.66.

255. Gideon D. Joubert, a Colesberg farmer who was appointed Field-Cornet for (New) Hantam between 1824 and 1827 (Gutsche, Microcosm, p.51, records Joubert as a cornet in 1827 and this office would only have been created after Hantam was incorporated into the colony in 1824). As Field Commandant he led 150 burghers from Colesberg (leaving on 20 April: C.F.T., 28 May 1846, p.4, col.3) for Cradock. Shortly after he was appointed Deputy Commandant for Tarka and the Thembu frontier (G.T.J., 13 June 1846, p.2, col.2). Joubert accompanied Stockenstrom into Gcalekaland in August 1846. The G.T.J. (11 January 1875, p.2, col.4) noted the recent death of Joubert at the approximate age of 80.
256. Presumably this horse had originally been stolen from a colonist who recognised it.
257. Haslope Hills was a Wesleyan mission station of some 40,000 acres (Almanac, 1846, p.356) situated north of the Tarka post on the Black Kei river. The mission, named after L. Haslope, the Treasurer General of the L.M.S. in 1835, was established to make provision for slaves emancipated on or before 1 December 1838 (slaves had been officially freed on 1 December 1834 but they were compelled to serve an apprenticeship of three to four years: J. Holland Rose, A.P. Newton, E.A. Benians (eds.), The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol.VIII, pp.272-273). At Haslope Hills there were also some San, Mfengu, and Thembu. In recognition of valuable help rendered during the Seventh Frontier War the mission's inhabitants were offered better lands by Governor Sir Harry Smith. A nucleus of the former mission founded a new Haslope Hills, 20 miles east into Thembuland, and the original station was sold: W. Shaw, The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa, pp.298-305. Joubert presumably had his camp here.

258. After rider: a mounted groom or other attendant (Branford, Dictionary of South African English, p.4).
259. Bushmen, referred to as San by present day historians, are primitive yellow skinned hunters of small stature. Indigenous to the Cape, they were pushed north and west into what is now Angola, Namibia, and Botswana by white and Xhosa expansion in southern Africa: Wilson and Thompson, Oxford History of South Africa, Vol.I, Chap.II. See also I. Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa.
260. A field cornetcy was an area of a division under the supervision of a field cornet. This official was essentially an unpaid assistant justice of the peace. When a 'commando' was called out he would be expected to lead the burghers of his ward (Cory, I, p.158).
261. See Appendix A.
262. Almost certainly the Rev. John Taylor (1778-1860) who was born in Scotland (D.S.A.B., III, p.780). He trained for the Presbyterian church and then left for the Cape as an L.M.S. missionary in 1816. Two years later he resigned from the L.M.S. and was appointed minister of the newly established district of Beaufort (later Beaufort West) by the colonial government. Taylor, like his fellow Scot John Brownlee, married a colonist of Dutch descent. In December 1823 he was transferred to Cradock for the Dutch Reformed Church (H.C. Hopkins, Die Ned. Geref. Kerk Cradock, 1818-1968, p.23). Taylor and Brownlee were shipmates on the *Alacrity* in 1817. The L.M.S. group of which they were a part was very close knit: "we love one another so much, that we think it will be almost as great a trial to our feelings to leave each other as it was to leave our dear friends and relatives in Britain". (The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, 25, 1817, p.196. Quoted in Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.10). One would expect the friendship between the Brownlee and Taylor families to have continued.
263. Groen (Dutch: Green) Nek (Dutch: Neck) is beside Haslope Hills. Charles Brownlee was with Stockenstrom who having cleared the Winterberg area of Xhosa was now mustering his men for the forthcoming invasion of the cis-Kei.

264. As volunteers the burghers would only be expected to serve for a fixed period of time (a couple of months in the case of Joseph Smith, ftn.182). The Colesberg burghers were perhaps not needed immediately and consequently were stood down, just as James Brownlee had been allowed to sojourn at the Baviaans river (see Diary entry for 9 May).
265. In 1824 Governor Lord Charles Somerset closed down the government farm of Somerset and in April 1825 founded the village of Somerset East (Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, X, p.58). Colonists continued to refer to the town as Somerset.
266. i.e. The Tarka post.
267. Probably James Read junior (1811-1894. D.S.A.B., I, pp.668-669) the L.M.S. missionary and son of the controversial James Read the elder (1777-1852. D.S.A.B., I, pp.666-668) who was also a L.M.S. missionary. Subsequent to his ordination in England in 1836 James junior returned to the Cape and worked with his father at the Kat river settlement. The Reads had fled from the settlement on the outbreak of the Seventh Frontier War. From letters quoted by Le Cordeur and Saunders (Kitchingman Papers, pp.260-267) it appears that James senior spent 1846 at Bethelsdorp, while his son moved around (eg. in July 1846 James junior was at Eiland's post with the Kat river levy: C.F.T., 11 August 1846, p.2, col.5; and in January 1847 at Shiloh: Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.267). Brownlee's reference was therefore more likely to refer to James junior. The Reads were later accused of fomenting the Kat River Rebellion of 1851 (Marais, Cape Coloured People, pp.230-245).
268. The Rev. Frederick Gottlob Kayser (1800-1868) was born in Germany and ordained as a Lutheran minister in 1827. In that latter year he joined the L.M.S. and travelled to the Cape. Initially he worked at the Buffalo station under John Brownlee, with whom he established a lasting friendship. In 1833 Kayser founded his own station on the Keiskamma in Maqoma's territory. This station was burnt in the Sixth Frontier War. Subsequently Kayser moved onto the right bank of the Keiskamma, and there founded Knapps Hope mission in 1836. He fled to Fort Beaufort in April 1846 and stayed there for the duration of the Seventh Frontier War. In the next

war he sheltered at Bethelsdorp. Kayser retired in 1859: E.N. Sparks, The Kayser Missionaries and their Descendants; Sibree, London Missionary Society, p.28).

269. The Wesleyan chapel, started in 1838, was the first church in Fort Beaufort: Fort Beaufort and Surroundings, historical and scenic guide, p.7.
270. The Rev. George Smith junior (1820-1892) was born in England and ordained as a Wesleyan minister in 1844. He was minister for Fort Beaufort circuit in 1846 and 1847. In 1852, after seven years in southern Africa he returned to England: Wesleyan Methodist Church Minutes of Conference, 1893, pp.14-15.
271. Fort Armstrong was built on the upper Kat river in 1834 to protect the nearby Khoikhoi settlement. Previously there had been a small military post called Adelaide (Cory, III, pp.118,190). The new fort was named after Captain A.B. Armstrong of the Cape Mounted Rifles (Botha, Place Names in the Cape Province, p.140; Cory, III, p.190. However, Pettman, Place Names, p.108, records the officer as Colonel J. Armstrong). The distance by waggon road between Fort Beaufort and Fort Armstrong was 23 miles (Godlonton and Irving, Narrative of the Kaffir War, p.74).
272. Presumably James Laing (1803-1872) and his second wife Isabella (née Mirrlees). James was born in Scotland and had studied theology at Edinburgh University before he joined the Glasgow Missionary Society (G.M.S.). He arrived at the Cape in 1831 and spent most of his life at the Tyhume station with the exception of the years 1843 to 1856 when he served at Lovedale (for further details of Lovedale see R.H. Shepherd, Lovedale, South Africa: 1824-1955). In March 1846 the Laings had gone to reside at the Kat river: D.S.A.B., I, pp.458-459.
273. Kat, Dutch: cat. This is a literal translation of the original Khoikhoi hoas, a cat, and ab, a river: Pettman, Place Names, p.36.
274. Grahamstown was named after Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham (1778-1821. D.S.A.B., I, pp.314-316) while he was Special Commandant for the eastern districts. In 1812 Graham drove the Xhosa eastwards over the Fish river. He was instructed to chose a site for a frontier military headquarters.

A farm on the Kowie river, Rietfontein, which had been largely devastated in 1812 was selected and Graham's Town was proclaimed on 14 August 1812 by Governor Sir John Francis Cradock. Plans for the town were drawn up in 1814 and the first plots sold the following year. Grahamstown became the seat of the Albany landdrost, and in 1862 a municipality. Though the town was never actually attacked in the Seventh Frontier War it was often threatened. Grahamstown was inundated with refugees who relied on the commissariat and voluntary contributions for basic necessities. For further details see K.S. Hunt, 'The Development of Municipal Government in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, with special reference to Grahamstown 1827-1862', Archives Year Book, 1961, pp.129-290.

275. In April 1846 Maitland wrote to the Secretary for War and the Colonies and noted that one lesson of the Block Drift disaster was the impracticability of long baggage trains (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.115, Maitland to Stanley, 24 April 1846). Brownlee's Diary entries for 30 July and 29 August show that while the lesson may have been learned, it was not acted upon.
276. Outspan: to unyoke oxen from a waggon, or to break a journey (Branford, Dictionary of South African English, p.175). The opposite is to inspan.
277. The watch tower was probably 'Dans Hoogte' signal station, some 10 miles south of Fort Beaufort. A line of such towers was erected in the early 1840's as a communications system between Fort Beaufort and Grahamstown. Before 1846 they were fitted with semaphore but being isolated the towers were rapidly destroyed in the war. Each tower contained two rooms, one above the other, and accommodation for six soldiers: Cory, IV, pp.370-371; P.R. Kirby, 'South Africa's First Telegraph', Africana Notes and News, Vol.XIV, no.4, pp.126-127.
278. The Rev. Alexander McDiarmid (1802-1875) of the Free Church of Scotland. He came to the Cape in 1827 to work as an artisan for the G.M.S. McDiarmid soon became a missionary and was to be a co-founder of Lovedale. On the outbreak of war in 1846 he moved from Burnshill station (of which he was a founder member) to Grahamstown. On Saturday 20 June 1846 McDiarmid's waggons (which contained his wife and five children) had fallen behind

the government convoy with which they were travelling on the Queens Road. One or two miles from Leeuw Fontein (ftn.279) and nine miles south of Fort Beaufort, Xhosa raiders attacked and destroyed McDiarmid's waggons. His family were saved but accusations of negligence through inebriation were levelled at the escorts (G.T.J., 27 June 1846, p.3, col.4; p.4, cols.1-2; G.T.J., 25 July 1846, p.2, col.4).

279. Leeuw Fontein (Dutch: Lion Fountain) was a farm approximately 10 miles south of Fort Beaufort belonging to James Howse (1799-1852. Morse Jones, p.129) of Sephton's 1820 party. Howse had bought a considerable amount of land between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort from trekking Boers. The Queens Road ran for nearly 25 miles through his land. Howse had a store in Grahamstown. In the Seventh Frontier War a military post (Howse's post) on his farm was moved to Leeuw Fontein farmhouse (G.T.J., 28 March 1846, p.4, col.2). In the Eighth Frontier War Howse was murdered and the homestead burnt (Maxwell and McGeogh (eds.), Stubbs' Reminiscences, pp. 284-285).
280. Reuben Ayliff (1823-1899), son of the Rev. John Ayliff and brother of John Ayliff (ftn.199). Reuben was Mayor of Grahamstown on three occasions. For several years he represented Uitenhage in the House of Assembly, following which he was interpreter for Dutch and Xhosa in the Eastern Districts Court (Mitford-Barberton and White, Some Frontier Families, p.23). As James Howse was almost certainly resident in Grahamstown (Almanac, 1848, p.207, lists him as resident in Bathurst Street) he needed white supervisors to run his farms. Reuben was probably such a person. On the murder of Leeuw Fontein's manager in April 1846 (G.T.J., 25 April 1846, p.4, col.4) Ayliff may even have succeeded to this position. The E.P.H. (16 May 1846, p.3, col.4) reported an attack on the farm in May 1846 and noted that three of Ayliff's coloured servants had been killed. Leeuw Fontein was also a laager for over a 100 people who depended on Ayliff for food (E.P.H., 16 May 1846, p.3, col.4).
281. Tomlinson's Inn (called the Koonap Hotel by Charles Brownlee, Reminiscences, p.23) lay just east of the junction of the Fish and Koonap rivers on the Queens Road, some 25 miles from Grahamstown. The innkeeper George Tomlinson, an 1820 settler of Mahoney's party was an ex-Life Guardsman who

had fought at Waterloo. He kept his inn loopholed and barricaded and on several occasions in the Sixth and Seventh Frontier wars he was forced to defend the inn (Gordon-Brown (ed.), Buck Adams' Narrative, p.195, ftn.2). George died at his residence in November 1848 aged 55 years (G.T.J., 2 December 1848, p.4, col.1).

282. This Koonap post (not to be confused with the old Koonap post of ftn.242) was at the actual union of the Fish and Koonap rivers on the Queens Road. The post (or fort according to Arrowsmith, 1848), was occupied by burgher and regular forces in the Seventh War (Cory, IV, p.489; Cory Library, M.S., 736, Cory, G.E., Duplicate Book of Battalion and Garrison Orders, Fort Beaufort, 2 May 1847 - 9 July 1847, pp.25,41).

283. Hottentots, now referred to as Khoikhoi, were yellow skinned nomadic pastoralists. They were indigenous to southern Africa and spread from the Swartkops river on the Atlantic Ocean to the Buffalo river on the Indian Ocean. The weak tribal cohesion of the Khoikhoi crumbled under pressure from Xhosa and white encroachments into the former's traditional grazing lands. Inter-breeding with both of the incoming racial groups eventually eliminated the original pure Khoikhoi people: Wilson and Thompson (eds.), Oxford History of South Africa, Vol.I, Chap.II. See also Schapera, The Khoisan Peoples.

284. A simple direction post at the junction of the Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort roads, (not the later Queens Road) and a high road from Committees Drift.

285. At the end of the nineteenth century the Eccca river became known as the Brak river. Today the name Eccca is only used with reference to the Eccca Pass on the Queens Road, some 10 miles from Grahamstown (J.V.L. Rennie, 'Andrew Geddes Bain and the Eccca', Africana Notes and News, September 1962, Vol.XV, no.3, pp.91-95). As the Queens Road bypassed Fort Brown, James must have been on the more easterly fork of the old Grahamstown to Fort Brown road, which met the Queens Road at the junction with the upper Committees Drift road.

286. Bothas Hill lies mid-way between Grahamstown and Fort Brown on the Queens Road.

287. Pieter Retief's windmill, near the present day Christchurch in the Oatlands area of Grahamstown. Oatlands was then the estate of Colonel H. Somerset (ftn.288).
288. Colonel Henry Somerset (1794-1862) was the eldest son of former Governor Lord Charles Somerset. A Peninsular War and Waterloo veteran, Henry Somerset joined the Cape army cavalry in 1818 and fought in the Fifth Frontier War. After holding offices in Grahamstown and Simonstown he returned to his Grahamstown Oatlands estate (where he lived until 1852) as Commander of the Cape Corps. This body was disbanded in November 1827 and the following year Somerset took command of the Cape Mounted Rifles. From 1834 to 1852 he held senior military command on the eastern frontier. He was formally appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in 1839 (he had held this rank by purchase from 1824). Somerset's conduct in the Seventh Frontier War earned him a C.B. award. In the next frontier war he was raised to the rank of major-general. In 1852, after 32 years of service, Somerset left the frontier where his knowledge and grasp of frontier realities had earned him the respect of black and white. He became Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army (1856), a full colonel in 1856, and a lieutenant-general in 1857 before he retired in 1861: D.S.A.B., II, pp.681-693. See also D. Rivett-Carnac, Hawk's Eye.
289. Captain Matthew Ben Shaw (1823-1905), second son of the Rev. William Shaw (1798-1872. D.S.A.B., I, pp.711-714), the pioneer Methodist minister of Sephton's 1820 party. Matthew was born in Grahamstown and educated in England. On the formation of the Graham Town's Yeomanry (ftn.290) in 1844, Shaw became the Cornet (G.T.J., 14 November 1844, p.4, col.2). In May 1846 the Yeomanry's Field-Commandant was killed and Lieutenant Shaw took command (G.T.J., 2 May 1846, p.1, col.5; p.3, col.3). Promotion followed shortly for by June he was a (field) captain (C.F.T., 23 June 1846, p.4, col.2). In January 1852 he was appointed British Resident for all the trans-Kei lands up to the Natal border, with the exception of the future Griqualand East (G.T.J., 31 January 1852, p.2, col.1). Shaw died in July 1905 (G.T.J., 27 July 1905, p.6, col.4).
290. The Loyal Independent Graham's Town Yeomanry was formed on 13 December 1844 and disbanded on 15 May 1847 (G.T.J., 8 May 1847, p.1, cols.1-3).

With the threat of war in the former year the Yeomanry, which had originally been raised for local defence, was placed at the disposal of the government on the understanding that the volunteers should not be required to serve outwith a 10 mile radius of Grahamstown. Maitland accepted this condition (Despatch 154, Accompaniment [K], pp.211-212, Pottinger Memorandum, 18 January 1848, enclosure 25A).

291. There is no John Hughes in the list of Grahamstown inhabitants in the Almanac of 1848 (pp.203-214). However this list only shows some of the town's adults. A Mr. J. Hughes was admitted to Trinity Church (ftn.293) in 1847 (information supplied by Mr. N.G. Hutton, a church elder, from the records of the church). If this is the same Hughes then possibly he was a young man.
292. The Rev John Locke (1804-1848. Sibree, London Missionary Society, p.39) was born and educated in England. He arrived at the Cape as an L.M.S. minister in 1837. The following year he took over Trinity Church in Grahamstown from Munro (ftn.214) and he helped to organise the construction of a new and bigger church in 1842. The Brownlees were friends of the Lockes (Holt, p.103).
293. The Rev Munro in August 1827 had participated in the drawing up of a founding covenant for the Union congregation in Grahamstown, which held its first kirk session in 1828. The congregation initially used a building in Bathurst street but in John Locke's ministry it was decided to build a new church in Hill street. This was opened in 1842 and called Trinity Church. The church fluctuated between congregationalist and presbyterian until 1918 when it officially became presbyterian: The Story of A Century: An Account of Trinity Presbyterian Church, Grahamstown, August 1827-August 1927.
294. Facial sores caused by a continual excess of alcoholic consumption.
295. This encounter is described by P.S. Campbell (Reminiscences of the Kafir Wars, pp.15-19). Campbell was one of the 10 Beaufort Rangers (the Fort Beaufort Mounted Troop) who took the report of G.Nourse's death to Grahamstown. The rangers had been drinking heavily before they set off to return to Fort Beaufort with the post. At Bothas Hill they met a large waggon train taking supplies to Fort Beaufort, and the rangers temporarily halted to rest their horses and talk to friends. Campbell mentions that

the train was commanded by a Dutchman - presumably Adendorff. When they reached Fort Beaufort the rangers disbanded on being told that their forage rations were to be halved.

296. Gordon Nourse (1814-1846) was the son of the merchant Henry Nourse, an independent 1820 settler (Morse Jones, p.146; Mitford-Barberton and White, Some Frontier Families, pp.209-210). Henry Nourse held farms in the Cowie forest area where Gordon was a sheep farmer (E.P.H., 18 July 1846, p.2, col.4). In May 1846 Gordon and his friend T.W. Vowe fortified the old Koonap (ftn.242) post as their own houses had been burnt (C.F.T., 5 May 1846, p.4, col.5; C.F.T., 26 May 1846, p.2, col.5; p.3, col.1). Nourse was appointed Deputy-Commandant for the upper Koonap the following month (G.T.J., 13 June 1846, p.2, col.2).

Accounts vary as to whose cattle were stolen from beside the fort on 5 July (C.F.T., 14 July 1846, p.2, col.2; G.T.J., 11 July 1846, p.3, col.5; p.4, col.1; E.P.H., 18 July 1846, p.2, col.4) as do the actual details of the skirmish in which the cattle were recovered, and Nourse shot. Some reports state that he died instantly, others that his friend Vowe took him home where he died two hours later (see the above newspaper reports).

297. The Umpemba (alternative modern Xhosa spelling: umphemba) is a shrub with white flowers and edible roots: A. Kropf, A Kafir-English Dictionary, p.329.
298. Veld(t) is a Dutch word generally denoting non-urban land (Brandford, Dictionary of South African English, p.272).
299. Joseph Mildenhall (1801-1875) was an 1820 settler of Thornhill's party. Mildenhall's farm Kluklu was on the Queens road, and it was to his homestead that the Khoikhoi guards and two of their prisoners fled when attacked on 16 March 1846 (Introduction, p.11). The farmhouse was only 200 yards from the scene of the ambush (Gordon-Brown (ed.), Buck Adams' Narrative, p.114). Mildenhall's homestead was attacked more than once in the war (G.T.J., Supplement, 17 March 1846, p.1, col.1) and one of his sons was killed (G.T.J., 5 September 1846, p.4, col.4). Mildenhall died at Klukona Mouth in 1875 (G.T.J., 18 June 1875, p.1, col.1).

300. i.e. A guide.

301. Kaffircorn is any of several species of sorghum widely cultivated for its grain (Branford, Dictionary of South African English, p.108).
302. Lieutenant-Colonel John Hare (?-1846) of the 27th. Regiment. He was Lieutenant-Governor of the eastern districts of the Cape from September 1839 to September 1846. In February 1845 Hare had unsuccessfully sought to resign from the army on grounds of ill health. He finally retired in mid-September 1846 (G.T.J., 10 October 1846, p.1, col.1), exhausted by the Amatole campaign. Hare died the following month on his way back to England, without even learning of his promotion to major-general. He was buried at St. Helena. Contemporaries and historians have labelled him as militarily incompetent: "an officer of long experience and little imagination, whose natural disinclination to action was accentuated by the physical infirmities of his declining years". (Galbraith, pp.151-152).
303. Stockenstrom had massed his burghers at Birklands in preparation for the Amatole campaign.
304. The E.P.H. (1 August 1846, p.3, col.3) reported Stockenstrom back at his camp (Birklands) near Block Drift. He had left for Thembuland on 12 July (C.F.T., 21 July 1846, p.4, col.4) in an attempt to subdue the area after 40 Thembu had been killed the previous week (E.P.H., 8 August 1846, p.4, col.3) in a clash with a colonial force under H. Fynn which had entered Thembuland (Cory, IV, p.477). Stockenstrom managed to create a fragile settlement and a large force was left at the Moravian mission at Shiloh to keep the peace. Stockenstrom had 800 men with him at his Birklands camp and he was expected to leave for the Amatole mountains on 27 August.
305. Governor Maitland's treaties (signed between November 1844 and January 1845) had made the Keiskamma (and its northern extension, the Tyhume) once more the eastern border of the colony. Block Drift was a waggon ford on the Tyhume (near the present town of Alice), where the Gaga and the Tyhume rivers meet. The name originated in 1819 when a company of the 38th. Regiment blocked the Gaga with timber they had cut for the use of Fort Willshire (Pettman, Place Names, p.125). On 1 December 1846 Maitland announced that Block Drift post, which was currently being rebuilt, would be named Fort Hare after the late Lieutenant-Governor.

306. The Tyhume Hoek (Dutch: corner; which in this instance refers to the sources of the river). The Tyhume river is the main tributary of the Keiskamma. Stockenstrom's forces were to move north while Hare's division prepared to go east.
307. John Brownlee's former station became Stockenstrom's new base camp (Cory, IV, pp.473-474). Brownlee must have been included in that part of the 1st. Division sent by Hare to assist on the right flank of Stockenstrom's forces while the latter cleared the Tyhume valley on 27 July (see Appendix C).
308. Hare had established a camp south-west of the Seven Kloof mountain on 27 July.
309. The Green river (also called the Iquiba or Intaikasi on Hall's map) was known to the Xhosa as the in Tsikizi, meaning green hornbill (Pettman, Place Names, p.143). The river is a tributary of the Buffalo, and flows from east to west some miles due south of King William's Town. A path (indicated on Hall's map) led from the source to Fort Willshire (abandoned from 1837), from which a road led to Grahamstown. The invasion of the cis-Kei had commenced and Maitland was on his way to the old Fort Beresford (abandoned from 1836) some eight miles north of King William's Town. The Governor's progress was slow due to the weakened state of oxen and horses, there being little forage because of the drought and Xhosa scorched earth tactics. (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.164, Maitland to Gladstone, 18 September 1846, enclosure 6).
310. Hermanus Matroos (c1791-1851) with the Xhosa name Xogomesh, was a member of the Tarka levy. The half-breed son of a Ngqika woman and a runaway slave, Matroos had grown up with the Ngqika tribe, but then left them to live among the eastern frontier farmers. There he learnt to speak fluent Dutch and some English. He later returned to the Ngqika, but in the late 1820's he was interpreter to Colonel Henry Somerset. In 1828 Hermanus was discharged but permitted to settle on the Blinkwater. He fought bravely alongside the Kat river Khoikhoi in the Sixth Frontier War, and for this Governor D'Urban allocated him land in the settlement. Again in the Seventh Frontier War he served with the colonial forces. By the late 1840's Matroos

- was a source of unrest at the Kat river and on the outbreak of the Eighth Frontier War he led many of the Kat river Khoikhoi in an unsuccessful attack on Fort Beaufort in January 1851, in which he was killed: D.S.A.B., II, pp.454-455.
311. This is unplaceable. Hall shows a Hegu mountain south-west of Fort Cox while a modern divisional map of King William's Town (M.P.598, Cory Library, Rhodes University, undated) shows a Regu commonage some five miles west of Burnshill.
312. Fort White lies some 20 miles west of King William's Town on the Debe flats between the Green and Debe rivers. Smaller than Fort Cox, Fort White was built in 1835 to safeguard communications between King William's Town, Fort Cox, and Fort Willshire, and, to intercept Xhosa raiders on their way back north to the mountains. The fort was abandoned in September 1836 and rebuilt in 1847. This stronghold was named after Thomas Charles White (1793-1835), the leader of a party from Nottingham in 1820 (Morse Jones, p.14). A former army lieutenant, he became a government land surveyor in the colony. In the Sixth Frontier War, White was Quarter-Master General of the burgher forces and a major in the Grahamstown Volunteers. On 14 May 1835 he was killed by Xhosa while surveying the east bank of the Mbashee river (Morse Jones, p.167; Mitford-Barberton and White, The Bowkers of Tharfield, p.359).
313. The Mundiza, Umdecino, Umdesina, or Umdezini (usual modern spelling: Umdizini) is a tributary of the Keiskamma.
314. The Tshaxa (usual modern spelling: Tamacha), which rises due south of the Green river's source, is a tributary of the Keiskamma.
315. From the source of the Tamacha Brownlee must have moved due north, missed the Green river and then turned east towards King William's Town.
316. Jan (Dyani) Tzatzoe, Tshatsu or Tshatshu (c1791-1868) was the son of Tshatshu, chief of the Ntinde. Jan was educated by the first L.M.S. missionary to the Cape, Dr. J.T. van der Kemp (D.S.A.B., II, pp.774-778) and he was converted in 1815 (1811 according to Holt, p.113). Jan was probably the first Xhosa to be baptized (Holt, p.64). He helped to establish

the Kat river mission and acted as a lay preacher and interpreter. When John Brownlee founded the Tyhume station in 1820 Tshatshu became his interpreter and assistant missionary. In 1825 Jan became chief of the Ntinde and he persuaded Brownlee to move to the Buffalo in the following year. The Ntinde remained neutral in the Sixth Frontier War. In 1836 Jan went to London where he gave evidence before the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons. In Great Britain he developed a taste for alcohol that progressed into addiction.

In 1846 John Brownlee was so sure of the loyalty of the Ntinde to the colony that he asked the colonial government to supply the tribesmen with arms (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.107, Maitland to Stanley, 13 April 1846, enclosure 9, Hare to Maitland 28 March 1846). Indeed, when Somerset reached King William's Town in July 1846 and found the mission burnt, there was apprehension lest Tshatshu had fallen into hostile Xhosa hands (G.T.J., 1 August 1846, p.4, col.1). John Brownlee was bitterly disillusioned when he discovered that the chief had participated in the May attack on Fort Peddie. Brownlee refused to believe that Jan had been intimidated into this action and he excommunicated the latter (who had returned to King William's Town in October 1846). Tshatshu endeavoured with partial success to keep his people out of the Eighth Frontier War. He was the first chief in British Kaffraria to be given private land: D.S.A.B., II, pp.751-752. For a contemporary description of Tshatshu see Maclean (ed.), Kafir Laws and Customs, pp.135-136.

317. This would indicate that in February 1844 James was at the Buffalo and had therefore not got the position of interpreter to Lieutenant-Governor Hare (Introduction, p. 7).
318. The Buffalo river, with King William's Town being on the east bank.
319. This is the short cut from King William's Town which James would have taken. The path cut across the Green river and went straight on to Fort Peddie and from there to Grahamstown.
320. In mid-June 1846, Maitland as Commander-in-Chief of the colonial forces left Grahamstown and established his headquarters at Waterloo Bay (which lay just east of the Fish river mouth: G.T.J., 11 July 1846, p.4, col.1).

One month later Maitland and Somerset moved independently from Waterloo Bay towards the old Fort Beresford to commence active operations against the Xhosa (of which the Amatole sweep was to be the climax). In a lightning strike Somerset with 1,500 men crossed the Kei on 24 July and captured about 5,000 cattle (believed to be stolen from the colony) and returned with them to Fort Beresford: Cory, IV, pp.469-471; Theal, VII, pp.18-19.

321. That Brownlee joined the military when it was in progress up the Green river, i.e. away from King William's Town, suggests that the despatch was not for Maitland who was probably at his Green river camp (C.F.T., 4 August 1846, p.4, col.2), but for Somerset who was escorting the convoy. Due to the serious shortage of forage Somerset had been forced to destroy 130 horses on his way to Beresford (from Waterloo Bay) and at the camp itself oxen and horses were shot daily (E.P.H., 8 August 1846, p.3, col.4; p.4, col.1). Consequently the 250 waggons with oxen that Maitland had brought from Waterloo Bay (C.F.T., 21 July 1846, p.2, col. 1) needed to be returned to Grahamstown as quickly as possible. It was not until 10 August 1846 that Somerset retired to the river Gwanga (a little above Fort Peddie) to save what was left of his cavalry horses (G.T.J., 22 August 1846, p.3, col.4).

322. The E.P.H. (8 August 1846, p.4, col.2) carried an account of this incident. Hare's division started from the Tyhume flats on the morning of 30 July to take possession of the Amatole heights. Hare fired a large gun to warn Stockenstrom's men (whose gunfire was heard nearby) of the former's proximity. Hare's men then had a skirmish with some Xhosa where a deep kloof entered the Amatole river. The colonial forces killed an estimated 30 Xhosa for the loss of 3 of their own men.

323. On going eastwards one meets the source of the Green river before reaching the Umdizini. Brownlee's reference must therefore be to the path that continued from the Green river source on to Grahamstown.

324. Debe (Khoikhoi, meaning brak: G.S. Nienaber and P.E. Raper, Toponymica Hottentotica, Vol. I, pp.313-314) Nek lies some eight miles east of Fort Cox and south-east of Fort White.

325. The Qanda, Amakonda (Hall), Ikanda or Victoria mountain (Arrowsmith's map

of the eastern frontier, 1848) is a mountain due west of Fort White. The G.T.J. (3 October 1846, p.3, col.4) referred to the Ikanda of Egg mountain (in modern Xhosa, Iganda means an egg).

326. The word Keiskamma comes from the Khoikhoi (keisa kamma) meaning glittering water (Pettman, Place Names, p.28).

327. Hare had left Fort Beaufort on 26 July (C.F.T., 4 August 1846, p.2, col.2). The 1st. Division's main camp was established at Fort Cox on 31 July.

328. In the Seventh Frontier War the Xhosa made extensive use of firearms. Their 'trade' guns were however of poor quality, as was their coarse black-grained powder. The Xhosa tended to over charge their muskets and fire from the hip. This made their fire highly inaccurate. Faced with a chronic shortage of musket balls, the Xhosa melted down or fragmented any metal objects they could find. Major-General Bisset (Sport and War, p.87) noted how the Xhosa fired bits of iron pot-legs. At the battle of the Gwanga, Bisset (ibid., p.92) and a Xhosa 10 yards distant, raced each other to load their weapons. The Xhosa, with a flintlock, was ready before Bisset with his slower to load carbine. The flintlock however, misfired.

Xhosa warriors carried a bundle of seven or eight spears either together with, or as an alternative to a firearm. The last spear of the bundle was not thrown. The shaft was broken off and the head was then used for stabbing. The throwing spear (intshuntshe) was not very accurate (as it was designed to vibrate for penetration) even at 50 yards. A long oval shield which covered two thirds of the body might be carried: J.B. Peires, forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, Wisconsin University, Chap. IX.

329. Captain George Anthony Durnford of the 27th. Foot Regiment and Aide-de-Camp to Maitland (Almanac, 1846, p.175). Durnford was in command of Fort Beaufort in 1846 (G.T.J., 30 May 1846, p.3, col.5). In September 1848 he was promoted to major (Army List, 1850-51, p.207).

330. The laager was at the foot of the Amatole valley just above Fort Cox (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.167, Maitland to Gladstone, 18 September 1846, enclosure 7, Hare to Cloete, 1 August 1846).

331. In this context 'boy' means servant. At the back of the book in which the diary was written, Brownlee made certain notes. They refer to his servant Asia who had been engaged on 18 July (at which period James was at Fort Beaufort) and paid 3/6d. cash. Asia was paid a further 1/- on 14 August, 4/- on 21 August, and 11/6d. on 28 August. On 10 September, the final entry, Asia received 6d.
332. Fort Cox, on the upper Keiskamma, was built in the Sixth Frontier War and named after Major William Cox of the 75th. Regiment. The fort was abandoned in December 1836 and reoccupied in early August 1846 (Theal, VII, p.20). The fort was a key to the Tyhume Hoek, Amatole basin, Keiskamma Hoek, and the Buffalo mountains, all of which were Xhosa strongholds.
333. Perhaps the gun carriage lost at Burnshill on 17 April (Bisset, Sport and War, pp.65-66).
334. The party, led by Captain Wright (ftn. 393) was to check the roads leading to the Gwili Gwili mountain for the following day's expedition (ftn.335).
335. By the end of July the plan to trap the Xhosa in the Amatole mountains had failed. Maitland then decided to scour the sources of the Keiskamma. A part of this operation involved the clearance of the Gwili Gwili mountain area by Hare operating from the west, and Stockenstrom from the north and east (G.T.J., 22 August 1846, p.1, col.3).
336. This must be the place mentioned in Hare's report of 7 August to Maitland (G.T.J., 22 August 1846, p.1, col.3). The Lieutenant-Governor stated that after one of his detached parties had shot a Xhosa (ftn.337) the division bivouaced for the night (4 August) at the head of the river Xaxa (Lxexa, Isobolo, or Quilli Quilli according to Arrowsmith, 1848), i.e. the Gwili Gwili river, which runs to the base of the Gwili Gwili mountain and is a tributary of the Keiskamma.
337. Captain H. van Ryneveld (G.T.J., 12 September 1846, p.3, col.3), who commanded 400 Clanwilliam and Cape Town burghers, Mfengu, and Khoikhoi, based at Fort Cox (G.T.J., 29 August 1846, p.4, cols.1-3). His party shot one Xhosa on 4 September (G.T.J., 22 August 1846, p.1, col.3).

338. This Xhosa would have been taken prisoner by the colonial forces in the hope that the former would supply information. While both sides generally respected women and children, adult males were rarely taken prisoner: Bisset, Sport and War, pp.91-97; A.H. Duminy and L.J.G. Adcock (eds.), The Reminiscences of Richard Paver, pp.73-74.
339. The word assegai derives from the Arabic prefix al (meaning 'the') and the Berber zagayah (meaning spear or lance): Branford, Dictionary of South African English, p.9).
Kaross derives from the Khoikhoi (k)caro-s, meaning skin-blanket: ibid, p.112.
340. On 4 August the 1st. Division advanced towards the Gwili Gwili mountain and slept for the night at the head of the river of the same name.
341. On the morning of 5 August Hare's division scoured the bush around the Gwili Gwili mountain and captured 300 cattle and 400 goats. This done they went from the west side round to the north point of the mountain and continued the march to the source of the Keiskamma.
342. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone of the 2nd. Division had moved from Fort Beresford to a spot beside Pirie (and there formed a camp) on 5 August, to assist in this operation. He arrived too late to be of any assistance (Cory, IV, p.475). Maitland with a large force remained predominantly at Fort Beresford though he frequently visited Pirie (G.T.J., 15 August 1846, p.3, col.3; G.T.J., 29 August 1846, p.3, col.5; G.T.J., 5 September 1846, p.1, col.1).
343. Lieutenant Charles Theodore Bailie (1809-1835. Morse Jones, p.86) was the son of Lieutenant John Bailie, the 1820 London party leader (Morse Jones, p.7). On 25 June 1835 60 Khoikhoi of the 1st. Provisional Battalion left King William's Town under two lieutenants, whose orders were to stay together and scour the bush round the Intaba Kandadu mountain. The officers decided to split their forces. That evening the party under Lieutenant Bailie was lured into an ambush. According to Sir Harry Smith (The Autobiography of Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith, edited by G.C. Moore Smith, pp.420-421), Bailie's party fought off the Xhosa for four days. Cory (III, pp.174-175), Theal (IV,p.121), and Robert Godlonton (A Narrative

of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-35, pp.197-202) believe that the party was finally massacred on the banks of the Umnxesha river on 27 June. The site is now marked by a gravestone. The flysheet in Bailie's bible, later recovered from Maqoma, revealed that the party had been lured into an ambush and had finally run out of ammunition (Cory, III, p.174).

344. The Tabehdoda, Tabendoda or Intabakandoda (usual modern spelling: Intaba Kandadu). According to Pettman, Place Names, p.43, the correct spelling is Thaba Ndoda). It was also known by colonists as Ndlambe's Kop (Dutch: hill).
345. Hoho was a Khoikhoi chieftaness who lived between the Keiskamma and Buffalo rivers. She was defeated by the Xhosa chief Rharhabe and forced to cede a large tract of the Amatole mountains, including the hill called the Hoho, to the latter (Soga, South-Eastern Bantu, p.130). A.W. Burton (The Highlands of Kaffraria, p.52), roughly places the Hoho on a map. On Hall's map however the Kwahoo (Arrowsmith: Quahoo) not only has a phonetic similarity, but is also geographically correct for Brownlee's journey. The Kwahoo is north east of the Intaba Kandadu.
346. Pirie mission station was founded in May 1830 by the Rev. John Ross (D.S.A.B., I, pp.681-683) north of the Umnxesha river, 11 miles north of King William's Town. The station was named after the Rev. Alexander Pirie, chairman of the meeting at which the G.M.S. was formed in 1796. Ross served at Pirie through to his death in 1878. The mission, always rebuilt, was burnt in the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Frontier Wars: Dr. A.W. Burton, A History of the Pirie Mission Station, 1967. (M.S.14,631 Cory Library, Rhodes University).
347. Hall's map shows a small track between Pirie and Fort White. This track crossed a larger path which ran from King William's Town and went between the Intaba Kandadu and Hoho mountains from whence Brownlee had come.
348. The Nmquesha (usual modern spelling Umnxesha) is a tributary of the Keiskamma. Brownlee and his party had therefore turned south onto the path which ran from Fort Beresford (through Pirie) to Fort White, and which crossed the Umnxesha.

349. Stockenstrom was on his way to consult with Maitland at Fort Beresford where he stayed from 7 to 10 August (Duminy and Adcock (eds.), Paver's Reminiscences, pp.20-21). Stockenstrom had recently moved his camp from the Tyhume to a site (near present day Stutterheim) on the Kabousie river (Cory, IV, p.475). He returned to this camp on 10 August.
350. The division returned to Fort Cox. Hare stayed on at Fort White (G.T.J., 22 August 1846, p.1, col.3) and returned to Fort Cox on 14 August (C.F.T., 18 August 1846, p.4, col.2).
351. Fort Peddie was built during the Sixth Frontier War to protect the Mfengu located in the lands between the Fish and Keiskamma rivers. The fort was named after Lieutenant-Colonel John Peddie of the 72nd. Highlanders who commanded the strongpoint in 1835. The fort was not abandoned after the war and in the Seventh Frontier War it was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Lindsay of the 91st. (Cory, IV, pp.454-456). (For a diagram of Fort Peddie in 1846 see Frye (ed.), The War of the Axe, p.5. A contemporary description of the fort is given by G. Munro (Records of Service and Campaigning in Many Lands, Vol.I, pp.55-57). In 1848 the magisterial district of Fort Peddie was created. The name was simplified to Peddie in 1858 (D. Kirby and J.B. Bullock, Peddie-Settlers' Outpost).
The letters were probably from the Rev. John Brownlee who stayed at Fort Peddie throughout 1846 (Holt, p.122).
352. Maqoma (1798-1873) was a Ngqika chief and former regent of Sandile. Maqoma had played a leading role in the Sixth Frontier War. In February 1846, wishing to stay out of the approaching conflict, he requested land in the colony for himself and his people. This was refused and in April he reluctantly entered the war. Maqoma, in September 1846, was the first chief to sue for peace. He finally surrendered in November of that year (Frye (ed.), The War of the Axe, p.102). In the next war Maqoma was the leading Xhosa strategist. After the cattle-killing episode Maqoma was tried by a special court martial under martial law and sent to Robben Island (A.E. du Toit, 'The Cape Frontier: A Study of native policy with special reference to the years 1847-1866', Archives Year Book, 1954, I, p.103). The chief was freed in 1869, but on a conviction of incitement

to violence he was sent back to Robben Island in 1871 where he died two years later: D.S.A.B., II, pp.439-442.

The G.T.J. (22 August 1846, p.4, col.1) reported that Captain Hogg (ftn.353) had brought a message from Hare to Maitland. The message was from Maqoma, who asked for peace as the ploughing season was nearly past and he wished to return to Fort Beaufort. The Governor simply replied that the chief's oath was not to be trusted.

353. Captain William Samuel Hogg (1812-1852). Cory (IV, p.478), the editors Duminy and Adcock (Paver's Reminiscences, p.122, ftn.59), Frye (ed.) (The War of the Axe, p.84), and Stockenstrom (Narrative of Transactions, p.9) refer to Hogg. Van Rensburg (D.S.A.B., III, pp.406-407) however refers to Hogge. The editors of Paver's Reminiscences (p.122, ftn.59) are alone in giving Hogg's initials as W.A.

Hogg arrived at the Cape in 1843 as a captain in the 7th. Dragoon Guards, and was stationed at Fort Cox. In the Seventh Frontier War he commanded Khoikhoi levies until his promotion in June 1847 to Commandant-General and Superintendent-General of all non-white levies (Despatch 154, p.9, Pottinger to Grey, enclosure 4). He played an active role in the Amatole campaign, and in August 1846 he led an expedition into Thembuland (ftn.362). In 1847 he was promoted to major. The following year he resigned from the army to return to England. In 1851 he returned to the Cape and was appointed one of the Assistant Commissioners to arrange matters on the eastern and northern boundaries of the Cape colony. Hogg signed the Sand River Convention in 1852, which recognized the independence of the emigrant Transvaal Boers (Cory, V, Chap.X).

354. The Windvogelberg mountain was named after Windvogel, a San chief whose territory extended from the Waku river to the Bontebok flats (Pettman, South African Place Names, p.83). The name which now refers only to the mountain, then included the areas now known as Cathcart and Queenstown. This area, with present day Glen Grey roughly encompassed Thembuland (Cory, IV, p.476).

The object of this expedition was to recover cattle believed to have been stolen by Mapassa's Thembu and to avenge the death of a white trader (Cory, IV, pp.477-478). Cory (IV, p.478) wrongly dates the departure from Fort Cox as 18 August.

355. Forage was obviously short. A general order of 14 April 1846 (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.135, Maitland to Gladstone 15 May 1846, enclosure I, general order 1) stated that stationary mounted burghers were to receive 4 lbs corn and 6 lbs hay, or 6 lbs corn, or 12 lbs hay for each horse daily. If the mounted burgher was active (as was James Brownlee) he was to receive full rations which were presumably nearly double (as burghers coming from Cape Town to the frontier were supposed to draw 6 lbs corn and 9 lbs hay, or 24 lbs hay, or 10 lbs corn: G.T.J., Extra, 10 May 1846, p.2, col.4). It is interesting to note that in April 1847 Pottinger (Despatch 154, Accompaniment [B], p.51, Pottinger Memorandum, 21 October 1846) estimated a horse's daily forage to cost 5/-. See Diary entries for 25, 28, and 30 August.
356. i.e. Presumably Pirie.
357. Span (Dutch: a team) here refers to oxen. It was not until the 1850's that mules began to replace oxen for haulage.
358. The Cape Corps were described by Munro (Records of Service, p.205) as, "little men mounted on small, active horses, wore blue forage-cap, green cloth jacket, and brown buckskin trousers...". When the British occupied the Cape for the first time in 1795 they used Khoikhoi soldiers (recruited by the Dutch East India Company) to form the Cape Corps (G.Tylden, The Armed Forces of South Africa, p.49). The Batavian authorities (1804-1806) enlarged the force and renamed it the Hottentot Light Infantry. On their return in 1806 the British changed the name to the Cape Regiment. The regiment was considerably reduced in 1817, and officially dissolved in 1827 when the infantry companies were abolished and an imperial cavalry unit, the Cape Mounted Rifles (C.M.R.), formed (P.J. Young, Boot and Saddle, pp.17,173). The unit was always officered by whites with the rank and file being Khoikhoi or coloureds. Because many of the C.M.R. participated in the Kat River Rebellion of 1851, the force was increasingly europeanised and then finally disbanded in 1870. In 1880 the colonial Frontier Armed and Mounted Police took over the name of the C.M.R. (Tylden, op.cit., pp.49, 57-58). Brownlee, like his contemporaries referred to the C.M.R. as the Cape Corps.

359. In April 1846 military headquarters announced that an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ oz meat would be issued daily to those in the field, or in lieu thereof, 1 oz coffee and $\frac{1}{4}$ oz sugar (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.136, Maitland to Gladstone, 15 May 1846, enclosure I, general orders 2). On 14 August 1846 headquarters communicated that on the advice of the senior medical officer, troops in the field in addition to $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs meat daily, a ration of coffee, sugar and rice was to be issued in full wherever the commissariat made it possible, and, a weekly allowance of $\frac{1}{4}$ lb tobacco and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb soap (G.T.J., 22 August 1846, p.1, col.4). Brownlee received nothing like the official full quota.
360. According to the leader of the expedition, Captain H. van Ryneveld (ftn.337), the force left Fort Cox on 19 August to search the Tyhume Hoek for stolen cattle. On their way back to the fort with 80 cattle on 21 August they were ambushed some five miles from their destination. Ryneveld's men were weary, ammunition was low and the situation critical until 100 soldiers of the 91st. arrived from Fort Cox where Hare had heard the skirmish. Ryneveld cast aspersions on the behaviour of his Mfengu contingent (G.T.J., 12 September 1846, p.3, col.3). Other reports however (G.T.J., 5 September 1846, p.3, col.4; G.T.J., 12 September 1846, p.3, cols.3-4) indicate that Ryneveld's 380 Cape Town and Clanwilliam Boers had left the Mfengu and Khoikhoi up front in the fight and had then fired over the latter's heads. One report (G.T.J., 12 September 1846, p.3, col.3) was more critical: "the retreat almost assumed the appearance of a mob running as hard as they could to save themselves".
361. Brownlee must have confused names here. The rescue party of the 91st. was led by a Captain Stretch, and one of Ryneveld's fatalities was a Sergeant Daniel Tamboer. Tamboer was shot when he tried to rally the Mfengu but did not realise he was left alone. The G.T.J. (12 September 1846, p.3, col.3) does however agree with Brownlee's statement that one man was speared as he could not run as fast as his comrades.
362. Hogg's force had left Fort Cox on 16 August. Together with the burgher forces of the Windvogelsberg area, Captain Seagriem's 45th. Regiment units from Tarka, and local Mfengu and Khoikhoi levies, Hogg made a raid into Mapassa's territory. The foray was all over in five days. According

to the official reports of Hare (28 August) and Hogg (23 August) in the G.T.J. (Extra, 29 August 1846, p.1, cols.1-2), some 4,500 cattle were seized by Hogg and his allies, and between 50 and 100 of the enemy were killed. Hogg's division suffered no casualties but 13 of the Shiloh mission's irregulars were killed when they sought to plunder away from the main force (Cory, IV, p.479).

363. Chief Stokwe of the Mbalu (a clan of the Rharhabe) had become chief in April 1846 and six weeks later entered the war. He approached Somerset at the latter's Gwanga camp on 21 August, with a view to surrender. Terms were agreed upon the next day (G.T.J., 29 August 1846, p.3, col.5). The Rev. G. Brown (Personal Adventure, p.27) described the chief as, "a man of the most sottish dispositions". Stokwe claimed he was forced into the war (Frye (ed.), The War of the Axe, p.61). He fought in the Eighth Frontier War. He sank into insignificance and his tribe disintegrated after joining the cattle-killing movement of 1856-1857 (Theal, VII, p.213).
364. Umhala or Mhala (meaning wild cat: Soga, South-Eastern Bantu, p.225), (reigned 1829-1875), was the son of the Rharhabe chief Ndlambe. He fought in the Sixth and Seventh Frontier wars and maintained a hostile neutrality in the Eighth. After the cattle-killing episode he became a bandit. He was captured and sent to Robben Island in 1858. Umhala was released in 1864 and he returned to his people but henceforth he was without power or influence: D.S.A.B., III, pp.608-609.
He did not in fact surrender until November 1846 (Theal, VII, p.37).
365. Most of the chiefs either laid down their arms or made peace in November-December 1846: Ibid., p.37.
366. Major J.S(?) Smith of the 27th. Foot Regiment (Almanac, 1847, p.266) was Deputy (Assistant) Quarter-Master-General to Hare's division (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.187, Maitland to Grey, 14 October 1846, enclosure C).
367. Lieutenant Edward Nassau Molesworth of the 27th. Foot Regiment. He was appointed Fort and Field Adjutant in the Beaufort district on 21 April 1846 (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.136, Maitland to Gladstone, 15 May 1846, enclosure I, general orders 4).

368. Presumably those referred to on 22 August.
369. For details of the 91st. Regiment's service in southern Africa see Johannesburg Public Library, 'Catalogue of British Regimental Histories', pp.55-57. The 91st. called themselves, "the drunken auld deevils": W. Munro, Records of Service, Vol.I, p.153.
For details on the 27th. Regiment's service in southern Africa see Theal, VI, p.124; VII, p.67.
370. e.g. John Brownlee's station, Robert Niven's Iquibica (ftn.394), and Kayser's Knapps Hope (ftn.390).
371. Perhaps Mr. Michael Conway who was attached to Maitland's division as guide and interpreter in June 1846 with the daily pay of 7/6d. (G.T.J., 27 June 1846, p.4, col.5). In April 1847 (Field) Captain M. Conway (formerly stationed at Fish river Drifts as a guide) was with the Grahamstown Mfengu corps (Despatch 154, Accompaniment [K], p.206, enclosure 22a).
372. Bryce Ross (1825-1899), was the son of the G.M.S. missionary John Ross, who had worked at John Brownlee's Tyhume station in 1823 and 1824. Like his father, Bryce became a famous G.M.S. missionary, teacher, and bible translator. At the start of the Seventh Frontier War Bryce and his brother Richard (ftn.373) were sent to study in Scotland. Bryce was a brilliant scholar and he studied at Edinburgh University and College Divinity Hall. He returned to South Africa during the Eighth Frontier War and worked first for John Brownlee at the Buffalo, and then at Lovedale before he took over from his father at Pirie in 1861. Bryce helped produce the 1887 revised Xhosa bible: D.S.A.B., II, pp.605-606; Shepherd, Brownlee J. Ross, pp.14-15, 17-23.
373. Richard Ross (1828-1902) was less of an academic than his brother Bryce. Richard attended a university in Britain but not as a divinity student. He returned to the Cape in 1857 and assisted at Lovedale. He also helped the Rev. H. Calderwood design and implement a land settlement scheme for tribes people. In 1868 he founded Cunningham mission in the trans-Kei region: Ibid., pp.15-16, 28-47.

374. The Ross brothers were on their way to Scotland.
375. Stockenstrom's burghers were coming from the north after their expedition into Thembuland (ftn.376).
Due to Maitland's continual perambulations (P.P. 1848, XLIII(912), p.12, Maitland to Grey, 20 January 1847) it is difficult to pinpoint the Governor's position. It would appear that Maitland was either somewhere on the Buffalo river (G.T.J., 5 September 1846, p.1, col.1) or more likely, at the Tamacha river (G.T.J., 12 September 1846, p.3, col.1). It is just possible that he was at the Gwanga where the second division had encamped in the first fortnight of August (G.T.J., 15 August 1846, p.3, col.3).
376. The unsuccessful Amatole campaign was over and the colonial forces were virtually immobilised by forage shortages. On 10 August Stockenstrom persuaded Maitland (then at Fort Beresford) to allow a strike into Gcalekaland. Stockenstrom later claimed that the expedition was to deter Sarhili and the followers of the Thembu chief Umtirara from entering the war (Stockenstrom, pp.12-16). For Maitland, the object was: "to obtain explanations and satisfactions from this chief [Sarhili] for past injuries inflicted on the colony, and security for the future". (C.F.T., 22 September 1846, p.3, col.5). With 2,500 burghers and a detachment of the 27th. Regiment Stockenstrom crossed the Kei on 21 August and met Sarhili. They came to an unwritten agreement by which Sarhili promised reparations where due, to work for peace, and, as Xhosa Paramount, to cede all lands west of the Kei to the colony.

Stockenstrom then recrossed the Kei on the night of 22 August and the following day he took Mapassa by surprise and scoured the Black Kei area. The burgher forces captured some 6,000-7,000 cattle (as well as goats and horses), burnt kraals and killed a substantial number of the enemy (G.T.J., 19 September 1846, p.1, col.1, Stockenstrom's report. The G.T.J., 12 September 1846, p.3, col.2, however, reported only 5,000 cattle as having been seized). Stockenstrom reached Shiloh on 24 August and he was furious to find Captain Hogg on a similar mission in an area which the Commandant General had regarded as exclusively his own. Stockenstrom disbanded his burgher forces and detailed men to guard Cradock, the Kat river settlement, and Shiloh. He claimed the Governor had pre-

viously agreed to the disbandment of the burgher force (Stockenstrom, p.14).

As a result of disputes between Stockenstrom and Maitland over Hogg's expedition, the agreement with Sarhili (which the Governor rejected), and the demobilization of the burghers, the former tendered his resignation on 25 November. Maitland accepted the resignation two days later: Cory, IV, pp.480-493; Hutton (ed.), Stockenstrom's Autobiography, Vol.II, pp.226-290.

377. Charles Brownlee had been interpreter for Stockenstrom at the meeting with Sarhili (Duminy and Adcock (eds.), Paver's Reminiscences, p.75) and he had then been disbanded with the other burghers at Shiloh.
378. This refers to Hare's division. Stockenstrom's division was adequately supplied (ftn.181).
379. The village of Clanwilliam was founded by Captain Williams on 21 January 1814 and named after the Earl of Clanwilliam, the father-in-law of Governor Sir John Cradock (Pettman, Place Names, p.103). The village was established on the farm previously known as Jan Dissels Vlei. In 1837 the area known as Clanwilliam was separated from the division of Worcester. In 1901 the municipality of Clanwilliam was created (Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, III, pp.248-249). Cory, (IV, p.453) believes that 650 Clanwilliam burghers served on the frontier in the Seventh War. The G.T.J. (30 May 1846, p.2, col.4) corroborated these figures. The C.F.T. (21 July 1846, p.2, col.3) gave a figure of 457 men, which included whites and non-whites.
380. "Wena Wakwa Ndlambe, Wena Wakwa Ngqika, Ngamana Wadliwa Zizinja Zako": "You of the Ndlambe, You of the Ngqika, It is my wish that your dogs should bite you". Literally translated this would mean, "May your warriors turn against you". Translation by Mr. Jackson Vena of Cory Library, Rhodes University.
381. In fact the drought did break in September 1846: P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.181, Maitland to Grey, 14 October 1846.
382. The G.T.J. (5 September 1846, p.4, col.3) reported that at 4p.m. on

1 August, Xhosa raiders kidnapped 10 armed herds and took 143 cattle and horses within sight of Fort Beaufort. Some 7th. Dragoons were present and they unsuccessfully pursued the thieves. A later report in the G.T.J. (12 September 1846, p.3, col.3) said that 125 horses of Graaff-Reinet burghers had been stolen.

383. The G.T.J. (3 October 1846, p.3, col.3) reported the theft of six hospital waggon horses and the shooting of two Khoikhoi herders. One of the men fled to Fort Cox where he died of his wounds the following day.
384. This was Captain John Van Ryneveld, Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Clanwilliam (Almanac, 1847, p.242) together with some of his lieutenants. They were on their way home (G.T.J., 3 October 1846, p.3, col.4). Stockenstrom's disbandment of his forces had exacerbated the discontent among the burghers. Maitland bowed to the pressure and disbanded the irregular white forces in mid-September 1846 (Appendix C).
385. Lieutenant-Colonel John Francis Glencairn Campbell. He had been appointed to this rank in April 1846 (Army List, 1850-51, p.303). From 1844 Campbell commanded the detachment of the 91st. stationed at Colesberg (Frye (ed.), The War of the Axe, p.32, ftn.11). In the Seventh Frontier War he commanded the fortification at Block Drift (G.T.J., 23 May 1846, p.1, col.1) and in 1846, the reserve battalion of the 91st. (Munro, Records of Service and Campaigning, p.151).
386. At the Debe Nek on ground occupied by the headquarters division in 1835 (G.T.J., 3 October 1846, p.3, col.4).
387. Captain John Sandes of the 46th. Regiment had served in the Peninsular War (Vittorio and San Sebastian), the Mahratta War (1817-1818), and on the Persian Gulf (1819-1820), (Young, Boot and Saddle, p.176). He was promoted to captain in May 1831 (Almanac, 1846, p.183). It would seem that he was seconded to the Cape Mounted Rifles to command non-white troops in 1846. On Saturday 18 April 1846, Sandes left Post Victoria (a fort between the Fish and Keiskamma rivers) by himself with a despatch for Block Drift. He hoped to catch up with six of his men who had left just before him (C.F.T., 28 April 1846, p.4, col.2). The six soldiers were ambushed, and only two escaped (G.T.J., 25 April 1846, p.4, col.4).

No trace was found of Sandes until Hare's division discovered the body. The remains were identifiable by spectacles, pieces of cloth, and a letter found near by. This was close to the ford on the Debe river to the right of the road from there to Fort Cox, on the slopes of the Qanda; i.e. immediately below Fort White (G.T.J., 3 October 1846, p.3, col.4). The C.F.T. (15 September 1846, p.4, cols.2-3) however said that the body, apparently discovered by men of the C.M.R. (of which there were members with Hare: see Diary entry for 6 September) was found a mile from the Debe camp, by the side of the road leading to Fort Willshire. The corpse would therefore have been between the intersections of the Debe river by the Fort Cox to King William's Town, and Fort White to Fort Willshire roads. While Buck Adams (Gordon-Brown (ed.), Buck Adams' Narrative, p.116) claimed that Sandes was tortured to death, the G.T.J. (3 October 1846, p.3, col.4) quoted a doctor who stated that Sandes had been shot through the heart and had not suffered at all.

388. The G.T.J. (3 October 1846, p.3, col.4) pointed out that the Clanwilliam levy had several justifiable grievances (but wrongly gave the number of men involved as 200). The levy quite simply was not prepared to serve when its officers had been allowed to return home (ftn.384).
389. A Mr. J. Murray was attached to Colonel Richardson of the 7th. Dragoons as guide and interpreter (G.T.J., 30 May 1846, p.1, col.3). Earlier that month trader Murray (then an interpreter) together with some 'Cape Corps' and Mfengu forces, had attacked some Xhosa near Fort Peddie (G.T.J., 9 May 1846, p.4, col.4).
390. The L.M.S. station Knapps Hope was built on the Keiskamma river near Middle Drift. The mission was established by the Rev. F.G. Kayser in 1836 and named after his former tutor in Germany, Dr. Knapp. The station was destroyed in the Seventh and Eighth wars, but each time it was rebuilt: Sparks, The Kayser Missionaries, pp.205-207.
391. Mrs. R. Eliza Birt (1815-1843), née Budden, was the wife of the L.M.S. missionary Richard Birt (1810-1892). Birt arrived at the Cape in 1838 with Henry Calderwood and soon established a station with Bhotomane (D.S.A.B., III, p.93), senior chief of the Dange. The chief's kraal was

on the east side of Fort Willshire between the Fish and Keiskamma rivers. Early in 1843 the Birts visited the coast as Mrs. Birt was in poor health. On the return journey (1 March 1843) the waggon overturned and she died almost immediately of injuries received (G.T.J., 16 March 1843, p.2, col.3). His mission was destroyed in 1846. In 1848 he founded Peelton station just west of King William's Town, where he spent the rest of his days: Sibree, London Missionary Society, pp.43, 195.

392. Abel Worth (1811-1856) and James Cottrell (1816-1878) Hoole were the sons of the 1820 settler James Hoole of Bailie's party. They resided in New Street, Grahamstown (Almanac, 1847, p.272). Both brothers served in the Seventh (G.T.J., 27 June 1846, p.4, col.5) and Eighth Frontier Wars (Maxwell and McGeogh (eds.), Stubbs' Reminiscences, pp.269-270, ftn.214). They were traders with stores in the colony, east of the Fish, and in Thembuland (C.F.T., 11 August 1846, p.2, col.4). Their store at Block Drift was burnt in 1846 (C.F.T., 9 June 1846, p.2, col.4): Morse Jones, p.128.

393. Captain Edward W.C. Wright of the 91st. Regiment. He was promoted to this rank in July 1841 (Army List, 1850-51, p.303). In June 1846 Wright was appointed Aide-de-Camp to Colonel Hare (G.T.J., 27 June 1846, p.1, col.5).

394. The Rev. Robert Niven, a G.M.S. missionary who had been ordained in Glasgow in 1835. The next year he sailed to the Cape and went to work at the station founded by John Brownlee on the Tyhume. After a brief period at this station he moved just east of the Keiskamma where he established the Iquibica (Icquibigha) mission station (Glasgow Missionary Society Reports 1832-1842, Autumn Quarterly Intelligence 1838, p.6). Niven resigned from the G.M.S. in 1838 (ibid., p.9). He travelled to England in 1846 (The Caffrarian Messenger, Of The Glasgow African Missionary Society, no. XVI, February 1845, p.244) and was back in the colony by December 1846 (E.P.H., 19 December 1846, p.1, col.2). In the Eighth Frontier War he was forced to take shelter at King William's Town and the Iquibica station was destroyed (Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, no. LXV, May 1851, Vol.VI, pp.72-73).

395. Stockenstrom claimed that the Xhosa were able to invade the colony because Hogg's Thembuland expedition had stripped the frontier of the men needed

for its defence: Stockenstrom, pp.24-25.

396. i.e. The Debe Nek camp.
397. i.e. Officers of non-white levies. See Appendix B.
398. Thomas Gray (1716-1771) the English poet wrote, 'Elegy Written In A Country Church Yard', between 1742 and 1750. The poem, first published in 1751, was Gray's most famous work and it has been translated into many languages. The theme of the poem is a rather sombre reflection on death which praises the worth of the kind hearted and blameless, whose virtue transcends the fame other people may achieve in life (H.W. Starr and J.H. Hendrisson, 'The Complete Poems of Thomas Gray', pp.37-43).
399. Funah's Kraal or Kloof. Funah was a chief of the Dange whose kraal was just north of Fort Willshire (Cory, IV, p.363). Hare had wanted to move all his troops back to Funah's Kloof (where he knew there were supplies) on 9 September but rain prevented this. Consequently Colonel Richardson was detailed to leave on the 10th. with 600 men, which was all the force that could then be mustered (E.P.H., 19 September 1846, p.3, col.4).
400. Possibly Mr. William Knight of Fort Beaufort who had recently transferred to Van Ryneveld's (ftn.384) company (G.T.J., 22 August 1846, p.2, col.5). Van Ryneveld's company was still with Hare (see Diary entry for 10 September).
401. It is probable that the seriously ill Hare left with the Clanwilliam burghers. For on 11 September he arrived at Fort Beaufort and the force he had left behind were under instructions to pull back to the colony shortly after him (G.T.J., 19 September 1846, p.3, col.5). Maitland and Somerset were both back in the colony by mid-September (E.P.H., 19 September 1846, p.3, col.4). The colonial forces were thus back to their July 1846 positions.
402. Almost certainly the Commando Drift just below Knapps Hope station (Arrow-smith's 1851 map). Commando Drift was a very common name for fords on the frontier.
403. Burnshill was a G.M.S. station founded in June 1831 (G.M.S. Reports 1832-

1842, Autumn Quarterly Intelligence, 1838, p.6) amongst the Ngqika. The mission was named after the Rev. John Burns, a founding member of the G.M.S. It was sited to the east of Fort Cox on the road from Middle Drift to the Keiskamma Hoek. The station was abandoned and burnt in 1846 (C.F.T., 28 April 1846, p.2, col.4). It was rebuilt after the war. For a contemporary description of the station see Glasgow Missionary Society Reports 1832-1842, 1832, pp.4-5.

Cory (IV, p.430) states that Somerset's camp was on the plain under the Seven Kloof mountain (Hall), also called the Iron Rock mountain, due north-west of Fort Cox. (See also P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.118, Maitland to Stanley, 24 April 1846, enclosure 1). The incident referred to was the loss of the large waggon train on 17 April 1846.

404. Post Script. The G.T.J. (3 October 1846, p.3, col.5) told how between the 16 and 21 September, Hare's division moved down the Debe to the old Lovedale mission (founded on the Ncera river by John Ross in 1824 and permanently destroyed in the Sixth Frontier War) and on to Umxolo (the Rev. Birt's station). It is not known whither Brownlee left Hare's division on the disbandment of the burgher forces on 16 September or whether he returned with it to the colony.

APPENDIX ATHE BURGHER FORCES

In 1657 the Dutch East India Company released a number of employees to farm on their own account. They were called 'free burghers' and as their numbers increased the more general term burgher (Dutch: citizen) came to be used. The title of burgher came to denote those born at the Cape or who had acquired right of permanent residence.⁴⁰⁵

From 1657 all able bodied burghers between the ages of 16 and 60 were expected to participate in the maintenance of the colony's security.⁴⁰⁶ Units composed of burghers and regular soldiers were used to recover stolen cattle and apprehend the thieves. These groups, which were led by regular officers, came to be known as commandos (from the Dutch: kommando, meaning command). The final major development of the commando system may be said to date from 1715 when a party of burghers was sent out with no regular troops and under the command of a burgher officer.⁴⁰⁷ Commandos, which could be called out by a local government official⁴⁰⁸ had then become regional reaction forces which could act independently of the regular military establishment. In 1806 the British occupied the Cape for the second time and took over the commando system in its entirety. From 1817, after an agreement between Governor Lord Charles Somerset and the Xhosa chief Ngqika, the commando system ceased to be purely defensive in theory.⁴⁰⁹ Previously stolen cattle alone could be possessed by commandos. Henceforth Xhosa cattle were liable to be seized in reparation for those missing from the colony. The system was abused by colonists and intensely disliked by the Xhosa. Colonial authorities came to see the commando system as a

cause of frontier unrest.⁴¹⁰

Governor Somerset, influenced by the events of the Slagter's Nek rebellion of 1815⁴¹¹ was loath to use the Dutch burghers for military purposes. He nevertheless recognised the need to supplement the regular frontier establishment with burgher forces. The resultant Albany levy⁴¹² was aimed specifically at the English townsfolk of the eastern districts. Inability to compel attendance, together with economy measures, led to the abandonment of the levy in 1827 after only four years. Major-General Richard Bourke who acted as Governor (March 1826-September 1828)⁴¹³ when Lord Charles Somerset returned to England, effectively suspended the commando system in April 1826.⁴¹⁴

The late 1820's and early 1830's saw a dramatic rise in violent banditry on the northern frontier.⁴¹⁵ As the colonial government lacked the financial resources to maintain a permanent army on this border, reliance on the burghers was inevitable. With the intention of making commando duty compulsory by reviving a proclamation of 1797, Governor Sir Lowry Cole (September 1828-August 1833),⁴¹⁶ supported by the Council of Advice, passed the Commando Ordinance (No.99) in June 1833.⁴¹⁷ This Ordinance applied equally to the north and eastern borders. As a result of powerful 'humanitarian' influences in Britain the colonial office rejected Cole's ordinance. The next Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, was instructed to abolish the commando system which then ceased to exist officially on 1 August 1834.⁴¹⁸ D'Urban followed the lead of Somerset and revived the plan for local militias⁴¹⁹ - a decision which the colonial office came to shortly after the Governor.⁴²⁰ It is not known whether the idea came to fruition.

From 1834 the role of commandos on the frontier is less clear. Although the commando system had been officially abolished, D'Urban found a loophole by which commandos per se were still permissible.⁴²¹ Nevertheless, the traditional independence of the commandos was curtailed and the period between the Sixth and Seventh Frontier Wars was one of transition for this mode of frontier defence.

The Sixth Frontier War saw the first serious attempt to put volunteer troops in the field.⁴²² The volunteer system, preferred by English speaking colonists, had gained in prominence with the severe blow given to commando efficiency by the Great Trek.⁴²³ In the Eighth Frontier War very little use was made of commandos.

The burgher forces in the Seventh Frontier War displayed a combination of commando independence and increased military control. Volunteer militias had sprung up in the 1840's due to the refusal of the Cape authorities to accept the gravity of the frontier situation. It would appear that the volunteers, who were locally orientated, saw themselves as a home-guard. One such unit was the Graham's Town Yeomanry which would only serve within a 10 mile radius of their home town.⁴²⁴ With the introduction of martial law and obligatory service in April 1846, the burgher units retained their volunteer titles,⁴²⁵ though after registration with a local magistrate or a military official⁴²⁶ they became in theory levies. Once registered the burghers fell under the command of the military leaders (including Stockenström). Though they were now under specific army regulations the burgher forces retained characteristics that prevented their full incorporation into the army,⁴²⁷ a move that would have been extremely unpopular.⁴²⁸ In addition, 'volunteer' units were able to choose their own officers,⁴²⁹ whose ranks were not

recognised by the regular army.

While burgher officers in both white and non-white levies were given a remuneration,⁴³⁰ the rank and file colonist received only rations for himself, and fodder for his horse. There was ill feeling between the regular and irregular forces⁴³¹ which manifested itself in a lack of coordination between Stockenstrom's essentially burgher force and the regular army divisions during the Amatole campaign. When Maitland dismissed the burghers in September 1846 he made little attempt to conceal the fact that the disbandment had been forced on him by the increasingly hostile attitude of the serving colonists:

"His Excellency is but ill able to dispense with the whole of the Burgher Forces in the present unfinished state of the war. But in compliance with the strong desire of the Burghers to retire to peaceful occupations, and in consideration of the injury caused to many families by their absence, and of the agricultural necessities of the country, His Excellency has consented to make this sacrifice, and suffer this serious reduction in his forces."⁴³²

Within a month of disbanding the irregular white forces, Maitland unsuccessfully attempted a second draft.⁴³³ The burghers refused to co-operate despite being offered the same pay as that received by the non-white irregulars. The need for burgher troops remained acute. The failure of Maitland's successor, Sir Henry Pottinger, to persuade colonists to volunteer for a maximum of one month's service reflected the hostility which had deterred the new Governor from attempting to renew compulsory military duty.⁴³⁴ Investigations into the chaotic organisation of the burgher forces revealed gross corruption.⁴³⁵ Appalled at the cost and inefficiency of the irregular units, Pottinger dismissed most of the remaining burghers in May 1847.⁴³⁶

Hostility to burgher service manifested itself again in the Eighth Frontier War. As a result, a Burgher Levies Act was introduced in 1855 for the enforcement of military service. This Act was unpopular and a move was made in the larger towns to form volunteer regiments which gave serving citizens exemption from commando duty.⁴³⁷

APPENDIX BTHE NON-WHITE LEVIES

For non-whites, compulsory military service was performed in military bodies known as provisional levies. From 1835 there was a trend for the Mfengu to replace Khoikhoi and coloureds, as the basic strength of the non-white forces. An interdependence developed between the colonial authorities and the Mfengu through the need of the former for troops and the latter for defence from hostile Xhosa. Lieutenant-Colonel Hare in March 1846 noted that, "every confidence can be placed in them [Mfengu], for good reasons, they cannot exist without the Government."⁴³⁸ A minimum of 1,000 Mfengu served in levies in the course of the Seventh Frontier War.⁴³⁹ There was at least one Mfengu levy in each of Grahams-town, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Tsitsikamma, Cradock, Salem, Farmerfield, Shiloh, Kat river, Fort Beaufort, Fort Thompson, Fort Brown, and Fort Peddie. A further 200 Mfengu served as burghers.⁴⁴⁰ An estimated 900 Khoikhoi and coloureds enlisted voluntarily as burghers.⁴⁴¹

For Mfengu, Khoikhoi and coloureds, the levy system was a combination of compulsion and voluntary enlistment, with the latter motive predominating. Animosity towards the Xhosa, service pay and the prospect of obtaining cattle as booty⁴⁴² induced non-whites to join levies or burgher units.

Unlike their white counterparts, the non-white irregulars,⁴⁴³ whether volunteer or conscriptee were supposed to receive firearms, ammunition, clothes,⁴⁴⁴ rations, pay, and subsistence for their families. In reality, through confusion, niggardliness, and corruption, the colonial

military authorities failed to meet their obligations. The pay for non-white irregulars rose from 4d. to 6d. a day in May 1846.⁴⁴⁵ Yet not until June of that year did the authorities finally decide to issue rations to the families of Mfengu operating 'in the field'.⁴⁴⁶ Again it was only in that month that escort and guard duties were accepted as being 'in the field' (which was the basic requirement for the issue of pay and food to the soldier and his family). Pay was denied to the Kat river, Salem, and Shiloh Khoikhoi levies on the grounds that the registration of their levies was unofficial, that they were burghers, and that they were used to guard their own settlements (and hence not 'in the field').⁴⁴⁸

The food supplies for the provisional levies were even worse than those for the whites and it was not until August 1846 that non-white units were permitted to draw the same rations as whites.⁴⁴⁹ To make matters worse, pay and rations were sometimes siphoned off by the white officers in command.⁴⁵⁰

With their families hungry at home and themselves inadequately clothed and fed,⁴⁵¹ the troops of the provisional levies were deeply embittered by the progressive disbandment of colonial forces from early September 1846. For only whites were allowed to return home (until the general abolition of compulsory service in May 1847).⁴⁵² Many non-whites simply left their posts and went home⁴⁵³ and on occasion force had to be used to prevent wholesale desertion.⁴⁵⁴ In June 1847, a month after the disbandment of the colonial levies, Pottinger attempted to induce the irregulars to return for duty. The non-whites turned their backs on the Governor's appeal.

The treatment meted out to the Kat river settlement Khoikhoi both during and after the Seventh War turned the potentially rebellious situation of 1847⁴⁵⁵ into a full blown insurrection in 1851.

APPENDIX CTHE AMATOLE CAMPAIGN

On 13 June 1846 Maitland crossed the Fish river and established a headquarters camp at Waterloo Bay.⁴⁵⁶ With the progressive build up of colonial forces and the confidence engendered by the recent military success at the Gwanga river the Governor, now Commander-in-Chief⁴⁵⁷ of the armed forces, felt sufficiently strong to renew the offensive that had been so ignominiously halted in mid-April.

The colonial forces were effectively divided into three divisions: Hare was in charge of the first division, Somerset the second, and Stockenstrom with his burgher forces acted as an equal unit. Maitland attached himself to the second division.

Somerset was the first to act. In a movement designed both to recover stolen cattle and impress the neutral Gcaleka, part of the second division struck across the Kei in the third week of July.⁴⁵⁸ After this preliminary, the long awaited⁴⁵⁹ Amatole campaign was initiated. The strategy involved a pincer movement by which the Xhosa would be either trapped and destroyed, or driven from the inaccessible Amatole mountains:

"With the rest of the force I [Maitland] intend to advance from several points with strong divisions, communicating with each other; and by degrees work forwards, clearing the country by driving the Kafirs, step by step, to the east out of their strongholds."⁴⁶⁰

The second division was to form a half moon wall, centred on Fort Beresford, into which Stockenstrom from the north and north-west,

and Hare from the south-west would drive the Xhosa.⁴⁶¹ The enemy would thus be cleared simultaneously from the Tyhume valley together with the Amatole and Buffalo mountains. The plan was theoretically logical but it ignored the topography of the area to be scoured:

"It is in fact one of nature's labyrinths. Its sides are bold and precipitous; it is split and intersected by ravines; it is broken by masses of rock, and it is clothed with noble forest trees...".⁴⁶²

On the night of 26 July Stockenstrom marched his men from Block Drift to the Tyhume ridge.⁴⁶³ The next morning he entered and cleared the kloofs of the upper Tyhume. He was irritated to find that the Xhosa had fled east into the Amatole area and that reinforcements sent by Lieutenant-Colonel Hare to assist on the Commandant-General's right wing, remained stationary on the ridge between the Tyhume and Amatole valleys.⁴⁶⁴ Stockenstrom established his camp at the old Tyhume mission station.

The lack of coordination between the divisions and the non-appearance of Commandant G.D. Joubert⁴⁶⁵ induced Stockenstrom on 28 July to visit Hare's camp (established the previous day south-west of the Seven Kloof mountain). The two commanders agreed that the main assault on the Amatole valley should commence in the early hours of 30 July. Hare was to approach Fort Cox from the south-west and scour the hills above the fort before joining Stockenstrom in the Amatole valley. The latter with his burghers was to advance through the upper sources of the Amatole valley and hopefully link up with Joubert from the north. With elements of the second division pushing up from Fort Beresford through the Buffalo mountains and into the upper Keiskamma area, the trap would be sprung.

On 29 July Stockenstrom sent a cavalry force to the Bontebok flats

(situated to the north of the Amatole mountains) to seal off that potential escape route. On the morning of 30th. Hare's division worked its way up and along the top of the Seven Kloof mountain which overlooked Fort Cox from the north-west.⁴⁶⁶ Stockenstrom's burghers swept the forests of the Amatole and Hogsback mountains with the expectation that Captain Hogg would presently advance up the Amatole valley to join them. Continual heavy firing was heard in the valley. Towards sunset the first division was seen returning to its camp of the previous night.⁴⁶⁷ The Commandant-General was angered by Hare's apparent withdrawal from the scene of the action. This ill feeling was exacerbated when the source of the day's firing in the valley was found to have come from one of Stockenstrom's units which had been lent for service on the flank of the first division. Hare had not gone to the aid of this group when, in a deep kloof, it had come under heavy fire.⁴⁶⁸ Despite the precariousness of their position, Stockenstrom and his burghers spent the night in the upper reaches of the Amatole valley. In the afternoon of 31 July the burgher forces swept down to the bottom of the Amatole valley to just above Fort Cox. Hare had established himself at Fort Cox that same day. Aware that the Xhosa had fled eastwards, Stockenstrom prepared to move up towards the Keiskamma Hoek.

On the night of 3 August Hare contacted the burgher leader and asked him to co-operate in a search of the Gwili Gwili mountain area. The next morning Hare moved directly to the mountain while Stockenstrom, some miles to the north, travelled on a parallel course to cover the first division. Reports indicate that when Hare turned south to camp for the night near the head of the Gwili Gwili river, Stockenstrom assumed that Hare was moving down towards the Intaba Kandadu area.⁴⁶⁹ Furious that Hare

was again prepared to disregard previously made plans, Stockenstrom continued his progress towards the Keiskamma Hoek. The burgher forces reached the head of the Kabousie river on 5 August.⁴⁷⁰ After a thorough but fruitless search of the Gwili Gwili mountain, the first division marched to the source of the Keiskamma where it spent the night of 5 August.⁴⁷¹ The second division failed to materialise at the Keiskamma Hoek and the Xhosa were free to escape to the east and south-east.⁴⁷²

The Amatole campaign was aptly described as, "a grand quadrille, performed by the Kafirs and ourselves on this vast theatre, in which all parties complaisantly twist and twirl through the figures so as to avoid jostling and upsetting each other".⁴⁷³ The enemy had been neither beaten in battle nor expelled from its mountain strongholds. A natural antipathy between regular and irregular forces together with the terrain had made communications difficult. The lack of co-ordination epitomised the whole operation.

On 7 August Hare returned to Fort Cox and Stockenstrom visited Governor Maitland. Stockenstrom was convinced that the ineffectuality of the Amatole campaign would reflect on the efficiency of the army in Gcaleka and Thembu eyes. He persuaded Maitland to allow a burgher expedition into Gcalekaland as a show of force. This raid together with two others into Thembuland,⁴⁷⁴ effectively ended active campaigning for 1846. For the mobility of the colonial forces, already circumscribed by a shortage of forage, had been further reduced as a result of the hardships encountered in the Amatole operations. Even raids had become difficult to mount.⁴⁷⁵ The offensive was over, and in September the last of the colonial troops straggled back into the colony.⁴⁷⁶

DEATH NOTICE.

1035

Pursuant to the Provisions contained in Section 9, Ordinance 184.

- 1.—Name of the Deceased. *James Bronie*
- 2.—Birth-place of the Deceased. *Lyons in England*
- 3.—Names of the Parents of the Deceased. *John and Catherine Bronie*
- 4.—Age of the Deceased. *26 years and seven months*
- 5.—Condition in life. *Clerk to the Gaika Commission*
- 6.—Married or unmarried, Widower or Widow. *Married*
- 7.—The Day of the decease. *28th March 1857.*
- 8.—At what House, or where the Person died. *at the Izele River in British Kaffraria*
- 9.—Names of the Children of Deceased, and whether Minors or Majors. *One daughter born after the decease of father. name yet unknown*

- 10.—Whether Deceased has left any Property, and of what kind.

The only property left by deceased consisted of house &c. furniture &c. other property having been taken away in exchange for cattle at the time of his death. He had no other property.

If the Deceased is not a married Person, or not married in community of Goods,—or has left no Will,—this Notice must be made within Six Days after the death.

If otherwise, it must be made within Six Weeks.

It must be filled up and signed by the nearest Relative or Connection of the Deceased, who shall at the time be at or near the place of death,—or, in the absence of such near Relative or Connection, by the Person who shall have the chief charge of the House in, or of the Place on which, the death shall occur, and must be sent either to the Master in Cape Town, or to the Resident Magistrate of the District, if within Six Hours distance, if at a greater distance, it must be forwarded to the Field-Cornet of the District.

Charles Bronie

Nearest & Deceased

NOTES TO THE APPENDICES

405. K.S. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, p.91, ftn.9.
406. Ibid., p.107, ftn.6.
407. R.J. Bouch (ed.), Infantry in South Africa: 1652-1976, p.1.
408. A landdrost (Theal, V, pp.181-182). On the abolition of this office in 1828 (Theal, V, pp.492-493) resident magistrates or civil commissioners took on this responsibility.
409. H.A. Reyburn, 'Studies in Frontier History', The Critic, Vol.IV, September 1936, pp.47-59.
410. P.P. 1836, VII(538), pp.82-89, evidence of Stockenstrom;
P.P. 1835, XXXIX(252), (part 2), pp.64-66, Stanley to D'Urban 27 November 1833.
P.P. 1835, XXXIX(252), (part 2), p.62, Stanley to Cole, 13 November 1833.
J.B. Peires, 'History of the Xhosa', Rhodes thesis, pp.207-209.
411. Cory, I, pp.323-368.
412. Cory, II, pp.147-149.
413. Bourke: D.S.A.B., I, pp.106-108.
414. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, XXVI, pp.284-285, Bourke to Bathurst, 21 April 1826, enclosure 2.
415. Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, pp.102-105.
416. Cole: D.S.A.B., III, pp.163-165.
417. P.P. 1835, XXXIX(252), (part 2), pp.60-61, copy of an Ordinance of his Excellency the Governor in Council, for explaining and amending the Laws relative to Commandos, 6 June 1833.
418. P.P. 1835, XXXIX(252), (part 2), pp.64-66, Stanley to D'Urban 27 November 1833.

419. P.P. 1836, XXXIX(279), p.106, D'Urban to Lord Glenelg, 7 November 1835, enclosure II.
420. P.P. 1836, XXXIX(279), p.70, Glenelg to D'Urban, 26 December 1835.
421. P.P. 1835, XXXIX(252), (part 2), pp.113-114, Secretary Spring-Rice to D'Urban, 10 November 1834, enclosure 8.
422. Tylden, The Armed Forces of South Africa, p.3. According to B. Berkovitch ('South African Gunsmiths and Dealers before 1900', Journal of the Historical Firearms Society of South Africa, Vol.V, no.6, December 1971, pp.4-12) 800 burghers served in the Fourth Frontier War(1811-1812), and 1,800 in the Fifth and Sixth Wars, while 18,000 were in the field or in reserve during the Seventh Frontier War.
423. Tylden, op.cit., p.3. For details on the Great Trek see E.A. Walker, The Great Trek.
424. See ftn.290.
425. See Diary entry for 11 April. Burgher units were frequently known by the name of their commander(e.g. see Diary entry for 4 August).
426. Despatch 154, Accompaniment [D], p.113, Pottinger Memorandum, 21 October 1847, enclosure 29.
427. It is interesting that Brownlee associated certain aspects of his military service with commando duty: see Diary entry for 31 May.
428. C.F.T., 5 May 1846, p.4, col.3.
429. G.T.J., 17 October 1846, p.3, col.2.
430. As a lieutenant in Ayliff's levy, Brownlee received 2/6d. a day. As interpreter with Hare he was paid 7/6d. a day (Diary entry for 19 July). For the burgher officers' rates of pay see: G.T.J., Supplement, 5 May 1846, p.2, col.4; Despatch 154, Pottinger to Grey, 20 October 1847, enclosure 3, p.7; Accompaniment [K], p.205, enclosure 21F, general order 16.
431. Cory, IV, pp.455-456,481; Hutton (ed.), Stockenstrom's Autobiography, Vol.II, p.217; Diary entry for 29 April.

432. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.177, Maitland to Gladstone, 18 September 1846, enclosure 9, general orders, 16 September 1846.
433. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), pp.182-183, Maitland to Grey, 14 October 1846.
434. G.T.J., 6 March 1847, p.1, col.1.
435. Despatch 154, Accompaniment [K], pp.165-169, Pottinger Memorandum, 18 January 1848.
436. G.T.J., 8 May 1847, p.1, cols.1-3.
437. B. Berkovitch, 'South African Gunsmiths and Dealers', The Journal of the Historical Firearms Society of South Africa, December 1971, introduction, pp.4-12.
438. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.107, Maitland to Stanley, 13 April 1846, enclosure, Hare to Maitland, 28 March 1846.
For details on Mfengu fighting methods see R.A. Moyer, 'The Mfengu, self Defence and the Cape Frontier Wars', in C.C. Saunders and R. Derricourt, Beyond the Cape Frontier, Chap.IV.
439. Ibid., p.113.
440. Le Cordeur and Saunders, Kitchingman Papers, p.259.
441. Ibid., p.259.
442. Cape of Good Hope; Correspondence between Sir Henry Pottinger, Sir H. E.F. Young, and Others, Respecting a separation of the Eastern and Western Provinces, Cape Town, 1847, p.91, Lieutenant-Governor Young to Pottinger, 26 May 1847.
443. Which included the Cape Town Malay Corps, a rather unique body. The complaints of this corps mirrored those of the other non-white forces (Cory, IV, p.466).
444. Despatch 154, Accompaniment [A], p.29, Pottinger Memorandum, 26 October 1846, enclosure 22.
445. G.T.J., 30 May 1846, p.4, col.1.

446. Despatch 154, Accompaniment [I], p.154, enclosure 9I, general orders, 11 June 1846.
447. Despatch 154, Accompaniment [I], p.154, enclosure 9I, divisional orders, 30 June 1846.
448. Despatch 154, Accompaniment [D], p.89, enclosure 13; op.cit., pp.90-91, enclosure 15.
449. Despatch 154, Accompaniment [K], p.179, Pottinger Memorandum, 18 January 1848, enclosure 7D.
450. Despatch 154, Accompaniment [E], pp.97-98. See also ftn.251.
451. e.g. G.T.J., 3 October 1846, p.3, col.4.
452. Because of the attitude of the non-white irregulars (P.P. 1848, XLIII (912), p.10, Maitland to Grey, 20 January 1847), some of these men were released before May 1847.
453. Despatch 154, Accompaniment [D], p.92, enclosure 18.
454. See Diary entry for 6 September.
455. Despatch 154, Accompaniment [G], p.24, Pottinger Memorandum, 2 November 1847, official documents relating to the Kat river settlement, no.35.
456. Cory, IV, p.462.
457. G.T.J., Supplement, 5 May 1846, p.2, col.4.
458. See ftn.320.
459. Stockenstrom, p.8.
460. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.144, Maitland to Grey, 11 June 1846.
461. Stockenstrom's force consisted of the burghers of Somerset, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet, Colesberg, and Beaufort, and the Khoikhoi of the Kat river. There were some 2,000 men of which about 200 were left to guard the camp (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.168, Maitland to Gladstone, 18 September 1846,

enclosure 7, Stockenstrom to Cloete, 1 August 1846). Hare commanded burghers and detachments of the 27th., 91st., 7th. Dragoon Guards and Cape Mounted Rifles, together with Mfengu and Malays. A total of 2,000 men (Diary entry for 4 August. Cory, IV, p.473 gives a figure of 1,400 men). Somerset's second division numbered 3,306 men (G.T.J., 15 August 1846, p.3, col.3).

462. G.T.J., 29 August 1846, p.3, col.2.
463. Diary entry for 26 July.
464. Stockenstrom, p.9.
465. G.D. Joubert (ftn.255) with a force of Colesberg burghers and Kat river Khoikhoi was supposed to have swept through the Tyhume forest from the north. He had been delayed by mist in the vicinity of Ngqika's Kop (Cory, IV, p.424). On the evening of 29th. Joubert finally joined Stockenstrom's force.
466. Hare had meant to commence operations at 3a.m. that morning but a Xhosa night attack had caused a delay (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.166, Maitland to Gladstone, 18 September 1846, enclosure 7, Hare to Cloete, 1 August 1846).
467. Hare had decided that communications with Stockenstrom would be easier from the camp near the Seven Kloof mountain (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.167, Maitland to Gladstone, 18 September 1846, enclosure 7, Hare to Cloete, 1 August 1846).
468. The burgher unit involved, 250 strong, was under the command of Assistant Commandant Botha: Stockenstrom, pp.10-11.
469. It would appear that Hare followed the Keiskamma up to the Gwili Gwili mountain. Stockenstrom must have seen and misinterpreted the southward movement of the first division as it moved to its camp spot for the night (Stockenstrom, pp.11-12. For Hare's report on his movements: P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.169, Maitland to Gladstone, 18 September 1846, enclosure 7, Hare to Cloete, 7 August 1846). Cory (IV, p.475) states that Hare went via the Fort White road, but the official reports do not substantiate this theory. Moreover, it would have been illogical for Hare to have taken this latter route as it necessitated the crossing of a mountain range

to reach the source of the Gwili Gwili river.

470. He camped near the present day town of Stutterheim (Cory, IV, p.475).
471. P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.169, Maitland to Gladstone, 18 September 1846, enclosure 7, Hare to Cloete, 7 August 1846.
472. Stockenstrom with some justification felt that the second division (which did not ascend the Buffalo mountains until 5 August) had been unduly tardy in its movements (Stockenstrom, p.12). For the report of the officer in charge of these second division columns see: P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.170, Maitland to Gladstone, 18 September 1846, enclosure 7, Johnstone to Cloete, 10 August 1846.
473. Stockenstrom, p.12.
 Stockenstrom believed that the whole Ngqika strength had been gathered in the Amatole area and that the chance to break Xhosa resistance had been lost by the failure of the first and second divisions to link up as planned. Thus the Xhosa had been able to escape south down the Amatole valley, and to the eastern reaches of the Keiskamma (Stockenstrom, pp.10-12). Hare was not convinced that the Amatole basin had contained large numbers of Xhosa (P.P. 1847, XXXVIII(786), p.167, Maitland to Gladstone, 18 September 1846, enclosure 7, Hare to Cloete, 1 August 1846).
474. See ftms. 376, 362.
475. Nevertheless there were infrequent patrols for the recovery of stolen colonial cattle (Cory, IV, pp.501, 509-511).
476. The second division had returned to the colony in early August (G.T.J., 22 August 1846, p.3, col.4) and Stockenstrom's burghers had returned to their homes that same month. Hare's men were thus the last of the non-garrison troops to re-enter the colony.

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