

THE DIARY OF ROBERT JOHN MULLINS
(1833-1913)





*Robert John Mullins aged 23,
taken just before his marriage to Harriet Jane Roe
on 24 April 1862*



*Harriet Jane (Jennie) Roe aged 16
taken just before her marriage to Robert John Mullins
on 24 April 1862*

The Mullins Family



Standing left to right: Penna, Alec, Bob, Ethel, Oxo, Basil Hampden Jones
Seated left to right : Nonie, Charles, Cuthbert, Jennie, Win, Ruth, Robert John, Hilda, Jane



Robert John Mullins



Harriet Jane [Jennie] Mullins

*This volume has been printed and bound by
the Department of History
Rhodes University*

*It is dedicated to the memory of
Dr Brenda Nicholls
who collaborated with Nancy Charton in its
preparation for publication, and who died
shortly after reviewing the final manuscript.*

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Professor Margaret Donaldson read the final manuscript and has made a significant contribution to this volume. We value and are grateful for her scholarship, so readily shared.

While we have sought to give our readers - and our subject - the best we can, mistakes, if and where they occur, are our responsibility.

SUMMARY OF CONTENT

This volume of the Graham's Town Series offers its readers extracts from the diary and the correspondence of Robert John Mullins, Anglican missionary, priest and in due time principal of what was called the Kafir Institution in Grahamstown and as such a pioneer in the of western education to black South Africans. After his marriage to Jennie Roe he was assisted in all that he undertook by a loyal and devoted wife. The editors have made use of the earlier diaries and manuscripts because of the light they shed on the conditions in the eastern Cape frontier in the crucial years before and after the cattle-killing. While Mullins' own observations are those of a young missionary his remarks and the record of his experiences are themselves to be viewed in the light of the recent scholarship in regard to the cattle-killing which reveals the multisidedness of an appalling social tragedy.

What Mullins wrote records, for better or for worse, episodes which show how South Africans of different origins have in the past regarded one another. Mullins was a committed Christian eager to offer to all whom he could reach the salvation of Christ in which he so fervently believed. He was often intolerant of Xhosa customs he could not understand as well as often perplexed and discouraged.

But the overwhelming impact of this record is what it took to be a missionary: courage, commitment, humour, resilience, a capacity to endure physical hardship and enjoy physical activity. All these were qualities which Robert John Mullins possessed in abundance. As his diary shows they were the qualities the frontier demanded.

Working over a long period of time Nancy Charton and Brenda Nicholls (who became a co-editor in 1991) have transcribed the diary entries and the correspondence working with the help

of others from the often very difficult manuscript sources, while Nancy Charton herself investigated the sites of some of the missionary activity. The help of members of the Mullins family (notably Judy Sturrock and her husband) is gratefully acknowledged. Earlier generous contributions made it possible to obtain a typescript from which the editors could work. Every effort has been made to identify the individuals (Xhosa, Tembu and white) and events (both in South Africa and abroad) which are alluded to in the diary. This was a time consuming task and the editors are grateful to all who helped them with it.

The book consists of an introduction and eleven chapters. The introduction describes the material and the methods of the editors, discusses the religious and social conditions of the time, addresses the problems of interpartition presented by the cattle-killings, turns attention to the dilemmas of missionaries and then focusses the attention of readers on the diarist Robert John Mullins (with Jennie as later stand-in) as well as the value of the diary. There is much to interest the educationist, the theologian, the economist, and the historian.

Chapter 1 deals with Mullins' voyage to the Cape in 1854 and the extracts record the experiences of an exuberant as well as a dedicated lad of sixteen. Chapter 2 deals with the arrival at the Cape in 1854. Chapter 3 gives us a picture of Mullins' experience of Graham's Town in 1854. Chapter 4 deals with Mullins' experience at St Luke's Mission. Chapter 5 covers the period of 1856-57 when Mullins was at Balotwa and the cattle-killing frenzy developed. Chapter 6 describes the hunger and turmoil which followed in the wake of the cattle-killing. Chapter 7 describes the founding of a new station, St Peter's Gwytyu. Chapter 8 is concerned with life at St Peter's in the early months of 1858. Chapter 9 covers the last months at St Peter's and his journey to the Bashee. Chapters 10 and 11 cover the early years in the married life of Robert John Mullins and his wife Jennie. The Mullins' delight in family life is strongly evident in their joy in each other's company and their anxious joy over their first-born baby. Chapter 11 gives the reader the texts of letters written by Robert John and his wife Jennie in the years which marked the end of Mullins' career as a frontier missionary, and the opening to him of the opportunity to become Principal of the Kafir Institution.

A map carefully prepared by Mr Oakley West of the Geography Department, with the assistance of Deby Brody, enables the reader to trace the frontier journeys of Robert John Mullins and his wife Jennie who were among the pioneers of frontier societies who did their best to make available to others what they believed to be the eternal benefits of the Christian faith, and the accompanying mores of the 'western' culture of their day.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Frontispiece	i
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgements	vi
Summary of content	vi
Table of contents	viii
List of illustrations	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter 1	40
Chapter 2	54
Chapter 3	65
Chapter 4	73
Chapter 5	99
Chapter 6	144
Chapter 7	172
Chapter 8	199
Chapter 9	225
Chapter 10	264
Chapter 11	328
Appendix A: Frontier conflicts	360
Appendix B: Biographical notes	362
Bibliography	381
Map	388

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Facsimile of diary entries	3
Diagram of a full rigged ship	53a
S. Rogers, <i>Sea-Law</i>	
Seyola and his wife	58
South African Library, Cape Town	
St Luke's Mission	73
Bodleian Library, Oxford	
Preaching to Kafir at Tshaka's kraal	99
SPG Archives, Rhodes House, Oxford	
St Peter's Mission, Gwtyu	172
SPG Archives, Rhodes House, Oxford	
Quesha and Fadana	188
South African Library, Cape Town	
Plan of house	336
Jennie's letter	

INTRODUCTION

SECTION 1: The Diaries and other source material

Robert John Mullins, who arrived in the eastern Cape as a young missionary in the crucial years of the crisis of the Cattle-Killing, left a large corpus of manuscripts. His diaries for the years 1854-1867 are held in Cory Library, Rhodes University. His remaining diaries and other source material are in the possession of Mrs Judy Sturrock. All the available manuscripts have been read in preparing this book, and the material selected for publication is drawn both from the manuscripts in Cory Library and those in private hands.

1.1 Diaries

Cory Library MS.7111

This is a bound, lined, MS volume, complete with brass clasp and lock. The book is 20x16.5cm and has approximately 480 pages, many of which remain blank. Mullins was in the habit of leaving the diary unwritten for days on end; sometimes he remedied the omission later; sometimes the passage of time negated his good intentions. His writing is neat and attractive, but the ink has faded and where writing is small and cramped, for instance at the end of a line, it can become quite illegible. This volume covers the period from 22 July 1854 when he sailed from England to 2 September 1855 when he was at St Luke's Mission. At the beginning there is a note on his early life written by his daughter W.M. Levick.

Cory Library MS.7113

This is a similar MS book, but without the clasp and lock. It covers the following periods: 1 October 1856 to 18 November 1856 at St John's, Bolotwa and 1 September 1857 to 1 March 1862 at St Peter's, Gwatyu. It resumes on 24 April 1863 in the writing of Jennie Mullins, his wife, and continues to 30 October 1863. Her writing is larger and she tends to be more generous with the ink, producing a much more readable script. This covers the period when they were stationed at St John's, Bolotwa. The front page is indexed for dates.

Cory Library MS.7112

This is an unlined exercise book (20x16.5cm) with a soft cover which has been badly torn. It contains 94 pages and covers the period 19 November 1856 to March 1857 at St John's, Bolotwa. The last seven pages are in a different handwriting and contain letters written in French, sometimes signed Jeanne. Perhaps it was someone's French exercise book which Mullins took over when his own Diary was carried off to King William's Town owing to rumours of war. The first page of the Diary has a small section torn out, destroying the sense of six lines.

Cory Library MS.7114

This is a bound volume similar to the first two, but with only 83 pages. It covers the period 1 April 1857 to 30 August 1857. It, too, is indexed for dates.

Cory Library MS.7115

This is a bound MS volume of 83 pages (20 x16.5cm). It relates to his life at St Augustine's Theological College, Canterbury, during the period 13 January 1861 to 19 June 1861, with a break from 1 to 19 May when he had a sore hand.

Cory Library MS.7116

This is a bound MS volume of 58 pages covering the period 24 April 1862 to 23 April 1863. It commences with a mention of his wedding and is written in his own hand. However, Jennie takes

over as scribe on 20 May 1862 on board the ship, writing as if she were Robert John. The style of the diary hardly changes. It is indexed for dates on the front page.

Cory Library MS.7117

This is a bound MS volume of 20 x 16.5cm and has approximately 280 pages. It covers the period 1 November 1863 to 31 December 1867. At the back of this volume is a pencilled list of dates and names, not reproduced in the portion which has been published as it refers mainly to later periods. It is indexed for dates on the front cover.

Material for publication has been selected for the light it sheds on the conditions on the eastern Cape frontier from 1853 to 1864 and on the early missionary enterprise of the Anglican Church. The St Augustine's diary, i.e. Ms.7115, has been omitted from this publication entirely. Mullins' experiences as a theological student are of limited interest for frontier history. From Ms.7117 only the entries up to 8 November 1865 have been published. The daily minutiae of his Grahamstown experience do not seem significant for the purpose of this publication.

Mrs Judy Sturrock of Silverhill, Constantia, a granddaughter of Mullins, holds the complete set of Mullins' Diaries from 1868 to 1913. These have not been drawn upon for publication.

1.2 Letters

The letters of Jennie Mullins to her mother in England are also in the possession of Mrs Judy Sturrock of Constantia. These are well preserved and legible except when 'crossed' by the writer. They are in general more readable than the diary itself and throw light on frontier conditions. Some of these letters have been included in the final section. Unless otherwise indicated they have been drawn from Mrs Sturrock's collection, which also includes two letters from Robert John himself, one written while they travelled from Grahamstown to Bolotwa and one to announce the birth of their first daughter.

Three letters originally published in St Augustine's Occasional Papers are also included in this chapter because they sketch the broad picture of mission development. A letter supplied by the Archivist of Lancing College giving more information on the Kafir Institution is also included.

1.3 Mimeographed material

The Cory Library also holds a mimeograph containing selections from the diaries from 1854 to 1861. This was edited and reproduced for family circulation in 1955 by W.M. Levick, daughter of Robert John and Jennie. It contains 68 pages. While useful for the researcher, it is not always a faithful reproduction of the actual text.

In 1945-7 W.M. Levick also issued 'The Lives of Robert and Jennie Mullins, 1854-1913'; this too was written for the family, and is based on the original diaries. It comprises 173 foolscap pages, and includes genealogical tables. It is a valuable biographical source.

SECTION 2: Methods used to prepare the Diary for publication

2.1 Editorial method

In editing these manuscripts for publication the aim has been to provide an authentic and yet clear text. Mullins' handwriting, while always neat, is not always decipherable, and the difficulty is compounded when Xhosa names and words are used. It is easy to read 'z' for 'g', 'i' for 'e', 'y' for 's' and 'o' for 'a'. In many cases the context and meaning helped the task of transcription. An example of this kind appears on p.128. What four readers took to be *amagensa*, a word which does not exist in Xhosa, was eventually deciphered as *amazinyo*, meaning 'teeth'. The correct reading was prompted by the earlier information that a child wanted a toothbrush!

Robert John's handwriting

56

April 1853.

Wednesday 1st Tried to make Jennie an April fool, & partially succeeded. Copy reading in the morning. Midday service, & school as usual. Reading again in the evening. Went to see the Woman.

Thursday 2nd Head "Brown" all the morning. Mr. Water, & Slavery arrived directly after midday service. Left for St. Marks about 3. P.M. Dr. Chat with Woodroffe in the evening.

Friday 3rd Good Friday. Services & school as on Sunday. English service in the afternoon. Went to see Woman's hand. Quiet evening.

Saturday 4th St. Marks wagon left about 9. O.D. Dr. very busy putting the chapel nice all the morning. Shortened two fairs after dinner. Chat with Woodroffe in the evening.

Sunday 5th Easter day. Very happy day indeed. Early English Communion. Woodroffe & Siefeldt dined with us. Leah had a bad toothache & so sent her to lie down. Very nice walk after English service. Sing as usual in the evening.

Monday 6th Head had all day. Woodroffe, & 3 big girls went to Incentown, & Siefeldt to St. Marks. No schools. Post came in the evening. Saw a dog's home from the Greytown. Notice for 3rd of April letter.

Tuesday 7th Gave the children pumpkins for dinner. Head had all day in Germanville. Woodroffe came from Incentown about 7. P.M. & Mr. Siefeldt came from St. Marks.

Wednesday 8th Left directly after breakfast for St. Marks.

Jennie's handwriting

April 24th 1863.

Friday 24th Our wedding day. Tiresome land case going on all the morning. Schools as usual. Woodroffe came in, in the evening. Sigfeldt went to St Marks -

Saturday 25th Sat in Sigfeldt's rooms all the morning. Sigfeldt came home from St Marks - Did accounts in the evening. Took a view of the station from the room.

Sunday 26th Prayer Communion after Morning Service. Other services & school as usual. Singing in the evening & chat with Woodroffe till late -

Monday 27th Read 'Romans' in the morning. Gave the children a half holiday for Woodroffes birthday & finished carrying pumpkins. Rather seedy in the evening.

Tuesday 28th Did not go to evening Chapel. Read Romans again. School as usual. Tidy evening -

Wednesday 29th Sick all the morning, with Woodroffe. Took Jerry for the first time. Had Snowdrops bleed, very much afraid I shall lose her with the horse sickness. Girl came to read in the evening. Mr. Water came from St Marks. Long chat in Woodroffes room -

Thursday 30th Mr. Water left about 9.45, & Woodroffe

A number of readers, including Xhosa-speakers, advised about Xhosa names and words but transcription remains tentative in some cases. Mullins frequently spelt the same name, whether English or Xhosa, in different ways. We have used the correct version of English names where we can ascertain them. In other cases we have opted for one rendering of a name and kept to it. The modern spelling of Xhosa names is used in our endnotes. We have tried to retain something of Mullins' own vagaries in spelling. We have, however, ignored obvious slips of the pen, eliminated his archaic 'eat' for 'ate' and only occasionally indicated that 'buissey' was his normal, and idiosyncratic, spelling for 'busy'.

Unusual abbreviations and the ampersand have been rendered in full: '&c' becomes 'etc', 'wh' becomes 'which', 'c' is 'course', 'd' is 'distance', and 'Bp' is 'Bishop'. More conventional abbreviations such as 'Rev' and 'Col' are retained. Where Mullins strings together a number of 'etc's' as a curious stylistic mannerism, only one has been retained.

Mullins' punctuation has been corrected only when necessary to clarify meaning. For example, the entry 'I am very much behind. In worldly affairs' becomes 'I am very much behind in worldly affairs' and the entry 'Put the entrance to the kraal to rights the goats slept there for the first time' appears in the published text with a semi-colon after the word 'rights' viz 'rights;'. Mullins sometimes used capitals in the middle of a sentence, for example, 'a very tempting dish of Potatoes and Pork'. Such capitals have been eliminated in the published text.

Square brackets with a question mark indicate a doubtful reading, for example [Itincaka?]. If there is no question mark, the brackets indicate an insertion, for example, 'I rode [to] King William's Town. We have also used square brackets where we have needed to note that a word or phrase was illegible.

Examples of the original manuscripts face this page. The first, dated September, is in the handwriting of Robert John Mullins. The second, dated December 1863, was written by Jennie Mullins. Her handwriting is usually more legible than that of her husband.

2.2 Sources consulted

A variety of primary and secondary material was consulted by Nancy Charton who visited both local and overseas repositories. These are listed in the bibliography. In addition the terrain mentioned by Mullins was explored, and some attempt was made to tap oral tradition, at least from white informants.

2.3 The terrain

In 1982 Judy Sturrock accompanied Nancy Charton on a visit to the sites of Mullins' activities as a missionary. With the help of Melvin Krull, son of the owner of the farm 'Waterloo', they located the site of Fort Waterloo on a steep hillside. Some of the earthworks, though overgrown with thick mimosa bush, were visible, but the stone work appears to have been dismantled, and the brick chimneys which Mullins described have disappeared.

A drift, presumably the same one mentioned by Mullins, led down to the site of what was once St Luke's mission.¹ Here the only piece of stone-work located in a quick search was a deep, narrow trench, some four feet by two with stone walls and steps leading to the bottom. This was probably the bath-place mentioned by Mullins.

St Mark's mission² to the north was also visited. This is now an important parish in the Diocese of St John's. The mission house has old timbered ceilings and a large fireplace. There are many old buildings on the site, some of which probably date from the earliest years of the mission. The present church is large and modern, and there is no sign of the foundation stone of the early church, which,

1. St Luke's Mission: see below, fn.91.

2. St Mark's Mission: see below, fn.97.

had it survived, would have preserved Mullins' inability to spell!

It was not possible to find the site of St Peter's mission, Gwatyu,³ which Mullins founded, even though Helen Weir, then chairman of the Queenstown Historical Society, offered her expertise. As Mullins had feared, the land was lost to mission enterprise in 1874 when the Thembu were moved eastwards across the Kei. At the time of the visit there was a farm called 'Gwatyu', but Helen Weir knew of no connection between it and Anglican missionary activity, nor of any missionary association with the Pawuleni mountain.⁴ At the time of the visit the farm had been recently expropriated from its white owner, and the black labourers working there could only indicate roughly where a waterfall was to be found; but there was one, and there had been one close to the mission. In the bush-clad valley a pepper tree stood out against the indigenous vegetation, perhaps marking the original site of the mission, but there was no time to investigate further.

At St John's Mission, Bolotwa,⁵ which Mullins founded, there is an old mission house and a very old orchard. Probably both contain elements which could be traced back to their founding. The house was unoccupied at the time of the visit, but the storeroom at the back was open; it had obviously once been a kitchen. St John's remains a parish in the Diocese of Grahamstown.

2.4 Oral tradition

Some attempt was made to elicit oral tradition. Nancy Charton interviewed the late Ruth Knowling, the youngest and last surviving of the Mullins children. Another daughter, the late W.M. Levick, preserved a great deal of family tradition in her cyclostyled work, 'The Lives of Robert and Jennie Mullins' and 'The Diary of Robert Mullins'.

Both Mr and Mrs Krull of the farm 'Waterloo' and Miss Helen Weir of Queenstown helped to identify place names and people mentioned in the diary; but it is clear that oral tradition, if it is to survive, requires continuity of settlement. Among whites, both at St Luke's and at St Peter's, oral tradition reaches back only to the time of their settlement. Among black people it is unlikely that much oral tradition would survive in those two areas where there has been much demographic movement; but there is probably a great deal of oral tradition among more stable black communities, for instance at St Mark's, awaiting exploration by a future scholar interested in mission development.

2.5 Collaboration of co-editors

Nancy Charton accomplished the initial task of preparing the work for publication, including the editing and the elucidation of the text, which involved a wide programme of research. In 1991 Brenda Nicholls accepted appointment by the Board of the Grahamstown Series as co-editor, to work with Nancy in a final revision and preparation of the text, end notes and introduction for publication.

2.6 Note on terminology

Mullins used the terms Hottentot, Kaffirs (or Kafirs), Bushmen and Fingoes (or Fingos) which were current in his time. These have been retained in the diary as published. In editorial comment and annotation we have used the terms that since the 1960s have established themselves in the vocabulary of scholars, if not in the general vocabulary. The word 'coloured' or 'coloureds' is used as a comprehensive description of those inhabitants of South Africa who were descended from Khoi and/or San, and/or slaves (or ex-slaves) and/or whites to whom legal equality with whites was accorded in 1828. The terms 'Xhosa', 'Thembu' and, if necessary, 'black', are obviously preferable to the term 'kafir' which should be confined to the historical context in which it was used. We have

3. St Peter's Mission: see below, fn.104.

4. The outstation St Barnabas' Mission on the Pawuleni mountain, ten miles from St Mark's, was founded in 1858 by Revd H.B. Smith. He was succeeded by Revd J. Gordon (USPG Archives, Waters to SPG, 11.6.1858 and 18.1.1859; Turpin, Report to SPG, 1859).

5. St John's, Bolotwa: see below, fns.95 and 100.

noted recent work on the origins of the 'Fingos'. While acknowledging the diverse origins, roles and circumstances of those whom contemporary whites, like Mullins, called Fingos, we have retained the word 'Mfengu' that was introduced in the 1960s. Even in Mullins's day, the potential for the development of a sense of identity among those whom he called 'Fingos' was present, and the word 'Mfengu' has acquired the respectability of acceptance.

SECTION 3: The historical context of the Diary

3.1 The Church context

The Church situation at the Cape in the early nineteenth century was partly inherited from the days of the Dutch East India Company and partly improvised piecemeal by the new British administration. Under Dutch East India Company rule the Dutch Reformed Church held a virtual monopoly. Only in 1778 were Lutherans allowed to worship. In 1804, during the brief period of Batavian administration, a religious ordinance provided for state protection and financial support for any religion recognising a Supreme Being. This remained in force until Ordinance 7 of 1843 made new provisions.⁶

The Church of England came to the Cape with the troops during the first British occupation of the Cape from 1795-1802 and returned with them in 1806. Initially military chaplains were the only ordained priests and served both the military and the colonists. Two priests were included among the 1820 settlers. They were the Revds F. McLelland and W. Boardman,⁷ who worked in Port Elizabeth and Bathurst respectively. Military chaplains initiated parish work among the residents of Grahamstown where, with the help of a grant of £500 from the S.P.G. a church was started in 1821. Services were held there only from 1830. The church was called St George's.⁸

Until 1827 the Cape churches were under the authority of the Bishop of London (as were other colonial churches). In 1827 a Bishop was appointed for Calcutta, and jurisdiction over the Cape churches was transferred to him. This was a most unsatisfactory situation; an episcopal church required the presence of a permanent Bishop.⁹

The need was recognised in London and in 1839 the Colonial Bishoprics Fund was established to finance colonial sees. An endowment for the new diocese was provided by Miss Angela Burdett Coutts, and in 1848 Dr Robert Gray was consecrated as Bishop of Cape Town. His diocese embraced the whole of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Orange River Sovereignty, Kaffraria, St Helena and Tristan de Cunha. It is not surprising that within a few years he recommended the division of the diocese in order to share his enormous responsibilities. In 1853 John Armstrong was consecrated Bishop of Grahamstown and John William Colenso as Bishop of Natal.¹⁰

A daunting task lay ahead of Gray and his co-workers. While there were some Anglican churches in Cape Town and the eastern Cape, these were largely in the hands of 'shareholders' who, because they rented the pews, claimed to control the church. This was the case even at St George's, Cape Town. There were few ministers of religion. In the eastern districts of the Cape there were only seven priests serving the entire settler community; five were paid by the state. There was little ecclesiastical cohesion.

6. M. Wilson & L. Thompson (eds), *Oxford History of South Africa*, vol.1 (Oxford, 1970), p.275; M. Donaldson, 'Christianity in the period of English colonisation', in J. Hofmeyr and G. Pillay, vol.1, *Christianity in South Africa*, Ch.2, p.40, ff.

7. F. McLelland and W. Boardman - see biographical notes.

8. C.F. Pascoe, *Two hundred years of S.P.G.* (London, 1901), p.304.

9. C. Lewis & G. Edwards, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (London, SPCK, 1934), p.18 ff. Information from Professor M. Donaldson.

10. For Gray, Colenso, and Armstrong - see biographical notes.

The relationship of the church to the colonial government was undefined and this gave rise to many problems in the years ahead. Financial support for the provision of ministers of religion continued until 1875 when the Cape Parliament finally abolished the system of state grants altogether. The control of priests in the diocese and their appointment, however, rested in Bishop Gray's hands. At the very first synod of clergy held in 1849 it was resolved that the church would not admit 'that the Colonial government is in any way to legislate for the internal affairs'.¹¹ This position was maintained in the years ahead, but not without a struggle and some lapses from the principle.

Cohesion and self-reliance among the white congregations were difficult to achieve. Disputes over doctrine and liturgical practices that raged in England had their echoes in South Africa. In Port Elizabeth, for example, Armstrong found St Mary's Church in turmoil in 1853 over the wearing of clerical vestments and over the taking up of a monetary offertory. The faithful had become used to state provision for the church and its needs. There were disputes, too, about the offering of prayers for the dead. Differences over matters of doctrine were fuelled by local disputes and jealousies; for instance, Port Elizabeth congregations resented the fact that Grahamstown had been chosen as the centre of the new diocese.

If work among white colonists was rudimentary and unsatisfactory in the extreme, mission work among indigenous groups was in an even more neglected and backward state. Robert Gray realised this when he toured his vast diocese in 1848 and again in 1850. He determined that the Church for which he was responsible should undertake missionary work. In the vain hope that association with the High Commissioner would help him accomplish this, Gray accompanied Sir Harry Smith¹² to King William's Town¹³ in the aftermath of the War of the Axe when Smith, in characteristically arrogant and bombastic style, met the assembled chiefs and presented Gray to them as the 'Inkosi Inkulu' (Great Chief) in religion, appointed to teach all in the land the way to heaven. He offered the chiefs schools and missionaries.¹⁴

One chief who appeared to respond positively was Mhala. He showed his interest both at the meeting and later through the magistrate. He evidently saw an advantage in having his own resident missionary.¹⁵ Missionaries could be useful intermediaries between the chiefs and the white authorities. Bishop Gray requested Archdeacon Merriman¹⁶ to follow up this initial contact. In March

11. *Church Chronicle*, Vol.III, No.11, Nov 1882.

12. Sir Harry Smith - see biographical notes.

13. King William's Town, originally the site of John Brownlee's mission station, was the military headquarters of Sir Harry Smith during the Sixth Frontier War and the most important administrative (or military) centre in the territory of British Kaffraria when that territory was annexed in 1847. A civil magistrate was stationed there to deal with whites, and the population gradually grew through the 1850s. An Anglican church, built with the aid of the military and of resident civilians, was consecrated in 1855. A large hospital was built in 1859 as part of Grey's civilising policy. Land was made available in town and district to white settlers and there was a thriving commercial community, and a wagon-building industry. There was also a newspaper, *The Kaffrarian Gazette*. By 1864 the population of the town consisted of over 4 000, more than half white. In the district there were forty-four farms most occupied by German settlers who had come out after the Crimean War. The rural white population comprised over 1500 people.

14. R. Gray, *Journal of the Bishop's visitation tour through the Cape Colony in 1848* (London, SPCK, 1851), p.47.

15. Numerous scholars have pointed to chiefs' perception of the advantages which missions might hold for them. Among others see N. Etherington, 'Preachers, peasants and politics in South East Africa 1835-1880', *Royal Historical Society*, London, 1978. p.49; M. Wilson, 'Co-operation and conflict: the eastern Cape frontier', *The Oxford History of South Africa*, vol.1. For Mhala - see biographical notes.

16. N.J. Merriman - see biographical notes.

1850 Merriman walked from King William's Town to Fort Waterloo.¹⁷ Mhala liked Merriman. He received him graciously and wished Merriman to be his resident missionary. Merriman was not greatly impressed by Mhala,¹⁸ but his request for a missionary was honoured. In 1853 Edward Clayton, priest, and William Garde, catechist, accompanied by a carpenter and a stone mason and with Hewitson as interpreter, arrived to found St Luke's Mission. The foundation stone of the chapel was laid on 18 October 1854, just after the arrival of Armstrong.

3.2 The political context

The most problematic situation of all related to the state of military control which prevailed in the eastern Cape. Armstrong, after his first journey to St. Luke's Mission in British Kaffraria¹⁹ in September 1855 wrote 'In this journey we have not visited a single town or village not reared under the shadow of the bayonet. It is a region of forts, this loveliest part of the eastern province.'²⁰

For almost three-quarters of a century the indigenous peoples had been subjected to the expansionist pressures of white colonists. Their territory had been systematically expropriated by the colonial government. The most recent of the frontier wars were those of the War of the Axe 1846-1848, which was followed by the aggressive assertiveness of Sir Harry Smith's frontier policy, and the War of Mlanjeni, a bitter conflict which left the Xhosa chiefdoms much weaker. They were deprived of more land which was re-allocated.

Sir George Grey²¹ was appointed Governor and High Commissioner in 1854. He planned to consolidate colonial control over the eastern districts by education and the Christian conversion of the tribes living there, rather than by military means. Mission stations, schools and hospitals were to be founded. Soldier-settlers would be located among the Xhosa whose pattern of living was to be transformed by the creation of villages. Paid labour would provide an alternative means of livelihood for the Xhosa. Chiefs, or at least some of them, would receive salaries but they would lose authority, and magistrates would become important as agents of control. The British Government was persuaded to vote £40 000 per annum for three years, 1855 to 1857, to promote educational and industrial work on the frontier. Armstrong was quick to augment his meagre financial resources from this source in order to set up additional mission stations. Perhaps the experience of being, in

17. Fort Waterloo, situated on the Xinira River near Mhala's Great Place, was built in 1835 and abandoned in 1836. It was intended to be one of a chain of ten forts to protect Queen Adelaide's Land. The earth works are still visible, and they are still impressive, though overgrown with bush. The stone- and brickwork of which Mullins spoke in the diary has disappeared. A description of the fort may be found in M. Taylor's article on 'St Luke's Mission', *The Coelacanth*, April 1969.

18. N.J. Merriman, *The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman 1848-55*, edited by D.H. Varley and H.M. Matthew, Van Riebeeck Society, No.37, (Cape Town, 1957), pp.100-04. For Merriman, see biographical notes.

19. The territory annexed as British Kaffraria in 1847 lay between the Keiskamma and Kei river. It was the southern part of the territory previously annexed by D'Urban in 1835, but subsequently abandoned. In annexing this (and other) territories Smith exercised his powers as High Commissioner, an office which was first attached to the Cape Governorship on the appointment of Pallinger, Sir Harry's immediate predecessor. The High Commissioner was authorised to act for the Crown beyond the borders of the Cape Colony. Smith, as High Commissioner, made provision for the appointment of magistrates and officials in the newly acquired territory. In 1853 Smith's successor, Sir George Cathcart, expelled the Xhosa from the Amatola mountains when the Crown Reserve was established and Mfengu were allowed to settle. To the south a Ngqika location was established where young Chief Sandili ruled from his Great Place on the Kabusi River. Mhala's country lay north of the Buffalo River while a number of other chiefs, including Pato (of the Gqunukwebe), Siwani, Mkai, and Kama were placed south of the Buffalo. (J.A. Benyon, *Proconsul and Paramountcy in South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg, 1980, pp.20 and 53; *Cape of Good Hope Almanac, 1854*, p.252 ff).

20. Quoted in C. Lewis & G. Edwards, *Historical Records*, p.49.

21. Sir George Grey - see biographical notes.

England, an 'established church' made it easier for Anglicans to accept government grants. By contrast the 'independent churches' (Congregationalists and Baptists) were not allowed to accept state funds.

In their eager co-operation with the state the missionary bishops were apparently not always aware of the crucial dilemma of the missionary church; at root, it was impossible for missionaries both to satisfy the civil and military authorities on the one hand, and to meet the expectations of the Xhosa chiefs and people. Civil and military authorities expected the missionaries to be the agents of pacification. Chiefs and their followers wanted the missionaries to be effective intermediaries who would help them resist, evade, or, at least, survive conquest, subjugation and repression.

By the mid-1850s the Anglican church had four missions on the eastern frontier. One of these was St Luke's on the Xinira river located in the territory of Mhala. Armstrong was responsible for founding three others: St Matthew's at Keiskammahoek at the centre of the Crown Reserve which Sir George Cathcart had created in 1854 and where Mfengu²² were located; St John's Mission on the Kabusi river under Revd J.T.W. Allen, which it was hoped would influence Sandili and his followers; and St Mark's mission beyond the Kei river, under the Revd H. Waters which was designed to serve the Gcaleka under Sarhili.²³ In addition there was to be state support for an industrial school in Grahamstown, later established as the Kafir Institution.

The interests of the state and the aims of the missionaries appear to have coincided in the strategic siting of the four new missions. Each was located near an important chief who was asked to agree to the grant of land.²⁴ To achieve his policy of pacification through civilisation, Sir George Grey made grants to support industrial education. Officials hoped that conversion and the inculcation of a new lifestyle would help pacify the frontier. For the missionaries peace was a means to an end; they hoped to avoid alienating chiefs and to win converts to the Christian faith.

In the frontier situation peace depended on the military, and there was generally co-operation and cordiality between missionaries and soldiers. This is clearly reflected in the diary. The military helped with Armstrong's travel arrangements. The officers were a part of the white society of frontier towns and were very evident, for example, in the guest list for the reception given by the Armstrongs on their arrival. The military were welcome visitors at the mission stations.

It would have been unthinkable for missionaries to deny goodwill to the military, but this did not mean that Anglican missionaries welcomed the role of being the official agents of the state. Waters complained in one of his letters that the horrible perception that he was a government agent annoyed

22. The identity of the Mfengu is now a matter of controversy. In Mullins' time, and for a long time thereafter, the view prevailed that they were refugees from Shaka, the broken fragments of the Zizi, Hlubi and Bhele clans who sought refuge with Hintsa, and whose name was derived from the Xhosa *siyamnfengusa* (we are hungry). The older view that they were 'rescued' from Hintsa is questionable but many were certainly re-located in the area of Peddie following the Sixth Frontier War. In the 1850s many were settled in the Crown Reserve which Cathcart created and in 1865 many were moved into territory taken from Sarhili. Contemporaries noted their receptivity to the Christian gospel. Mullins, in a report to SPG for 1877-78, gave his opinion that the Mfengu and Sotho had a greater thirst for education and civilisation than was usual among the 'Kafirs' and Key noted that most of the native ministry in the latter part of the nineteenth century was recruited from Mfengu (Pascoe, *SPG*, p.316; USPG Archives, Mullins' report to SPG, 1877-78; A. Webster, 'Land expropriation and labour extraction under Cape colonial rule: the War of 1835 and the "emancipation of the Fingo"', MA thesis, Rhodes University, 1991; A. Webster, 'Unmasking the Fingo, The War of 1836 Revisited' in C. Hamilton, *the Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructed Debates in Southern Africa History* (Johannesburg & Pietermaritzburg, 1995).

23. Sarhili - see biographical notes.

24. Armstrong himself favoured placing missions close to chiefs lest they became a kind of *imperium in imperio* whither discontented followers might flee from their chiefs. As areas close to chiefs were not always the most populous, outstations were needed to reach the people. (USPG Archives, Armstrong to SPG, 1856).

him at every step. In 1863 the Church of England formulated a regulation which precluded their missionaries from assuming any prerogative of civil power. Armstrong was undoubtedly aware of the dilemma in which the church was caught and told of his meeting with a messenger from Sarhili who said to him: 'Missionaries are always preaching against war. Now why do not the English listen to you themselves and give up fighting?'²⁵

3.3 Frontier mission stations

(a) The situation at St Luke's

The mission was situated on the Xinira river just north of Mhala's Great Place. An official census taken by Maclean in 1848 listed approximately 43 headmen or homesteads along the river, 31 along the Qunubi river and 17 along the Ixobongo. Mhala controlled a total of 570 kraals comprising 10 018 people in all.²⁶

The territory of British Kaffraria annexed to the Crown in 1848, did not form part of the Cape Colony until 1865. It was a distinct territory under the High Commissioner who appointed local officials. In 1855 the Chief Commissioner was Lt.Col. J. Maclean with his headquarters at Fort Murray, near King William's Town. Gawler, the special magistrate living close to Mhala's Great Place was expected to supervise the way in which Mhala exercised his authority, encourage agriculture, promote civilization and gain the confidence of the people.²⁷

In 1849 there were only 500 whites in the entire area. It is obvious from the diary that the missionaries at St Luke's, living in a predominantly black world, interacted with Mhala's people very much on Mhala's terms. King William's Town was their only point of contact with other whites, apart of course from the ubiquitous military. But in terms of Sir George Grey's new policy, change was coming.²⁸ Roads were being constructed; work began on a large hospital in the town; white settlements were projected and the first 100 erven had been surveyed for occupation by military pensioners. A new Anglican church had been built with the aid of the military and of local residents.²⁹

Mullins spent a year at St Luke's mission and, as his diary shows, found the local people indifferent to the new teaching. The mission people seemed to interact only with Mhala and his immediate family and with a few neighbouring kraals.

(b) The situation at St Mark's

In 1856 Mullins was transferred to St Mark's mission. Established a year earlier by the Revd H.T. Waters, this mission was situated north of the Kei river, just beyond the colonial boundary in Sarhili's country. Bishop Gray reported that the population was approximately 90 000 on the Gcaleka side of the Kei.³⁰

However, much of the work of the mission lay within the Queenstown division of the colony, among the Thembu people in an area that has been called 'a forgotten frontier' zone in Cape history.³¹ According to Waters 10 000 Thembu lived in the area included within the colonial borders;

25. Lewis & Edwards, *Historical Records*, p.255.

26. J. Maclean, *Compendium of Native Laws*, (Cape Town, 1866). See also biographical notes.

27. John C. Gawler - see biographical notes.

28. Benyon, *Proconsul and Paramountcy*, chapter 4, pp.63-64.

29. Holy Trinity Church in King William's Town was built between 1850 and 1856 and finally consecrated by Bishop Henry Cotterill in February 1861 (Pat de Blocq, *Holy Trinity Church, King William's Town*, pamphlet n.d.).

30. Gray, *Journal of the visitation*, p.47.

31. E. Wagenaar, 'A forgotten frontier zone: settlements and reactions in the Stormberg area, 1820-1860', *Archives Year Book* 1982, vol.2 (Pretoria, 1984).

and it was among them that Mullins established the outstations at St John's, Bolotwa, and St Peter's, Gwatyu (see map).

The Thembu people experienced both division and conquest. Mapassa, chief of the amaTshatshu Thembu, fought vehemently against the colonial forces during the Mlanjeni War. His unexpected death in January 1852 provoked charges of witchcraft against a senior councillor and against Mapassa's Great Wife i.e. the mother of the heir.³² For the amaTshatshu Thembu factional disputes coincided with conquest. Mapassa's followers disintegrated and lost land. Whites asserted authority and occupied farms. A village, Queenstown, was established on the Komani river and a magistrate was appointed. Queenstown grew rapidly.³³

A Thembu location was established in the area now known as Glen Grey. This was for chiefs who had not participated in the War of Mlenjeni as well as some who had been defeated. Problems of authority among the chiefs were part of the context in which the missionaries worked. Prominent among those chiefs were Nonesi of the Hala lineage, Ndarhala, of the amaNdungwana Thembu and Yoliswa of the amaTshatshu. In the Thembu location officials regarded Nonesi as the regent for her stepson, Qeya or Ngangelizwe, the minor heir to the paramountcy over all the Thembu in the whole eastern Cape in succession to Mtirara (died 1848); but her position was by no means simple and straightforward. Joyi, the uncle of Qeya, lived among the Thembu who resided in the vicinity of the Bashee River, in still independent Kaffraria. He was accorded high status by all the Thembu, including Nonesi. Ndarhala, the chief of the amaNdingwana, had been elevated to the chieftaincy by the British and was expected to keep an eye on his recalcitrant father, Quesha, who had been deposed by the British. Yoliswa of the amaTshatshu was the widow and the sister of chiefs who had fought vehemently against the British. She was the widow of Mapassa while Siyolo, her brother, was transported to Robben Island after his role in the Mlanjeni War. She was regarded as regent for the remnant of the amaTshatshu who still retained some cohesion and who were placed in the south of the Thembu location.³⁴

By 1856, within a year of its founding, considerable progress had been made at St Mark's mission. Among the Thembu 147 children were enrolled in schools at the *imizis* of Ilizmi, Phillip (Quesha's brother) and Faku.³⁵ To ensure a crucial water supply irrigation works were constructed. Already there was some farming activity that was supervised by G. Reynolds.³⁶

Waters' reports and Mullins' diary show how constant was the interaction at St Mark's between the missionaries and the neighbouring people, both black and white. Traders and settlers were involved with the local population far more than at St Luke's, and the military presence was ubiquitous. This was probably why the mission at St Mark's achieved more than among the people

32. *Ibid.*, pp.175-76.

33. Queenstown was founded in 1853 by Sir George Cathcart when land which had once been occupied by the Thembu was assigned for white occupation. Four hundred farms were occupied. By 1860 the town could boast a bank, a public library, a town hall, a municipal council, two churches and a chapel, two doctors and a chemist. By 1865 it had a population of just over a thousand, 70% of them white. It was a frontier trading centre that served not only its own district but the areas beyond the colonial borders. The *Queenstown Free Press* founded in 1853 testifies to the vigorous commercial life of the town which experienced great prosperity in the middle decades of the nineteenth century (J. Hemming quoted in the *Daily Representative*, Queenstown, 16.9.1953; Census of the Cape Colony, 1865; *Queenstown Free Press*, vol.V, No.214, 10.3.1863)

34. For leading Thembu personalities (Mapassa, Nonesi, Qeya or Ngangelizwe, Mtirara, Joyi, Ndarhala, Quesha, Yoliswa, and Seyolo) - see biographical notes.

35. *Church Chronicle*, Vol.IV, No.6, July 1883, p.214.

36. Irrigation works were crucial to survival on many mission stations and often served as an example. Mullins completed a water course of three-quarters of a mile long to find that residents further up the stream had followed his example (see USPG Archives, Mullins to SPG, 15.1.1858). Some of the irrigation works at St Mark's and St John's survive today.

at St Luke's. In the area served by St Mark's, the Thembu people were already losing their traditional values and sense of identity and were, perhaps, more susceptible to conversion. It is generally acknowledged that missionaries win converts more easily among broken social and political groups such as the Mfengu and Gqunukwebe.³⁷ By contrast, at St Luke's, the people of Mhala were unresponsive and virtually nothing was accomplished until after the Cattle-Killing; their sense of identity was still strong.

3.4 Mission strategies

It is obvious from Mullins' diary that the missionary strategy was based on education. At first teachers went to the people offering literacy and the Gospel. The gatherings were held out of doors, mainly for children, though all members of the homestead were free to attend. The initial approach was thus to family groups. At each homestead a school captain or *igosa* was appointed whose duty it was to collect the children. For their services the captains received a small present (usually clothing) and a bonus for good attendance.³⁸ In the second phase promising children were taken from their home environment and family context and given more intensive instruction. This strategy doubtless aided the acculturation of the children, but it also tended to isolate Christian converts from their social roots; in other words it tended to marginalise them.

Supervising the missionary endeavour were the Bishops of Grahamstown. Armstrong devised a strategy which discouraged mission settlements. But Cotterill³⁹ had to address the post Cattle-Killing situation where the mission stations became the magnet for starving refugees and, whatever the preferred ideas, settlements of refugee peoples became the facts of mission life. Cotterill spent fourteen years in the Diocese of Grahamstown, long enough to impress his stamp on it and on Anglicanism in South Africa. Though Cotterill was evangelical in outlook, he worked well with Bishop Gray, who found him a valuable ally in the ecclesiastical disputes of the period.

In his pamphlet entitled *The Duty of the Church Towards the Heathen* (published 1867) Cotterill articulated very specifically the aims which were already guiding his mission policy. Drawing on his earlier experience in India, where he had been chaplain to the East India Company at Madras, and on his observations of the situation in the Cape, Cotterill criticised the church because Christianity had failed to become 'indigenous or acclimatized among those who accept it'. Converts tended to remain feeble dependants on the teaching and authority of foreign pastors and to receive from them a new religion as a system wholly external to their own national interest and social life. Christians needed to be educated into maturity in Christ and to qualify as Christians, not merely by the assimilation of instruction but through participation in the duties of church membership. They needed not merely to be 'under authority' but to exercise it in their own proper place. All confirmed members of the church should have a vote in church matters, exercise lay offices and be involved in 'temporal and spiritual ministrations in a voluntary capacity'. Finally it was essential that native Christians be ordained deacons and presbyters and that this 'native ministry' be supported financially by the 'native Christians' themselves. Cotterill thus defined the goal of the church in the mission field as 'self supporting native churches with native pastors'.⁴⁰

37. M. Ashley, 'Universes in collision: a study of early nineteenth century missionary education in South Africa' (*Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 38, March 1982).

38. Most Victorian missionaries thought Xhosa traditional dress indecent and insisted on European-style clothing. Their presents of clothing were eagerly received and ultimately Christian converts themselves assumed that European clothes were an essential part of their Christian identity.

39. H. Cotterill - see biographical notes.

40. H. Cotterill, *The duty of the Church towards the heathens*, USPG Archives, 1867, bound pamphlets. For the comparable hopes of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions see Etherington, 'Preachers', p.25.

There is some evidence in the diary which points to the tentative implementation of this policy. Regular meetings were held on mission stations to discuss station affairs. In 1862 Greenstock reported on the monthly meeting of his five 'native agents'. They breakfasted together, held a service and then conferred about the affairs of the congregation and measures for the advancement of the Gospel among the heathen.⁴¹ Black teachers were used from the very beginning, and the local people were, where possible, drawn into the work of education and evangelization. Training was offered. At the Mission Conference in 1863 the Revd H.R. Woodrooffe was appointed examining chaplain to supervise the studies of deacons, catechists and schoolmasters, all of whom were subjected to quarterly examination.⁴² The system of learning 'on the job', which Mullins himself experienced, could easily be adapted to the training of an African ministry. The first black Anglican priest, the Revd Petrus Masiza, was actually ordained in 1877.⁴³

Cotterill also insisted on the importance of using Xhosa for all services on mission stations. The realisation of this goal had to await the translation of the Prayer Book which was undertaken by Woodrooffe in 1864.⁴⁴ Where there were groups of Khoikhoi people on stations, Dutch was used as a medium for worship and instruction.

Cotterill always stressed that the main goal of missionaries must be to teach the great truths of the Christian faith. In 1857 he had written:

It is doubtless also necessary to expound and enforce the moral law of God, but unless at the same time you lead them to Christ as the end of the law, your warnings and exhortations will produce no satisfactory result, nor have you any right to expect a blessing on your labours.⁴⁵

As Mullins' diary clearly shows, there was a perceived tension between the Gospel and the moral system of the indigenous peoples. On the mission stations this tension was resolved by the imposition of a western Christian moral system. Paradoxically this was one of the chief barriers to conversion. Cotterill seems to have had a real concern for the indigenisation of the Gospel, for the formulation of the 'great Christian truths' in African terms, but he had little success in achieving this goal.

In one sense the goal of an independent 'native' church was taken very seriously. Most applications to the SPG for aid for new mission projects stressed that the aim was to achieve financial self-sufficiency. This is clearly demonstrated in the history of the Kafir Institution, which eventually accomplished this goal.

Many missionary endeavours of the Anglican church were crowned with success. The diary reveals a very rapid growth in church membership at St Mark's Mission. In 1858, four years after the founding of the mission, the first baptismal service was held at which ten men, seven women and three boys were baptised.⁴⁶ Thereafter Mullins was led to reflect that conversion was becoming an everyday affair.

But Cotterill's main goal of 'self-supporting native churches with native pastors' was not to be realised in the nineteenth, nor even in the twentieth century. In 1907 Bishop Cornish's annual report to the SPG reflects six native priests and two deacons whose stipends were paid from the Diocesan

41. USPG Archives, Greenstock, report to SPG, 1862.

42. *Gazette and Border Intelligencer*, King William's Town, 2.2.1863.

43. Pascoe, *SPG*, p.315. See also M. Goedhals, 'Unqumpriste: a study of the life of Peter Masiza, first black priest in the Church of the Province of South Africa', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, No.68, September 1989, pp.17-28.

44. Woodrooffe - see biographical notes.

45. USPG Archives, H. Cotterill, circular to all missionaries, 22.7.1857.

46. *Ibid.*; Cotterill to SPG, 21.1.1858.

Native Ministry Fund established in 1877 and funded by African congregations. This fund was never adequate to the needs of African Christians in the Diocese. In 1908 it was reported to be overdrawn 'and we shall have difficulty in finding the money needed for the current year.' The bishop had hoped to ordain two African candidates from St Matthew's but this had to be postponed 'and they will have to return to their work as catechists until such time as our funds improve.' This was in spite of the very low stipends paid to African priests at that time.

It is ironic that a policy conceived with the intention of allowing African Christians to take their rightful place as fully fledged, responsible members of the Anglican Church, should ultimately have led to restricting their development. The insistence on the self-sufficiency of African congregations fell away in the twentieth century. But the vast difference in the economic standing of the two groups (black and white) led to black Christians occupying and accepting comparatively low status in the hierarchy of the church until the 1970s when the campaign against racism forced the church to re-evaluate the racial barriers which existed within it and to transform its structures.⁴⁷

Why did Cotterill fail to attain his stated objective? One of the most important reasons for the stunting of the development of a relatively autonomous black mission church and the emergence of black Christians who could contribute to the development of that church spiritually, intellectually and materially, must be found in the political subjugation and impoverishment of the black people on the eastern Cape frontier in the second-half of the nineteenth century.

SECTION 4: The socio-economic context: the crisis of the Cattle-Killing

4.1 The Cattle-Killing

The Cattle-Killing was a crucial event in the history of the Xhosa people and of the frontier generally. It certainly had a major impact on missionary enterprise. Robert John Mullins was witness to this event and recorded his observations in the diary published in this volume.

During the previous decades the experiences of war and peace alike had harassed, threatened and endangered the Xhosa people. Precarious stability alternated with savage conflict. In the three wars between 1834 and 1853 the Xhosa had gained some successes and inflicted loss of life and material possessions on soldiers and settlers; but, against the superior material resources and weapons of the colonial authorities, they could wage only losing battles. Each war was followed by loss of territory, the removal and resettlement of people and the undermining of traditional authority. All the while the trader and the missionary, each in his different way, challenged the existing pattern of living and of religious attitudes and beliefs. The destructive method of warfare used against the Xhosa and the appalling loss of livestock through horse sickness and cattle disease brought the Xhosa people to the point of ultimate despair. Conventional methods of resistance seemed hopeless.

Pressure of people on land disrupted the old grazing patterns. Young men could no longer rely on the early acquisition of their own fields to set up their homesteads. The game, hunted for food and for commercial purposes, began to disappear. Lung sickness afflicted the herds of cattle which were the economic, religious and social basis of Xhosa society. Political fragmentation followed in the wake of defeat and of territorial losses. Colonial intervention encouraged rivalry among chiefdoms while social divisions and tensions were emerging between educated and uneducated, rich and poor, collaborators and resisters, Christians and pagans, old and young.

Sir George Grey's plans for frontier settlement were hardly novel, but the confidence and speed with which he sought to implement them added to the stress which Xhosa society was undergoing. Recent work by Clifton Crais⁴⁸ has drawn attention once again to the resentment of chiefs who

47. *Ibid.*, Bishop Cornish, Annual Report to SPG, 1908; Merriman to SPG, 2.2.1887; Bishop K. Oram to N. Charton, 17.8.1983; and personal observation and recollection of Revd N. Charton.

48. C. Crais, *The making of the colonial order* (Johannesburg, 1992).

received a government salary but forfeited the power to retain the fines they levied. Chiefs lost the power of patronage. Traditional authority structures were being deliberately undermined by the colonial government which sought to make the chiefs dependent on its goodwill.

Into this situation of multiple social stress came Mhlakaza, until then a little known prophet of Sarhili's people. Through the medium of Nongqawuse,⁴⁹ his 'niece', he listened to, and interpreted, the voices of the ancestral spirits who spoke of a Xhosa renaissance and the return of long dead heroes. This would inaugurate a period of regeneration; the old would become young, lost herds would be restored, grain pits would be filled to overflowing. There would be an abundance of clothing and ornaments, guns, ammunition and wagons. Whites, Mfengu and non-believing Xhosa would all be destroyed by this great event. But purification and sacrifice were necessary to bring about the ultimate deliverance. The people were to spurn witchcraft, slaughter their cattle, destroy their growing crops and refrain from cultivation. Huts were to be refurbished and grain pits mended and made new for the great day. And on that day, set first for the end of October 1856, and finally for 27 February 1857, the sun would rise and set in the east and the prophecies would be fulfilled.

Many believed the message, and the prophecy spread from the Gcaleka to other peoples. Mullins described the reaction of the people of the Thembu location. Chiefs sent to Mhlakaza for confirmation of the killing and of the prophecies. It was as if the 'great illusion' proclaimed by Mhlakaza met a common need among the African peoples on the frontier. Slowly at first the people began to obey Mhlakaza, whose commands were endorsed by Sarhili, Mhala⁵⁰ and finally, though tardily, by Sandili. The killing and destruction spread.

Whites, insensitive to the accumulated pressures which the Xhosa had had to bear, were confronted with a phenomenon that was outside the range of their comprehension. Sir George Grey sought to convince others, and perhaps himself, that there was evidence of a plot among the chiefs. For others it was a demonstration of mass folly.

The successive days that had been set for the fulfilment of the prophecy, came and went. There was no reversal of the natural order, no great wind to sweep away what afflicted the Xhosa, and, instead of the promised plenty, there was appalling dearth and social dislocation.

The physical, psychological and social effects of the Cattle-Killing were immense.⁵¹ In the aftermath of the disaster chiefs like Fadana and Qwesha who had slaughtered begged and raided from others who had not. Often those who had food did share it with those who had not; but soon hunger was evident everywhere, among believers and unbelievers alike. Some moved in search of food.

Stalwart attempts on the part of colonial officials and especially missionaries failed to check the killing and destruction. The colonial authorities acted to control the situation, to punish lawlessness, to distribute famine relief and to organise a flow of labour in the form of destitute Xhosa moving westward into the Colony.

Mullins witnessed the action that was taken against Fadana and Qwesha for which Walter Currie, the commandant of the recently created Frontier Armed Mounted Police,⁵² was knighted. "We

49. Mhlakaza and Nongqawuse - see biographical notes.

50. Mhala - see biographical notes. Mhala hoped for his own rejuvenation and the resurrection of his father and dead relatives (USPG Archives, Greenstock to SPG, 2.10.1857).

51. Jeff Peires endorses the contemporary estimate of the Bishop of Grahamstown that 40 000 Xhosa perished. Peires estimates that 150 000 Xhosa were displaced and that by January 1857, 4000 000 cattle had perished (J. Peires, *The dead will arise: Nongqawuse and the great Xhosa cattle-killing movement of 1856-7* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1989).

52. The district forces of some divisions of the eastern Cape, first formed in 1852, were amalgamated into the Frontier Armed Police (17 officers and 500 non-commissioned officers and men) in 1857 under the command of Sir Walter Currie. It captured Fadana and Qwesha in 1855 and expelled Sarhili across the Mbashe in 1858. J. Rutherford, *Sir George Grey* (London, 1961), pp.383-89; *Historical record of the*

hunted this tribe of freebooters numbering (from the best authority) about 900 fighting men, for three days, shooting down forty-nine of their number, besides wounded, capturing 120 horses, 22 goats and 8 head of cattle, and destroying by fire the whole of their kraals and huts."⁵³

Africans were brought to trial for theft or for receiving stolen goods. By the end of 1857 there were 900 prisoners who had been transported to Robben Island, among them Mhala, Qwesha and Fadana. Sarhili was driven beyond the Bashee river and his territory devastated by colonial troops. Only in 1864 was he permitted to return. His territory was then reduced to one-third of its original size by the resettlement of a large group of Mfengu and Thembu.⁵⁴

The relative depopulation of many areas gave rise to strong pressures from white colonists; they wished to be allowed to occupy the 'vacant land'. In and around Queenstown whites hoped to secure the Thembu location of 400 000 acres. But they were not successful. Ndarhala and Nonesi had remained loyal to the colonial government. Ndarhala moved to Emigrant Thembuland but Nonesi steadfastly refused the offer of alternative land across the Kei river. Since those who had 'killed' and who had been involved in the subsequent disorder were merely squatters on Thembu land, their wrongdoing could not justify the expulsion of all the Thembu. For a time at least the location remained unscathed. In the south Mhala's people were less fortunate. Their land was forfeit and made available to German soldiers and settlers and to others interested in purchasing farms.⁵⁵

During the crisis mission stations, supported by the colonial government, distributed corn to aid the starving people. The policy was that people should be required to work for their sustenance. Waters employed 90 men at St Mark's at sixpence a day and a quart of mealies; women were employed to cut thatching grass. Mullins sometimes visited St Mark's to supervise the work there. Food was also made available to those who could no longer work and to those trekking into the Colony to look for work. Mission stations were used as meeting points for those coming to recruit labour. Several such parties are mentioned in the diary. In 1856 Mullins observed that he did not think the visiting farmers had much hope of recruiting labour but, within the year, the situation had altered radically. Grey could say with satisfaction to Parliament: "A restless nation who for years have harassed the frontier may now to a great extent be turned into useful labourers."⁵⁶

In all the controversy and discussion of the Cattle-Killing two questions seem crucial; how is it to be explained, and how did it affect the missionary work undertaken in the Ciskei?

Ideas of a deliberate plot, whether of the colonial authorities or of the chiefs themselves, have been discounted, and most scholars see the Cattle-Killing as a millenarian movement comparable with the many that have arisen in different places and at different times. Comparisons with millenarian movements in colonial situations seem particularly apposite.

Writers in the field⁵⁷ do not offer a theory of millenarianism; but they do offer a great deal of

Cape Mounted Riflemen (Cape Town, 1893) pp.3-7; Peires, *Dead will arise*, p.284. For W. Currie, Fadana and Qwesha - see biographical notes.

53. Rutherford, *Sir George Grey*, p.384 quoting Walter Currie.

54. Peires, *Dead will arise*, pp.227-37, 281-86 and 322-24.

55. Between 1857-59 4000 Germans immigrated to the Ciskei on the initiative of Sir George Grey. Many of them were members of the German Legion recruited for, but not used in, the Crimean War. Not all stayed at the Cape. Some who stayed were employed as technical instructors on mission stations and might be allowed beyond the frontier, e.g. at St Mark's (Rutherford, *Sir George Grey*, p.361 ff; *Church Chronicle*, Vol.VI, No.11, Nov 1885, p.336).

56. Quoted in B. Keller, 'Millenarianism and Resistance: the Xhosa Cattle-Killing', *Journal of African and Asian Studies*, Vol.XIII, No's 1 and 2, 1978, p.108.

57. See the following: Keller, 'Millenarianism and Resistance'; M. Barkun, *Disaster and the millennium*, (Yale University Press, 1974); N. Cohn, *The pursuit of the millennium*, (OUP, New York, 1970); V. Lanternari, *The religions of the oppressed: a study of modern messianic cults*, (London, 1963); P. Worsley, *The trumpet shall sound*, (London, 1957); A. Wipperfurth, *Rural rebels*, (OUP, 1977); D. Aberle,

comparative material alongside of which to set the Cattle-Killing. In a detailed and scientific study of the historical contexts they have built up what may be termed an aetiology of the phenomenon. It is evident that the prelude to the Cattle-Killing exemplifies nearly all the characteristics noted by such scholars. The Xhosa were beset by the typical colonial disaster; they had lost their land; acculturation was proceeding apace and causing social disorganisation; the lung sickness among their cattle was a major catastrophe; the Xhosa polity was beset by disunity with the authority of the chiefs deliberately undermined by the colonial government and challenged by 'commoners';⁵⁸ landlessness was creating severe strains as between old and young and rival allegiances. Above all there was a sense of frustration, or what Aberle⁵⁹ calls 'blockage'. Since political negotiation and war had brought nothing but defeat and further hardship it was natural for the Xhosa, and 'reasonable' within their own cultural terms, to turn to the supernatural. This was not a new strategy, but in earlier instances when Xhosa had followed prophets they had looked to the spirits of their ancestors to aid them in war. In 1856-7 their reliance on the supernatural was complete: they planned no general war, but hoped for spontaneous regeneration by supernatural means.

Whatever its other dimensions the Cattle-Killing was an important event in the history of resistance. Distress and despair, interacting with the will to survive, created the emotional climate in which prophecies, which invoked the supernatural and could be interpreted in terms of indigenous cosmology, won support and credence and developed a tragic momentum which it was difficult to resist or counter. There are clearly resonances with earlier conflicts in which prophet figures played their part such as Nxele and Mlanjeni.⁶⁰ In some ways the Cattle-Killing preludes some later protest movements in South Africa such as the 'Bambatha' rebellion. Even the growth of Zionism when separatist churches developed has some features in common with the Cattle-Killing: the experience of distress and frustration, the will to accommodate the indigenous, the determination to hope and the appeal to the supernatural. Thus M. Wilson typifies the Cattle-Killing as both a revivalist and a resistance movement, formulated in ideas totally consistent with the traditional religion.

For Jeff Peires the Cattle-Killing was not a 'pagan reaction'.⁶¹ He attributes the prophecies to the potent impact of Christian beliefs on Xhosa cosmology at a time of drought, disease and the acute deprivation of a prolonged and bitter war. He does not satisfy all scholars. Tim Stapleton, for example, in his recent biography of Maqoma sees the Cattle-Killing as the manifestation of strains within Xhosa society. Commoners killed cattle - the property of the chiefs - as a protest against the failure of the chiefs to save their people from loss of land and the thrust of colonial expansion. Chiefs, for their part, prohibited cultivation to undermine popular protest by denying to the people their means of survival.⁶² So complex a tragedy as the Cattle-Killing still challenges full explanation. What Mullins' diary shows is the near anarchy of the frontier, the genuine alarm and insecurity of the whites, the appalling dilemma of Xhosa and Thembu, and the assured conviction of a young white missionary, R J Mullins, that the Cattle-Killing was wholly irrational, undeniably pagan and, indeed, of the devil.

'A note on relative deprivation theory as applied to millenarianism and other cult movements' in S.L. Thrupp (ed.) *Millennial dreams in action comparative studies in society and history*, Supplement II, (The Hague, 1962); T. Ranger, 'Connections between primary resistance movements and modern mass nationalism in east and central Africa', Parts 1 & 2, *Journal of African History*, Vol.IX, No.3, 1968; Peires, *Dead will arise*; T. Stapleton, *Maqoma: Xhosa resistance to colonial advance 1798-1873* (Johannesburg, 1994).

58. See especially Stapleton, *Maqoma*, pp.179-80.

59. Aberle, 'Note on relative deprivation'.

60. Nxele, Lynx or Makanna, Ndlambe's prophet in the conflicts of 1818-19, Mlanjeni, the rainmaker, prophet of the war 1850-53.

61. Wilson, 'Co-operation and conflict' p.260; Peires, *Dead will arise*, pp.141-42, fn.53.

62. Stapleton, *Maqoma*, pp.179-80.

4.2 The legacy of the Cattle-Killing

The results of this event for mission work were very significant. In one sense it facilitated the work of the missionaries, for they were able to minister to a people broken by want and privation whose faith in the old traditional religion had been severely shaken. Contemporaries saw the opportunity for evangelisation. Tiyo Soga wrote of how the sight of a mission station would attract hundreds of people seeking for employment or food. Bishop Cotterill admitted that the Cattle-Killing speeded up conversion and that the church might have laboured for many years, without obtaining the results it did within two or three years of the Cattle-Killing.⁶³

There is another perspective. In the long view this traumatic event was to have a most adverse effect on the work of the church, for it created mission settlements whose peoples were directly dependent on the missionaries for their material as well as for their spiritual wellbeing. Chiefs who had once met the missionaries as rulers of independent chiefdoms who could determine the conditions on which missionaries might remain in their territory, were now themselves suppliants. Where the missionary held all the power, especially that of permitting residence on stations and of allocating land, spiritual convictions were not necessarily the only consideration which led to conversion. The Cattle-Killing accelerated church growth at St Mark's. By 1860, 320 people had been baptised, and two years later 1300 people were living on the station. Conversion became a survival response, rather than a conviction of the spirit.⁶⁴

Among the effects of the Cattle-Killing was a demographic revolution. All four original Anglican mission stations had been established relatively close to already densely populated areas. In many cases the population disintegrated and, in the case of the Ndlambe, the land was allocated as white farms. In the changing context the bishop faced important choices: should the station be abandoned and its missionaries redeployed; should it be moved to continue serving members of its old constituency; or should the mission remain where it was to provide for the refugees who flocked to it for succour? St Luke's moved a few miles. Most missions, however, remained where they were but were obliged to change their methods. In the post Cattle-Killing situation the mission station became the focus of a Christian (or pseudo-Christian) community over which the missionary could exert a dominating influence. Etherington has described the same phenomenon in Natal where it occurred for other reasons.⁶⁵ In the eastern Cape the only Anglican mission not affected by the Cattle-Killing was St Matthew's, which was situated in an Mfengu area.

The mission settlements grew in size. Growth in numbers and the possibility that those employed in the Cape Colony might send money to relatives might have favoured the appearance within the Anglican communion of a vigorous 'native' church staffed by its own black pastors. In fact, this did not happen. The people were too poor to support native congregations, while white cultural prejudices did not encourage a black pastorate.

4.3 The role of the state

Missionaries like Mullins believed that healthy co-operation between a Christian state and an evangelising church was desirable; but in the context of the nineteenth century eastern frontier this was almost impossible to achieve. Here was a situation where the people whom the missionaries wished to reach were either recently conquered or threatened with conquest, either imminently or more remotely. What is more, the average nineteenth century missionary could not foresee how appalling for the black people of South Africa would be the consequences of conquest, and there were some among them who genuinely believed that the destruction of traditional mores, a probable

63. T. Soga, *Gazette and Border Intelligencer*, King William's Town, 3.3.1858; USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 12.2.1858. For Soga - see biographical notes.

64. For comment on conversions of convenience see Etherington, 'Preachers', p.67.

65. Etherington, 'Preachers', p.141.

consequence of conquest, was essential for the salvation of souls.

While such men and women might win their own immediate following, it would be a hard task for them to retain the confidence of the Xhosa chiefs and people in general. Unavoidably missionaries, who had once been active beyond colonial boundaries, found that, as the frontier moved, they were more closely associated with the colonial authorities and the white power structure. Within the colonial controlled territory, the missionaries were regarded as holding land from the state and accepted financial help where this was available. Some missionaries encouraged freehold tenure but, by and large, this was not true of the Anglicans. Missionaries, like other whites, were employers of labour and were not necessarily more generous to their employees. The secular authorities expected missionaries to be co-operative and, although there are in the history of South Africa outstanding examples to the contrary, most heeded the wishes of the state.

Outside the colony the secular authorities hoped that the mission stations would help to stabilise the trans-frontier situation. In the case of Bishop Cotterill, for example, the suggestion from the Governor and High Commissioner that a mission be founded on the Bashee proved decisive. Some preliminary investigation of the area had already been undertaken; Mullins described such an exploration in his diary.⁶⁶ In 1859 All Saints' Mission was duly founded under the Revd J. Gordon on land assigned by the Qali Chief, Fubu.⁶⁷ Appointments, too, could be influenced by political considerations. Bishop Cotterill refused to allow Greenstock to continue at St Mark's because, as a conscientious spiritual pastor, he had honoured the secrecy of the confessional in regard to men convicted of murder, to the grave displeasure of Kaffrarian officials.⁶⁸

It is clear that missionary strategy was determined not only by the needs of the people nor even by the assessment of the missionaries themselves but also by the wish of the state to locate a conciliatory and controlling presence in specific areas. Not surprisingly missionaries found that the close association with the state jeopardised the trust of the Xhosa people. Prior to the expulsion of Sarhili from his territory Mullins noted that the Gcaleka paramount regarded Mr Waters as 'the staff of the tribe'. After Sarhili was removed from his territory Tiyo Soga recorded a different opinion prevalent among the Gcaleka. According to Soga, the Gcaleka viewed missionaries as agents of the government who used 'the Word' to induce men to abandon their own customs for those of the white man, thus preparing them for a white take-over.⁶⁹ A vigorous native church working harmoniously with the white missionaries could not be expected to flourish in such an atmosphere of mistrust.

4.4 The cultural context and ideological tensions

For most missionaries and their supporters in the nineteenth century Christianity was part of the ideology of empire. It was also equated to Victorian moral values and social mores. The Christian convert was expected to conform to these standards. On the mission stations traditional dances were frowned upon and station people were forbidden to attend them. Customary marriage was not allowed; educated Christian girls were encouraged to claim the right to choose their own marriage partners. Converts with more than one wife could not be baptised, nor could the wives of polygamous men. Circumcision ceremonies were forbidden to Christians, and even individual circumcision by a

66. See Mullins Diary entry in chapter 9.

67. All Saint's Mission on the Inyanga river in Chief Fubu's country was founded in 1859 by Revd J. Gordon (see biographical notes) who gathered a congregation of over 200 within two years. Schools were founded from which a training college for girls ultimately developed. A small hospital was founded in 1928. It is now an important parish of the Diocese of St John's, where the regional government controls the schools and hospital.

68. USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 1.3.1858. For Greenstock - see biographical notes.

69. D. Williams, *Umfundisi, biography of Tiyo Soga 1829-1871* (Lovedale, 1978), p.79.

medical doctor without traditional rites was discouraged.⁷⁰ European standards of dress became the norm and traditional dress was the hallmark of the heathen. These standards were often imposed not only on the converted but also on the surrounding heathen. A government circular, prompted by missionary representations, was sent to all magistrates asking headmen to discourage the circumcision and *intonjani* ceremonies.⁷¹

In the presentation of the Gospel the visual imagery used was always white, a factor not unremarked by the local people. According to Greenstock a group of women looking at le Jeune's picture of three angels, saw that the one had a dark countenance; they were pleased that 'there is a black angel in heaven'.⁷²

The church denied the value of traditional ways and missionaries attempted to enforce the required behaviour on believer and unbeliever alike, thus suggesting that the 'Old Testament was a legal code and the Gospel an alternative set of customs'.⁷³ Thus converts were denied the opportunity of experiencing the Gospel in their own cultural terms as Cotterill envisaged.⁷⁴ Paradoxically, he himself felt obliged to reprimand Greenstock for attempting to bring the traditional first fruits ceremonies within the ambit of the church and the Christian religion. "I told him that I thought it not right for a presbyter to introduce new rites into the church".⁷⁵ Whatever Cotterill's own ideas, he obviously found Greenstock's report to the SPG embarrassing; most of his funding was derived from that source.

It must be concluded that most nineteenth century missionaries thought of Christianity and European culture as inextricably meshed together. They would study the Xhosa language to communicate the Gospel but few developed any empathy for the Xhosa culture. Their concern for European standards was bound up with commerce and manufacture, the dignity of labour and the benefits of private property. They were not comfortable outside a particular set of social institutions which included private property, monogamous marriage, individual freedom and the nuclear family. The missionaries came to the frontier to offer the people the substance of the Gospel; they offered it in the wrappings of their time, that is of imperialist expansion and Victorian moralism. These were the shadows hovering over the missionary enterprise. Young Mullins was dimly aware that there were shadows when he worked at St John's and St Peter's, but he was blind to their exact nature.

Mission strategy in the nineteenth century, dictated by circumstances rather than by choice, set the tone for the future development of a dependent and non-indigenous form of Christianity in most of the major denominations in South Africa. The twentieth-century church is still wrestling with the problem.

SECTION 5: The Diarist: Robert John Mullins and the key events in his life

5.1 Apprentice missionary

Robert John Mullins, born at Box in Wiltshire, was the second son of George and Susannah Mullins. George was a poor clergyman and it was not easy to educate his large family of eight children. Fortunately, Robert was musically gifted, and his father found him a place in the New

70. For missionary attitudes to Xhosa morality and institutions see Williams, *Umfundisi*, p.80 ff; and Etherington, 'Preachers', pp.40 ff.

71. USPG Archives, Cotterill report to SPG, 15.1.1861.

72. *Ibid.*, Greenstock report to SPG, 19.3.1861.

73. M. Goedhals, 'Anglican missionary policy in the diocese of Grahamstown under the first two bishops 1853-1871' (MA thesis, Rhodes, 1979) p.121.

74. See above, fn.40.

75. USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 12.6.1864.

College Choir School at Oxford from 1847. Robert ultimately became solo chorister there. Early boyhood years at Oxford left a permanent impression. Robert admired the members of the university, envying them their opportunities. His own training as a chorister developed in him a lively and life-long love of music. In 1852 when his voice broke he moved to a school at Shoreham (later called Lancing College). This was one of the schools founded by Revd Nathaniel Woodard to give middle-class boys the opportunity of a public school education firmly based on the Christian faith as expressed in the services of the Anglican Church. The headmaster at the time, Revd Mr Braithwaite, was a keen musician. He avoided elaborate music but trained the choir with enthusiasm and gave the school a strong musical tradition. Robert John Mullins was a prefect of the school in 1853 and left in April 1854.⁷⁶

It was while a pupil at Shoreham that Robert Mullins took his life-determining decision: that he was called to be a priest. He was supported in this decision by his godfather, the Revd R.F. Swayne,⁷⁷ then acting as curate at Tidenham under the Revd John Armstrong who had been appointed Bishop of the newly created Diocese of Grahamstown⁷⁸ in South Africa. Armstrong was recruiting missionaries for work in South Africa. Swayne thought at once of his godson. Correspondence between Robert's parents and Armstrong resulted in the decision that young Robert, then sixteen years old, should accompany the Bishop to South Africa. According to family tradition, experience in the mission field was intended to be a prelude to entry into a theological college in England and training for the priesthood.

The Bishop's party sailed for Cape Town on the *SS Cossipore*. Robert kept a faithful record of the long and uneventful voyage in his brand new journal, bound in white calf and with a brass clasp. It was probably a parting gift from his family. This portion of the diary captures something of the wonder and excitement experienced by the young boy, at sea for the first time; it also reflects the monotony and *ennui* of the two and half months voyage and the friction among passengers cooped up together for so long. Robert was just a boy; he enjoyed working with the sailors, which he frequently did, and was excited by the hurly-burly of the gale-tossed ship. He enjoyed teasing others, including an unfortunate Lascar serving man, and this reflects something of the race attitudes of the boy and of his times. His taste in leisure reading included both adventure stories and romance.

But there was a more serious side to Robert. He was most disciplined in his daily reading of the Greek New Testament and his daily Xhosa lesson. Armstrong commended his party: "I think too, the missionaries who sailed with me will do very well. They got on capitally with their Kafir during the voyage, and worked very hard."⁷⁹ Robert was mature beyond his years in the way he sized up members of the crew and fellow passengers. He enjoyed helping to care for and amuse the Bishop's children. He obviously loved children, but, as his diary shows, preferred them to be well behaved!

Most striking is the steadfastness of purpose which Robert's diary reveals. He wrote that he hoped he might have the courage to die for his religion as St Stephen did. He was not called upon to die for his faith but, during the many years he spent on the frontier and in Grahamstown, he would often be called upon to die to himself and to live for Christ. In the years ahead he often experienced loneliness, boredom, restlessness, frustration and sometimes physical danger. His purpose seldom

76. B. Handford, 'The Lancing Register', *Lancing College. History and Memoirs* (1986), p.22. Photocopies provided by J.V. Pennington, assistant archivist, Pennington College.

77. R.F. Swayne - see biographical notes.

78. Grahamstown was founded in 1812 as a military post. After the arrival of the 1820 settlers it became a busy garrison and trading town and by the time of the 1865 census had a population of 5560. With houses built in typically English style and streets lined with indigenous trees, oaks and blue gums, it had a thoroughly English appearance. The Drostdy and barracks stood at one end of the High Street; St George's church, the future Cathedral, at the other. It was bustling little town well described in J.J. Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days* (Cape Town, 1947), p.321.

79. T.T. Carter, *A Memoir of John Armstrong D.D.* (Oxford, 1857), p.270.

wavered.

The *Cossipore* docked in Cape Town⁸⁰ on 29 September 1854 to the immense relief of all on board. There followed a brief stay with Bishop and Mrs Gray⁸¹ at their home, Protea.⁸² During the eight-day stay Robert enjoyed meeting many interesting people. He was befriended by two contemporaries, John X. Merriman⁸³ and George Welby,⁸⁴ then attending the newly founded Diocesan College.⁸⁵ They explored the social and scenic delights of the Constantia valley.⁸⁶ He enjoyed the company of Mrs Gray who showed him some of her sketches of churches and shared with him her enthusiasm for church architecture. He met a wife of Seyolo, the redoubtable frontier chief. He had his first exposure to missionary work, attending some of the classes which were offered to the Coloured people in the neighbourhood; significantly this first exposure was in the field of education.

On 7 October the party embarked once more for Port Elizabeth⁸⁷ where they spent ten days meeting people. Robert stayed in the home of John Owen Smith,⁸⁸ a Methodist trader noted for his generous hospitality and his solicitude for travellers. He corresponded with his hosts for many years.

Finally they tackled what proved to be the very arduous last lap of their journey: the overland trek from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown. This took its toll on the bishop's party. The bishop's baby daughter, Ruth, cried all the way. Mullins had varied duties: he helped the bishop to unpack; he had the sad task of arranging for the funeral of little Ruth when she died on 13 December; he acted as secretary for the Bishop; and copied out the examination papers set for candidates for ordination.⁸⁹

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80. Cape Town in 1854 was an attractive colonial town of some 30 000 inhabitants. It was described as a 'well built place' with numerous substantial public buildings, including Government House, the Town Hall and several handsome churches, one of which was St George's, consecrated as cathedral in 1851. To the south of the town were many elegant houses, surrounded by vineyards and thriving farms. See *i.a.* H. Ward, *The Cape and the Kafirs* (London, 1851).
 81. Sophie Wharton Gray - see biographical notes.
 82. Protea was the residence of Bishop Gray, rented in 1848 and purchased for the church in 1851 as the residence of the bishops of Cape Town (subsequently archbishops). Today it is known as Bishopscourt. Mrs Gray is said to have kept it simple, plain and comfortable. (T. Gutsche, *The Bishop's Lady*, Cape Town, 1970, p.62). Educational and mission work commenced by the Grays was centred on Protea at the time of Armstrong's arrival.
 83. John X. Merriman - see biographical notes.
 84. George Welby - see biographical notes.
 85. The Diocesan College was started in 1849 in Minnaar's cottage on the Protea estate and moved to Woodlands in Rondebosch in 1850. Its first principal was the Revd Canon White who was subsequently archdeacon of Grahamstown (Pascoe, *SPG*) p.783.
 86. The Constantia valley, comprising about eleven farms at that time, was noted for its beauty and for the friendliness and hospitality of those who lived there (P. Dane & S.A. Wallace, *Great Houses of Constantia*, Cape Town, 1981).
 87. Founded in 1799 as Fort Frederick and renamed in 1820 in memory of the wife of Sir Rufane Donkin, acting governor, Port Elizabeth in 1855 was a flourishing little port with a population of 4500 (3000 whites). There was a market, a post office, customs house, church, chapel and school. Many stores flourished along the High Street, now renamed Main Street. The newspaper, *The Eastern Province Herald*, witnessed to a vigorous commercial life. Bishop Armstrong described the town as 'straggling a long way on'. He found it to be essentially English and wrote: '... at first one hardly fancies oneself so far away from home, till one suddenly swallows a mouthful of African dust, or sees a line of African wagons, moving drowsily through the streets, or comes upon a group of Fingos basking in the sun with their brass armlets and necklaces and blankets' (Carter, *Armstrong*, p.273).
 88. John Owen Smith - see biographical notes.
 89. The ordination took place on 5 June 1855.

The last entry in the Grahamstown diary is on Christmas Day 1854. From the Bishop's journal⁹⁰ we learn that Mullins was at St Luke's Mission⁹¹ when the Bishop and his family visited it early in 1855. Founded in October 1854 by the Revd Edward Clayton and the catechist William Garde,⁹² this station was intended to be a training centre for missionaries; but the frontier was too turbulent for this hope to be realised.

Mullins spent a year there but recorded only four months in his diary. His was a rough apprenticeship, more like that of a frontier farmer than of a missionary. That was not inappropriate, for all missionaries were called upon to be farmers - even frontier farmers. Mullins learned to cut poles, to herd goats, to cook, to make bricks and lay them, and to drive a wagon. He acted as clerk and sexton, taught one of the aspirant missionaries Latin, and battled with a crabby harmonium to provide music for the chapel. His box of books had been mislaid in Cape Town, and he had little in the way of reading matter. He was short of clothes, especially boots. His response to the life there was disappointment, frustration. This was not 'roughing it' in the way he had imagined; this was a daily struggle for existence, not the high adventure for which he longed.

But what mattered most in these early months was the response each to the other of the missionary and the Xhosa people. Mullins struggled to learn their language and he longed to be able to communicate with them. On the other hand, there were limits to the extent to which Mullins was willing to accommodate Xhosa habits and customs. He refused to allow an old man to smoke inside the house and showed signs of alarm when one of the chief's sons threatened to sit on his sheets, probably aware of how hard it would be to remove the red clay from the fabric. In spite of these hesitations he won the trust and friendship of two of Chief Mhala's sons, Smith and Mackinnon.⁹³ It was here at St Luke's that he earned his Xhosa name: Umfundisi Umhala (Mhala's priest or teacher).

Mullins was not happy at St Luke's. He was dissatisfied with his training and disliked intensely one of his co-workers, who is never named. The Revd Edward Clayton who was in charge had to leave for health reasons early in 1855. The Revd J. Hardie took his place and the Revd William Greenstock came to be trained.⁹⁴ Mullins asked the Bishop for a transfer to St John's Mission⁹⁵ on the Kabusi River so that he could be with the Revd J.T.W. Allen⁹⁶ whom he had known at school. He did not get his wish but was in fact moved to St Mark's Mission⁹⁷ on the Kei River, where he

90. Carter, *Armstrong*, p.299.

91. Founded by Revd E. Clayton and W. Garde (catechist) on the site of the abandoned Fort Waterloo near the great place of Mhala in 1854, St Luke's was subsequently run by Revd William Greenstock (see biographical notes). He incurred the disapproval of his ecclesiastical superior and the secular authorities during the Cattle-Killing. The mission was then moved to Newlands on the Nahoon river where it was a shelter for broken remnants of Xhosa after the Cattle-Killing. It is now a parish in the diocese of Grahamstown serving squatter settlements on the fringes of East London and Mdantsane (*Church Chronicle*, Vol.3, No.4, April 1882, p.115; M. Taylor 'The history of St Luke's mission', *The Coelacanth*, April 1969; Peires, *Dead will arise*, pp.232 and 264; Goedhals, 'Anglican missionary policy', pp.12, 39 and 46).

92. Revds Edward Clayton and William Garde - see biographical notes.

93. For Mhala, Smith, and Mackinnon - see biographical notes.

94. Revds John Hardie and William Greenstock - see biographical notes.

95. St John's mission on the Kabusi River, close to the great place of Sandili, was founded by the Revd J.T.W. Allen in 1855. It did not prosper but its destruction during the war 1877-78 evoked the protests of the local people (*Daily Telegraph*, 1878, N.J. Merriman, letter to editor).

96. Revd J.T.W. Allen - see biographical notes.

97. St Mark's mission, founded in 1855 by the Revd H.T. Waters lay on a plain bounded by the White Kei river and a spur of the Zuurberg mountains, near the great place of Sarhili. Grazing was excellent and a good natural water supply fed the mission's irrigation furrows. Bishop Cotterill regarded it as a model mission. In 1860 there were 1000 people living there, in four divisions each under a field cornet

continued his training under the Revd H.T. Waters.⁹⁸

Waters welcomed the young assistant who began once more to record his experiences in his diary after an interval of nine months. Waters found Mullins to be 'a Godsend, and an answer to his prayers'; he was industrious to a fault and worked hard at learning the language and at teaching.⁹⁹

Waters intended that Mullins should open up a station at Bolotwa, and there, in due time, he founded the St John the Baptist Mission to serve the people of Ndarhale.¹⁰⁰

He had to start from scratch, building up the mission slowly. His material life style was that of the people among whom he worked. He lived in a 'common Kafir hut' with his greyhound, Jerry, and a servant.¹⁰¹ Almost daily he rode out to visit the *imizi*, teaching wherever he could with the permission or at the request of the leader. But he also visited and talked with people wherever he was made welcome. Many of these casual conversations are recorded in the diary and they make interesting reading, for this was the period of the Cattle-Killing, which Mullins was to observe from start to finish. He kept open house and there were frequent visits from chief Ndarhala and 'Queen' Yoliswa, Thembu leaders and his neighbours. They often requested his assistance - for instance in putting a plough together and learning how to use it. Sometimes they asked for little luxury items like tea, coffee or sugar, and during the famine which followed in the wake of the Cattle-Killing, for corn and wheat. They would share the news about who was killing, who was planting and what Mhlakaza¹⁰² was doing. Mullins had a medicine chest which was in demand among both black and white neighbours. There were white traders in the vicinity, some of whom constituted an English 'congregation', even though ministering to whites was not Anglican mission policy.¹⁰³

Every mission had its boarding school. Teaching and supervising the children were demanding tasks, for they had to be kept happy in an environment very different from that to which they were accustomed. There was a perpetual need for more accommodation for classrooms, dormitories, churches, stores and workshops, so building was always in progress. In addition, a garden was essential to provide cheap food. Missionaries were busy people. It is no wonder that Mullins, working on his own, complained about the fewness of the labourers (Matt Ch.9 V.37).

Into his schedule of evangelism, teaching, doctoring, building, gardening, house-keeping and socialising, Mullins had to fit Latin and Xhosa exercises and tough theological and Biblical reading. The Diocese ran an early and very effective form of theological training by extension. Every now and

responsible for enforcing the mission regulations. Four hundred and fifty had been baptised; the schools were well attended and, although the mission was not self-supporting, the agricultural workers, the skilled craftsmen, carpenters, tailors, cobblers and blacksmiths were generating some income. The mission formed the nucleus for the new diocese of St John's established in 1873 under Bishop Callaway (USPG Archives, Waters' report to SPG, 1860; and Cotterill to SPG, 14.6.61; Pascoe, *SPG*, p.312 ff).

98. Revd H.T. Waters - see biographical notes.

99. USPG Archives, Waters to Armstrong 18.3.1856.

100. St John the Baptist's Mission, Bolotwa, was founded by Robert John Mullins as an outstation of St Mark's Mission in 1857. In 1863 he reported that it served fifty square miles of territory with a population of 2000 Africans, 60 Khoikhoi and a handful of whites. Out of a much larger church attendance there were 11 communicants and 24 under instruction. 15 children attended the boarding school. By 1883 some of the land in this area had been sold to white farmers, the number of Africans had decreased significantly and there was some thought of disbanding it. It survives today as a parish of the diocese of Grahamstown with a largely black membership (USPG Archives, H. White to SPG, 30.3.1883 and Mullins' report to SPG, 1863).

101. Waters' report quoted in Gray, 'Journal of a visitation of diocese of Grahamstown, July and August 1856', *Missions to the Heathen*, Vol.IV, No.XXXII, SPCK 1857.

102. Mhlakaza - see biographical notes.

103. This instruction was difficult to enforce, particularly in isolated areas. Regular services seem to have been held both at St Mark's and St John the Baptist's missions (USPG Archives, Grahamstown Missionary Regulations of 1863).

then quarterly examinations loomed for him and for all ordinands in the Diocese.

At the beginning of 1858 Mullins had to leave St John's to found another station: St Peter's¹⁰⁴ on the Gwatyu River. This was close to the kraal of Yoliswa and was founded to satisfy her desire for a missionary. She had importuned Waters, but he procrastinated, and it was only when she approached the Moravians at Shiloh¹⁰⁵ that the Bishop Cotterill and Waters relented and sent her Mullins. The latter did not welcome the move for he now had to start all over again, building a church and living quarters for himself as well as school accommodation and taming the veld for a garden. St Peter's was off the beaten track, whereas St John's was situated on the road between Queenstown and the main station at St Mark's. The change meant isolation and loneliness, but he obeyed orders and set about developing the new station with his usual enthusiasm and commitment.

He started schools, built a road with borrowed tools and a cash subsidy of £2 from Waters, cleared fields and planted wheat, vegetables and fruit. The harvest was not slow in coming. One of the most moving descriptions in an emotionally flat diary is of the first baptismal service at St Peter's. All those baptised, adults and children, had been prepared for baptism by Mullins. That, he wrote, was the happiest day of his life. He even grew to like Yoliswa a little, although he never had the same open and easy relationship with her that he had with Ndarhala whom he describes as 'the Saul among his people'.

These first years in the mission field held glorious moments of fulfilment. However, loneliness and frustration often prevailed, and moments of doubt afflicted him: 'I thought everything was going on so swimmingly there (at St Mark's) but when you come to look closely it is all a shadow, and not substance.'¹⁰⁶

During these years the Xhosa people experienced the trauma of the Cattle-Killing. Mullins was a stranger to the frontier and a man committed to his own religious and cultural values. He did not really understand the stresses in Xhosa society and could not empathise with the bewilderment of a long suffering people. He was a compassionate man, but he was nevertheless intolerant of those who had been drawn into the delusion of the Cattle-Killing and who perpetrated the destruction and suffering which he saw around him. The bitter disillusionment, the impoverishment and starvation were to Mullins an appropriate judgment on folly. Those who, in the ensuing famine and chaos, resorted to banditry deserved to be punished and he endorsed the actions of state officials. When Fadana's kraal went up in smoke, he grieved for the women and children who would die from exposure on that winter's night but, for him, wickedness had been 'paid off'.¹⁰⁷

His success in winning the loyalty and co-operation of the people around him did not go unnoticed by an agent of the state. J.C. Warner,¹⁰⁸ who was both government agent and Methodist missionary to the Thembu, felt that Mullins should be given some civil power, as he himself had been. Young Mullins declined politely, saying he did not think such an action would be in accord with church policy. There were limits to the involvement of Anglican missionaries in civil and military government.¹⁰⁹

104. St Peter's Mission, so-called because the Bishop had visited Yoliswa on St Peter's day, was three hours ride from St Mark's. Initially the station prospered but after its destruction during the war of 1877-78 it was not re-established. The land was taken over for sale to white farmers. In 1879 the Revd A.J. Newton moved from Gwatyu to Idutywa, and a new St Peter's mission was established there (USPG Archives, Turpin's report to SPG, 1857; Mullins to SPG, 6.10.57 and Newton to SPG, 30.4.79).

105. Shiloh was established in 1828 near Whittlesea by the Moravians under the leadership of Bishop J.P. Hollbeck. (J. du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, London, 1911)

106. See Diary, chapter 7, p.42.

107. See Diary, chapter 7, p.16. For Fadana - see biographical notes.

108. J.C. Warner - see biographical notes.

109. USPG Archives, Grahamstown Missionary Regulations, 1863.

Towards the end of 1859 Mullins was eager for a new challenge. He had written home to share his dissatisfaction with his parents, who suggested he might like to volunteer to go north to the Zambezi River with Archdeacon C.F. MacKenzie¹¹⁰ who had been chosen as a missionary bishop to lead an ill-fated expedition to that part of the world. The prospect fired his imagination, but fortunately for him it was decided that he should return to England to complete his theological training at St Augustine's College,¹¹¹ Canterbury. He left St Peter's at the beginning of March 1860. His apprenticeship was over.

5.2 Theological student

Mullins sailed for England in May 1860. His father and the Secretary of the SPG had made arrangements for his studies at St Augustine's College.¹¹² He would have preferred Oxford, where his brother was still studying, but financial help was important and St Augustine's selected Mullins to benefit from a bursary given by the diocese of Lincoln. It was suggested that Mullins might teach Xhosa to those who wanted to learn it. If the dreaming spires of Oxford were denied him, there was much beauty and tradition at St Augustine's College where the ruins of the old Abbey were incorporated into the College complex. Its refectory, with the kitchen below, was the Abbot's Great Hall. Adjacent to it are two chapels. The upper has room for sixty people. The lower chapel was converted into a memorial in 1859, and the names of former students who carried the Gospel into far flung countries are recorded there. Robert John Mullins' name is close to the altar. An imposing fourteenth century Great Gate stands at the end of the old wing, and the two 'new' wings, built in 1854, harmonise well with the old. One of those wings provided student accommodation, while the other built in fine Victorian Gothic style, is still in use as a library. As Mullins stood on the steps of the library and looked about him, he would have seen the symbols and material remains of the growth and maturity of English Christianity. The Abbey's association with St Augustine, missionary to the Anglo Saxons, made this an appropriate place for a Victorian missionary to train. The tower of Canterbury Cathedral itself is visible above the Great Gate.

110. C.F. Mackenzie - see biographical notes.

111. St Augustine's College, Canterbury, was founded in 1848 by Bishop Edward Coleridge (its first warden) and Mr Beresford Hope to provide training for men wishing to enter the mission field. The Bishop had had some experience in Barbados. When he died in 1849 he was succeeded by the Revd Dr Henry Bailey, a brilliant Cambridge man who was, however, lacking in missionary experience. Dr Bailey was warden while Mullins was a student. In its hey-day the College sent out a stream of ordinands of many races to all parts of the world. In 1905 there were no less than 13 'Augustinians' in the Grahamstown Diocese. After the Second World War demand for theological training in England diminished, and local theological colleges were functioning in erstwhile mission territories. St Augustine's was converted to the Central College of the Anglican Communion, offering specialised courses to overseas students. When funds for this ran out, it was taken over briefly as the pastoral training department of King's College, London. Today the buildings are occupied by King's School, Canterbury. The Library remains under the control of the Trustees, a useful resource for theological scholars and church historians (R.J. Boggis, *A history of St Augustine's College, Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1903); and verbal information from the Diocesan Secretary, Canterbury, 1984).

112. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in 1701 to meet the needs which the Reverend Thomas Bray recognised when he visited North America to enquire into the mission situation there. It sought to fulfil these needs by providing priests for settlers overseas and by promoting missionary work where necessary. It worked along parallel lines with the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. In 1965 it amalgamated with the Universities Mission to Central Africa, founded in 1857, to become the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG). The SPG was crucial in sending men and money to sustain the Anglican missionary effort in the nineteenth century and today the USPG assists the Anglican church in sixty dioceses world-wide. (S. Neill, G.H. Anderson & J. Goodwin (eds), *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission*, London, 1970; Pascoe, *SPG*; H.P. Thompson, *Into all lands*, London, 1951).

His diary, written between January and June 1861, reflects none of the beauties and tradition of the College or the city. Once he does mention, with appreciation, picking bluebells and yellow broom in the woods; but like the record of his sojourn on the frontier the diary is usually a low key record of the common daily round. His diary entries for these months are not included in this publication.

The College was a 'High Church foundation' which emphasised simple living and self-denial among both staff and students.¹¹³ The day began at 7 am with Matins in the Upper Chapel, a quiet time, and then breakfast at 8 am. Mullins mentions the food with appreciation, both for its quality and its quantity. Simple living did not approach the level of frugality he had experienced on the frontier. Mornings were devoted to study; there was an office said in the chapel at 1 pm followed by dinner. The afternoons were for manual work, visiting and study. Evensong and supper brought the day to an end, and there was usually a cheerful gathering in the common room after supper.

Mullins was a conscientious student. He studied the New Testament, the Creed, 'scriptural history', and Browne on the Thirty Nine Articles. His reading included Paley, Pearson, Robertson and Theophilus Anglicanus.¹¹⁴ He attended medical lectures regularly and paid visits to the local hospital, once even watching an amputation. Mullins knew from experience that missionaries had, on occasion, to function as doctors and found this part of the course intensely relevant and interesting.

There were also regular periods set aside for manual work. He took woodwork and painting as subjects. Where missionaries had to build their own stations in the wilderness, such knowledge was essential. This was the heyday of 'industrial mission',¹¹⁵ when pupils in mission schools were taught industrial skills to equip them for a new and better life. Mullins also mentions going over the printing works at the College. The diary records the topics of homilies, which had to be written fortnightly, and topics for the weekly essay. His time was well and truly occupied.

To these formal study activities had to be added chapel attendance and singing practice. He enjoyed the singing and chanting in the Cathedral; but he found the College service 'tame' and the singing 'poor'. He mentions buying sheet music almost with rapture, having been starved of such access during the period on the frontier. He walked a great deal, exploring the town and the surrounding countryside with friends. Once summer came, cricket took pride of place among his recreational activities, as it had at St Peter's, Gwatyu.

The Warden was reputed to be a severe disciplinarian, and it is obvious that Mullins resented the kind of control exercised by both Warden and Sub-warden. He found the staff singularly uninformed about the colonial situation and about colonial people. The Principal of the College, the Revd Dr Henry Bailey, had come straight from Cambridge as a relatively young man. He was a brilliant academician but had no mission experience. During the course of the year three black students from Zonnebloem College in Cape Town were sent to the College. After receiving them the Sub-warden inquired of Mullins whether they were the same colour all over.¹¹⁶

113. Boggis, *St Augustine's College*, *passim*.

114. R.H. Browne, W. Paley, and J. Pearson - see biographical notes.

115. Industrial training as part of a school curriculum seems to have been fairly pervasive in the nineteenth century and was certainly characteristic of Protestant missions. Such training was intended to foster a sense of the dignity of labour, reliability, and frugality and to provide material support for both the individual and the school. Lovedale was the most notable of the schools which provided such industrial training. It was a common experience of such mission establishments that the pupils they trained could not find employment in the face of white competition and hostility (Neill *et al*, *Concise Dictionary*, pp.302-10).

116. Zonnebloem College was founded in 1858 by Bishop Gray with the support of Sir George Grey specifically to provide an education for the sons and daughters of chiefs, who might then become teachers and missionaries among their own people. The first principal was the Revd E. Glover 1858-70, son in law of Bishop Gray. In 1924 it was converted to a training college for coloured teachers,

On the voyage to England Mullins had become friendly with Harry Roe, the third officer, who invited him to visit his parents at their home in Blandford, Dorsetshire. In August 1861 Robert went to spend his summer holidays with the Roe family, and there he met and fell in love with Jennie Roe,¹¹⁷ who was just sixteen. He returned to spend Christmas with them, and Mr Roe then gave his rather reluctant consent to an engagement between his daughter and Robert. The reluctance was understandable in view of Robert's commitment to a missionary career and Jennie's youth and inexperience.

Mullins left St Augustine's at the end of January to spend a few months with his parents before his wedding and his return to the mission field.¹¹⁸

5.3 Married missionaries

Robert and Jennie were married by the Revd R.F. Swayne on 24 April 1862. Robert's parents could not attend the wedding. His father was an invalid and could not make the journey to Blandford in Dorsetshire and his mother could not leave her husband. However his sisters, Ettie and Bessie, were bridesmaids, and his two brothers, Henry and Herbert, were also present. Mr Key was his bestman and came from St Augustine's, together with Drayton and Dodd.¹¹⁹ These friends were destined to meet again in South Africa in the mission field.

Both families were very disappointed that Robert could not be ordained in England in their presence. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) which had sponsored his training preferred colonial bishops to ordain their own clergy. The SPG accepted financial responsibility. It paid for the passages of Robert and Jennie to South Africa, and his salary was raised to £200 per annum.

The young couple sailed for South Africa in the *Cosmos* early in June with the Revd G.E. Drayton as a fellow passenger.¹²⁰ Some changes awaited them in the eastern Cape. At Port Elizabeth there was now a jetty for disembarking passengers, who no longer needed to be carried ashore on the backs of sturdy Mfengu. The journey from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown was now shorter and more comfortable than it had been. They were welcomed warmly both in Port Elizabeth, where they stayed briefly, and in Grahamstown. The warmth and friendliness of the Merriman family, whose guests they were, won glowing tributes from Jennie.

Mullins was to have been sent to St Luke's Mission at Newlands to take the place of the Revd C.R. Lange¹²¹ who had been asked to resign; but instead he was posted to St John's, Bolotwa, to work initially under the Revd Henry Woodrooffe¹²² who was busy translating the Book of Common Prayer into Xhosa.

Robert and Jennie set out by ox wagon, amply provisioned by the Merrimans for the journey. They had with them a maid, Sarah Warren, brought from England at the insistence of Mrs Roe, who felt that her sixteen year-old daughter would not be able to cope with frontier life alone. Sarah proved

a function which it still fulfils. The Warden of Zonnebloem and Bishop Gray selected the four students sent to England in 1861, namely Samuel (Lefulere) son of Moroka, chief of the Barolong, Jeremiah (Libpua) son of Moshesh, Arthur (Waka) son of the Xhosa chief, Toyise, and Edward (Damisweni) Maqomo (J. Hodgson, 'A history of Zonnebloem College 1858-1870: a study of church and society', 2 volumes, Ph.D thesis, University of Cape Town, 1975).

117. Jennie Roe - see biographical notes.

118. W.M. Levick, *The lives of Robert and Jennie Mullins* (Bound Family Edition, 1945-47).

119. B.L. Key, G.L. Drayton, and W.D. Dodd - see biographical notes.

120. Levick, *The Lives*, p.7.

121. C.R. Lange - see biographical notes. USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 15.8.1863.

122. H.R. Woodrooffe - see biographical notes. For a reference to his work on the Prayer Book see USPG Archives, H.R. Woodrooffe's report to the SPG, 1863.

to be something of a problem. On board ship she had fallen in love with the ship's carpenter and became engaged to him; this engagement was broken off in Port Elizabeth. In Grahamstown she became engaged to someone else but once more changed her mind and finally accompanied the young couple to St John's. She was very lonely for there was no one of her own age and class with whom she could mix. She stayed for a year but ultimately returned to Grahamstown to work for the Bishop, and to marry 'well'.¹²³ The whole episode reflects how inappropriate were Victorian class relations in a frontier situation.

The young couple moved into a humble dwelling which Jennie described in detail. She was not expected to rough it in a 'common Kafir hut'. Marriage often increased the social distance between missionary and the people whom he served.

The Bishop offered to make Mullins a deacon shortly after his arrival at St John's. Mullins had scruples. He refused the offer because he thought that the trip by ox wagon up to the mission station would be an inappropriate preparation for such an event; he often swore at the oxen! He was finally ordained deacon on 25 January 1863 during the Annual Conference of Anglican Church Missionaries which took place in King William's Town. His ordination as priest took place a year later in Grahamstown.

At St John's life settled into a peaceful groove. Both Mullins and his wife taught in the mission schools, and she shared the responsibility for supervising the boarders. Hardly a day went by without visitors from the surrounding missions, for there were now no less than three Anglican stations in the immediate vicinity. Since the Cattle-Killing more settlement had taken place, and there were visits from police stationed nearby, farmers, traders and Queenstown residents. Socially the Mullinses moved in a completely white world. Only now and then did Ndarhala, the neighbouring Thembu chief, come to breakfast. Mullins was still hospitably received, but the missionaries were too busy with the routine of preaching, teaching and supervising boarders to have as much contact as they used to do with the kraals beyond the mission station itself. In addition there was a relatively large settled population on the station for whose spiritual and material welfare Robert and Jennie were responsible. The isolation of the mission station as a separate Christian community was already well advanced when they came to Bolotwa. Mullins' humble diary of his frontier experiences brings into vivid contrast the potential ability of single missionaries to integrate with the people they served and the relative inability of those with family responsibilities to do so, at least in Victorian days.

Their first child, Jane Marion, was born in Grahamstown on 28 July 1863. The Merrimans, probably out of concern for Jennie, had made it possible for Robert to come and work in Grahamstown for a few weeks, so that the baby could be born where she had support. The little family returned to the mission shortly afterwards, without Sarah Warren. During their last months at St John's the baby was very ill with croup for a time. Then Robert became ill. As a result, he was recalled to Grahamstown by Bishop Cotterill. He had decided to put Robert in charge of the Kafir Institution in Grahamstown. He hoped that the work there would not 'press so heavy upon him as the responsibility of a mission station'.¹²⁴

The move to Grahamstown marked the end of Mullins' career as a missionary in the field. As schoolmaster and administrator he was still to play an important role in the mission work of the Diocese; but it was a very different role from the one he had experienced on the frontier.

5.4 Schoolmaster

In 1864 Mullins became principal of the Kafir Institution, and there he remained until his retirement in 1907. While the text of the diary and the letters published in this volume end in 1865, it seems appropriate to sketch in the story of his work and concern for the Kafir Institution which

123. Levick, *The Lives*, pp.7, 11 and 15.

124. USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 15.9.1864.

became his life's task and his main contribution to the missionary enterprise of the Diocese.

In 1860 the Missionaries' Annual Conference endorsed Bishop Armstrong's earlier plan to establish a central school in Grahamstown for the advanced education of promising boys and girls from the missions. The Kafir Institution opened that year with Woodrooffe as principal (until 1862) and with seven boys. When Mullins took over in 1864 there were fifteen. Early problems in recruiting suitable candidates fell away after 1864, and in 1877 there were 63 boys on the roll, seven of them apprentices. Numbers declined later because more educational institutions were opened in the rural areas of the eastern Cape and beyond. Initially entrants were expected to be eighteen years old and to have a working knowledge of English. Later on entrance qualifications were made more stringent: none might be circumcised, all had to be able to read and write both Xhosa and English and from 1876 only those who had passed Std IV were acceptable. By 1871 the Institution could not accommodate all who had applied from neighbouring Protestant missions while a night school operated to cater for the wider community.

The Institution was housed initially in rooms attached to Bishopsbourne in the elite Westhill area of Grahamstown. In 1862 after the withdrawal of troops from Grahamstown it was moved to Fort England,¹²⁵ a less prosperous area. Fifty householders protested vigorously, claiming that the value of their property would fall. They had the backing of the *Grahamstown Journal*. The Town Council set up a committee to investigate the matter and the majority on that committee backed the protestors. They argued that it was undesirable to set up 'a native colony' in a European area where residents would be hostile to the Institution and that it was politically unwise to allow 'natives' to occupy what had been a military barracks. One man, an Anglican, took a contrary view and urged on his colleagues the need to foster goodwill. As the Council hesitated, white protests subsided, and the petition was not forwarded to the War Office. The Institution moved back to the select area of Westhill in 1864 when the troops re-occupied the military barracks on their temporary return to Grahamstown. The Institution was then housed in a building between St Andrew's College and the Bishop's home.¹²⁶

It was obviously intended that the Institution should train an acculturated elite. Pupils were offered formal instruction in traditional subjects of reading, writing, translation, arithmetic, grammar and dictation. Great emphasis was laid on English, and boys were forbidden to speak Xhosa on the premises.

The boys worked in the garden of the Institution, which provided food for the boarding establishment and a flow of cash from the sale of produce, which helped finance the school. There was livestock to tend, too, for later diary entries mention a cow, a pig, a swarm of bees and even, in 1879, an ostrich. Under Jennie's supervision the pupils did most of the domestic work of the establishment.

Three years were required to obtain a certificate from the Institution. In later years students followed the approved government syllabus for the training of African elementary school teachers and wrote the prescribed examination. From Mullins' reports it is obvious that the school enjoyed a good academic reputation.¹²⁷

In 1875 an industrial section was added, with the construction of a carpenter's shop and a printing office. Apprentices were given a nominal wage for their work and were not liable for fees.

125. Fort England was the military headquarters to the east of the town. Anglican church services were held there in 1849 although a chapel was built only in 1861 (S. Sampson, 'The Fort England Chapel', *Contree*, 2.7.82).

126. M. Gibbens, 'Two decades in the life of a city: Grahamstown 1862-1882' (MA thesis, Rhodes University, 1988), pp.241-4; G. Mullins, 'The Kaffir Institution', *Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society* (1980), p.50.

127. USPG Archives, Mullins' reports 1864-1901; Pascoe, *SPG*, p.785 for figures.

Examples of the beautiful work done in the carpenter's shop may still be seen in the Cathedral of St Michael and St George (the pulpit, the choir stalls, the rood screen and the bishop's throne).¹²⁸

Although manual work and skilled craftsmanship were important, the *raison d'être* of the Institution was higher education. In 1878 Mullins reported that there were three theological students and that a fair library of standard theological books had been collected. He himself was responsible for their training, a responsibility afterwards shared with Canon J. Espin.¹²⁹ The school grew not only in size but in the range of courses which it offered.

Initially the Institution was financed by government grants and contributions from the SPG, but in 1871 students were asked to pay fees for the first time. They amounted to £5 per annum for the younger boys and £6 for the older ones. Donations and assistance diminished over time. The years between 1885 and 1892 were difficult ones. Sales from the garden fell owing to a prolonged drought. Interest on investments could not be collected in view of the plight of white farmers to whom money had been lent. The government withdrew grants, school fees were in arrears and rents had to be lowered. But by 1892 the Institution was out of debt and virtually self-supporting. In 1894 a quarter of the income came from fees, nearly one-third from industrial products, and one-third from the garden and property rentals. Mullins had proved to be a very astute financial manager.

He also managed to provide substantial and attractive premises and to extend the property holdings of the Institution. When Mullins took over the principalship, one of his first concerns was to build a dormitory which he felt would give him better control over the boys and their comings and goings. He and his family lived in three rooms and shared a kitchen with the boarders. Jennie supervised the boarding establishment and in later years also provided accommodation for twenty or so St Andrew's boarders in order to augment the family income. More buildings were erected in 1873 to provide room for sixty boarders and more ample family living quarters. Today the buildings (namely College House) form part of the St Andrew's College complex.¹³⁰

By 1892 no less than 380 boys had been educated at the Institution, among them 70 as 'mission agents' i.e. as teachers and catechists, including 11 ordained clergy. Past pupils also included 6 chiefs and headmen, 12 police constables, 9 magistrates, clerks and interpreters, 4 telegraph messengers, 12 farmers with their own land, 25 peasants on communal land, 4 carpenters, 1 shoemaker, 3 shopkeepers, 3 surveyors, 3 printers, 12 storemen, 7 servants and 19 labourers.¹³¹ The school clearly was fulfilling its role in producing an educated elite, although past pupils often found it difficult to

128. The Cathedral of St Michael and St George stands on the site of the original parish church of Grahamstown, St George's. This was built on land which had been the loan place of Lucas Meyer, and there is a Xhosa tradition that an *umuzi* of the Xhosa chief Ndlambe once stood here. Building of the parish church began in 1824 and in 1830 the nave was taken into use for worship. In the war of 1834-35 it served to shelter women and children and to store ammunition. Bishop Gray consecrated the building in 1848 and it became the cathedral of the diocese in 1853. During the disputes between Bishop Merriman and Dean Williams the Dean's claim to control the Cathedral was upheld by the courts and Bishop Merriman established his own pro-cathedral known as St Michael's. When the ecclesiastical breach was healed the old cathedral, now known as the Cathedral of St Michael and St George, was once more available for all the Anglicans of the diocese (Pascoe, *SPG*, p.304; Lewis & Edwards, *Historical Records*, pp.235-38, 241, 271, 277, 285-86).

129. J. Espin - see biographical notes.

130. St Andrew's College, founded 1856 by Bishop Armstrong with Revd F. Banks as the first principal, is one of South Africa's elite schools for boys which have only recently admitted black pupils. SPCK funds were granted on condition that there should be a branch for 'native students'. It was found impractical to have both schools under the same head. The Kafir Institution, founded initially in the location, was moved to buildings neighbouring the white school, but remained separate. Boys from the two schools seldom met except occasionally on the cricket field (USPG Archives, Mullins to SPG, 14.9.1872; *South African Church Year Book*, 1904; Carter, *Armstrong*, pp.314, 315 and 360-361).

131. USPG Archives, Mullins' report to SPG, 1891.

obtain suitable employment. Self-employment or state employment were virtually the only options available to them, as the above figures demonstrate. John Gumede who became prominent in the early history of the African National Congress may have been an alumnus of the Kaffir Institution.¹³²

The founding and building up of a viable, self-supporting school was no mean achievement, and it was not accomplished without stress. Mullins did not always enjoy the support of the Diocese for his project. In 1878, when pleading for more support from the SPG, he complained that the public were so exasperated with the Africans that he could expect little help from the Diocese. This was the period of the Ngqika-Gcaleka war and the subsequent Sotho gun war in which thirty-one of the Cape yeomanry, many from Grahamstown, were killed. On 27 October 1880 during a demonstration against Bishop Merriman a mob turned on the Kafir Institution shouting: 'Burn out the niggers!' The building was stoned, windows broken and paraffin balls thrown over the fence. Fortunately the mob dispersed before more damage was done.¹³³

By 1896 a note of defeat had crept into Mullins' reports to SPG. He complained that after forty years at the Institution he was wearing out, and also getting 'behind the times'. He looked forward to training a successor, and requested the SPG to look out for a likely person.

But this was not to be. The Institution had served its initial purpose well, but the needs of the twentieth century were for more sophisticated and differentiated training. In 1902 Synod decided that there should be only one central educational institution for Africans in the Diocese, located at St Matthew's in Keiskammahoek.¹³⁴ This endorsed the finding of a diocesan committee appointed earlier and the opinion of the Superintendent General of Education in the Cape, Dr Muir.¹³⁵ In 1907 Bishop Cornish¹³⁶ reported to SPG the resignation of Canon Mullins as principal of the Institution after forty-four years 'of unwearied and successful work', and the transfer of the pupils to St Matthew's. It is ironic that over forty years of unwearied and successful work should be crowned by the dissolution of the educational institution built up with such devotion and such sacrificial expenditure of energy and material resources.

Rationalisation was not the only motive for the removal of the school. It is likely that official, diocesan and public pressures were at work to remove a black school from the select area of Westhill. The story of the Institution gives an interesting insight into the experience of church institutions and schools in South Africa. In the process of maturation, functional differentiation and racial separation occurred. The old Kafir Institution gave way to a high school, teacher-training institution and a theological college. At the same time racial lines hardened. When the Kafir Institution was moved from the 'Fingo village' to the neighbourhood of St Andrew's, this might have been the prelude to the merging of the two schools in accordance with the early vision of a diocesan school

132. T. Karis & G. Gerhart, *Political Profiles* in T. Karis and G. Carter (eds), *From Protest to Challenge*, volume 4, (Stanford, 1977), p.34.

133. M. Goedhals, 'Nathaniel James Merriman, Archdeacon and Bishop, 1849-1882', (Ph.D thesis, Rhodes University, 1982), p.396.

134. St Matthew's mission, founded in the Keiskamma valley by the Revd H.B. Smith, made good progress after 1859 when the Revd W. Greenstock took charge. The catechist, Mr Taberer, developed the school where Mrs Sedgely was matron, having charge of the girls and the younger boys. There were five African voluntary workers to assist in ministering to the Christians of the mission who were scattered among a large heathen population. Cotterill saw in these developments the promise of 'a self-supporting church'. The school expanded rapidly, funded by the congregation; new and larger buildings were erected in 1876; there was an industrial department, and in 1914 a hospital was added. In 1951 H.P. Thompson described it as preeminent among the mission stations of the Diocese. Today it remains a large and important parish in the Diocese of Grahamstown. Government policy has deprived it of schools and hospital but it continues to show social concern by running a children's home for malnourished children (Pascoe, *SPG*, p.302 ff; Thompson, *Into all lands*).

135. Sir Thomas Muir - see biographical notes.

136. C. Cornish - see biographical notes.

which would accept both black and white pupils. In fact, interaction was limited to the occasional game of cricket. The pupils did not even worship together. St Andrew's College had its own chapel; the Kafir Institution did not, for Mullins failed to raise enough money to build a chapel for the Institution. Its scholars walked every Sunday to worship at St Philip's¹³⁷ in the 'Fingo village'. The Church conformed to the standards of society and the times. Separate diocesan institutions evolved for the education of black and white: first the Kafir Institute and St Andrew's and later separate theological colleges, St Paul's¹³⁸ and St Matthew's.

5.5 Parish priest and administrator

Since the pupils of the Kafir Institution attended Sunday services in the 'Fingo village' Mullins was free to assist elsewhere in Grahamstown, which he gladly did. In the 1860s he assisted with the work at St Bartholomew's Church¹³⁹ and visited the General Hospital twice a week. In 1869 he offered to assist the Revd G.Thomson,¹⁴⁰ curate of the Grahamstown rural districts. He took over the pastoral work at the police posts at Fort Brown and Botha's Hill, eight miles from town. He made regular visits to Peddie, a small white settlement forty six miles from Grahamstown, and sometimes had to cross the flooded Fish River in a boat. In 1871 he took over the country work to the south west of Grahamstown, visiting the farms Vaalkrantz, Hilton, Brak Kloof, Table Farm and the police camps at Helensberg and Carlisle Bridge. He rode out to the farms on horseback until his country flock presented him with a buggy. They loved his monthly visits during which he held services, catechised the children and caught up with the news. His people valued their 'venerable and faithful pastor' and Bishop Merriman commended him as the only effective man for the rural ministry in the Diocese. He continued this work until his retirement in 1907 and even then he continued to visit Middleton and Hilton in the buggy.

Mullins was a meticulous administrator, and the Diocese recognised this. From 1867 he acted as Secretary to the Board of the Mission, a task which involved the keeping of mission accounts, the organisation and minuting of the annual missionary conference, and the compilation of the annual statistical returns required by the SPG which was helping to finance mission expansion. Over the forty years during which he served the Diocese in this way the work grew in volume and complexity. By 1901 the original four mission stations founded by Armstrong had grown to 6, even though St Mark's no longer fell under the control of Grahamstown, having formed the nucleus of the new

137. Mission work started among the black community living in Grahamstown in 1857 but the Grahamstown Kafir Mission, St Philip's, was founded only in 1860 following a resolution of the First Synod of the Grahamstown Diocese when the Revd W.H. Turpin was appointed to develop the work. The Mission was run by him with the assistance of a black schoolmaster and the young men of the Kafir Institution. There were then 450 residents in the Fingo Location. By 1860, 28 had been baptised, there were 10 communicants and 70 children at school. Money was raised for the building of a church which was finally consecrated in 1867 (*The Church Gazette*, Vol.I, No.4, April 1863; Goedhals, 'Anglican mission policy').

138. St Paul's College, which occupied buildings of the old Railway Mission, was established by Bishop Cornish in 1902 as a residential theological college for the training of white candidates for the ministry. Canon Espin was the first principal. From 1910 it served as a training centre of the Church of the Province of South Africa. In 1970 it opened its doors to candidates of all races and expanded to accommodate wives and children of married students. In 1993 a new institution, the College of the Transfiguration, was founded and housed in the premises of the former St Paul's.

139. St Bartholomew's Church was built on Settlers' Hill in Grahamstown in 1857 with money collected and given to Archdeacon Merriman by the congregation which he had served in England. It included a complex of buildings similar to those of an English country parish with its glebe lands, two cottages, one for the rector and the other for his assistant, schoolrooms, almshouses and church (R.D. Crozier, *St Bartholomew's, Grahamstown, 1860-1985*, Grahamstown, 1985).

140. George Thompson - see biographical notes.

Diocese of St John's formed in 1873 under Bishop Callaway.¹⁴¹ In addition there were mission churches in 9 urban centres and many missions in smaller centres where the white parish priest supervised an African Catechist.¹⁴²

In 1869 Mullins became Diocesan Secretary. This did not involve a great deal of work at that time but, as the work among whites grew, so did the duties of the secretary. When he commenced his duties there were only ten white priests on the clergy roll, including three military chaplains. In 1892 this number had grown to 60 priests, 19 deacons, and the Bishop.¹⁴³

Mullins never sought the limelight, nor was he ambitious for office. He was offered an archdeaconry, but refused it. In 1880 he was offered the superintendence of missions in Natal. He refused the offer. He explained that while he would have liked to accept, he had seven children, only two of whom were just grown up, and he would not be able to afford to educate them, were he to move to Natal.¹⁴⁴ In 1888 he was made a Canon of the Cathedral and served on the Cathedral Chapter, which assists the Bishop with personnel matters in the diocese.

In addition to his multifarious educational, pastoral and administrative duties he served on the Hospital Board, the Library Committee, and the Councils of St Andrew's College and of the Diocesan School for Girls.¹⁴⁵

In 1907 Mullins ceased to teach and to run the school and he handed over most of the country work to his son Robert, but he continued as Diocesan and Mission Secretary to the end of his life. Right up to 1912 the annual schedules to SPG are completed in his neat and spidery handwriting which is much more legible there than it was in the old frontier diaries. In 1911 and 1912 he acted as Vicar-General in the absence of Bishop Cornish. His long service in the Grahamstown Diocese spanned five episcopacies, those of Armstrong, Cotterill, Merriman, Webb¹⁴⁶ and Cornish.

5.6 The Mullins family

In the accounts of the mission activity of the church women have been said to be 'the invisible factor'. That is certainly true of missionaries' wives.

From the day when Robert and Jennie Mullins set foot on South African soil Jennie was always a full partner in all the enterprises which Robert undertook. On the frontier she made a home and undertook all the domestic duties which had hitherto fallen to his lot. In addition she taught in the schools and supervised the boarding establishments. Family tradition has it that she often wrote up the diary, and her handwriting is much in evidence in the diaries written at St John's and in Grahamstown. Clearly she shared the intellectual interests of her husband.

She bore Robert fourteen children: 8 girls and 6 boys. Twelve of their children lived to maturity. In spite of the burden and the 'busyness' of motherhood Jennie undertook the duties of matron for the Kafir Institution. She provided for about sixty boarders from the Institution and for some twenty St Andrew's boys as well. It was a considerable undertaking, but at least accommodating the St Andrew's boys helped to defray family expenses. From the Grahamstown diaries it is obvious that she often relieved Robert in the classroom when he had important meetings, or even when he went to fetch the post. He ran the school with only one assistant, so her help must often have been

141. H. Callaway - see biographical notes.

142. Pascoe, *SPG*, pp.304-05.

143. USPG Archives, Mullins' report to SPG 1868-69, and letter 1.1.1892.

144. *Ibid.*, Mullins to SPG, 26.3.1880.

145. The Diocesan School for Girls was founded in 1874. The first headmistress was Mrs Catherine Espin, wife of Canon John Espin. The school grew rapidly and in 1884 a chapel was built and dedicated by Bishop Webb as a memorial to the work of Bishop Merriman and Canon and Mrs Espin. Today it is an elite non-racial private school (Lewis & Edwards, *Historical Records*, pp.267-68).

146. A.B. Webb - see biographical notes.

necessary.

She played her part in the wider community and was a founding member of the Ladies' Benevolent Society, which existed until 1996 to help the poor and needy of the city.

In 1891 Mullins wrote to the SPG that it had been a very hard struggle with a limited income to manage the education of the boys. 'But with God's help and strict economy we have managed hitherto.'¹⁴⁷

Of the boys three were educated at St Andrew's College and Keble College Oxford. The eldest became a priest and later the founder of St Andrew's Preparatory School, where one of the girls, Edith, taught for many years. The second son, who was awarded a VC in the South African War became a barrister and practised at the bar in the Transvaal. One son became a doctor, completing his medical training at St Thomas' Hospital London.¹⁴⁸ They grew up a loving and close-knit family.

Mullins died quite suddenly on 24 April 1913. The text which Jennie chose for her husband's epitaph was:

Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit ye like men. Be strong (1 Cor. 16.13)

That was how she saw the message of his life.

Revd. E.C. West, Canon and Chancellor of the Cathedral, acknowledged how impossible it was to state adequately what the missionary work of the Diocese owed to the devoted labours of Canon Mullins. These labours extended over fifty-eight years and covered all aspects of the life of the Church in the diocese. They began in the humble, informal, missionary efforts on a war-torn and unstable frontier; they continued with the establishment of institutions, for worship and education; and they ended in the bureaucratic and pastoral roles of his last years. The Chancellor did not exaggerate the value of that contribution.¹⁴⁹

SECTION 6: The Mullins Diary and letters as records of the frontier experience

Robert John Mullins (later with the help of his wife) kept a prosaic record of his day-to-day activities throughout his life, but only the diary entries for the years 1854-1864 are published in this volume. These were the years of his apprenticeship as a missionary and years of crucial change in the frontier area.

Usually dull and quite without literary pretensions the diary is concerned with the small events that made up the daily round of missionary life. Every missionary was expected to keep a diary which could be used when he wrote his quarterly reports or did his accounts. Mullins noted the frequency, times and places of services, and the numbers attending; there are references to potential converts, casual acquaintances or visitors to the station. He recorded, too, such matters as the arrival of the post and of wagons bringing stores, the letters he wrote, financial transactions and information concerning the harvest. This is a faithful record of the daily round of work, spiritual, educational, agricultural and constructional. There are also many gaps which reflect his lack of daily discipline; after his marriage and after he and Jennie moved to St John's, Jennie took over the task of diary-keeping; it is not one for which Mullins displayed any enthusiasm.

6.1 Insights into missionary strategy and its consequences

The historical value of this diary lies precisely in its being a matter of factual reflection of the quality of life on the missions where Mullins worked. Of necessity it reflects, too, something of the changing context of his labours and of the consequent changes in missionary strategy.

Initially Mullins worked among people whose traditional societies were viable and relatively

147. USPG Archives, Mullins to SPG, 7.9.1891.

148. DSAB; Levick, *Lives*, p.44.

149. Levick, *Lives*, p.155.

intact. He had to negotiate with chiefs, visit homesteads, adopt the life style of those among whom and for whom he worked and use the strategy of the peripatetic preacher and teacher. But, as conquest and impoverishment proceeded and missionary enterprise gathered pace, so his relationship with those for whom he had come to the frontier changed. After the Cattle-Killing he lived in a settled home with his wife Jennie on a station where schools had been established. Those among whom he laboured were now the dependents of the mission station.

In 1854, when Mullins began his work, the mission at St Luke's was clearly irrelevant to the daily life of the Xhosa in their traditional society. The mission was tolerated, even protected, but the offer of schooling was spurned. Mullins lived the life of the people about him. His bedroom was a round thatched hut; he himself tackled the physical tasks of cutting poles, clearing the bush, making roads, herding the goats, driving the wagon and planting and harvesting crops. He ate Xhosa food, and complained about the monotony of his diet. He exchanged visits and gifts with all his neighbours, black as well as white. He was in turn visited and he dispensed hospitality to all who came, black and white. This was the situation at all four stations, although he was more isolated from white society at St Luke's.

His approach to the missionary task was in accord with general diocesan strategy. Missionaries, said Merriman, should go and live a hard self-denying life in a 'kraal', eating sour milk and mealies and working with and for the people till they had mastered Xhosa and acquired influence.¹⁵⁰

By 1864 when Mullins returned to St John's with his new wife the situation had entirely changed. The separation of the missionary from his potential converts in traditional society had begun, and with this came the emergence of a hierarchy of authority on the station, where the missionary stood at the apex, separated from his people by authority, status, material standards, culture, language and colour. Mullins now occupied a five-roomed square house connected with the school room, the kitchen and the girls' dormitory. He and his family did not need to rely on the generosity of neighbours or the produce of the countryside. The station had its own fruitful orchard and garden, and there were regular wagon supplies from Queenstown. Both Jennie and Robert had been at pains to learn Xhosa and both could speak it fluently. None of their children learned the language, for it was felt they might learn something improper.¹⁵¹

In part, of course, Jenny's arrival had contributed to the change and to the increase in social distance between missionary and people. Once a missionary was married, he could not relate to the people among whom he worked in the same way as he had done when single. This issue was raised at a much later Missionary Conference held at Clydesdale for the four missionary dioceses of Grahamstown, Zululand, Maritzburg and St John's. It was concluded that if Europeans were to live with, instead of above, the Africans whom they had chosen to serve they should be celibate. Brotherhoods were needed for the work.¹⁵²

In the more peaceful context of the 1860s there were no raids or counter-raids and only one (false) rumour of war. Life was also more social, in a white context. Social exchanges were usually with white visitors, whether fellow missionaries, traders or travellers. The black people of the mission were not regarded as the social equals of the missionary, nor were they treated as such. Missionaries became encapsulated within their Christian station and within a white cultural environment. There were black employees, black children to teach, black teachers to guide and supervise, black Christians to instruct and discipline, but no black peers. Gone was the easy social intercourse of the

150. Pascoe, *SPG*, p.280.

151. Information from the late Mrs Ruth Knowling, youngest daughter of R.J. Mullins. *C.f.* Hardie on 'the heathen among whom (children of missionaries) live and whose ordinary talk is full of grossest obscenity' (USPG Archives, Hardie to SPG, 26.12.1857); and Cotterill on 'the moral injury they (the children of missionaries) receive from contacts with natives' (*ibid.*, Cotterill to SPG, 15.4.1864).

152. *Church Chronicle*, Vol.X, No.11, 1889, p.343.

years at St Peter's. Ndarhala still came to breakfast now and then and was received as an old and trusted friend. But few others presumed. Even the peripatetic preaching seems to have fallen into the background. Missionaries were too busy holding classes and church services, and caring for the resident flock which had gathered around them during and after the Cattle-Killing, to move away from the station.

6.2 Insights into educational policy and methods

Schools were crucial to the initial missionary outreach and the diary offers valuable insights into the development of educational facilities, and the response of missions to government educational policy. In the first instance teachers offered numeracy and literacy; but their main intention was the preaching of the Gospel. The approach initially was to family groups, rather than to individuals. The diary reflects the changeover to boarding schools. This was regarded as a far more efficient strategy, for the resocialization of children was quicker and more effective when they were divorced from their families for long periods. At St Peter's it was from among these children that the first baptised converts came. The numbers at the schools increased dramatically after the Cattle-Killing, for many impoverished parents pleaded to have the missions receive their children. Thus mission strategy changed in an important way once the actual mission settlements became the main missionary pre-occupation. The emphasis came now to be placed on the individual convert and his needs and aspirations were what mattered. He was separated from his own people in a very real way. The earlier emphasis on peripatetic preaching and teaching was one which drew the missionaries into the daily life of the people and depended on the goodwill of the chief. The later emphasis on the withdrawal of the missionaries into the life of the station isolated from the unconverted. The boarding school strategy was of course not the only factor at work; the depopulation of areas in which missions were placed, e.g. St Mark's, must have contributed to the process of withdrawal, and made it almost inevitable.

The diary also gives insights into the forms of education offered on the mission stations. By 1871 all mission schools were obliged to give some industrial education.¹⁵³ Industrial missions had become increasingly popular during the nineteenth century. They were intended to teach the dignity of work, to encourage reliability and frugality, and to foster self-support for individuals and the Christian community, to qualify converts for employment, and to afford evangelistic opportunity.¹⁵⁴ The Governor, Sir George Grey, too had laid great stress on technical and industrial education, and the missions were trying to conform to his requirements with very limited teaching skills at their disposal. The diary records that the German tailor, Gormann, joined the staff at St Peter's with the object of teaching the children a useful occupation.¹⁵⁵ In 1860 Waters reported that he had a number of 'industrial teachers', a blacksmith, carpenter, shoemaker, tailor and tanner, all German. These activities gave rise to some income, but more important still, they were regarded as part of the 'civilising process'. Colonial administration and the church were in complete agreement about the civilising role of labour. It is interesting to find that Waters was advertising for employment for boys who had learned 'shoe-making, tailoring and carpentry'.¹⁵⁶ In times of economic growth there was a great need for skilled workers in the burgeoning economy of the Cape; yet these promising beginnings never gave rise to a class of African artisans. In 1869 Mullins reported that it was indeed very difficult to find any employment for the boys of the Kafir Institution apart from that of teacher. There was a great prejudice amongst the white population against employing people they called

153. USPG Archives, Missionary Instructions, Diocese of Grahamstown, 1871 (issued by Cotterill).

154. S. Neill, *A History of Christian Missions. Pelican History of the Church*, Vol. VI, (New York, 1964), p.282.

155. USPG Archives, Waters' report to SPG, 1860.

156. *Queenstown Free Press*, 27.10.1863.

'educated blacks'.¹⁵⁷

Education was by no means restricted to children. At St Peter's almost from the very beginning there was a night school functioning for men. At St John's Jennie ran a sewing school for women; there was also a men's school there. Provision for adult education was apparently a fairly general practice on all missions.¹⁵⁸

During Mullins' frontier years white penetration proceeded apace, bringing with it white paternalism and black dependence and subordination in society and in the church. Young Mullins, who saw himself primarily as a soldier for Christ, was a part of the white tide flowing from the south, undermining old beliefs, introducing new technologies of production and new standards of consumption. The missionary enterprise was helping to dissolve the matrix of Xhosa society, whatever its primary aim and purpose was. And it was not producing autonomous 'native Christians' as Cotterill had intended. This is not to impute blame to missionaries. Acculturation was in the circumstances an inevitable by-product of their enterprise, and of course missionaries were not the only agents of change.

6.3 Insights into agriculture production

The diary also alludes to the agricultural work of the missions. At St Peter's bush was cleared, lands prepared, planted and harvested. Irrigation furrows were laid out. Crops could help to feed the missionaries and their flock, thus reducing operating costs. Indeed, Armstrong had envisaged the missions as self-supporting farms.¹⁵⁹ The colonial government also saw agricultural development as a priority; it was part of the civilising process. Developed mission lands were a tangible and persuasive demonstration that the missionary, and thus the political strategy of Grey and his government, was working. As Mullins remarked, developed fields were a negotiable asset, important in claiming and obtaining monetary support from the government. There is also evidence in the diary of the influence which the mission had on the agricultural methods of the people around them. Very early in his stay at St John's Mullins was called to help Ndarhala put a plough together and to demonstrate its use. Ndarhala copied the irrigation techniques he saw functioning at St John's and St Mark's; soon his own fields were irrigated. Mullins complained that at St Peter's one of his upstream neighbours was using all the water from the stream to irrigate his own lands.

6.4 The Cattle-Killing

Finally the diary is valuable as a record of what Mullins himself experienced and observed of the Cattle-Killing. It provides us with an account of the thoughts, feelings and actions of the participants themselves. Many chiefs passed through the mission on their way to take counsel with Sarhili. Their movements and the response of the Thembu people surrounding the stations show how the illusion spread among divergent people, drawing together erstwhile antagonists. Now and then Mullins recorded the actual conversations he held with believers and unbelievers. Such material is so rare in the literature on the Cattle-Killing that historians can only regret that he did not record many more such conversations.

The mid-nineteenth century extracts from Mullins' diary and the letters published in this volume constitute an important missionary and frontier document. The Cattle-Killing is the most tragic event

157. USPG Archives, Mullins, report to SPG, 1869.

158. 'At sunrise there is morning service followed on Tuesday and Thursday by school for the women. Every day from nine to twelve there is a day school attended by English, Kafir, Hottentot and Dutch children. On alternate afternoons there is a sewing class and at sunset evening service. Three nights a week there was school for the men' (Mrs John Gordon of All Saints Mission quoted in C. Leadley Brown, *All Saints' Parish*, 1929, held in S.A. Library, Cape Town).

159. USPG Archives, Armstrong to SPG, 10.2.1855.

recorded, but other features and long-term trends in the history of the frontier and the interaction of peoples are also reflected. Mullins mentions the hardships and dangers of missionary life, not least to infant children. He notes the pressure on the Xhosa to adapt as, for example, he records their confusion over coins when the money economy spread to the frontier. He allows us to glimpse the mutual tension and uncertainty of missionary and Xhosa over the custom that should regulate damage to gardens caused by straying animals. He notes missionary perplexity at continued Xhosa expectation of abundant hospitality. In these years the context in which Mullins lived and worked was being transformed. Communications improved to strengthen links between Britain and southern Africa and to facilitate travel, the exchange of letter and the dissemination of news. As Mullins' account of his farewell journey to his mission station shows, conditions became more settled and stable in the frontier region.

Sketches of some of the people, important and minor, black and white, involved in the frontier transformation appear in the diary. Mullins makes himself known to us. He had his limitations. He could not empathise with the Xhosa experience of the Cattle-Killing and he disapproved of some Xhosa customs. To him Xhosa initiation was immoral, and their treatment of the dying callous. Even toward a missionary colleague, Revd W.H. Turpin, Mullins was impatient - and not without prejudice - for Turpin, though a white man and a co-religionist, was an Irishman. On the other hand Mullins had great powers of stamina and commitment. He had, too, the gift of humour (sometimes boisterous), a joy in physical recreation (riding, hunting and cricket) and a delight in music which enriched his life. He was a well-educated man with marked intellectual abilities and broad interests and was alert to the events of his day. He and Jenny both read widely, enjoying magazines and journals and, surprisingly recent literary works. They followed current theological controversy. In his ministry and his teaching, Mullins devoted himself to sharing with his converts and scholars the religion and culture that he valued. Like all missionaries he believed that this would open opportunities for salvation and creativity. The sad paradox of such activity was that the willingness to give was usually accompanied by a failure to understand indigenous culture and an increasing sense of social distance between the missionaries and those for whose benefit they laboured. For a time and to an extent these attitudes have - perhaps inevitably - shadowed the substance of missionary endeavour in South Africa.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LONG VOYAGE ***22 July 1854 - 28 September 1854***

Saturday July 22nd 1854. Started with Mamma, Aunt Annie and Stan Stocombe for London Bridge Station, discovered that I had lost my keys, but had them sent in the evening. Passengers came on board about 6 p.m. Made friends with my fellow passengers. Saw the live stock put on board. Made my bed, and so put to bed about 11. Great noise during the night. Was disturbed by Mr. Greenstock about ½ past 3 a.m. Slept very well. A great many cockroaches. About Papa's British Bank card.

Sunday July 23rd. Up at 6. Breakfast, and at ¼ to 11 started with steam tug *Rob Roy*. Very beautiful view, Sheerness etc. Read psalms, and lessons etc in the morning. Had prayers in the evening (Revd - Greene, and Every),¹ and anchored off the North Foreland light. Very nice pilot. Dinner at 5. Made my own bed etc. Tug gone, waiting for the wind.

Monday 24th. Aroused at ¼ past 3 by the sailor's [sic] noise, and songs. Upon deck by ½ past. Very beautiful sun rise, and splendid view. Past [sic] Dover before breakfast, and saw the militia exercising.² Also saw the coast of France, Beachey Head by dinner. Pilot left at Dungeness light house, and wished me every prosperity. Sent my first letter home by the pilot. In dinner, soup, duck and fowls, and roast and boiled mutton, cherry and currant pies, cheese, ale and wine. A Madras woman on board, and two blacks. Past a vessel yesterday that was taken in the war. At bed time just off Brighton etc. Sailed beautifully all day, beautiful sea.

Tuesday 25th. Saluted in the morning by a shower of water, as they were washing the decks. Just passed the Isle of Wight and heard the guns firing at Spithead. Beautiful day and wind. In the evening went up the main mast. A sailor came and lashed me with the string of his knife but I broke it and got down before him. Went on the fore castle afterwards, and was made free by one of the sailors, who made a chalk cross on my shoe. Some seem very nice men. The 2nd Mate who dines at our table has certainly had a good education, was at Rugby, been in the navy etc, but is now I am sorry to say of a very bad caracture [sic]. About 9 p.m. chanted the Psalms for the evening and the evening hymn on deck. (To the old tune.) Sailing rather fast. Sang two or three rounds etc and listened to the sailors.

26th Wednesday. Found the water coming in fast again, however slept pretty well off the coast of Cornwall. Very dull morning. Sea rather rough. A great many passengers sick, myself among the number. Passed a great many vessels during the day. Saw the last of "Old England" about 4 o'clock. Farewell to the land of my fathers. Nothing done particular during today everybody unwell. Night, and fine wind.

27th Thursday. Nothing happened today particular. Scarcely any wind. Not quite recovered the effects of yesterday. In the afternoon made signals to a homeward bound vessel. 1st hoisted

1. Revd M R Every and Revd Edward P Green - see biographical notes.

2. Enlarged and reorganised by the Militia Act of 1852 when a French invasion was feared, the militia, which was drawn from the civil population by voluntary recruitment, was both popular and useful during the Crimean War (March 1854-1856) and the Indian Mutiny when militia forces took over garrison duties from regular army units and provided recruits to the regular army. E M Spiers, *The Army and Society 1815-1914* (London, 1980), pp.92; 108; 162-63.

our number, which they signalled back was not on their book. Hoisted our colours. They their number. *The Cato*. We [replied] that we understood them. Captain says they will report us in England. Looked over my clothes, and read. *Bishop of Capetown Journal*.³ No wind. At night going very slowly. Not in the Bay of B[iscay] yet.

28th Friday. Rather finer than yesterday. Much better. No wind. Read Tennyson etc. Hear that some porpoises have just been seen. Chanted Psalms etc in evening. No wind. Not able to keep our direct course. Gentlemen played cards in evening.

Saturday 29th. Find [sic] breeze this morning. Saw plenty of porpoises during the day. Sign of fine weather. Some quite close to the ship. Read Psalms and Lessons in morning and the *Haunted Man* by Dickens.⁴ Signalled to a bark, but she was a Frenchman. We could not distinctly read her questions so far off. Service in the evening. Fine wind. Discovered today for the first time that we were 2nd class passengers.

Sunday 30th. Lat. 49 ° 44 North. Long. 10 3030 West. Course South 52 ° West. Distance 94 miles. Been on board just one week, and find the time goes very quickly. Cut open two books. Had morning service. Mr Every read, and Mr Greene preached a beautiful sermon. Most of the crew present. Had a very heavy shower in the morning, and could not get out. Find the biscuits etc Mama had prepared for me very very [Mullins' emphasis] useful. Wrote some more of my letter home. Had very pleasant evening service. Very good dinner for once. Champagne. It is very great fun at dinner time calling the Lascar. "Sambo here". "Choker", "Alli, Smutcher"⁵ etc and then at last after several efforts he comes. You ask him for something, if he has not got it, he bolts away again spreading abroad all his fingers, and saying "he no more, Massa," and then, pit pat on his naked feet. If he [can] get [it] he bolts away with your plate, goes and does something else, and just as everybody else has just finished perhaps, he brings it back empty in his hands, and asks you what you want.

Monday 31st. Lat. 47 ° 13 Long. 10 West. Distance 32 miles. Saw some porpoises very close to the ship. Began my *Kafir G[rammar]*⁶ regularly, and began *Rienzi*.⁷ Heard from the Bishop that perhaps one of the old Shoreham ministers, Mr Allen might come out as a missionary. Played my first game at what are called quarter deck billiards. Very nice game indeed. Col. Smith,⁸ one of the passengers, is very amusing in his anecdotes of the Kafirs. He was in the late war. Mr

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3. Robert Gray, *The Journal of Two Visitations in 1848 and 1850* (London, 1849 and 1851).
 4. Charles Dickens, *The Haunted Man* (1848). This was the last of Dickens' Christmas books.
 5. Sambo: a half-breed, especially of Negro and Indian or European blood; Choker: one who throttles or chokes another; Smutchu: presumably derived from 'smutch', an archaic variation of 'smudge'; Alli: a Muslim. None of these are complimentary forms of address, all indicating an inbred racism even among missionaries. It was no wonder Mullins' wants were not fulfilled.
 6. The Methodist missionaries had compiled studies of the 'kafir language': W B Boyce, *A Grammar of the Kafir Language* (London, 1834) and J W Appleyard, *The Kafir Language* (King Williams Town, 1850). Mullins probably used the latter work.
 7. Eric Bulwer Lytton, *Life and Times of Rienzi* (1848).
 8. Colonel Smith had evidently served in India and may have been the Colonel Smith who commanded at Fort Beaufort in 1856. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1856* and H M Matthews, *Historical Notes*, Vol.1, Grahamstown Diocese, pp.4, 10, 17).

Barclay also told me a great deal about the language and the clicks. They seem very difficult to manage but the other part not so very hard. Had a very nice breeze about 3 o'clock and saw some very large fish.

Tuesday 1st August. Tolerably fine day. *Lat. 45 °.15 Long. 11 °0 West. Course South 28 West. Distance 134 miles.* We passed the Indian mail 11.30 last night. Saw some Mother Carey's chicken⁹ and gulls. Fine breeze. Passed several vessels during the day.

Wednesday 2nd. No news. Read the morning and evening Lessons in the Greek Test[ament] with Tweed.¹⁰ A shark was seen near the vessel. *Lat. 43 °.37 Long. 12 °.20. Course Sw-20.30 West. Distance 105 miles.* Played billiards. Signalled to a large brig. She said she would report us all well but would not give her name. She was Swedish. But very obliging. We had quite a long chat, about Lat[itute] and Long[itute] I hoisted all the signals myself. Very glorious sunset.

Thursday 3rd. *Lat. 42.23 Long. 12.59 West. Course 5.20 W. Distance 80.* No changes every day spent alike. Breakfast, luncheon, dinner, tea, and supper. All the same. We have hot, colds, and curry and rice for breakfast. Sherry and biscuits, in luncheon. All sorts of things for dinner etc. Some of the sailors sing very nicely. Played billiards. Very much interested with *Rienzi*. Discovered the Tweed's brother was one of the masters at Marlbro'. Chanted the evening Psalms etc on deck as usual. I enjoy this very much.

Friday 4th. *Lat. 40 °.12 North Long. 14 °.05 West. Course SWW. Distance 141 miles.* Read my Gr[ee]k Test[ament] with Tweed which I hope to do regularly. *Kaffir Gr[ammar]*. The language does not seem very hard, and I hope soon to overcome all difficulties. Signalled to a Dutch man of war but did not get any satisfactory answers. Beautiful breeze, 8 knots. Finished *Rienzi*. Experienced a night's watch at sea with Tweed. We stayed up all night, with the Mates, and sailors. It was a cloudy and glorious night. The waves looked magnificent. Wrote part of my letter home, and some music during the night. Had a heavy shower about 2 o'clock. Such fun changing the watch. Men half asleep, came out to watch. I timed the log. Saw the moon set, and sun rise. It was very beautiful and quite worth going without a night's sleep. This morning we had holystoning¹¹ the deck such a noise with the washing, and stone, men singing etc; I never went to sleep once all night. I do not like the Cap[tain] so much as I thought I should. He does not take care that we are properly attended to at the lower table. The vessel is rocking very much and I cannot write.

Saturday 5th. Read Gr[ee]k Test[ament] and *Kafir*. Very fine day. Nothing to put down. Felt rather tired in the evening, and went to bed early. The cockroaches are very numerous in our room. We have a glorious moon every night. I begin to enjoy the voyage more than I did. *Lat. 37 °48. Long. 15.21. Dist[ance] 158. Course.* Different constellations.

Sunday 6th. *Lat. 35 °.05 North. Long. 19.05 West. Course S.26 °½ West. Distance 183 miles Island Madeira Reading South 8½ ° W. Dist[ance] 135 [miles].* By some very great mistake Mr

9. Mother Carey's Chickens: stormy petrels.

10. Tweed - see biographical notes.

11. Decks were scoured with soft sandstone; the stones were known as holystones or bibles perhaps because they were used while kneeling.

Greenstock never woke me, and therefore I was not up till some time after breakfast. We had a very pleasant service on quarter deck. Most of the sailors were very attentive. Very nice sermon from Mr Every. At three o'clock the Bishop assisted by Mr Green administered the Sacrament to about 11 passengers. I was very thankful to be one as it was some time since I have been able to receive. In looking over my pocket book I discovered a slip of paper, Mamma had put in the day I left England. I shall I hope treasure it much, with Papa's letter. Wind about the same. Read Bishop's *Journal*.

Monday 7th. Did not sleep much all night rather in pain. Got [up] before six to see Madeira. It was very indistinct. It seems to be surrounded with cliffs. Some flying fish have been seen today for the first time. The Capt[ain] refused to let us have morning service and made some other little disturbance with Mr Green. The sailors in the evening made a donkey, and brought it on quarter deck. It was very good fun, and then Mr and Mrs Neptune came round. In the morning I turned everything out of my large black trunk. There is a little girl on board named Trench,¹² she is going out to her parents at the Cape. She is very good. I am very sorry to see how the Bishop spoils his children. They have everything they cry for. *Lat. 32 °.14 North. Long. 18.15 West, Course South 19 ° West. Distance 179.* Our longest passage yet.

Tuesday 8th. Have a bad headache this morning. The Capt[ain] this morning gave permission for service, and asked me to tell the passengers. We are to have it every morning now directly after breakfast. We have a shower bath now, for those who like it. There is a very great sameness in the proceedings of every day so that it puzzles one, what to put down. Very splendid moon. It was full, and lit up the sea beautifully. *Lat. 29 °.40 N. Long. 18.56 West. Course S. 13 West. Dist[ance] 158 miles.*

Wednesday 9th. My nose bled very much in the morning about 6 o'clock. A vessel, the *Owen Glendower*, bound for Bombay passed us this morning. Read Gr[ee]k Test[ament] after prayer. About St Stephen. (I hope I shall have courage to die for my religion if needs be.) We soon passed her and fell in with some more. Finished the *Bishop of C[ape] T[own]'s Journal*. He is certainly a very wonderful man. Walking a great deal of the time. *Lat. 27 °.43 N. Long. 19.57 Course S. 24½ on Dist[ance] 130 miles.* I have now left home a month "time flies a pace". Saw some grampus's¹³ and flying fish today. I certainly think it is quite worth going to sea if only to see the moon rise and sun set and rise etc. These are never two alike in their features, either it is beautifully clear, or again awfully cloudy.

Thursday 10th. Lat. 25 °.32 N Long. 21.12 W. Course S.29 ° West. Distance 148 miles at 8 a.m. Signalled to the *Ellen Lindsey* bound for Bombay; she answered all one's questions, and we talked sometime to her. She wished us a good voyage etc. She keeps pretty close to us. On Mondays, Tues[days], Thurs[days] and Saturdays we have the usual morning prayers and part of the second lesson if long; on Wednesdays and Fridays the Litany. A gentleman on board told me he thought that turning to the east whilst you said the Believe [creed] was a piece of Romish superstition, because nothing on its behalf could be proved by the Bible: I wonder what he will say to the marriage service, saints days, burial service etc. He is very very bitter against what

12. The girl was the daughter of a judge in the Indian service.

13. Grampus: a dolphin-like cetacean.

he calls "High Church".¹⁴

Friday 11th. Ellen Lindsey still close astern. Entered the tropics today, rather warm. *Lat. 23 °37 North Long. 22.19. W. Course S. 29 °W. Dist[ance]. 133 miles.* I went on fore-castle and turned the bale for Mad Jack, one of the sailors, i.e. he was binding a rope for some blocks and I twisted the twine around for him. The other day I let down about 3 doz barrels of flour, wine, beer, etc. into the hold; one wants some sort of exercise. Our English stars are quite disappeared. My old friend the Great Bear quite gone. Saw plenty of flying fish today. Had a game of quarterdeck billiards with Greenstock and beat him. The water came into Miss [Hudson]'s cabin and drenched her bed. Fine night. I now seldom go to bed before twelve or half past.

Saturday 12th. Holystoning the deck for the last time this voyage I am glad to say. We have some funny passengers on board. Miss Hudson,¹⁵ an old maid, is very astronomical and talks so queer. Our friend the *Ellen* is gradually leaving us. Had our cabin washed out yesterday. Two large albacores¹⁶ were seen early this morning. *Lat. 21 °.29 North. Long. 23.35 W. Course S. 29 °W. Dist[ance] 146 miles.* Very warm indeed, beginning to feel the true heat of the tropics. The children are beginning to feel the heat, and get very thirsty. I wish we had more water on board. Very nice breeze. Just approaching the Cape de Verde. The flying fish start up just like so many partridges [sic]. They fly on board during the night. Very beautiful sight. Did not turn in till half past 12. The 2nd Mate was in a state of intoxication and was not able to keep his watch. Played with my little pet the kitten. I have discovered that the Great Bear is not gone but getting very low indeed.

Sunday 13th. *Lat. 19.6. Long. 25.4 167.* Had morning service on quarter deck. The sailors looked very nice indeed in their Sunday dress, and some seem very attentive. Mr Every has given them Prayer Books, and Bibles, and lends them tracts. He also often goes and talks to them, and they read to him. The Bishop administered the Holy Communion in his cabin. (I did not partake.) We had service again after dinner. Very fine evening. Had a very long chat with Tweed in the evening.

Monday 14th. Turned everything out of my cabin today, and made sundry alterations. Very warm indeed. There is a funny little dog on board, which is a great favourite. Bishop is not very well. One hardly knows what to do, on account of the sameness of the day and oppressive heat. I begin to wish almost the voyage was over, tho' the sea, and stars are very glorious. It does not

14. This reflects one of the contemporary controversies in the Church of England. Those in the High Church party had a great reverence for tradition, liturgy, the authority of priests and bishops and the efficacy of the sacraments. Many in the opposite party tended to place greater emphasis on the centrality of the scriptures as authority and on the efficacy of God's saving grace. The Oxford Movement which inspired missionary outreach to southern Africa in the mid-nineteenth century tended to High Church principles.

15. Miss Hudson, the sister of George Hudson, taught later on the farm Thornkloof. See biographical notes.

16. Albacores: a large species of tunny.

seem to have done the Bishop much good.¹⁷ Very nice wind from the land, going about 10 knots. We see very beautiful shooting stars at night, and jellyfish about. *Lat.* 16.33. *Long.* 26.33. Distance 174 miles off St Antonio one of the Cape De Verde Is[lands].

Tuesday 15th. Did my *Kafir* in the morning. Mr Greenstock very unwell all day. Also several of the passengers. The Bishop not at all well. The *Kafir* begins to get hard. I confuse everything so. Only myself at our table at dinner, with the Mate. A very lovely evening. Had my first shower bath this morning. It was very refreshing. Heard Miss [Hudson] say her Latin Gr[ammar]. She knew it very well indeed. The cockroaches are very numerous indeed tonight. I think it is because they moved part of the cargo today. We passed a brig just after breakfast, *The Lion* from London. The heat below at night is tremendous. Several vessels in sight. *Lat.* 13°.49 North. *Long.* 86.35 West. *Course South. Dist[ance].* 169. Wind still going down. Turned in at ½ p[ast] 11.

Wednesday 16th. Bishop, Mr Greenstock, and some other passengers continue to be very poorly. The heat this morning is exceedingly oppressive. I hope we shall get some fishing today for a little amusement. *Lat.* 9°.34 North. *Long.* 26.08 W. *Course S. 19° East Dist[ance]* 80 miles. Been writing most of the morning, too hot to do anything else. Nothing worthy of notice happened today. Nearly a dead calm. Saw my first shark in the evening, it was close under the side of the vessel, but would not take bate [sic]. The pilot fish are very pretty, and conduct it to its prey. Began the *Lady of the Lake*.¹⁸ No wind.

Thursday 17th. Many happy returns of the day to Papa. His birthday. I am very seldom at home on, either his, or Mamma's. Very warm indeed this morning. B[isho]p still very unwell. Wrote part of my letter home. Saw a great many sharks today. Mr Beauchamp¹⁹ caught a young one about six pounds. So calm that we could not steer the ship. The brig *Lion*, which has caught us up, is spinning about, like a cockchaffer, one minute nearly along side of us, the next across our bows. Had a very heavy shower about ½ past two. All the passengers out catching rain-water. Very good fun indeed. After dinner most of the gentlemen, myself for one, turned out on deck without shoes, and stockings, and waterproofs on. It was very cool, and delicious after the suffocating heat we have had. Squally all day, wind now and then. Great noise during the night on account of the squalls. Capt[ain] calling Mates etc and the noise of the sailors. Part of the ropes carried away. But not much damage. I helped the sailors. *Lat.* 12.5. *Long.* 25.57. *Distance* 31 miles.

Friday 18th. Left the brig quite in the rear. I forgot to mention in my yesterday's account that a bark was so close astern of us that the Capt[ain] spoke with it. It was by like a shot before the squall. Some passengers very ill from the motion of the vessel. Raining most of the day. Wind every now and then. The sailor had the shark for supper. Had no service in the evening on account of the motion and noise. Little breeze sprang up in the evening. *Lat.* 10.58. *Long.* 24.32. *Distance* 110 miles. Very slow work.

17. Bishop Armstrong, exhausted by his exertions in England and afflicted by an infection of the lungs, rested during the voyage and arrived in Cape Town very much stronger. His cough, though not yet quite gone, was much less troublesome and he felt very hopeful about his ultimate recovery. (T T Carter, *Armstrong*, Oxford, 1857, p.269.) He died on 16 May 1856, barely two years later.

18. Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (1810).

19. Mr Beauchamp was a young cadet bound for India.

Saturday 19th. Very nice wind going from eight to ten knots all day. Tremendous noise going on at times. I am very well and am glad to say, do not feel the least ill. Finished *Marmion*²⁰ and began *Lady of the Lake*. Stayed up till half past twelve. Wind still keeps up splendidly. Slept in my iron bed for the first time on account of the water coming into my berth. Mr Greenstock slept in the cuddie.²¹ First night I have fully enjoyed since I have been on board. Night. Going 10½ knots. Lost the log line. *Lat.* 9 °.89 *N.* *Long.* 22.44. *W.* *C[ourse]* S. 44 °E. *D[istance]* 152 miles.

Sunday 20th. Same wind. Passengers tumbling about. B[isho]p much better today. Had prayers in the cuddie. Sailors could not come. B[ishop] not well enough to have sacrament. *Lat.* 9 °.44 *North.* *Long.* 19.28 *W.* *C[ourse]* S. 59½ *East.* *Dist[ance]* 229 miles. Our longest run since we have been out. In the afternoon the sailors had to haul down the fore-tops and put up a new one. I helped. It is very pleasant watching them climbing about. The spray is continually washing overboard. Had evening prayers in the cuddie. Wind gradually dying away.

Monday 21st. Brought all our bed clothes etc up on the poop today. Very fine day. Finished *Marmion*. Helped the sailors, when the wind shifted. Wrote in the evening etc. Signalled to a ship but she was too far off to read. *Lat.* 6 °. 51 *N.* *Long.* 17.26 *Course* S[outh] 79 *East.* *D[istance]* 123 miles.

Tuesday 22nd. Bishop's birthday. He seems very much better. Quiet breeze. Wrote in the morning, and began *Amy Herbert*.²² About 180 miles off Sierra Leone. Spent a very pleasant day. The Bishop's health was drunk, and he was cheered both by passengers and sailors. In the evening the sailors sang some very good songs and had some extra grog to drink the Bishop's health. Had an action brought against me for throwing cockroaches down into the servants' cabin and frightening them, but I was acquitted. I was very angry that it should have been imputed to me. I find lime juice a very refreshing beverage. Tacking on account of the wind. *Lat.* 6.25 *Long.* 15.5 *Distance* 143 miles.

Wednesday 23rd. Fine morning. Discovered that the ship we have thought all along was the *Ellen Lindsey*, is *Alfred the Great*. It was owing to some mistake in the numbers. Still tacking. Sailors sang, and Mr and Mrs Neptune had a dance. Passengers started a newspaper in the evening and Mr Townsend consented to be editor. I always help the men when the ship tacks. I find it does me good. *Lat.* 6.36. *Long.* 15.56. *Distance* 56 miles.

Thursday 24th. St Bartholomew. Morning service. Very much interested in *Amy Herbert*. Wrote something for the paper which I afterwards tore up because it took away my thoughts from other things. Lost my cap overboard, as also did Mr Green. Comfortable read in the morning, in the evening Capt[ain] spoke to me about sundry things. But I think I have made peace. I cannot get on well with my *Kafir*, but have made up my mind to persevere, and make new endeavours. *Lat.* 5 °.19 *North.* *Long.* 13.39 *West.* *C[ourse]* S. 67 *East.* *Dis[tance]* 148 miles.

Friday 25th. Sent the "Life Boat" to the paper, and some riddles. Learnt my *Kafir Gram[mar]* and

20. Walter Scott, *Marmion* (1808).

21. The cuddie: the saloon of the ship.

22. Elizabeth M Sewell, *Amy Herbert* (1853).

finished *Amy Herbert*. Hardly any wind in the middle of the day. Continually tacking. Bishop not very well, also Mrs Armstrong. Townsend and Miss Hughes writing out the paper. Symons in a row about firing a pistol. Learned *Kafir* in the evening. Light in cuddie put out at 10. Lat. 5° 27' N. Long. 15.17 W. C[ourse] S. 23° W. Dist[ance] 98 miles.

Saturday 26th. Read my Greek Test[ament] with Tweed which I am sorry to say I have not done lately. Learned *Kafir*. Looked over my stock of clothes etc. First newspaper published today, not at all bad. Very busy in the evening doing things in my cabin. Rather stormy all day. Vessels in sight. Lat. 4° 22' North. Long. 13.41 W. C[ourse] S. 55° East. Dist[ance] 116 miles.

Sunday 27th. Vessel alongside of us early in the morning. A bark from Liverpool. It seemed to have a great many passengers on board, but we soon outstripped it. Tacked during the day once or twice. We do not make much latitude. Had service on qu[arter] deck. Mr Every preached. Began *Rudolph the Voyager* edited by Mr Sewell. Very curious book. Finished the 1st vol[ume]. Bishop assisted by Mr Green administered the Holy Communion in his cabin. Mrs Armstrong not very well lately. Passed a vessel about ½ past 11 p.m. Had a long conversation with a man named Bob. Lat. 3° 41' N. Long. 13.37. C[ourse] S. 6° East. Dist[ance] 41 miles.

Monday 28th. Began the second vol[ume] of the book. It is very strange indeed. Passed a Dutch bark just after we tacked. It is rather funny when tacking, you go right round, and meet a vessel that has been astern the whole evening. Finished second vol[ume]. Had evening service on the poop. And sang two or three things after it. Two boobies²³ were seen today we are not very far from the line now: sailors are preparing. Lat. 3° 05' N. Long. 15.16 W. C[ourse] S. 70° W. Dist[ance] 106 miles.

Tuesday 29th. No sail seen all day. Read my Greek and *Kafir* in the morning. Begin to find the *Kafir* rather hard. The Bishop is very much worried with his children on account of their being so young as not to know when they are getting into danger. Wind is gradually lulling. Lat. 2.16 North. Long. 17.28 West. C[ourse] S. 69° W. Dist[ance] 141 miles.

Wednesday 30th. Mrs A[rmstrong] seems very much better. Only 60 miles from the line. Grand preparations going on. Lent one of the sailors who is [to] be Neptune, a sheet. Learned my *Kafir* in the morning. At seven in the evening Father Neptune came on board. He is a very fine fellow, with long flowing hair. He began talking to the passengers. And at a given signal, about six buckets of water were thrown down from the top mast. But on account of the wind it missed the passengers, and only fell on the poop, and gave the Captain a ducking. He then departed till tomorrow morning, and we saw his chariot sailing away on fire. Lat. 0.52 N. Long. 19.49 W. Course. S. 50° W. Dist[ance] 165 miles.

Thursday 31st. An immense shark was seen yesterday, twenty f[ee]t long. Did not go to bed till nearly five. Crossed the line about half past one. Began *Children of the New Forest*.²⁴ This morning grand preparations going on for the shaving. At ½ past 10, round came the procession.

23. Boobies: a type of gannet.

24. Captain F Marryat, *Children of the Forest* (1847).

First two bears and a keeper. Then Neptune with a guident²⁵ (not trident) and his wife. Then the barbar [sic] and assistant, and the doctor and assistant then four policemen. King Neptune then addressed a few words to the Capt[ain] and received a list of the passengers who had not crossed the line. When we had seen the crew shaved and ducked in a pail of water. The policeman came up to me first and I was brought before Neptune. Paid my fine, just took off my hat, shoes and in I was pitched to the bears who ducked me. Then came Tweed etc and last of all Mr Beauchamp who went through the whole process. It was very capital fun. The sailors got plenty of money. Especially when they passed the poop. During dinner time Neptune and his followers gave us some songs. And in the evening danced etc. So after all was over he came round, wished us good bye, and sailed away in his tub of fire, which we saw for some time. Signalled a bark *Belvue* in the morning. Lat. 1.19 S. Long. 22.19 W. C[ourse] S. 49 °W. Dis[tance] 200 miles.

Sept 1st Friday. Read my *Kafir*, and finished *Children of the New Forest*. Like it very much. Very beautiful sunrise, and sunset. Sent something to the paper. Fair wind and beautiful. Nothing particular happened. Lat. 3 °49 S. Long. 23.59 W. C[ourse] S. 33 °W. Dis[tance] 180 m.

Saturday 2nd. Mr Tweed has again taken offence at something, and the B[isho]p has had to speak to him; I am very sorry he does not keep his temper better. Read my *Kaffir* in the morning. Lost my *Kafir Gram[mar]* in the afternoon but I think I know where it is. Some Portuguese men-of-war were seen today; they are a kind of fish. Mother Carey's follow us now very much. Began *The Boy Hunters*.²⁶ Wind is not quite so high. The sun very hot. Lat. 6 °15 S. Long. 25.34 W. C[ourse] S. 39½ W. Dis[tance] 176 miles. Very splendid sunset and night.

Sunday 3rd. Some of the ladies rose early to see the sunrise. Had service on quarter deck. Mr Green preached. The sun very powerful. Read some of the "monthly packet". Sacrament at three. Had a conversation with Mr Green. Lat. 8 °25 S. Long. 26.49 W. C[ourse] S. 35 °W. Dis[tance] 151 m[iles].

Monday 4th. Could not learn my grammar because I have not got it. So I finished *The Boy Hunters*. Talked with Mr Green in the evening. Saw a whale today. It was spouting up the water, and I saw its great dark back. Whilst talking to Mr G[reen] my straw hat committed itself to a watery grave. I was very sorry to part with it, as I have had it some time, and it was very comfortable. However it would go. Mr Gillett the 1st Mate hurt his ankle today; cannot move ankle much. Lat. 10 °33 S. Long. 28.29 W. C[ourse] S. 37 °W. Dis[tance] 161 m[iles].

Tuesday 5th. Carpenter has not been able to recover my *Grammar* yet. Wrote part of my letter home. Monotonous day again. Some whales were seen again today. Going very slowly about twenty knots per hour. Very beautiful sunset. Cannot see the Southern Cross yet. Wrote to Simmons. Cleaned out our cabin. Lat. 12 °31. Long. 29.34. Dis[tance] 134 miles.

Wednesday 6th. Finished 1st vol[ume] of the *Abbot*.²⁷ Very much interested. Borrowed the Bishop's

25. Guident: presumably means 'guidon' - a standard.

26. T M Reid, *The Boy Hunters or Adventures in Search of White Buffalo* (1852).

27. Walter Scott, *The Abbot* (3 vols) (1820).

Kafir Grammar. Had a short conversation with Mr Green. Nice breeze sprung up. In the evening running about 7 to 9 knots per hour. Lat. 14°.32 S. Long. 30.23 W. Course S. 21½W. Dist[ance] 131 m[iles].

Thursday 7th. Got up just too late to have a bath. A vessel, homeward bound, passed us about 12 at night. Read *The Abbot*, and finished it. Have not yet got my *Grammar* back. A vessel hove in sight about ½ past 11. She seemed to bear down upon us about 1, but did not catch us; she might have been a Russian. The Capt[ain] did not know. She soon changed as we gained up[on] her. Sang in the evening. Thursday is our grand musical day. Spoke to Mrs Ar[mstrong] about sundry things. Lat. 17°.29 S. Long. 30.35 W. Course S. 4°W. Dist[ance] 178 m[iles].

Friday 8th. Sighted Martin Vas rocks,²⁸ about half past nine. They are very fine indeed; there are three. We then sighted Trinidad. It is a very pretty island, uninhabited, except by wild pigs, and goats. We sailed all round it. I drew 5 different sketches of it. It is very precipitous and barren. Fair wind. Saw a sail. A slaver most likely. We lost sight of the island about nine p.m. It is quite a treat to see land. The B[ishop], Mrs A[rmstrong] and others all took sketches of the island. Lat. 20°15 S. Long. 29.23 W. Course S. 19°East. Dist[ance] 178 miles.

Saturday 9th. Read my *Kafir*. Nearly calm, going round at the points of the compass. Not a breath of wind. Strange today we did not see any fish all day. We generally do in calms. A few sea birds about. Began *Peveril of the Peak*²⁹ lent me by the Capt[ain]. Lost sight of Trinidad. Lat. 21°08 S. Long. 29.23 W. Course South Distance 53 miles.

Sunday 10th. Another calm. Wind gone down. Service at ½ past 10. Mr Every preached. Wind began to rise again about 12 o'clock. Had a conversation with Tweed about the day we started. Lat. 21.20 S. Long. 29.25 W. Course S. 2°W. Dist[ance] 24 miles. About ship about ½ past 7. No wind.

Monday 11th. Got up, and when in cuddie looked at the clock and to my great surprise found it early, which however proved afterwards to be the clock being nearly one hour slow. Just before breakfast, two barks passed us on tack. One was near enough to signal. The *Wellington*. She was loaded with passengers. Read my *Kafir* etc. Magnificent swell all day, and fine breeze part of it. Raining to the S[outh] W[est]. Rather rough in the evening. Getting cold. Lat. 21°37 S. Long. 27.28 W. Course S. 87½W. Dist[ance] 118 m[iles].

Tuesday 12th. Wind going down, but same swell. Time flies: getting on for two months. Nothing worthy of notice today. Saw first Cape pigeon. Mr Simmons shot it, and some other birds. And threw over his pocket handkerchief for me to fire at. Very much interested in the *Peveril of the Peak*. Breeze in the evening. Lat. 23°.22 S. Long. 28.29 W. Course S. 29°W. 121 miles.

Wednesday 13th. Shifted the mizen, mizen top and main top sails today. Vessel to windward all day; a bark. Sailing very slowly. Mr Simmons in a row about his gun. Saw an albatross today for the first time. A small one they said. Mizen royal halyard broke whilst I was looking at the very spot. No wind at night. Given up my night watches as I find it only makes me sleepy. Sat in cabin

28. Martin Vas Rocks are just off the island of Trinidad in mid-Atlantic.

29. Walter Scott, *Peveril of the Peak* (1822).

all day. *Lat[itude] 25 °.23 S. Long[itude] 28.30 W. C[ourse] South. D[istance] 121 miles.* Find my bed remarkably comfortable, as it makes chairs, couches etc of all shapes, sorts, and sizes.

Thursday 14th. Bark now straight ahead of us. Nearly calm. Jellyfish showing themselves. Row about some of the passengers. Have not heard particulars. Put up new main-sail today. Had conversation with one of the men about his former life. It was very interesting. Monotonous day again. Quite calm all day. *Lat. 27 °.02 S. Long. 33.26 W. C[ourse] South. Dist[ance] 99 miles.*

Friday 15th. Some misunderstanding between Mr Green and Mr Broadway.³⁰ In fact I think the whole of the passengers misunderstand each other, and I for one shall be very glad to see Table Mountain. Plenty of Cape pigeons and hens about now. Finished *Peveril*; like it exceedingly. Two sails in sight today. Light winds ½ 5 p.m. Not steering at all. Very warm all day. I shall be heartily glad when we get settled down in Africa. Baby not very well. *Lat. 27 °.47 S. Long. 27.16 West. C[ourse] S. 54 East Dist[ance] 77 miles.*

Saturday 16th. Very nice breeze sprung up about two a.m. this morning. Could not sleep, and so went on deck, and helped the man at the wheel, who had a bad hand. Fore-top stern-sail split in half just as they got it up.³¹ Went down again about four. Read my *Kafir*, and had a short conversation with the Bishop. Miss Hudson lent me a letter giving a very good account of Grahamstown, and principle [sic] inhabitants. Wind continues. Going very nicely on our course. Cyril A[rmstrong's] birthday. Had service in the cuddie on account of the wind. *Lat. 29 °28 S. Long. 25.00 W. Dist[ance] 157. C[ourse] South 50 ° East.*

Sunday 17th. Wind quite gone, and raining very hard nearly all day. The quarter deck swimming with water. Could not have service on deck, so we had it in the cuddie. Mr Green preached. Sun not out at 12 a.m. [sic] so could not find out the time and consequently not the distance we had run, but calculated by the Log to be about 200 miles. Wrote home, and read monthly packet. Service again in the evening. Tweed had one of his laughing fits. No wind. *Lat. 31 °.19 S. Long. 22.06 W. C[ourse] S. 54 ° South. 186 m[iles].*

Monday 18th. Still calm. A great many sea birds about. Saw several albatrosses. The pleasantest day we have had since we left England. Quite an English spring day. It was quite invigorating. Several of the gentlemen *fishing* [Mullins' emphasis] for birds. Put up a new main top gallant sail. About ship at six p.m. I think we shall have made about 12 miles. *Lat. 31 °.21 Long. 19.37. C[ourse] S. 80½ East. Miles 112. Dist[ance].*

Tuesday 19th. Gentle breeze arising. Read *Kafir* and lessons for the day. Saw a very large albatross, and a great many Cape pigeons. Read *Jasper Lyle*³² which I began yesterday. It is a tale of Kafirland. *Log 8 1/3 at 2.9 knots at 6 p.m.* Another of our monotonous days. It is getting

30. Mr Broadway was probably William Broadway, Secretary/Treasurer of the Colonial Church and School Society founded in Cape Town, 1838, to help secure teachers and ministers for Cape congregations. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*, p.138)

31. See diagram of a fully rigged sailing ship at end of this chapter.

32. Harriet Ward, *Jasper Lyle a tale of Kaffirland* (1851). This was a tale of high adventure and romance set on the frontier. Such literature contributed to Mullins' highly coloured romantic expectations and subsequent disillusionment.

gradually colder now. *Lat. 31 °27 S. Long. 18.89 W. C[ourse] South 69 °E. Dist[ance] 72 miles.*

Wednesday 20th. Wrote to Simmons, and home. Read *Kafir* etc. Very much interested in *Jasper Lyle*. Had service in the cuddy on account of the wind. Had rather a heavy squall today. Poured with rain for an hour. Made our longest run today. Very nice wind afterwards. Nothing more worthy of notice. Very beautiful starry night. Very monotonous day again. *Lat. 32.50 Long. 14.50 Dist[ance] 217 miles.*

Thursday 21st St. Matthew Ev[angelist] and A[postle]. Got up rather early and read the Lessons for the day. According to my old school custom I did not do any work today. Read *J[asper] Lyle* all day, and finished it at night. Sorry to say that Mr Greenstock is not very cleanly in his habits. Leaves everything untidy. Made a determination to quite alter my cabin, with Tweed's assistance. I saw very large shark. Steering w[est]ward during the morning but favourable wind sprang up about 2 o'clock, which increased. *Lat. 31.57. Long. 11.54. Dist[ance] 159 miles.*

Friday 22nd. Turned out this morning and pulled down my old berth, and made very great alterations, washed it out myself because I would have it clean. Put up a wash stand for myself etc. It took me the whole day. Going very nicely now. B[isho]p advised me always to read the second lesson in Greek. Played two games of chess with the boys. Made up my log in the evening etc. Beautiful night. *Lat[itude] 33.15 S. Long[itude] 8.50 W. C. South 63 ° East. Dist[ance] 174 m[iles].*

Saturday 23rd. Finished what little remained to be done in my cabin. Read Gr[ee]k Test[ament] and *Kafir*. Not much of a breeze, but appears to be freshening. Another day nearly over. Thank goodness. Begin to think about packing. Paper rather interesting today. 8 p.m. breeze getting up. Going about 7 knots. Played a game of chess with Teddy Armstrong; he beat me with Mrs A[rmstrong's] help. *Lat[itude] 33.44. Long[itude] 5.7. Dist[ance] 186 miles.*

Sunday 24th. I awoke this morning about ¼ to three hearing the Mate called out something about maintack. And could hear by the noise of the men and sails that the breeze was freshening. Could not go to sleep till about ½ past 6. A little after seven o'clock Tweed came to tell me that they had had some squalls, and now the wind was setting in very strong. Went on deck. And was very much pleased to see the sea quite rough; the spray blowing off the tops of the waves, and dashing over the side of the ship. It was raining a little. Altogether it had a very grand appearance. All our sail was then up. By the time I came up for breakfast it was much higher, but the ship very steady. The quarter deck was covered with water. The sun was shining between the clouds. The sea looked like a lot of snow drifts, it was blowing about beautifully. It was rather hard to stand on account of the ship's being blown aside by the wind. However all the ladies came on deck to see it. We took in first the royals, then mizen, cross jack, fore, and mizen top, gallant, sails, then our foretop steer sail which we had out. Then put one reef in our mizen topsail, because we had too much sail up aft and took in our flying jib. The ship looked very nice, with all the sails full. A sea every now and then came over the deck and beat furiously, against our side of the ship below. One sea came over about 8 p.m. that covered the poop and quarterdeck 4 inches deep, and soaked some of the ladies through and through. I could not read for I could not keep off the poop. The spray dashed about beautifully. Mr Green had three falls during the day. All the passengers walking about catching hold of each other and tumbling down. No damage down [sic] to the ship only a preventive stay broke which was soon mended.

New moon, and starlight night. Going all day about 10 to 11 knots. Had service twice in the cuddy. Mr Every preached in the morning. Obligated to stop in the middle of prayers in the evening for want of light. This has been by far the roughest day we have had since we have been out. Capt[ain] said it was a small gale. Towards the evening the wind dropped and the swell became very heavy. Could hardly keep our seats. Very good fun tumbling about in all directions. Mr Tweed set off in one of his peals of laughter, and offended Mr Green, and some words passed between them. He advised Mr Tweed to leave the mission or do something else. Mr Greenstock caused a great deal of laughter today. Mr Every caught hold of me twice and nearly pulled me over. *Lat. 33° 56 South. Long. 0.49 West. C[ourse] South 87° W Dist[ance] 217.*

Monday 25th. Could not sleep much all night for the noise of the water, men, and rolling of the ship. Mr Beauchamp my next door neighbour, was thrown clean out of bedclothes, mattress and all. I was nearly thrown out once or twice. When I woke about ½ past 7 heard the ship was in sight, and we were just going to signal. It proved to be the *Acklam* convict ship, bound from Cork to Melbourne³³ with part of the 99th Reg[iment] on board. We signalled with her for some time but she was making more south than we were. She crossed our bows about twelve and then we had another talk. She was just in sight about nine p.m. Read my *Kafir* and Gr[ee]k; could not write my log because of the rolling. Some passengers not very well today. I find Mr Green spoke to the B[isho]p about Tweed, and the B[isho]p has offered to get him a government situation, or let him go as a settler at once. I am sorry there is so much disturbance about the mission. Heavy swell all day, ship rolling very much. Made very good run today 237 miles. Had service as usual on the poop in the evening, and had some fun with the children, but they get very noisy. I think little Grace might be made a very good girl with a little training. Had a game of chess with Edward in the evening, and beat him. Mrs A[rmstrong] came between decks today to pack some books. *Lat. 33.9 Long. 348. Dist[ance] 237 miles.*

Tuesday 26th. Very great noise during the night on account of the rolling of the ship. Only 570 miles from the Cape I am very glad to say and we have every hope of getting there on Saturday. Helped under the Capt[ain's] orders to brace up the yards. It is very good exercise indeed. Saw a large "blackfish" today close to the vessel. Tweed tells me he has decided to take a place under Government for a year or two at least. I cannot write well on account of the ship's rolling. Nice breeze just sprang up. This continued brisk for sometime, and helped us along greatly. *Lat. 33.18 Long. 7.3 Dist[ance] 164 miles.*

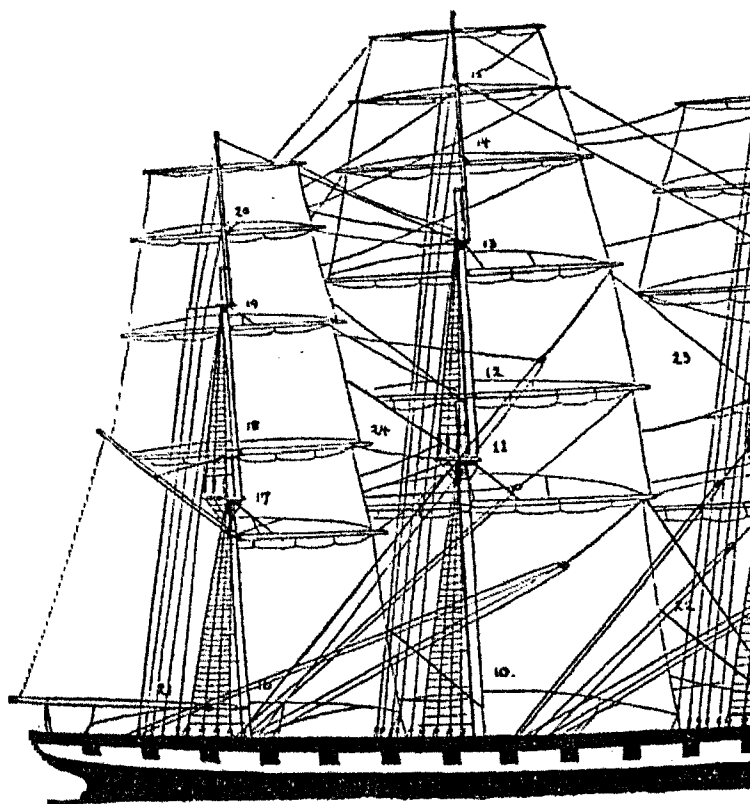
Wednesday 27th. Tried in vain to sleep; on account of the ship's rolling could not sleep at all. Read a great deal today. Helped to get up the anchor chain cable on deck ready for service. This was very good fun indeed. Reckoned my clothes etc today. And packed up some few small things.

33. Transportation of sentenced prisoners and paupers from England had been taking place since the earlier years of the American colonies. After the American War of Independence other areas of the Empire were opened up for development in this way, among them Australia. Earl Grey received petitions from some colonies needing cheap labour, notably from Port Phillip which was to become the independent colony of Victoria. The *Royal George* was despatched to Melbourne in 1844. However, because the practice of assignment had been abolished and the transported men were therefore free to find employment for themselves, there was much opposition from the citizens of Melbourne, comparable to the later anti-convict agitation at the Cape. The last shipload of convicts left Britain in 1860. (A F Hattersley, *The Convict Crisis and the Growth of Unity*, Pietermaritzburg, 1965, pp.2-16.)

All the passengers preparing for landing. Made a good run today. Have every hope to anchor tomorrow or Friday at least. Nothing interesting happened today. Plenty of work to be done on board. *Lat. 33.41 Long. 11.1. Dist[ance] 201 miles.*

Thursday 28th. No sleep again. She rolls heavily with the swell. Strong breeze sprang up about 2 in the morning. I heard Capt[ain] giving orders about shortening sail etc. About 5, the top sails were put under reef and the sailors treated us with some songs whilst hoisting them. I went on deck about 7. The sea was running very high then. Heard this morning that the ship was making 14 knots during the Third Mate's watch. He had gone to sleep and 4 squalls had passed by. It is a great wonder her stern sail booms were not washed away, for she had all her stern sails set. Did a little packing today. Emptied one of my large cases, and then managed to get it out. It was stuck between some other luggage. All the passengers below today looking for their goods. Colonel Smith had a good laugh at Miss Hughes'³⁴ box. There are directions painted all over it, end, sides, top. Sea breaking over again. Have not found my blue clothes bag yet. I am afraid I have lost six new pairs of socks, unless they were packed, for good. Packed few small things, quite ready. Wind dropped about 12. Very good run. After dinner went on the fore-castle and helped to get the anchors over the side. Some passengers not very well on account of bad weather. *Lat. 34.8 Long. 14.59. Distance 199 miles.*

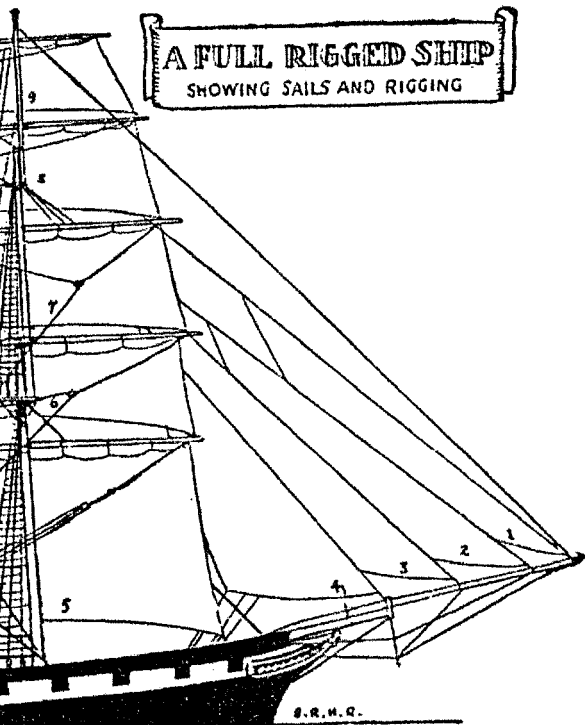
34. Miss Hughes and Miss Hudson accompanied the Bishop to South Africa intending to become teachers. Miss Hughes returned shortly thereafter to England. (Matthews, Historical Notes, p.4)



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|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Flying jib | 9. Fore royal |
| 2. Outer jib | 10. Main course, or mainsail |
| 3. Inner jib | 11. Lower main topsail |
| 4. Fore topmast staysail | 12. Upper main topsail |
| 5. Fore-course, or foresail | 13. Main topgallant sail |
| 6. Lower fore topsail | 14. Main royal |
| 7. Upper fore topsail | 15. Skysail |
| 8. Fore topgallant sail | 16. Cross-jack, or cro'jack |

A FULL RIGGED SHIP

SHOWING SAILS AND RIGGING



17. Lower mizen topsail
18. Upper mizen topsail
19. Mizen topgallant sail
20. Mizen royal
21. Spanker, or driver
22. Main topmast staysail
23. Main topgallant staysail
24. Mizen topmast staysail

CHAPTER TWO

Landfalls

29 September 1854 - 26 October 1854

Friday 29th St Michael and All Angels. Heard that land was sighted at day break. Was up about 7, and could just see the outlines. Stayed on the poop till 8 and just missed having a sea over me. It passed about 2 feet in front of me over the poop. Could hardly spare time to go down and dress I was so glad to see land. By breakfast time we could see it quite distinctly; after breakfast we could see roads and sand banks, and some few houses, the Lions Head and Rump etc. The rolling now was much less and we were sailing slowing and steadily. Mr Broadway who lives at the Cape told me all the difficult names. The Bishop at the end of the service offered up a beautiful extempore prayer thanking the Almighty for having preserved us through so long and perilous a voyage. After prayers were over the sight that met our view was very lovely. We could distinctly see houses and men, roads etc. Oh! it was such a glorious sight after passing ten weeks without seeing grass and trees. I was exceedingly sorry to leave it to go below and pack up. However I was continually up and down the whole day. We now began to shorten sail, because we had a good breeze and did not want to run into the bay too fast. We soon could see the shipping in the Bay, and then house after house disclosed itself to our view. Table Mountain looked very grand. On entering into the Bay we talked with the telegraph people on the Lions Rump, and they signalled us into Capetown. This was rather amusing because when they asked us "How many days out?" the Captain was ashamed to put up 70. However he did. We soon passed Robben Island, and 2 light houses etc. I do not remember ever having enjoyed a view so much as I did that one, it was so extremely refreshing to the eyes. All this time I was running up and down packing as fast as I could. I gave some old clothes, to some of the men who I thought wanted it. The Capt[ain] was hollering [sic] out his order to the sailors. It is very hard work to get in properly I believe. The 3rd Mate was standing in the main chains, all the time sounding, and telling the Capt[ain] when he found ground. They stand there and swing the leaden weight round and round, till it gets a good impetuous [sic] and then whirl it forward with all their strength. If they find ground they chant out something I never could understand, something like the responses in Tallis¹ Litany. If not they call out "No ground" very slowly and something like the cry "Old clo!" I can tell you it is no easy work, and soon makes your arms ache. The water in the Bay was very much greener than that further out. We all helped the sailors as much as possible. I will pass over the rest and only mention what followed after casting our anchor, which we dropped about noon. We soon saw boats coming from shore to us. Soon the harbour master's boat came alongside. But he would not come on board till he had heard from our doctor that there was no illness on board. We afterwards learnt that the *Hotspur* had small pox, and fever on board and several deaths.² Then the gentleman in the white hat came on board and greeted several passengers whom he knew. There was a large ship anchoring alongside to us, the *Sutlej*, one of Green's ships.³ It started nearly three weeks after us, and was in before us. People soon began to come from the shore to meet their friends. Mr Beauchamp, a young cadet for India, helped his father over the gangway, and did not know

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1. Thomas Tallis (c1505-1585). An English composer, he wrote the musical settings for the liturgy when the *Book of Common Prayer* was introduced (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1971)
 2. Smallpox was a real and much feared problem in the mid-nineteenth century. It was first introduced to southern Africa in 1713 and there were many subsequent epidemics. See, for example, K S Hunt, 'The Development of Municipal Government' in *Archives Year Book*, 1961, pp.189; 202-23. Mullins was to experience an outbreak in the Eastern Cape in 1858 when he vaccinated people on the Mission. Peires attributes to the fear of smallpox contagion the Xhosa custom of ejecting the dying from their hut to the open air. (Peires, *House of Phalo*, p.68).
 3. Green's ships belonged to R & H Green, well-known shipowners with a shipbuilding yard at Blackwall on the Thames. They traded primarily to India but were later also involved in the Australian trade. (Information from Maritime Information Centre, England). The *Sutlej* was probably fitted with a steam engine to supplement sail (cf M Murray, *Ships and South Africa*, London, 1933, p.8)

him. The Malays also began to appear in their boats. They are called Malays in the sense of Mahommetans [sic]. They are mostly natives of Borneo. I must however cut the account short. The Bishop of Cape Town sent two clergymen on board to tell us [that] any number under twenty were to go and stay at his palace. The Bishop engaged a boat to take us all, with our personal luggage on shore about ½ past 3. We were all put into the boat, some in a chair, and some down the ladder, and off we sailed for land. The *Cossipore* looked pretty well. She was the largest ship in the Bay. The thought came over me that I was leaving a cage where I had been shut up for 10 weeks, nearly a quarter of a year. I felt so free you cannot think. As we neared the jetty, a multitude of Malays meet us all wanting to carry our boxes etc to the hotel⁴ where we were to wait for the buss [sic].⁵ The jabber they made was beyond all description. It was impossible to understand a word. I began to laugh heartily till I saw them bearing off our boxes in every direction, and then I was obliged with Mr Green⁶ to give chase. At last we got them all atop a waggon, and we followed it to Parke's Hotel. We had some tea here of which I was very glad, as I had had nothing since breakfasttime. The bread, milk, butter and good tea were very acceptable [sic]. After tea I fell into conversation with a clergyman that came out in the *Sutlej*, and the Capt[ain] of the said vessel. We talked about our voyage, and the weather we had experienced etc till the cart came for the luggage which was duly dispatched for Protea. Soon also the buss appeared. I was rather surprised to see dog carts, and all sorts of carriages etc. All the horses here are beauties. Those that they drive in the waggon [sic] here, tho' small, would make beautiful carriage [sic] horses; they have such beautiful legs. Altogether my first impression of Africa was quite different to what I had expected. Everything appeared so very English. We now started for Protea (7 miles), in a very tidy buss, and two horses. The ladies inside, gentlemen out. The Table Mountain looked very grand with the clouds hanging over it. I enjoyed [the?] drive very much. We saw on our way several rather pretty church[es]. When we had gone about 4 miles it came on to rain, which very soon wetted me through. We had not gone about another mile and a ½, when just as we were entering a village called Clermont [sic], the horses, which had, I thought, been going remarkably well before, all of a sudden stopped. The driver said something, which I understood to mean, "They will blow" (get breath). This he said to the conductor. When however he tried to start them again, they would not move a leg. This was very distressing. It was raining quite fast, and we still had a mile and ¾ to go. We tried again, and again to make them move. The B[ishop] got out and tried; we all got down pushed at the wheels. But it was no good; however we were close to a cottage of some kind, and thither, the ladies and children, B[ishop] and Tweed steered. Mr Green and Greenstock, started to walk to Protea to get the carriage, I staid [sic] and tried to make the creatures move. But we could not, try how we would. I was now drenched and covered with mud, off the wheels. Tweed came to call me to come in and to my great joy I found it was the English clergyman's house; so I knew we were in good hands. We all however got safe to Protea that night for the B[ishop's] cart happened to be passing at the time, and took all our small goods, myself and Tweed, and one servant. The carriage was sent for the others and the cart for the two young Armstrongs. Thus we all arrived in safety. I should have enjoyed the fun much if it had not been for the ladies, and children. Mrs Gray⁷ and the B[ishop] welcomed us heartily, and after putting ourselves a little speck, we had a capital dinner supper. We then had service in the Bishop's chapel and retired for rest. The two boys slept in my room. No latitude or longitude.

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4. Parke's Hotel was run by the widow Parkes and was situated at 21 Adderley Street (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*).
 5. The 'buss' referred to must have been the omnibus described by Janet Hodgson as being the only form of public transport at the Cape in 1868. (J Hodgson, *Princess Emma*, 1987 p.68)
 6. Revd Edward P Green - see biographical notes.
 7. Sophie Gray - see biographical notes.

Saturday 30th. This morning when I awoke I was much delighted instead of seeing trees just beginning to shed their leaves, to see the trees; they were oak trees covered with beautiful green leaves. It was very pleasant to find oneself in a nice English-like garden with beautiful trees of all kinds: the orange and lemon trees borne down by their golden burden, their blossoms filling the air with a beautiful scent. You may consider I was highly delighted. The boys kept me awake for a long time, during which I thought of the many miles I had come, and I could hardly fancy I was really in Africa. When I went out in the garden before morning prayers I was intensely pleased. There rose the back of Table Mountain nearly 4000 feet high, just peeping out of the morning mist. It was a grand sight; at least so I thought, perhaps because I had never seen any mountains before. After morning service and breakfast Tweed started for Cape Town to pack up the rest of our goods on the *Cossipore*. Mr Greenstock and myself wrote letters, and in the afternoon went for a stroll. I enjoyed the ramble much. The orange trees looked very pretty; the arums growing all about here like weeds. Mr Green proposed that weeds should be called flowers out of place. After dinner I introduced myself to the two Archdeacons' sons viz. John Merriman and George Welby, both at school at Newlands. They are very nice fellows in their way. Rather shy of company tho'. Lady Hope⁸ who is staying with the Bishop seems a very nice person. Then the children too four girls, and one boy at school in England are kept in such beautiful order. The second I like very much indeed. She is so full of fun. Mrs Gray is a very nice person indeed.

Sunday 1st. The two Archdeacons roused me early this morning and we went out for a nice walk before prayers. The Bishop's property is very large indeed and well wooded with different kinds of trees. After breakfast we again went for a short stroll till church time. The two Bishops having set out for Cape Town where our Bishop was going to preach. Mr Green also went in to assist at another church. We were to go to Clermont, the place where we stuck in the mud. The church⁹ there is a perfect little jewell [sic]. I never saw so nicely fitted up a little church in England even. It is only the chancel of what is to be the church. Mr Maloney,¹⁰ the Bishop's Chaplain officiated. There was a very good congregation and several coloured people. I stayed to the Holy Sacrament. After luncheon we four (the two Archdeacons' sons, Tweed, and myself) started off for Newlands where there is a little chapel belonging to the college. There are some very beautiful trees, oaks chiefly, here. But I am sorry to say that the Dutch have a trick of cutting off the tops of the young trees, and thus spoil all their grandeur and beauty. I enjoyed the shady walk very much. And I am sorry to say that I think I liked [it], in fact all of us, better than going to church. We did not arrive there till the middle of the sermon. In going home we lost our way but this made us enjoy our scramble more. When we arrived I walked towards Clermont with Mrs Armstrong. We met the rest of the party about a mile off. I think the beautiful flowers struck everybody. They peep out everywhere. Flowers that people would give pounds for in England are pulled up like so many weeds here, and thrown away. The homely way of everything in the house is very pleasant. Nothing particular happened in the evening.

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8. Lady Hope Ross, widow of the Governor of St Helena was staying at *Protea* at this time. (Gutsche, *Lady*, Cape Town, 1970, p.140).
 9. St Saviour's Church at Claremont was designed by Sophie Gray, the Bishop's wife. It was built in 1850, in use from 1853 and consecrated in 1854. It was enlarged in 1857 and again in 1903 when a new chancel, side chapel and organ chamber were designed by Herbert Baker. (R R Langham Carter, *Under the Mountain*, Cape Town, undated pamphlet)
 10. The Revd C W Maloney, the Bishop's Chaplain, was stationed at Claremont from 1858 to 1860. (C F Pascoe, *SPG*, 1903, London, p.892).

Monday 2nd. After morning prayers Messrs Green, [Misses] Hudson and Hughes started for Cape Town, and we four, the same as yesterday, and Mr Greenstock and Johnny Armstrong started off for Constantia farms, where they make the wine. It was a beautiful day, rather warm. Mrs Gray had kindly given us a map of our way, but we missed the first turning and consequently went all wrong. We then made our way thro' the bush; it was capital fun. I have not enjoyed a walk or rather scramble so much for a long time. I got very hot towards the middle of the day. We went to two farms both belonging to Dutchmen. They were both very obliging especially the 1st one and showed round the vineyards, and gave us fruit, and some of the wine. The vineyards are the pattern of neatness. We had another scramble going home. Once or twice we were walking thro' geraniums 6 feet high, and all kinds of heaths, and herbs. The scents were beautiful. We had some luncheon when we reached home. I suppose it was 14 miles there and back altogether. In the afternoon we amused ourselves with pelting each other with oranges. They were a sort of sour orange that is never used. In the evening we had some clergymen to dinner. Mr Every who came out in the *Cossipore* for Madras was one, also some Cape Town clergymen. The evening thus passed away. Oh dear how time flies. The rooms here are all lofty for the sake of coolness. They do not use plaster but stain the rafters with boiled oil.

Tuesday 3rd. Went to Cape Town with Mr Montagu,¹¹ who is in the government employ. He was very kind and gave me some very useful instruction. Hired a boat and spent all this day in fetching our luggage off the *Cossipore* and taking it on the *Natal* steamer, by which we are to go to Algoa Bay. It was a hard day's work. Cape Town is I think very ugly. Bought a cap and had my hair cut which was now grown an immense length. Went home by the buss to Clermont. Mrs Seyolo¹² was in the buss, one of the wives of that unfortunate chief whom we keep shut up at Wynberg. I did not get home till after they had begun dinner, and found the two young A[rch]d[eacons] just going, as their holidays were up. I found two masters at dinner. Mr Herbert¹³ whom I had seen in England, and Mr Gorham,¹⁴ both very nice men. On Tuesdays and Friday the Bishop has a "black school" in the evening. It was well attended. One old woman I heard read a chapter of St Luke in Dutch; she was a Malay. The men seemed very attentive indeed. Some could say the Lord's Prayer and Belief in Dutch. They teach them all in Dutch as of course they understand that language best.

11. Mr Montagu was probably John, eldest son of John Montagu (1707-1853) who was secretary of the colonial government from 1843 to 1853. He had been a close friend of the Bishop of Cape Town. One of the sons was a government surveyor stationed in the eastern Cape in 1854. John worked in his father's office as a clerk and was responsible for issuing the 'Cape Church Monthly Magazine'. (Gutsche, *Lady*, pp.69, 109, 127, 133, 141)

12. Seyolo or Siyolo - see biographical notes. A grandson of Ndlambe he was captured by the British in October 1852. He was held prisoner on the mainland for a time before being transferred to Robben Island. According to a Russian visitor, Goncharov, he had seven wives who visited him in town. The wife who was there at the time of Goncharov's visit was about nineteen or twenty and dressed in a chintz dress. (Peires, *Dead will Arise*, pp.16-17; E Williams Foxcroft, 'Russian visitors to South Africa, one hundred and ten years ago', *Historia*, December 1963, pp.240-252, esp. 250 and ftn, p.251.)

13. Mr Herbert - see biographical notes.

14. Mr Gorham - see biographical notes.



Seyolo and wife

Wednesday 4th. Today I spent in writing letters, at least in trying to do so but Tweed stayed in my room nearly all day and thus hindered for he is an inexhaustible talker. I discovered a very nice orange tree close to my window which I continually attacked. Very beautiful day. We see little of the Bishops as of course they are very buissy [sic] with Diocesan affairs. (For a more particular account of my stay here, see letter home.) Mr Montagu, and some others came to dinner. Mr White,¹⁵ also of New College. I knew him when at Oxford, and knew his cousin, Mr Field at Shoreham. Amused myself in the evening with looking over architecture, and book on the English church. Mrs Gray had a very nice collection of sketches of churches that she took whilst travelling with the Bishop in England. She is a very clever architect having built two or three churches in the colony. She acts also as secretary to the Bishop.

Thursday 5th. Tweed went into Capetown this morning on buissiness. And so I spent most of the morning in writing. I am sorry to say that my journal was not written up and now I regret not doing it whilst at Protea. Today also I saw the cart in which the Bishop of Cape Town travelled to Natal.¹⁶ It certainly had had a great many repairs. Also I saw a new one that he was thinking of buying for his visitations. It was rather too heavy tho'. It was beautifully made and looked exceedingly comfortable. In the afternoon I went out for a walk with the governess and children etc, and Misses Hudson and Hughes. We went part of the way up the mountain, but did not try the whole. I longed to reach the height, only Mrs Gray advised me not to attempt it without a guide. In the evening we had Mr and Mrs Trench and the Colonial Secretary to dinner. Mr Trench is an Indian Judge. His little daughter came out in the *Cossipore* with us. Tweed tells me

15. Revd Henry Master White - see biographical notes.

16. This cart was used by Bishop Gray on his third visitation, recounted in the *Journal* published by SPCK in 1851. Mullins had read the *Journal* on board the *Cassipore*.

he has got a government situation. The Bishops obtained it for him between them.

Friday 6th. Finished my letter today. Tweed again gone to Cape T[own]. We are to start tomorrow for Port Elizabeth, so making sundry preparations. Raining all day. Mr Green and Greenstock also gone to town. Walked to Clermont in the afternoon to fetch my service [book?] out of the church. The cloud down, quite covers the mountain in a thick mist. Black school again in the evening. Very much pleased with the way the catechist laughs.

Saturday 7th. I forgot to mention in my yesterday's journal that the B[isho]p of C[ape] T[own] was sent for very early in the morning as Judge Musgrave¹⁷ was dying. He was a very good man indeed to our church. He expired just after the Bishop arrived after a very short illness. Mr Green started early this morning to town to fetch a buss to take us in. The cart came for our luggage, and it was agreed that I had better go in with it to look after the luggage. Mr Green did not come back so early as we expected him, so that I had to pack up his things etc. Also I had to carry everything down stairs to the cart. This made me very hot. About ½ past 11 we had the cart ready loaded just as Mr Green arrived with the buss. I had hardly time to bid the B[isho]p farewell and to thank them for their kindness because the man was in such a hurry. I had rather an uncomfortable ride in, as it was only a cart with a horse trotting and it so happened that I was sitting on the sharp edge of a box. To add to my comfort it rained part of the time and I did not know what to do when I got there because I had no money to take the luggage on board with. However when I got there I found a very civil boat-man who offered to take the luggage on for ten shillings. I knew that this was very reasonable as it was rather a rough day. So I asked him how much he would charge to take us all on board, 16, and wait till they came. I expected he would say 1 pound ten. However he said £1. This I knew to be monstrously cheap as we paid £1-10s to come off with just the same things. So I had the luggage put in and waited till they came. Saw Mr Broadway who paid me 5s I had lent him on board. The B[isho]p of C[ape] T[own] accompanied us to the *Natal*. By some mistake our tickets had not been given us. So Mr Tweed had to go and fetch them. The Bishop of C[ape] T[own] now wished good bye and started. It was very provoking our not having the tickets because the steward could not show us our berths. We saw a boat leave the *Cossipore* which bore the 1st Mate. He came to wish us good bye. Also informed me that the case containing my books was on land. So I was obliged to leave it behind, which was very provoking. It was Mr Green's mistake for he told me that he had taken them both on board the *Natal*, and the day after I took one out myself never thinking he might not have taken the other also. Tweed soon returned and all was then put comfortable. There were several M[embers of the] L[egislative] C[ouncil] on board as Parliament had just dissolved.¹⁸ The gun¹⁹ then fired and after a few minutes during which we bade farewell to all friends we steamed out of the Bay; it was then about 5.30. As we passed our old friend the *Cossipore* the crew gave us a hearty cheer. It was a beautiful evening, and a gentle swell. There being a great many passengers on board, and no one got ill. There was not room for me at dinner. However I got some afterwards with the children. Some passengers however soon began to feel uncomfortable, and began to depart to their cabins. I went down about ½ past 10 and found my friend there.

17. William Musgrave - see biographical notes.

18. When representative government was introduced in the Cape Colony a parliament of two elected Houses was introduced. Lieutenant Governor Charles Henry Darling opened the first session of the Cape Parliament in June 1854. E Walker, *History of Southern Africa* (London, 1964), p.243.

19. The gun was presumably that at the Castle which used to fire to mark sunrise, noon and sunset. (Hodgson, *Princess Emma*, p.68)

Sunday 8th. I must mention who my friend was. He was a M[ember of the] L[egislative] C[ouncil] named Meterlerkamp,²⁰ which name I could not get into my thick head for a long time. He was a very nice man however. Most of the passengers unwell this morning. The Mate told me it was very rough during the night. But the wind has gone down very much. The *Natal* is a screw.²¹ She worked very nicely. The diet here is very different to that of the *Cossipore*. The nurses being ill I had the pleasure of taking care of the children. We had morning service, the Bishop preached. I was taking care of the children, so that I did not hear the service. I put the children to sleep so that I had no trouble. Had service again in the evening. I was very fond of watching the engines at work. There were two very pretty horses on board. Poor creatures. I pitied them very much, they had their heads close to the funnel. There was a very nice young man named Baumann on board, with whom I made great friends. We did not proceed very fast today, because of the heavy sea.

Monday 9th. Passengers much better today. We had prayers in the cuddy this morning. I was very glad to see so many attend this service. We could see the land all day, in fact during the whole trip. It was very fine all day, but unluckily the wind was against us, and consequently we were covered with smuts. The sails round the sides of the vessel also had just been painted and consequently everybody nearly had a strip on their back from leaning against it. The Bishop's coat was covered with it. We passed a vessel today, and another the night before.

Tuesday 10th. We have great hopes of reaching the Bay²² tonight so as to be able to land tomorrow morning. Occasionally on account of the swell the screw rushes a great jar thro' the vessel, because it is lifted out and then comes down splash. Played a game of chess with Bauman in which he was victorious. Very hot all day. I found the Mates here very superior men to those on board the *Cossipore*. The poor stokers every 5 minutes would just come up to get a mouthful of fresh air. I never in my life saw people in such a state of heat. In the evening all the gentlemen in the aft cabins, signed their names to a testimonial presented to the Capt[ain] by them, for his, and the other officers great attention to the passengers. I afterwards went on deck, and had a long talk with the Head Engineer who was a very superior man, he took me down and showed me all over the engine. Mr Stretch²³, one of the Members of Parliament, gave us some very interesting information concerning the Kaffirs. When it was dark we could see a number of large fish swimming about in all directions. The streaks of light they made looked like great "sea serpents". It was a kind of phosphoric light. We could quite distinguish the form of the fish by the light they made. We could see the light at Cape Receif [sic] also another side of it which the Capt[ain] could not make out at all, and which proved afterwards to be a fire made by the sailors of a French bark that was wrecked there. We had to double the Cape to get into the Bay, so that when we turn round the light house was in our rear. We were not long getting into the Bay, and soon cast our anchor amongst the shipping and alongside of the *Cape Good Hope Ste[amer]*, sister vessel to ours. I went down to wake the ladies when the gun was going to be fired, because they were afraid of the noise. It was about 2 when we anchored. By the time all the work was done it was three. I then went down below, and waited for day light so that I might see Port Elizabeth, our Diocese.

20. W S G Meterlerkamp was a member of the Legislative Council for the Eastern Divisions from 1854 to 1857. (R Kilpin, *The Romance of a Colonial Parliament*, Longmans, London, 1930, p.132)

21. Steamships were coming into use. The *Natal* was equipped with a screw propeller.

22. The Bay: Algoa Bay, called Bahia de Lagoa (reference to the lagoon at the mouth of the Baakens river) by Mesquita Perestrello in 1576, was the landing place of the 1820 settlers. (Historical Society Pamphlet, *The Donkin Heritage Trail: A walking tour of Port Elizabeth*, Port Elizabeth, 1982, p.1)

23. C L Stretch - see biographical notes.

Wednesday 11th. Up on deck about six. They had already commenced unloading the vessel. The town looked very colonial. Watched our luggage off, and the horses. The surf boats in which they land everything is an immense tub-like boat with a flat bottom. After breakfast I packed up, and waited for the surf boat that was to land us. Our boat did not come till ½ past 11. So I amused myself with viewing the surrounding country with a telescope. I found out the time and names of hotels. The Rev[erend]s Fowler and Giles,²⁴ and the Church warden J Graham,²⁵ came off to greet us. We then embarked in the surf-boat, and were towed to land by a whale boat (i.e. like a boat used in whaling.) We had to pull ourselves on shore by a cable. The surf was not very high so we did not get a ducking. We were carried by Fingoes²⁶ to the shore. This was capital fun. They danced in and out of the water, singing, whistling and whooping like so many savages. It was very amusing to see how gently one carried the baby on shore. Mr Greenstock, and myself waited till we saw the luggage put into a waggon, and we then started for Mr John Owen Smith, whither the rest of the party had gone. It was surprising that with all the small parcels that we had, we never lost one. I was uncertain what to do, when one man caught hold of one thing, another of this but I found them all safe on land. Mr Smith is one of the largest merchants in Port Elizabeth. He is by profession a Wesleyan. But very well inclined towards the church. Very hospitable indeed. In fact his house always appeared to me like an hotel.²⁷ The Bishop had lodgings engaged for him; the 4 younger children and two servants, Misses Hudson and Hughes, Greenstock, the two boys and myself, were quartered at Mr Smith's; Mr Green at Mr Dunell's;²⁸ Mr Smith's son-in-law. Mrs Smith is a very kind homely person indeed. We were very great friends. She had 11 children in all parts of the colony, only two little daughters, and the second son at home. We were a large party at dinner. Afterwards I went for a short walk with Mr Greenstock and Mr Giles. There was service in the evening. There was a very good congregation. Several people to supper in the evening. The Bishop was very kindly received by all parties. The 1st day in his Diocese.

Thursday 12th. This morning I was so tired with being up the night before that I did not get up at 8 o'clock church. Our bedroom was very comfortable indeed. Quite English. When I went down I found Mrs Smith's niece there, Mary Ayton. She appeared a very nice person full of fun. She is at school in Port Elizabeth. At breakfast I was introduced to John O. Smith Jnr He is a very nice fellow, [a] clerk in Mr Dunell's store. We were great friends. After breakfast I read a chapter of Isaiah and Mr Greenstock prayers, this we did the whole time we stayed there. I had plenty to do the whole time I was there, looking after the B[isho]p's goods. He gave me the name of 'superintendent general'. Mrs Smith showed us all over the store. It is very amusing to see the great variety of goods. I spent the greatest part of the day working for the B[isho]p. The Bay was rough so I could not get on board the steamer. Had some fun in the evening with Mary Ayton. And some good music.

Friday 13th. After church and breakfast, I went to the B[isho]p to get my orders for the day. The 1st was to look after all the main part of the luggage, which took me the greater part of the morning.

24. Revd E Giles and Revd W H Fowler - see biographical notes.

25. Joseph Graham was a merchant (J Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth*, Wynberg 1947, p.514)

26. Though their origin is now disputed, the Fingos (or Mfengu) were black people settled since 1835 within the colonial borders. Many provided labour, and assistance in landing passengers was one form of the service they gave.

27. Webers Hotel at Sundays river is mentioned by Harington in his account of Sir Henry Smith's ride to Grahamstown in January 1835. See A L Harington, *Sir Harry Smith a bungling hero* (Cape Town, 1980), p.9.

28. H J Dunell was a merchant at Baakens River Mouth. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*)

In the [afternoon] went on board the *Natal* to fetch some things Mrs Armstrong had forgotten, and was detained there till about 3 o'clock. I dined with the Mates. H.M. Steam Ship *Hydia* was in the Bay, and the 27th Reg[iment] were embarking. They were the soldiers wrecked in the *Charlotte*,²⁹ dressed like so many convicts, they looked very different to red coated soldiers. In landing the surf being rather high it washed over the side of the boat, and gave me a good soaking. I then buissied myself again about the luggage, posted my letter home, and dressed for tea. Music again this evening. The Smiths introduced me to a great many very nice people indeed. But I was mostly pleased with their own family. They were so very kind, and engaging in their manners.

Saturday 14th. Took a walk in the afternoon with Misses Hudson and Hughes, and M[ary] Ayton. We could not get the old people to go the prettiest way as they were botanising. We had however great fun laughing at them. We had music in the evening. Mr Graham there.

Sunday 15th. After prayers this morning, I walked up and down the stoop [sic] till lunchtime. The independent place of worship³⁰ seemed very well attended. The Bishop preached a most beautiful sermon, "Peace be unto you". Took a walk with John O. Smith in the afternoon up a very pretty valley.³¹ The river here very pretty indeed. Mr Green preached in the evening a very long sermon. Was mistaken twice today for the Bishop's son. Also several people before had thought I was his eldest son. The church is a very ugly building. Very fairly fitted up. The clerk a great oddity. The singing very fair. A very nice little organ.

Tuesday 17th. Went to dinner at Mr Fowle's with Greenstock. I could not stay long as I had promised to go with Mary Ayton to a concert. We went us three, Mary Ayton found some female friends and so John Smith and myself sat together, we had some jolly fun. F. Lloyd³² spoke to me.

Friday 20th. Walked up to Fingoe Town³³ with Mr Greenstock, and J.O. S[mith]. The Fingoes were just going to service. The singing was very beautiful. The men's voices very full and soft. It is much more operatic than everyday other singing. The chapel was very well attended.

Saturday 21st. Working for the Bishop in the morning. Paper about the Disidents³⁴ [sic] out this

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29. The *Charlotte* was wrecked on 20 September, 1854, at the foot of Jetty Street, in a great storm. She was a troopship bound from Cork to Calcutta with 163 officers and men of the 27th Regiment, 11 women and 26 children. Thirteen of the crew were lost, 62 soldiers and all the women and children. (Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth*, p.212 ff)
 30. The independent place of worship was probably the 'Scotch' or Congregational Church in High Street (now Main Street) erected in 1853. (Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth*, pp.107 and 113)
 31. This was probably the Baakens River Valley which was described by N J Merriman as having 'steep banks, well wooded, with flowering bushes and aloes', and 'a look not unworthy of Devonshire'. (N J Merriman, *Cape Journals*, Cape Town, 1957, p.18)
 32. F Lloyd was a merchant of Prospect Terrace. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac*, 1854)
 33. The Fingo town at the time was an 'informal settlement' in the vicinity of the present Rink Street. Whites were urging the removal of the Mfengu from this site to the so-called Strangers Location situated in the area near the cemetery to the north of the present Russell Street. (See G Baines, The Origins of Segregation in Port Elizabeth, *The South African Historical Journal*, No.22, Nov 1990, pp.74-75)
 34. The Dissidents were a group of disaffected Anglicans. When Archdeacon Merriman followed the Prayer Book instructions and used the offertory and the Prayer for the Church Militant during the service of Holy Communion they took exception. The offertory had fallen into disuse in a church maintained by the colonial government. The Prayer for the Church Militant included the words 'we also bless Thy Holy Name for thy servants who have departed this life in Thy faith'. The Archdeacon initially preached in a surplice but left it off when he found it gave offence. All these were regarded as being 'popish'

morning which M[ary] A[yton] and myself read in turns to each other. Went to practise the singing in the church. Mule waggon arrived from Grahamstown; I am to go with the Bishop. Called up Frank Lloyd in the afternoon. Went to his house with him, and there took a walk to Fingoe Town. We went into several huts. In one the men were just having tea; it was full of smoke. I could hardly breathe. Called upon Wolfes³⁵. He introduced me to his sister. They say we are exactly like each other. Spent a very pleasant evening at his house.

Sunday 22nd. Bishop preaches again this morning. The church³⁶ very full. I sat in the organ loft. The text was "I have all and abounded". A great many communicants. Those that were confirmed on Thursday seemed very much affected. The proportion of communicants was much larger than ours in England. The brig *Emperor* came into the Bay as we went out, and a Swiss vessel. J.O. S[mith] and myself walked up to tell Mr Dunell. Then went to see 16 Fingoes baptized at the chapel.³⁷ It was a pleasing sight. The singing was very beautiful. All our party were present, except the Bishop. B[isho]p present again in the evening. Took some letters up to Mr Dunell. B[isho]p and Mrs A[rmstrong] to supper, also several other people. The two clergymen, and church-wardens.

Monday 23rd. I did not bathe this morning because it was so wet. After church went to see the Bishop. Took some notes for him. Went to see Kift³⁸ about the luggage. Met F. Lloyd. He bought some papers for me. Went into the court house and [listened to] a Fingoe case which was very interesting. Did sundry other commissions for the B[isho]p. Took F. Lloyd my album. Saw the driver about mule waggons. Called upon Major Robertson.³⁹ He was out. Mary Ayton ill today. Libbie Ayliffe and Tainbridge came in the evening. Had some glorious fun with them. Mr Ayliffe⁴⁰ came also. Greenstock gone to Mr Fowle's to dinner.

Tuesday 24th. Very wet morning again. No bathing. So wet that only four were at church. I went to tease Ayliffe after breakfast. Took down a newspaper to the B[isho]p. Went to fetch my album from Lloyd. He was very kind. Julien Harris was there. We had a feast off almonds and diced pears. Finished my daily commissions for the Bishop. Began to pack up. Had some glorious fun with M[ary] Ayton and Miss Hughes in the store. M. A[yton] wrote in my album. L[ibby] Ayliffe

customs by the church wardens and some members of the vestry. The Dissidents set up a congregation of their own of about 60 persons; they held their own services and opened a subscription list to build a church. They appealed to Bishop Gray for his approval, but he supported Mr Fowle, the incumbent, whilst trying to bring about reconciliation. Bishop Armstrong took the same position. Reconciliation was not achieved until Bishop Cotterill arrived in 1857. He recognised Holy Trinity Church as a separate congregation and re-appointed the Revd W A Robinson as their priest. (C Lewis & E Edwards, *Historical Records*, London, 1934, p.249. See also A Wirgman & C E Mayo, *English Church*, London, 1925, p.27)

35. M W Wolfe was a clerk living in Belmont Terrace. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*)

36. St Mary's Anglican Church stands just off Main Street in Port Elizabeth. The original church was an oblong building with a red-tiled roof and was opened for worship in 1832. It was used as a garrison in 1834-35. A fire destroyed the original structure in 1895 and the church was re-built. (*The Donkin Heritage and Trail*, p.42)

37. The chapel where the Mfengu were baptised was probably the Union Chapel in Chapel Street which, though granted to the London Missionary Society, was used for interdenominational services. (Information from G Baines)

38. Edmund Kift was a merchant of Bird Street. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*). He obviously functioned as a forwarding agent and is mentioned later in the Diary in this role.

39. Major C D Robertson commanded the Royal Engineers in Grahamstown in 1854. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*)

40. Reuben Ayliff - see biographical notes.

came to tea. Went to church and the B[isho]p preached a beautiful sermon. Went to fetch Mrs A[rmstrong from] her house. Quite a family party to supper in the evening. We were obliged to have ours after. George Hudson⁴¹ there. Very nice fellow.

Wednesday 25th. Up at 5, called M. Ayton and J.O. Smith. Packed up my few things. Teased M[ary] A[yton] very much. Gave her Luff's⁴² likeness for Miss Hughes. Went to the B[isho]p, found them all ready for travelling. Mrs Armstrong made me a cup of coffee. Had capital fun with her. Wished goodbye and started. It was just 6.30. 8 of our bottles of beer broke the 1st hundred yards. I was nearly swilled away. Awful jolting. Mr Graham rode out with us for the 1st 10 miles. Left us at the 1st pont.⁴³ We stopped at the Inn there. Again at Sundays River about ... And for the night at Jack Harris. We had very good accommodation.⁴⁴ Fried eggs and bacon for tea. The jolting has almost beaten me into a jelly. I amused myself by reading my album and *Bleak House*.⁴⁵ No sleep. The country we passed over today was very dull and heavy. Now and then we had a pretty view. Sometimes a glimpse of the Bay. [We] saw a great many very beautiful birds and flowers. I wish [I] could write an amusing journal, but I am so stupid, dull, and senseless that I cannot. I should not like to have to read it for something.

Thursday 26th. I could not sleep because the baby was crying nearly all night. And when she was quiet the others began to give us some tunes. We had a capital breakfast and started about ½ past 7 for another day's bumping. Oh! I wonder how some of the ladies we see in England in highly sprung carriages would enjoy this with no springs, wretched roads and children squalling. I do not think they would much relish it. Outspanned at Sidbury.⁴⁶ Very ugly place and church. Outspanned again at Masseys Hotel at ½ past 3. Could not stop there for want of accommodation. Had some tea, and on again to Grahams city where we arrived at 6.30. Called at the post. No letters for me. Some for the Bishop and party. Mrs A[rmstrong] and myself went to call upon Mr Heavyside.⁴⁷ Mr Cole⁴⁸ went to tell the A[rch]deacon⁴⁹ who came to call.

41. George Hudson - see biographical notes.

42. Luff is a nickname which Mullins uses of himself.

43. The inn at the first pont was the Coega Hotel. There was also an inn on the Sundays River. (Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth*, p.277)

44. According to the Bishop's journal the party stayed at 'a house of accommodation' like a humble village inn forty-five miles from Port Elizabeth. (T T Carter, *Armstrong*, Oxford, 1857, p.277). According to Geraldine Armstrong it was 'Jack Hains' kept by a Mrs Hain (G Armstrong, *Notes from South Africa*, Missions to the Heathen, Vol.IV, No.XXX, p.49)

45. Charles Dickens, *Bleak House* (1853).

46. The village of Sidbury is situated on the old wagon road from Algoa Bay to Grahamstown. Lt James Daniell of Sidbury in Devonshire, an independent settler who came out to South Africa in 1820, was allocated the land on which the village now stands. In 1837 a meeting presided over by the Revd Francis McClelland decided to apply to the Colonial Government for the appointment of a clergyman to conduct services in Dutch as well as English. The foundation stone of the church was laid in 1838. The first incumbent was the Revd Francis Owen who, as missionary, had been stationed near Dingane's kraal when Retief and his party were murdered. Bishop Gray consecrated St Peter's Church in 1850. Nicholas Lake's smithy did good business on the post road and Pollard's Inn was established to cater for travellers. See L Slater, *The Story of Sidbury, 1820-1920*, (Port Elizabeth, 1982).

47. Revd John Heavyside - see biographical notes.

48. F Cole was postmaster in Grahamstown, a member of the cathedral vestry, and an apothecary in High Street. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1855*)

49. Archdeacon Nathaniel Merriman - see biographical notes.

CHAPTER THREE

Grahamstown

27 October 1854 - 25 December 1854

Friday 27th. Late up this morning, so tired was I with having had no sleep the night before that it seemed I should never wake. A[rch]deacon came to see the Bishop, whilst we were at breakfast. Revds Heavyside, Thompson and Bankes¹ called, with the church wardens. Mr Bankes promised to show me a clothes warehouse as I was very badly off for a coat. Took a short walk with Mrs A[rmstrong] and the children. Could not go to Mr B[ankes] at appointed time because of a heavy thunder storm. He went however afterwards. Bought a coat. Went into the church² etc. Walked down with the Bishop to see the house.³ Found the Merrimans not gone, the waggoner having started off somewhere else and left them in the lurch. A[rch]d[eacon] showed us all over the garden etc. Did not do anything else particular. General Jackson⁴ afterwards kindly lent the A[rch]d[eacon] a mule waggon. Read *Bleak House* in evening.

Sat. 28th. Saints Simon and Jude.

Sunday 29th. Very late up this morning. Took the Bishop's staff and robes up to church. Put up the staff with Mr Heavyside. Bishop preached a beautiful sermon on peace. Some parties seemed much affected. The military looked very brilliant indeed, going and coming from church. Took a short walk after dinner. Then went with the Bishop, and Mrs Armstrong to the Sunday School. The children seemed very badly educated. Took a short walk and then returned to the Hotel.⁵ Had some tea and went to church. In the evening. Mr Bankes came to tea. He appears to be a very nice, kind man. Has certainly a long tongue which always seems going. The Bishop rather done up.

Monday 30th. Went to purchase the Bishop some wraps this morning. When I returned, I found out that the rest of the party had arrived. Went to the A[rch]deacon's and saw that they were all well. Spent the whole of the day in unpacking, in carrying in the goods into the house. Very hot indeed. We borrowed a cart because some packages were too heavy to carry. Never had such a hard day's work in my life. Came on to rain towards the evening. All the party dined with the Bishop. Went to Mr Cole found out Meaden's⁶ house, and took Miss Hudson down there. Very wet.

Tuesday 31st. The Bishop still sleeping at Knowles's Hotel. I slept in the dining room last night, as

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1. Revd J Bankes was principal of St George's Grammar School which had been opened on 4 October 1849, and which later became St Andrew's College. The school was situated in Huntley Street. It was founded at the instance of Bishop Gray when he visited Grahamstown. (T Stevens, *The Time of our lives*, Cape Town, undated, p.36)
 2. The church would have been St George's, now the Cathedral. See note in the Introduction.
 3. The house was probably a rented dwelling. The original Bishopsbourne, at 2 Bedford Street, was completed only in January 1856 (see *Diary of Mrs Armstrong*). It was sold to St Andrew's College in 1953 and now serves as the sanatorium. (Matthew, *Historical Notes*, Vol.1, p.101)
 4. General Sir James Jackson was Lieutenant Governor of the Cape and commander of the military forces in Grahamstown in 1855 (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1855*). Peires describes him as 'a doddering old veteran of the Napoleonic wars' (*Dead will arise*, p.56).
 5. This was Knowles' Hotel situated in Hill Street. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*)
 6. Revd W Meaden - see biographical notes.

my future bed room is full of unpacked packages. Hard at work all day, with Hall⁷ unpacking and putting things in place. Found the crockery today one very useful thing. Very hot indeed, some heavy rain. Some more goods arrived in a waggon today. Major Robertson⁸ found me buissily [sic] engaged wheeling up a host of goods. Nothing but unpacking till ½ past 6. At last I managed to find a room to wash. Took a short walk up in the town. Very tired.

Wednesday 1st Nov[ember] All Saints. Up early but did not do much work this morning, as I was going to church. Service at 10. Mr Ayliffe's brother⁹ to be married at 11. The Bishop gave us a very nice lecture this morning at church. Just as we came out, the wedding passed. I waited to see them come back again. All seemed very nicely arranged. Went on unpacking all day. Very hot indeed. Everything in confusion. I am sleeping in the dining room. Walked down in the evening to see Ayliffe. Called at Mr Cole's, and had a long chat. Mr Jeffrey there, and another man.

Thursday 2nd. Went down to call upon Ayliffe this afternoon. Found him out. Walked up and down with Mr and Miss Hudson and then went to tea at the Heavysides. Mr Hudson was rather top heavy. Found out that the young Heavysides were at school at Marlbro'. Introduced to Mr Ogilvie, a very nice man. Very slow party indeed. Oh! Dear.

Monday 6th Got up early this morning, and went up town to find Ayliffe. He met me just as I was coming away. Took two notes for me to Post Station. Went home then. Came up again with another parcel for Mrs J.O. Smith. Called for the letters.

Thursday 9th. Mr Green made his appearance at breakfast to ask me to walk with him to Howieson's Poort.¹⁰ One of the prettiest walks near here. I was very glad to accept his invitation as I had not been out for a walk since we arrived here. The day was very hot. However we both enjoyed our walk extremely. We had a delicious bathe in the river tho' the water was only up to our knees. We sat on the bridge and admired nature. Heavy thunder storm came on as we were going home. Took refuge in a cottage. They lent us great coats etc. Very kind indeed. Walked home thro' swamp 3 inch[es] deep. Could not go to Mr Meadens.

Monday 13th. The post in very late today. The Heavysides sent down for the arms of the Society¹¹ to decorate the school room for the tea meeting. Read and wrote mainly all day. Very much

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7. R Hall was a carpenter living in African Street who, later on, was probably the carpenter at St Luke's Mission. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*).
 8. Major C D Robertson commanded the Royal Engineers in Grahamstown in 1854. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*)
 9. Mr Ayliff's brother, i.e. Jonathon Ayliff - see biographical notes.
 10. Howison's Poort (often incorrectly Howieson's poort) is a defile 8 miles south of Grahamstown named after Captain Alexander Howison who supervised road-building through it. The Howison's poort dam was opened in 1931. See R E Paper, *A Dictionary of South African Place Names* (Johannesburg, 1957) and K S Hunt, 'The Story of Grahamstown's water supply', *Annals*, Grahamstown Historical Society, 1976.
 11. Probably the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge of which Archdeacon Merriman was local chairman. Founded in England in 1689 it shared with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (founded in 1701) the task of evangelisation. The SPCK concentrated on the publication of religious literature and contributed to mission schools. (S Neill, G J Anderson & K Goodwin (eds), *The Concise Dictionary of Christian World Mission*, London, 1970, p.557)

interested in *Woodstock*.¹² In afternoon went to carriage. Tea meeting at ½ past 7. Very dull indeed to me as I did not know anybody present. Very full, no room to sit. The Bishop's speech was very pleasing. Cannot say much for the address. The C[ape] M[ounted Rifles] Band¹³ played. Dreadfully hot inside.

Saturday 18th. Up at 5. Rode some little way with Mr Green. Wished him a prosperous journey to Queenst[own]. Called for letters, received note from Kift.

Thursday 30th. St Andrew. Took a very nice ride this morning. Hunted some vultures that were feeding on a carcass but could not catch them, or kick them. The anniversary of the Bishop's consecration. Went to church. About 50 to Sacrament. Intensely warm. Took letters to the post in the afternoon. Cleaned the B[ishop's] staff. Dust storm and thunder storm. Went to church again at 6. Messrs Thompson, Banks [sic], Greenstock, and Smith¹⁴ to tea. Mr Heavyside must of course come in, in the evening to worry the B[ishop]. Had some very nice singing. Mr Smith offered to give me his cornet.

Saturday 2nd. In the afternoon posted a lot of letters. Had a long chat in the office. Then went to Meadens, to pay my long promised visit. Mr Greenstock, and Mrs and Mrs A. Campbell¹⁵ were there. They are very nice people. Had music in the evening. Was challenged by two sentinels going home.

Sunday 3rd Advent. Not up very early. The Bishop not well, very much worried. We all forgot to take his cassock to church, so I had to run back and fetch it. B[ishop] preached very beautiful sermon. The one for Advent, in *Sermons for the Christian Seasons*.¹⁶ A great many communicants. Wrote in the afternoon, children very troublesome. Rained very hard coming home from church. B[ishop's] hat blew off. Took Cyril to church and could not keep him quiet.

Wednesday 6th St Nicholas. *Beati mundi corde [Blessed are the pure in heart]*. Over slept myself this morning so I did not take any ride. Finished my letter home and sent it. Also one to Simmons.

12. Walter Scott, *Woodstock or the Cavalier*, (1826).

13. The Cape Mounted Rifles: a military force of coloured men serving under white officers featured in Cape history for several decades under different designations. The title Cape Mounted Rifles was used from 1827 to 1870 to denote the cavalry force that existed. The headquarters were in Grahamstown. Evidently not all Cape Mounted Riflemen were coloured, and there are references to white companies. The band of the CMR wore scarlet trousers with green jackets and they rode grey horses. After the Mlanjeni War a white force was organised which, in 1855, was known as the Frontier Armed Mounted Police. The remnants of the old coloured force continued to exist until 1870 when the regiment was formally disbanded. In 1878 the Frontier Armed Police took over the title that had once denoted the coloured regiment viz Cape Mounted Rifles. See G Tylden 'The Cape Coloured Regular Regiments 1793-1870', *Africana Notes and News*, Vol.7, Part 2, pp.37-59.

14. Revd Horatio Bolton Smith had a licentiate in theology from Durham University; he had been recruited to South Africa by Bishop Armstrong, made deacon in 1854 and ordained priest in 1857. He worked first at St Matthew's and then at St John's missions. He returned to England in 1859. (M Goedhals, 'Missionary policy', p.28)

15. Mr Ambrose Campbell was a surgeon living in Lawrence Street lively enough to issue the 'The Echo' a fortnightly magazine of literary entertainment. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*; Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth*, p.322).

16. J Armstrong, *Sermons for the Christian Seasons* (London 1852-53). The sermons were published monthly. (Carter, *Armstrong*, p.167)

Went up to fetch letters from post. Mr Smith had a ticket to bathe but I was not able to go. English mail in by *Hornet*. No letters for us. Sebastopol fallen.¹⁷ Sent Jacob with Tweed's goods etc. Wrote to Mr Kift. Learned 'Poor Mary Anne' on cornet, which the B[isho]p said was the tune by which the old cow became defunct. Mr Heavyside here in evening, his new house! Mrs A[rmstrong] and myself sang.

Thursday 7th. General coming to dinner today. Great preparations going forward. Rather late this morning. Took a message to Mr Thompson. Sent parcel to Natal. Bishop buissy during the morning with the builders about houses. Cleaned my cornet. Begins to look quite silvery. Took some notes etc up into town, and ordered wine for dinner. Helped to prepare things. Washing decanters, water bottles etc and made myself generally useful. No room for Miss Hughes and myself at dinner. To dinner Gen. Jackson, Col and Mrs Sutton, Maj. Robertson, Capt Owen, Mr Clayton, who had just arrived from the mission station and Mr Heavyside. In the evening Maj. and Mrs Smyth, Mr and Mrs Campbell, [Sh...?] and Mr Gurney, Col and Mrs Perceval, Lieut Belfield.¹⁸ All went off very nicely. General's menservants sent cucumber and cream.

Friday 8th. Rather tired this morning. Took a ride over the flats. No breakfast till 10. Learnt "God save the Queen" on cornet. Wrote up my journal. Mr Heavyside here again. Mr Clayton came to call on the B[isho]p about missionary affairs. Learnt some more tunes on the cornet. Took a note to Mr Lucas for the pony. Met Cap[tain] Owen and spoke about the pony. B[isho]p and Mrs A[rmstrong] not at all well today. The Bishop and Mrs A[rmstrong] out making calls during the afternoon. Learnt some more tunes. Had some fun with Miss Hughes. Fanny A[rmstrong]¹⁹ cut her foot with a spade. Went to fetch Mr Edmunds.²⁰ Had some of Mendlesohn's [sic] music in the evening.

Saturday 9th. I did not take a ride this morning because I was offered some lessons in that art by a C[ape] M[ounted] R[ifles]. So I amused myself by breaking up a loaf of sugar. Mr Thompson brought our letters. One from Mr Green at Queen's Town, the other the *Spectator*²¹ from England. Heard today that Sabastopol was not taken, also of the arrival of the Governor.²² Called on Mr Smith. He came down in the afternoon, and gave me a lesson upon the [cornopean]. Very heavy thunderstorm. Messrs Clayton, Hardy, Greenstock, Lange and Hutton to tea. Bishop seems getting better, now the house business is clearer.

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17. Sebastopol did not fall until September 1855 when the Russian evacuation virtually ended the Crimean War.
 18. Colonel William Sutton served in the 31st Foot Regiment from 1807 to 1864 and in 1854 was commanding the Cape Mounted Rifles in Grahamstown. His wife, Frances, was the third daughter of Lieutenant General Henry Somerset. Captain Owen was commanding officer of the police in Grahamstown; Major Smyth was Quartermaster General and lived in New Street; Captain J Gurney was paymaster of the Cape Mounted Rifles; Lieutenant Colonel Perceval was a member of the 12th East Suffolk Regiment; Lieutenant E Belfield was in the Royal Engineers. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*)
 19. The eldest daughter and third child.
 20. Mr Edmunds was surgeon who lived in Bathurst Street, partner of Mr Ambrose Campbell (see note 15; *Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*)
 21. *The Spectator*. A weekly periodical started in 1828 as an organ of advanced radicalism. John St Loe Strachey was editor 1860-1927.
 22. The Governor i.e. Sir George Grey - see biographical notes.

Sunday 10th. I was last up this morning for a wonder. Of course the Bishop turned it against me, in fun, because when he said breakfast at ½ to 9 to the moment, I said that would be just ¼ past. As the B[isho]p was not very well Mr Clayton preached. The C[ape] M[ounted] Rifles in white trousers for the first time today. I like the look very much. B[isho]p in very good spirits, told me that I was to have £1 per quarter to clothe myself instead of £6. Wrote my journal in the afternoon. Tremendous thunder storm during the afternoon, commenced about ½ past 3 and continued to 7. I never saw such rain in all my life. It was quite a flood. The rain penetrated the house in all directions. We were not able to go to church, so the Bishop read prayers, and I the Lessons. Mr Smith was there. Mr Clayton came down in the evening and told me a great deal about Umhalla.

Monday 11th. Still raining. Very dull morning. Had a cup of coffee and went to Mr Clayton. The baby I am sorry to say was very ill. Received my commissions. Went to fetch letters from the posts. Heard from Lieut Harvey. Had my breakfast when I reached home, the baby much worse. Mr Edmunds and Dr Eddy.²³ I was sent off on the Doctor's horse to fetch some instruments from his house. I never was in such danger of breaking my neck in my life. The B[isho]p and Mrs A[rmstrong] both very much upset. Read *Lucia de Lammamoor*²⁴ and sundry other things during the evening. Baby rather better at night. Doctor here four times.

Tuesday 12th. Mrs A[rmstrong] called me this morning at ¼ to 6. Got up and went to church. Ruth was prayed for. When I got home went out for a long ride, as the house was very full. After breakfast went up town to pay mission bills etc. Then took letter to military post. Very hot day. After dinner took letters to civil post and took a short ride. Read etc till ½ past 5 and took another ride. Wrote my journal and read during the evening.

Wednesday 13th. The Nurse Eleanor, called me before 6 this morning, and told me to go for Mr Edmunds. I was fast asleep but was on the horse's back in about 4 minutes. I was not long going. I found that the baby was worse. The two doctors came. Mr Edmunds and Dr Campbell. The B[isho]p and 3 children went to church, it is Fanny's birthday. After breakfast I went on reading, till post time no letters. Capt Kenyon²⁵ to be buried at 11. I rode up to the burial grounds and saw the procession, and military honours paid to him. I employed myself the greater part of the day in receiving people come to enquire. The baby grew worse after dinner. Mr Edmunds came, and was here when she died about ½ past 3. The Bishop and Mrs A[rmstrong] both very much upset. I went to tell the coffin maker, as bodies have to be buried 1 or 2 days after they die. In the evening went up town, on some messages for the B[isho]p. The weather is very muggy and steaming.

Thursday 14th. So sleepy was I when I went to bed last night, and slept so sound all night that I did not wake till after gun fire. The Bishop, and Mrs A[rmstrong] seem very composed. The undertaker came this morning, and stayed a long time. Raining hard nearly all day. The coffin was brought about 11. The baby is not able to be buried tomorrow because of the weather. Read nearly all day. Took a message up in the town in the afternoon. Very wet and muddy. Mr Smith walked home with me. The water was out so much in one place that we had to go ½ a mile round. Boys doing their examination. Wrote and read.

23. Dr Eddy was a surgeon living in Chapel Street. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*)

24. Sir Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819).

25. Captain A P Kenyon was in the Cape Mounted Rifles in 1854. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*)

Friday 14th. Had some breakfast at 7 o'clock, and then started on horse back to the grave yard, with the sexton to choose a spot for the grave. Got wet thru'; then rode to Oatlands²⁶ to borrow a conveyance. The servants very buissy preparing mourning. Made several calls of business in the town, and took messages about, late home to dinner. Read during the afternoon. The nurse put some flowers round the baby, she looked very pretty indeed. I screwed her down. I then took a walk up into the town to order some goods for the Bishop. Called upon Smith. He kindly lent me a dress coat as mine was not come. Wrote out the form of *Si Quis*²⁷ in the evening.

Saturday 16th. Wrote to Harvey, and Tweed today. The man awoke me very early this morning, on account of the early funeral. The undertaker came late and just as we were in the coach, some of the harness broke. This delayed us 10 minutes. Then we could not get the horses to move. At last we were obliged to turn out, and walk. The poor Bishop was very much annoyed. We were however able to get in again only obliged to trot all the way instead of going slowly. At church everything went wrong. When we reached the burial ground Mr Heavyside turned his horse loose in the ground. The ground itself is kept in such a state it is not fit for a pig to live in. In fact I never saw everything go so contrary in my life. Went up to fetch the letters, stayed, and read at Mr Banke's [sic] till the mail arrived. Wrote my letters, after dinner. Heavy thunder storm came on, and all the oats being out to dry, Jacob and myself had a regular scramble to get them in. However we effected this before the storm. The storm is the heaviest I have seen; the lightening was very vivid, with terrific thunder. Took letters to the post. Wrote my journal in the evening. Very warm indeed.

Sunday 17th. Up about an hour before breakfast. Went to church. The Bishop did not put on his robes but sat in our seat. Mr Heavyside preached. Wrote during the afternoon and read my album. Mr Steabler²⁸ preached in the evening. Very dull evening. Bishop seems pretty well. Mrs Armstrong seems quite right again.

Monday 18th. Could not go out for a ride, because of the everlasting rain. Went to church, that is started to go but met Smith and Greenstock coming back; our time differs so much from theirs. After breakfast went for the letters. Tried to clean my cornet. Took a long ride of about 14 miles to give the horse exercise. Late for dinner. Great rumours of war about.²⁹ Set up the india rubber boat for the Bishop's inspection. Several people calling to enquire after the B[isho]p etc. Mended the valves of my cornet. And took it to Meaden's. Very stupid evening. Mr Smith gave us one tune. Mrs Smith seems vulgar.

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26. Oatlands was the home of Sir Henry Somerset. He had been allocated 296 morgen just outside the town and there he built a gracious home in about 1825. He left Grahamstown in 1852. In 1854 Oatlands became the seat of Sir Walter Currie and headquarters of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police. The house is still in existence and is now well within the municipal boundaries of Grahamstown. (*Grocott's Daily Mail*, 15 August 1946; A L Harington, *Sir Harry Smith*, Cape Town, 1980, pp.21; 239)
 27. The *si quis* in the Anglican ordination service enquires of the congregation if anyone knows of any obstacle to the intended ordination, *cf* the enquiry that is part of the marriage service.
 28. Revd Anderson Steabler - see biographical notes.
 29. Rumours of war were endemic on the frontier. "The settlers were convinced that the Kafir chiefs were inveterate enemies bent on war and pillage and that the tribesmen were incorrigible thieves. They expected war and imagined it. Frontier alarms occurred every three or four months throughout Grey's governorship ...". (J Rutherford, *Grey*, London, 1961, p.305)

Tuesday 19th. Read my Gr[ee]k Test[ament]. Bishop very vexed about his papers which are mislaid. A general hunt after them. Learned a tune upon my cornet. Took letters to the post. C[ape] M[ounted] R[ifles] band playing at Roman Cath[olic] bazaar.³⁰ Bought goods for the mission station. Took a short ride up to the top of Telegraph Hill.³¹ Spoke to [?Lemage] about the wood. Went up to town in the evening for the Bishop. Pouring with rain as I came back; not in bed till 12. Talking about Miss Hudson's school, who I forgot to mention arrived today from 'Thorn Kloof' having been dispatched from that place by Mr Bowker,³² as serious rumours had reached them. Poor Miss H[udson] had to ride with her brother to Fort Brown that night, and reached this place early this morning. The people all seem much afraid of war, knowing the misery thereof.

Wednesday 20th. Not up till after gun fire, so tired was I. Went to the post. Mail not in. Called up Mr Scott.³³ I wrote out examination papers for the Bishop, which occupied all the morning. In the afternoon finished some buissness in the town. War rumours subsided. Pony fallen lame. No English mail. I wish heartily for a letter.

Thursday 21st. St Thomas Aq[ui]nas. Breakfast at 8 because of the saint's day service. Read till church time. Archdeacon arrived, with John Heavyside. After church we went to the school room as the boys were going to receive their prizes. The B[isho]p distributed them. We then walked up into the town on buissness. Went home. After dinner took letters to post, returned, and did some more work. Jacob brushed out my room. Walked up to military post. Could not get the letters. Played the cornopean. Read Gr[ee]k Test[ament]. Messrs Smith and Greenstock came in my room and gave me a tune. Went to church and military post. A[rch]deacon to tea. Very fine day.

Friday 22nd. Tried to be in time for church but was unluckily late. Very hot morn indeed. Walked down to Mr Lange's to give him a message. Bot [sic] some stationery at Streets & Godlontons.³⁴ Found them at breakfast when I arrived. Very busy all the morning working for the B[isho]p etc. After dinner went up town to execute my sundry commissions. Bought some missionary things. Packed up the india rubber boat, and sundries for the station. Took a walk up the Telegraph Hill with Smith and Greenstock, had the treat of hearing the band in the

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30. St Patrick's Church, built by soldiers of the 27th Inniskilling Regiment, was dedicated in July 1844 before a large congregation that included the Lieutenant Governor. It became a pro Cathedral in 1847 with Father Aidan Devereux as the Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern Cape. (See K S Hunt, 'The History of St Patrick's Church of the Eastern Cape', *Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society*, 1979, pp.7-9)
 31. Telegraph Hill can be assumed to be Fort Selwyn where there was an apparatus for sending semaphore signals. The first telegraph line was built only in 1844 in the United States, and it is unlikely such a line was functioning in Grahamstown a decade later. The 1982 edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* gives as one meaning for the word telegraph 'semaphore apparatus'.
 32. William Monkhouse Bowker - see biographical notes.
 33. Mr Scott was a shopkeeper in Somerset Street. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1854*)
 34. Mullins is presumably referring to Godlonton and White a firm of printers and publishers owned by the formidable Robert Godlonton and his nephew. R Godlonton was owner and editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*, the mouthpiece of the eastern Cape and, especially, Grahamstown sentiment. He and his nephew launched many other newspapers in and beyond the Cape. (*DSAB*, Vol.II, pp.263-64)

Botanical Gardens.³⁵ Went to practise Psalm in the evening at the church; where it was agreed that the Xmas hymn should be sung to the Easter tune. Saw R. Ayliffe in the evening at Post Office.

Saturday 23rd. Went to post for letters. No news of my case. Examinations still going on. More rumours of war. Opened the Bishop's seal. And, with Mrs A[rmstrong] sealed the letters of orders. A very long teasing operation. Sent some of Mr Green's luggage off. Heavy thunderstorm. Intensely warm. Mrs A[rmstrong] drove to Table Farm.³⁶ After tea set out to find Jacob to pay him his wages, as it was Christmas. Found him after some time.

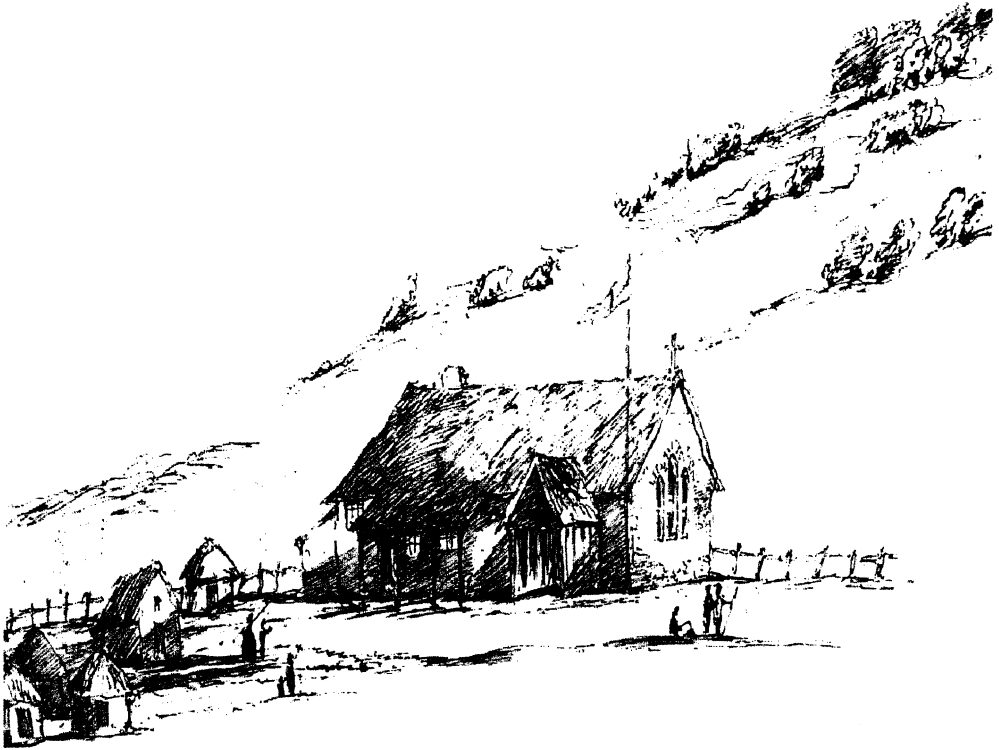
Sunday 24th. Ordination Sunday. Up early. The B[isho]p not in very good spirits. Slight rain, very muggy weather. Went to church with Mrs A[rmstrong]. Small congregation; no soldiers parade. Messrs Smith, Lange and Greenstock ordained. The first time I had heard the service. Quite a large body of clergy. B[isho]p, A[rch]deacon, Messrs Heavyside, Hardie and Banks [sic]. A[rch]deacon gave a very nice sermon. Mr Lange seemed very nervous. Not many communicants. Wrote in the afternoon. The fruit is beginning to ripen very nicely. The ladies were not able to go to church in the evening because of the rain. Mr Greenstock read prayers. Mr Smith at Fort England had of all things in the world "a baptism". Both of them got on very well for the first time.

Monday 25th. Christmas Day. Up early and decorated the drawing room.

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35. Founded in 1851 the Grahamstown Botanic Gardens were the first such gardens to be established in South Africa by the British. A circular drive once ran from the Drostdy Gate through the Botanic Gardens to Mountain Drive (D Pole, 'The Grahamstown Botanic Gardens', *Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society*, 1983, pp.20-22)
 36. 'Table Farm' was purchased in 1828 by T R C White and transformed into a productive farm with irrigated gardens and fields. T C White was killed in the war of 1835. His wife subsequently married Dr John Atherstone. 'Table Farm' became the property of T C White's eldest son, Tom (1827-1909) on the death of his mother in 1880. The farm is still in the possession of the White family. (F C White (ed) *Major T C White 1820 Settler*, Grahamstown, 1975)

CHAPTER FOUR

ST LUKE'S MISSION **1 May 1855 to 4 September 1855**



St Luke's Mission

Tuesday 1st May 1855. Saints Philip and James. Be it known unto all who may hereafter take the trouble to read the every day doings of one commonly called Robert John Mullins. That for certain unavoidable reasons during the first 5 months of the year 1855, he did not, as he ought to have done, enter the incidents which occur in life daily. But now thinking how very vexed his friends would be if they were to know that he discontinued that custom, he now means regularly to enter all circumstances that are worth noting, and therefore if he does not he intends to - why yes when he does not. But he hopes that will be a long time first and so will not mention the punishment. Robert John Mullins - Journal.

Having now completed my new cottage, I will not call it hut, I feel quite at home and comfortable, at least as far as that goes. In one article though I am quite deficient, i.e. shoes. I am now walking on stockings. The unfortunate case containing all my shoes and clothes has not yet arrived. And I have great fears that it is gone back to the mother country. This morning I awoke as I thought very early and having some few commissariat duties to attend to, I got up immediately, but to my amazement found it was nearly 10. The morning was very dismal and wet, nothing like one of our fine English May mornings. Being a Saint's day I did no work with the exception of transposing some psalm tunes into a lower key. Messrs Hardie and Garde are both in King Williams Town. In the afternoon I amused myself, by learning the cornopean.

I sadly want a table for my room. I am having a small one made but it is hardly large enough. Umhalla came down this morning and took some coffee with us, he said he did not like sugar in coffee and asked for some salt. I should not think it was a very pleasant mixture. In the evening we had another Kafir to tea. I thought at first he was very well behaved but soon

he seized the candle out of the middle of the table, and began to light his pipe. We told him however that we did not like smoking indoors. He however persisted in lighting his pipe and then started off home. In the evening I read etc; very wet night.

Wednesday 2nd. My Mother's birthday. Very many happy returns of it and I hope we may all some day meet on it. I am sorry to say owing to our not having a clock we again were late this morning. Liefelt,¹ the interpreter unwell today. Mr Greenstock started off early to the new station on the Ixobongo river.² Not very much done towards it yet, wrote and reading during the morning. Rather fine today. The men we sent to town on Monday have not yet returned. Our hens are beginning to lay at last. I had 5 eggs today. In the afternoon I had some Kafirs down asking for medicine for a baby's cough. I prescribed as well as I could for it. I am not able yet to talk Kafir but I always manage to make them understand. I caught one of them quietly walking off with one of my forks. When I told him to give me my fork he said it was his, but finding I would not give in, he gave it up. The best part of it was he was using it to comb out his hair. The Kafirs do this very well and make all their woolly hairs lie down quite flat. I should think it must be rather a painful operation. I had another disturbance with Smith, Umhala's son. He tried to put down my power of keeping them out of the kitchen. I told him however that if he disobeyed the orders of my "great *Inkosi* [chief]" that I should have to complain to Umhala. Mackinnon, his elder brother, came down soon after. He is far superior to Smith, who tries to make himself a great man, when he is not. But he is a chief all over. He is extremely good tempered, except when angry, and if he had not lost one eye, would be rather handsome. Mr G[reenstock] returned about 6. And about 7 Mr Garde also arrived from K[ing] W[illiams] T[own] with the latest English news (Feb. 15th). I am sorry to hear the trials our poor soldiers have to experience. The[y] little thought so when they "were going to fight the Roosians [sic]".³ I see our militia is one of those going abroad. I long for an English letter again. Beautifully clear evening. Strongish breeze.

Thursday 3rd. Very windy and cold all night. Helped Mr Garde to get his hut in order and made up the accounts. The two men arrived from K[ing] W[illiams] T[own] having been stopped by the rain. In the afternoon I read all the papers containing English news. I really quite enjoy reading the smallest sentence about England. Helped Hall to finish my table. It is a very respectable one indeed. I used the piece of board it is made of, once to make pies upon, but now the Hottentot cook has succeeded me, it is used for a more literary purpose. Had as usual several disputes with Mr Garde. We never by any chance agree. Played the cornopean. I see by the papers the Bishop has got as far as Graaf[f] Reinet, on his homeward journey. Wrote in the evening. It was curious tonight to observe the heavens in all four quarters: in the east the moon was rising beautiful behind some black clouds; in the south the clouds were coming up very heavily as tho' it were going to rain. In the west the stars were shining beautifully; in the north the clouds were dark, and the lightening [sic] flashing vividly with the distant roll of thunders. It had a very imposing appearance. I have seen few such nights.

Friday 4th. Not quite so late this morning. Very cold night. It is a charming change after the heat. I

1. Theophilus Liefeldt - see biographical notes.

2. The Ixobongo outstation, known initially as St Paul's, was developed by Messrs Covernaugh, Kinlock and Wright, some 17 kms from St Luke's. The main station was situated near Chief Mhala where there were few other homesteads; the outstation was placed in an area originally thickly populated. It was abandoned in 1857 when famine dispersed the population. (USPG Archives, Anonymous Report, 5.9.1857).

3. The allusion is to the Crimean War and the sufferings of soldiers during the harsh winter.

wish we could get snow and frost. Showery all day. Wrote to my Godfather⁴ this morning also home. Mr Hardie sent a man out of town today with 47 bucks. So we shall not be without animal food. Some of them are very fine, and young. Mr Garde started this morning to the Ixobongo. Boi, our Fingoe man, came home with the man that brought the bucks. He has the small pox I think. It is a great loss to us. He has made several capital huts, and is a very useful fellow. Very wet afternoon. Had Liefelt a long time today. We sadly want a clock here. My watch I am sorry to say will not go or render the service it was required to do. Very windy and cold towards the evening. Mr Garde did not return so I conclude he is gone to K[ing] W[illiams] T[own] for another Fingoe to carry on the hut building. I tried to count the bucks but could not do it. It requires so very much care. The sheep farmers count their "thousand" by tens at the time, and with great rapidity. If you move your eyes for one moment you have lost your count, and that would be rather awkward with some thousand to count twice a day. The Boers let them run thro' a small gate, and drop something from one hand to the other for the 100. Our goat herd is a very funny fellow; tonight I went into the kitchen, and found him nicely enclosed in the cloth for Mr Garde's horse. I asked him why he had not put it on the horse. "Oh!" he said, "I am very cold tonight, and the horse must do without." I made him take it and put it on however, and gave him one of my blankets. Poor Boi cannot sleep; he has not for four nights and seems very ill.

Saturday 5th. Very high wind all night. Very much like what we had for a fortnight before we sighted land. Quite cold, the fresh wind is however very invigorating. No men came to work again. I suppose the cold keeps them away. Killed a buck this morning. John pulled it out telling me that it was an *inkabi* [ram]. I did not think he could be wrong but just after he had cut its throat I saw that it was an *imazi* [female] and one of a good breed. I was very sorry for it. Accidents will happen however. The men return from K[ing] W[illiams] T[own] with the news that Mr Garde was gone on in and that the Principal would be out on Tuesday with Mr Birt,⁵ who is to be farmer here. Read during the morning, and wrote to Mrs Armstrong. Liefeldt in the afternoon. Made all my accounts strait [sic] I hope. Obligated to get in at the window of Mr Garde's hut to get money for the men. Covernaugh arrived from the Ixobongo. The men seem to very opposed to a station there. They charge exhorbitant [sic] prices for wattles, poles etc. 6 small poles for a shilling, whereas we only give 1s for 70 large ones.⁶ They will soon come down however. They were going to beat Covernaugh and Boi the other [day], only just as the dispute was going forward one of our Kafirs came by, a man about 6 ft. 2 inch[es] and very strong which effectually put an end to the noise. They have been twice as civil ever since. He told them Umhala liked us very much, and that they had better take care what they were about. The man that went to town also says that [they] tried to take his things from him. Wind drop[p]ed about 5 o'clock. The men who were so opposed to the station are Umhala's men, but upon a chief's ground named Umfundise.⁷ Saw my bucks kraaled and then began to churn. Butter would not come for a long time owing to the cold. Kafir generosity. We saw [a] Kafir who spoke to the men [who] happened to be passing just as they were bothering Covernaugh for change for some melies [sic]. He had only two half crowns. The man sat thinking some time, and then commenced shaking his *ingxowa* (or bag they carry) and out fell a 3d bit. "Here" he said "is 3d

4. Revd R F Swayne - see biographical notes.

5. The Principal was Mr Hardie - see biographical notes. An agriculturalist was necessary to ensure the self-sufficiency of each mission station. At St Luke's Mr Birt fulfilled this role. When the mission was moved after the cattle-killing Birt developed the lands of the new mission on the Nahoon river where good crops could be produced on rich alluvial soil.

6. For the use of money among the Xhosa see D Williams, 'Social and Economic Aspects of Christian Missions 1816-1854, *Historia*, 3, 2, September 1985, p.42.

7. Mfundisi, better known as Qasana, was nephew to Mhala and half-brother to Siwani and Siyolo. He and his followers were evidently located on the Ixobongo river and did not welcome missionary intrusions.

[Mullins' emphasis] pay them, and don't let them humbug you." Very dark evening. Turned to rain.

Sunday 6th. Very wet all day. After the first service took a walk, and played the harmonium. After second service. Read and had [a] long talk with the men about the war. We had a regular Sunday's dinner. Hot roast meat and plum pudding. After dinner I wrote to Mr Smith, and others. Then took a walk tho' not a very pleasant one owing to the wet. The men are getting on famously with the quarry. And find some very good stone there. Their chief want is barrows, and shovels. Which we cannot get out. I had a semi-English Kaffir talk with the goat herd. The expressions and actions he used to make me understand were very amusing. The bucks get on better in the bush, and open grass feeding. The last prove very lame, and all seem to be getting blind but they tell me that will go off. I took my little dog with me. It is a Scotch terrier. And will be very sharp I think. He hates Kaffirs, and I have famous runs to catch him when he sees one. I thought the Kafirs would not have come today, as it was so wet; to my surprise however about five o'clock I saw them all issue forth to come down. I did not go to the service as I was late. It seemed very well attended. Wrote again before church and after. Very fine night.

Monday 7th. Up early this morning. Covernaugh started for the Ixobongo with Boi who is much better. I set all the men on to work who came. We had a regular clearance. Had the buck kraal cleaned, the stable, and all round the huts. Worked at it the whole morning. Very hot. In the afternoon we had again a clear up for wattles, stones, and poles that were lying about. One man I had employed was so obstinate that he made me quite savage, and I threw a stick at his head. He then told me "that the Kafirs were only waiting for a fair excuse to make war, and that they would let all other Kafirs go and kill me". They continually say this when their blood is a little up so I do not take any notice.

Mr Garde arrived soon after sunset with the latest news from England. The *Guardian*⁸ was very interesting indeed. Counted the bucks etc. Mr G[arde] and myself sat up some time talking over everything and the station in particular. At tea time also we had a long talk about Kaffirs, and nearly all quarrelled.

Tuesday 8th. After setting the men to work (of which there were 17 in number) I set 4 to work to put handles in the Kaffir picks,⁹ as today I had to try them for the first time. I marked out a square pole apiece, they all worked very well, and two had the disadvantage of bad handles. I took a walk up to the quarry whilst they were at work. Locker¹⁰ and his men get on very fast. Also I walked all over the old fort.¹¹ It must have been a very strong place once. All the earth works are very strong. In the afternoon I tried the men with another pole, and timed them. The first did his in 1 hour and 50 minutes; the second 2¼ and so on. I read the *Guardian* during this time. Account of the death of A[rch]deacon Hare, a great friend to Shoreham. A Kafir today told me he was going home to bring his wife, two children, 2 dogs, and 4 bucks to live with me. He is a very good tempered fellow. Mr G[arde] brought us out word that Mr Hardie would not be here till Wednesday. Very tired in the evening. Had another talk with Mr G[arde]. All the workmen

8. *The Guardian* (1846-1951) was a Tractarian newspaper founded in 1846 by Frederick Rogers, R W Church and others to uphold High Church principles and to discuss theological, political and social issues. It ceased publication in 1951. (F Cross & E Livingstone (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* London, 1974)

9. Kafir picks were hoes.

10. Locker, probably the stone mason who accompanied Clayton and Garde to open the station.

11. The old fort was Fort Waterloo. See note 91 of Introduction.

tonight asked for a shilling, so I thought there would be a strike; they took their money however and said they would not work the next day, and would stop everybody else.¹² They have tried it once or twice before and could not make it act, so I suppose this will not.

Wednesday 9th. After breakfast I dispatched two men down to work at the ground. I counted the bucks, and picked out all those that were lame and blind to keep them behind. I then made a regular clearance of the commissariat, and my own room; this occupied till nearly 12 o'clock. Did several small things. After chapel I had Liefert for his Latin lesson. He did not do it so well today as usual. Mr Hardie did not arrive by dinner time, as I had hoped. My friend came today but only brought his wife. He gave me some melies [sic]. After dinner I took a walk up to the quarry; an old rebel Totty¹³ gave me a long yarn "of when he first came out from England, and was white and had long hair". Umhala was up at the quarry hut, seemed very ill. The stone is not so good just now. Just after I came down to blow my cornopean I saw Mr Birt, and Hardie coming over the hill. Mr H[ardie] was quite well, and they were going on to see Sandilli the next day. I had to make preparation of two fowls, and some bread etc. We are quite out of sugar and sundry other groceries so that it was not over pleasant for them. Mr B[irt] brought his greyhound, a very fine creature. The Kaffirs immediately asked to have it, to course a hare. The Principal told me several things he wanted done. Also about the men, and the picks. I forgot to say that I had about twice as many men as usual today owing to the strike. Mr Garde slept in my room. I am very much put out for want of boots. I am wearing India-rubber galoshes and they are very unhealthy as they do not let your feet perspire. Saw the arrival of my old master Revd Allen and wife in the bark *Thetia*, Algoa Bay.

Thursday 10th. Up early. The Principal could not start as the men had not arrived from K[ing] W[illiams] Town with some instruments required. We looked over the bucks etc till chapel time. Had a row with Mr Garde about his being in the kitchen. They started just after breakfast. Mr Hardie's new pony arrived; it is too young to ride yet. Very pretty. The three then started with two Kaffirs carrying the theodolite. Liefert went as interpreter. I dispatched three men to make handles for the picks. They are to do this work by the piece to get them into industrious habits. Read and wrote till dinner time; wrote again after dinner. Sent two men off to K[ing] W[illiams] Town to fetch commissariat goods. About three o'clock I went down to measure out some ground for the men with Mr Greenstock. Mackinnon and family came down in the morning. I am beginning to like him very much. I was down at the river washing my feet and he came and put on my boots (which by the bye, I had borrowed from Mr Greenstock) (Hobhouse). You would have laughed to see him running about in my boots. He then put them on his arms, and began to run about like a monkey. Three of them paid me a visit in my room today. I showed them how a springlock was made. Took a walk with my dog Monkey. Had a practise [sic] on the harmonium. The nights and early mornings are very much like the month of October in England. Killed a buck today. I hope to be able to go with Mr Allen up the country if he goes for I came rather too late to have any of the regular roughing.

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12. Mullins was evidently not overpaying his workers. The highest wage for unskilled labour on sheep farms in the Albany district at this time was one shilling and sixpence a day. (T Kirk, 'The Cape economy and the expropriation of the Kat River settlement' in S Marks and A Atmore, *Economy and Society in pre-industrial South Africa*, London, 1980, p.234)
 13. 'Totty' was the colloquial, if contemptuous, word for 'Hottentot', as the Khoi and coloured people were called. In the rebellion of 1851 many of the Khoi and coloured people of the eastern Cape made common cause with the Xhosa in the Mlanjeni war. Many came from the Kat River Settlement which, founded in 1829, had been a frontier buffer zone. After the rebellion some lost their land and the area ceased to be an exclusively coloured settlement. Some of the displaced people settled in Sarhili's territory where they had dealings with St Mark's mission.

Friday 11th. Hoar frost this morning, beautifully cold. Set the men on to work, and counted the bucks, then started for Kiempi's¹⁴ kraal to make an arrangement for milk. On our way we stop[p]ed to show the Kaffirs [what] ground to work upon. They are preparing it for the plough by hoeing it over with Kaffir picks. We then proceeded to Kiempi's. It is a very pretty walk. Only about a mile from our station yet I had never been there. The old gentleman was rather surly at first, however he soon came round. He offered us some sour milk; I cannot drink this yet. Mr Greenstock took some however. I had taken my little puppy with me. But entirely forgot him as I was there; as we were returning however he made a vigorous bound out of the bush. Mr G[reenstock] returned home. I went on up to the quarry to see how it was getting on. After this I cleaned my house for the day. Wrote my journal. Mr Hardie has not returned. Mr Greenstock started for an exploring walk towards the sea. He only saw one kraal the whole way. Wherever the chief is you find a small population. The reason is the chiefs put such immense taxes on the neighbouring kraals that people keep as far away as possible. Our man returned from K[ing] W[illiams] Town tonight, bringing the provisions we were in want of. Had a long chat with Mr Garde on coach driving horses etc. I hear Umhala intends to take unto himself another wife. He has about 10 I think now, and oh! such a family.

Saturday 12th. Started Mr Garde off for K[ing] W[illiams] Town. He went on his horse: it has had the sickness, and recovered. Cleaned out the commissariat department, and my house. Read till dinner time. Mr Hardie arrived about 1 with Liefeldt, Mr Birt having returned to K[ing] W[illiams] T[own]. They were not quite able to finish their buissness [sic] on account of a mistake which Mr Birt unfortunately made. He is to go out again at the beginning of the week. Sandilli was not at home so they did not meet. They slept two nights in a Kafir hut. And found it rather cold. The spot fixed for the station is a bend out into the river. They are going to irrigate it if possible. Rather an unusual thing Mr Hardie saw a nude woman. His guides were very civil indeed. It seems the great chief of this tribe was buried here, Slambi¹⁵ is his name. Took a walk down to measure my men's work. They had done pretty fairly. It is very hard work. Walked up to the quarry. Down just in time to ring the bell. Paid my men and despatched them home. The native labourers if not working by the piece decidedly want a man to look after them. They do not work freely. Some work well at the piece. Again others do nothing. Very tired again. I suppose everybody my time of life wants more rest. I sleep quite soundly till ½ past 7 sometimes. I must however try to break through it because I lose half the day in not being up to see after the men, bucks etc.

Sunday 13th. Up earlier this morning, and immediately greeted by Betsy, my mother¹⁶ exclaiming about the bucks being in her garden. And to my great surprise there were two horses, and about 20 buck in her garden. The bucks could not do much damage to the *amazimba* [sorghum] as they only eat the leaves; the horses however could reach the fruit. I immediately despatched both boys in pursu[it] [sic]. Of course she came down upon me first but I soon sent her to the Principal. After prayers Mr H[ardie] offered her 6d as a compensation for her loss, they were only in there 5 minutes, and she refused to take it.¹⁷ After breakfast I took a short walk down

14. Presumably Xayipmi an 'unbeliever' during the cattle-killing. He was protected by Mhala's magistrate, J Gawler, from the wrath of Mhala. (J Rutherford, *Grey* London, 1961, p.356)

15. Ndlambe - see biographical notes.

16. Mullins has adopted the Xhosa custom of regarding a senior Xhosa woman as his 'mother'.

17. The episode relating to compensation for damaged 'garden' crops points both to the increasing importance of arable produce, at least on the mission station and to the possible modification of Kafir law on this point. As unwritten customary law, Kafir law varied from community to community and was subject to change. In Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws* both Brownlee (among the Ngqika) and Warner (among the Thembu) record the initial absence of any legal claim for damages against an

the road to look at the bucks. The lame ones are in very bad plight. Sacrament service at ten. No sermon. After dinner we had Kafir service. Very good congregation. We then took a walk up by Pondu's kraals to take a view of the krantzies by the Gonube river; they are very grand indeed. We watched a man coming through the river, he looked about the size of a pin. The scenery just there is certainly magnificent. The krantzies form a beautiful basin, and you see the Gonube flowing along beneath. The river is very winding. I only wish I could draw, and take a sketch of such a beautiful place. We were up an immense height ourselves. It certainly is without exception the finest piece of scenery I ever saw. Better even than St Vincent rocks. Wrote some letters in the evening to Mrs Armstrong, Smith and Lloyd. I hope they will arrive safely.

Monday 14th. Several Kaffirs to the early service this morning; made an arrangement with Mr Hardie about the work men and bucks etc. Sent a man into K[ing] W[illiams] T[own] with letters to Smith, and Mrs Armstrong. Sent my two men down to work at the pick work. Just beginning to read when a woman came to tell me I was wanted by the men working down below. So off I had to walk, and found they only wanted to know how much to do. I only wish I could talk Kaffir, I would soon settle all questions. Walked on up to the quarry, and set the men onto work there. Locker moving today from his room. Expecting Mr Garde all day. Spoke to Mr Hardie today about going with Mr Allen to the Kabousie. He was very kind indeed; told me he would speak to the Bishop about [it] tho' he did not think he would settle it, that I should stay there for good, as he wanted me here. I had some very pleasant conversation with him. In the afternoon he walked down to the new garden with me. We went up to the quarry, found Ticky had done very little work. They have stop[p]ed all stone work for a short time. Back just in time to count bucks. I am getting on much better in this trade now. Wrote my letters, and read in the evening. The service is altered to 7 from 8, so we have good long evenings now. Sun sets [for?] us before 5 now and is not up again till nearly 7. So that our days are very short. Mr Hardie is going to Grahamstown to examine the candidates there for ordination. There will be 6 or 7.

Tuesday 15th. Liefeldt woke me this morning, and when up John told me that he had aroused me long before. However I never heard him. Put all things ready for a day's work. My "mother" came down in great distress about her garden. All the horses were in it. She said "she had no more heart left in her." We walked up to see it after breakfast and certainly they had done some damage. But we have never paid anything yet because Kafir law is that after the day breaks every Kafir is supposed to take care of his or her garden. Mr Hardie promised her 3s and this soon brought back her heart. Mr Hardie and Greenstock rode to the Ixobongo today. Just before they started Covernaugh's boy arrived to say he was starving. And had had his waistcoat and all it contained burnt in burning some grass near the station ground. I sent him some tea, sugar, and coffee. Took the harmonium to pieces, bellows, notes, etc and cleaned it, but could not find out where a very disagreeable harsh sound comes from. Read some Shakespeare; after dinner went down to the garden to measure the work done. Had a great disturbance with the men about it. Liefeldt made them understand that it was no use to humbug. They returned from the Ixobongo about sundown. Mr Garde arrived soon after them. He brought me a packet of papers

owner whose livestock trespassed into a 'garden' (ie cultivated area) and damaged growing crops. What early Xhosa society recognised was an extra-judicial right to retaliate against the property (not the errant livestock) of the man whose livestock had done the damage. Brownlee, however, noted that there had been 'a few cases lately' when compensation had been paid for such damage. Whatever the stipulations of Kafir law, a generous placatory gesture was clearly expedient. Mullins was evidently aware of contemporary discussion of the content of Kafir law (see p.12). (Maclean *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (1858), p.70 and A J Kerr, *The Customary Law of Immovable Property and of Succession*, (Grahamstown 1990), p.53-55)

from Mr Parker¹⁸ directed: "Mr Samavil Ebenezer Muggins from his friend Bumps". No tidings of my unfortunate case yet. I begin to despair.

*Wednesday 16th. Rogation Day.*¹⁹ John called me early this morning. Very cold all night. I kicked off the clothes about 2 o'clock this morning and was too lazy to get up, and put them on again. Put my room all in order before service. Counted the bucks. After service I went down to show the men where to work. They stopped me a long time over their quarrel last night. Set two Kafirs to work. They seldom however work so well as the Fingoes. Killed the old red cock for dinner today. I was very sorry for it; it was a fine bird. Had a great many small affairs to do. Settled my money matters with Mr Hardie. In the afternoon I had Liefeldt to Latin lesson. He gets on pretty well. All his mistakes are made through carelessness. Read the *Times*²⁰ and *Guardian*. I am very much behind in worldly affairs. I went out to set grass on fire with Mr Garde. The wind was rather too high, and so it did not burn very well. It is a grand sight at night to see a good grass fire coming along, and hear it crackle in the distance. Went on down to measure the men's work. They were much quieter today. The two Kafirs had done between them what I could have done in 4 hours. I paid them their six pence however and told them that they need never call again. They evidently thought they had Jewed me. Paid all the men etc. I wrote, and read the *Guardian* in the evening. Looking at an old *Guardian* the other day I saw next to each other the names, F.A. Baker and Arthur Blomfield as ordained priests.

Thursday 17th. Ascension Day, or Holy Thursday. Turned out early this morning. The day Frank²¹ was born I believe tho' not his birthday. We had full morning service. All chanted. I like the Athanasian Creed more and more every time I hear it said, or sung. We had several Kafirs in during the service time. Mr Locker killed a bullock, I mean cow this morning; it was a beauty. Very fat. We had some roasted for dinner but found it rather tough as it had not been allowed to hang long enough. There was I am glad to say an addition to our communicants today. Read some accounts of the Battle of Inkerman²² in the old *Times* Mr Parker had sent me out. Began to take a sketch of the house but was stopped by the "pick" men sending for me. Sent home the men, and walked out with Mr G[arde] to explore the old Fort and building around; it must have been a very large establishment once. There are traces of houses, in every direction. The earth works of the Fort are still very perfect. Kafirs could never have taken it. There [are] now chimneys left standing made of unburnt brick, in beautiful preservation. It was destroyed, and left about 1836 by the English. A very impolitic thing of any Governor I should think as it has a very good watch over Umhala. I suppose the Kafirs are very glad of it. Umhala I'm sure must be.²³

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18. James Parker, attorney and auctioneer in King William's Town. He served as a sidesman and was a member of the building committee of the new Anglican Church of Holy Trinity. (*King William's Town Gazette*, 14.8.1856)
 19. Rogation Days were on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday preceding Ascension Day in the church's calendar. On these days the Litany of the Saints would be chanted in procession.
 20. *The Times*. Founded in 1785 by John Walter this influential newspaper was edited by John Thaddeus Delane (1841-1877). Its war correspondent Walter Russell exposed the chaos of military organisation and the suffering of the troops in the Crimean War. (M Drabble (ed), *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, New Edition 1985)
 21. Francis Joel Mullins (1842-59), brother of Robert. (W M Levick, 'Mullins', Grahamstown, n.d.)
 22. In the battle of Inkerman, 5 November 1854, the British and French withstood a Russian attack from Sebastapol. There were heavy casualties.
 23. The Sixth Frontier War, 1834-1835, resulted in the annexation of the land between the Keiskamma and the Kei rivers proclaimed as the Province of Queen Adelaide. The Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, disapproved of the settlement and ordered the abandonment of the occupation. Sir Harry Smith who

Friday 18th. Not up very early tired from yesterday. Let the bucks out. Some very ill. Messrs Hardie and Greenstock started on an expedition across the Genube [Gonubi]. Had a long talk with Mr Garde upon all sorts of topics, but chiefly the station. Made all the accounts right with Mr Garde. Walked up to the quarry with him. They are getting on very well there. Ticky is more trouble than he is worth. Soon after we got home, and had done some small commissariat buissness and had a tune or two upon the harmonium, we espied them returning. After dinner we went to have a game of shooting with bows and arrows. Read; found one of the bucks kiding [sic]. She had not strength to bring forth. We shut her up till the boys came home. Went down to measure the ground as usual. Mr Garde went with me. Mr Hardie made some bread today. As we have all failed lately to make it light. He however failed too. Looked up the bucks. Had another evening's chat with Mr Garde. After service I held another confab talking over the future. Wrote a letter to Mr Parker about my everlasting troublesome case. I hope however now to get it whether or not. I told him to put it into a solicitor's hands if he thought proper. Mr Garde kindly measure[d] me for some clothes so now I hope to be shod, clothed, and also to get my books. So that I may really begin to read.

Saturday 19th. Went early to look at the bucks. Some seemed very ill. Put the things ready for breakfast. Fed the horses. The bucks were not milked so I could not let them out before service. Counted the bucks and let them out. Set men on to work. 3 at dagger [plastering or smearing with mud]. Macready came to work again. He has been laid up with a bad foot. Had to chastise the goat herd. He never will go to the bushes as he is desired daily therefore several of our bucks are quite ill and likely to die with eating the young grass. I made him go this morning however. Looked after the men. They want continual watching. Helped Mr Garde to prepare for his journey. Obligated to give one buck salt and water. The one that kidded yesterday is much better. Mr Hardie gave very strict orders about dagger holes. Mr Garde started after mid-day service. Cleaned out my room. And prepared for Sunday. After dinner I had Liefeldt for his Latin lesson. Helped to clean up in front of the house for Sunday. Made some bread. Then walked down to measure the work of the men in the garden. Paid all the men. Covernaugh come from the Ixobongo. He has lost several things by the fire. Put bucks in. Three men arrived from Sandilli's country with the instruments of Mr Birt, who had returned to K[ing] W[illiams] Town. Got tea. Fed the horses, and then commenced writing, and reading. Umhala very unwell.

Sunday 20th. After Ascension Day. Frank's birthday. Very many happy returns to him. May we soon meet. I long to hear something about him. I have not yet heard how he likes his new school. Turned out the bucks. The grey one still very ill. Learned a Psalm tune for service, W Micham. Mr G[arde] preached one of his copied sermons. He copies all nearly from Dr Hook.²⁴ I do not like his sermons at all. And his delivery is very bad. Took a short walk after service. John went out for a walk therefore I did not have his valuable services at dinner time. Read and learned another tune. Very good congregation today. Mr Hardie set the old grass on fire on the hill. It burnt for some hours very well indeed. After service Mr H[ardie], Liefeldt and myself took a walk to look after the fire, and see it did no damage. We set a great many more places on fire; and put other places out. It had cleared the ground very well. So great was the fire at last that it fired all the mimosa bushes. Counted in my bucks. All right. Mr Hardie gave me sundry comments and orders as he was going to leave the next day. And I also gave sundry messages for Grahamstown. We had an arrival of two very pretty little kids from "Punch's" mother. I am afraid they will not live the weather is so cold. We never [could] determine whether Punch was old or young but this determined [it]. I had some trouble in getting the mother to take to them after

implemented the settlement was sent to India to return a decade later as Governor.

24. Dr Walter Farquhar Hook, Dean of Chichester, was a prolific publisher of sermons at this time.

they left the kraal.

Monday 21st. Up early this morning as Mr H[ardie] started early. Found one kid dead already. Got some breakfast for Mr H[ardie] and fed his horse. He started about ½ past 7. Found the grey buck dead. Had it skinned and dragged along we decided that it was disease of the heart. The crows soon smelt it out. Men working at grass. Read the *Times*, and some other papers. And looked after the men. Had Liefeldt in the afternoon. He was out of temper and I could not get much work out of him. Put my room in order just as I was finishing, I heard somebody say "There come's Umhala," I looked out and saw five men riding briskly down from Umhala's. Of course I could not see who it was. But it soon proved to be Col[onel] Maclean²⁵ from Fort Murray²⁶ Chief Com[mander] British Kaffraria. [Shepperson?]²⁷ the interpreter. And a Doctor Nicholson in the army. I of course had to turn out just as I was. I had on an old pair of boots. The best I had. They looked over the buildings but Col[onel] M[aclean] was in a great hurry. He was come to warn Umhala, not to allow punishment of death to be inflicted for witchcraft. In Tois's²⁸ [Toyise] country a man had been burnt alive for it. They most likely will punish him by taking away his annuity of £60 from Gov[ernment]. Luckily they had brought provisions, and would not stay to dinner here, but returned to the kraal. Dr N[icholson] came down to tea, and slept in my room which I had prepared for him. I liked him very much indeed: he is very pleasing man. Served in war.

X²⁹

Tuesday 22nd. John called me early this morning, as Dr N[icholson] was going to start at daybreak. I did not sleep very comfortably. I took him in some coffee. And afterwards got some breakfast ready, but he would not take any. Had a long talk with him till Mr Greenstock was up. He then started. I like him very much. He kindly offered to come out at anytime he might be wanted. Col[onel] M[aclean] also yesterday brought us a lot of newspapers, and told us any time he would send out an express from Fort Murray with our letters. I do not think that the other little kid will live. Another [I was] obliged to kill this morning. Set a man to work to skin it, and peg out the two skins to dry. Perambulated up to the quarry where I helped Locker and could watch the picking men below. They did very little work. It was a long time since I had done any work, and I enjoy the hammering very much. We got out some very pretty stones. Got home just before 12. Read *Nicholas Nickleby*³⁰ till dinner time, obliged to kill the kid. Had Liefeldt to Latin in the afternoon. It came on to rain so my men came home before time. Had a very fine kid in the evening from Robinson Crusoe. The finest kid I have ever seen. Very strong indeed. I hope it will live. The mother is in better condition than the others. Saw the bucks in. Had a long dispute with the men about wattles but it ended in my favour. In the evening Mackinnon came down and

25. Col. Maclean - see biographical notes.

26. Situated at Mount Coke, 11 km south of King William's Town, Fort Murray was one of the chain of forts established in the province of Queen Adelaide in 1835. It was abandoned in 1836 but re-established with the second occupation of the area in 1848, this time on the Buffalo river 10 km south of King Williams Town. It served as the headquarters of Col J Maclean and had barracks providing accommodation for troops. Nongause was detained there for some time after the cattle-killing. It was named after Captain A S Murray of the 72nd Highlanders who was wounded in the 6th Frontier War.

27. Shepperson: identification is uncertain, either G M Shepstone, interpreter at King William's Town at this time (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac*, 1856) or B M Shepperson who also resided there.

28. Witchcraft was, and to an extent still is, a crucial point of cultural conflicts. Toyise was a Ndlambe chief residing in the Ngqika country.

29. 'X' indicates that the writer is angry or displeased, either with himself or with others. (Family tradition recounted by Mrs Knowling, youngest daughter of Robert John Mullins)

30. Charles Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839).

had a chat. Wrote log, and read. Very cold wind. Mr Garde not returned.

Wednesday 23th. Rain! it woke me very early, but I did not see the good of getting up as I could do nothing. So I overslept myself and was not up till about 8. Nobody came for work so noise was down. It came on fine and rain alternately so Locker who went up to the quarry when fine, came home wet through; we had a morning rainbow also. Man returned from King W[illiams] T[own]. No news I am sorry to say. The weather now is quite an English summer's day, during the day, and at night cold winds, and frost. It is certainly very contradictory. Horses after being ridden hard during the day, lay down at night in a sweat, and are found in the morning with icicles on their backs. Read in the morning. Covernaugh sent from the Ixobongo this morning. Poor fellow has only one blanket, his others were burnt. One buck dead this morning. I am afraid we shall lose many more. Several of them still blind. Not at all pleasant day. Too much wet and wind. Had Liefeldt for Latin etc. I am reading *Nicholas Nickleby* as Mrs Squeers would say, I am very much pleased with the book. It tells so very truly. So exactly like life, and so very amusing as well as instructive. Wrote in the evening. Some time since I heard anything from home. Henry's³¹ promised letter not yet come. Our new sitting room is very comfortable and if it was not for the wind would be very well. South Africa is not near so uncomfortable as I hoped it would be, and full of exploits, shooting, hunting, building, etc.

Thursday 24th. Mr Greenstock started soon after breakfast for the Ixobongo. I had old Grid Iron up, and gave him a good feed before it started. Poor creature. I do not think it weighed about 150 lbs when it first came. And I am certain it has lost 100 lbs since we have had it therefore it is minus 50 lbs. And therefore is not the best specimen of horse flesh to be seen. Mackinnon came down just after Mr G[reenstock] started. He did not bother me much today. I spent most of the morning in reading. The men working at the picking very badly. I wish Mr Birt would come [and] take the superintendence, of all farm operations. Killed a buck today. Two more dead. Sent Covernaugh one of the blankets Mr Garde gave me. Read *Nicholas Nickleby* in the afternoon in which I am very much interested. Went down to measure the men's work, and of course had a long row with them. They do take such a time to understand everything that I get quite out of patience. You ask them "will you work tomorrow?" They immediately ask "I?" "Yes you," you say. "What will happen if I don't?" "Nothing". "What do you want to know for?" "Will you tell me or not? that is my last word." This generally gets a strait [sic] answer out of them. Mr Greenstock returned about ½ past 4. And Mr Garde about ½ past 5. No news. Mr Greenstock has to preach in town Sunday week. Made a nice fire and read my book. The weather is beginning to get rather cold. Mr J Hardie and Bell³² are gone to Grahamstown. The Archdeacon has taken a house in K[ing] W[illiams] Town, and is soon expected. Mrs Merriman has not gone to England with the girls, as proposed.

Friday 25th. Very cold. I miss the blanket I sent to Covernaugh very much. Read the greater part of the day. We have a fire in our sitting room. No coal fire like in England. Only wood. I have not seen a coal fire since I have been in the country, except on board the *Natal* Steamer. Sent two men into town. After dinner Latin lesson. Read again till I had to go and pay my men, and measure the work. I had a grand row with them today about payment. They all said they would not work again etc. I find it a good plan directly you have said what you want about anything, to walk away, and not listen to what they say to you. I paid away nearly a pound in money today. The Kafirs do not understand the value of anything except 3d bits. This is very expensive work. Nothing below "Tick" as they call it. Over by Sandili's some time ago, they did not like

31. Henry Mullins (b.1836), older brother of Robert John Mullins. (Levick, 'Mullins').

32. Revd Alan Bell was military chaplain in King William's Town (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac*, 1856).

anything but 1d for everything, because it was the *inkulu* [large] money. I think the sooner we can introduce copper to the Kafirs the better. Mr Allen is to go to the Keiskama Hoek they say now. I hope however that I may go too. The fact is that I do not agree with a certain member of the station; this I know is wrong but still it is so. And I think the sooner I can get away the better. I sat up reading *Nicholas Nickleby* with Mr Garde to a very late hour. We had plenty of wood, and so managed to keep up a good fire. More like a Xmas evening than any yet. Two o'clock when we turned in.

Saturday 26th. Whitsun eve. Up early. Quite a hard frost. The ground as white as possible and obliged to keep moving to keep warm. Very cold all night, did not have much sleep. I never remember having passed so wretched a night. Mr Garde goes to town again today. I would not have the men to work at the ground today after the row that they made yesterday. They seemed very much taken aback at the refusal of work. Finished the book at which I am very pleased, and could only have wished Ralph Nickleby had been shot by somebody instead of hung by himself. Went to the river, and let the water run out of the bathing place.³³ Owing to the late winds it was getting quite full of leaves. Helped Mr Garde to make ready to start directly after dinner. Cleaned out my room after dinner. And wrote some Journal. I am sorry to find my room is so damp: the mats I have down are getting quite rotten. I must do something to improve it. I almost think a fireplace would do. Mr Greenstock and Liefeldt decorated the chapel with ever greens, or as they are called out here "Ever browns". The bushes themselves are very pretty indeed but they so very soon wither away. I practised Keeble's [sic] Evening Hymn,³⁴ and some other things on the harmonium. Gave up all my accounts to Mr Garde today. I intend to have nothing more to do with mission money. I find that I very often get wrong whilst borrowing so much from one, and so much from another. So I only take charge of so much money for commissariat goods. We sang *Veni Creator* in the Priest's ordination service, to Tallis.³⁵

Sunday 27th. Whit Sunday. Feast of Seven weeks. Covernaugh came to wake me this morning, and to tell me the men had brought my new shoes. I was very glad to welcome them as it is just two months since I have had a whole shoe on that I could call my own. I was also glad to receive a letter from Mrs Armstrong with another from home enclosed in it. Mr Allen brought it out. I am sorry also that it is not a better one. It chiefly consists of what I knew before, or of what did not interest me, and very short indeed. I think Henry must be gone daft. To send out such a note. Why I have received better from him in England when at school, and he wrote this in the Xmas Holidays. Oh! Dear. He also mentions the "Rocolainsdsons" saying he supposed I had heard of them; now on the other hand supposing I had not why it would be another six months before I should. We had a very pleasant service. A great deal of singing. The chapel looks very pretty now it is decorated. Sang *Veni Creator* [Come Holy Spirit] to Keble's Evening Hymn tune: it went very well. The harmonium is very much out of order. I am afraid the bellows have been over strained. It makes a wretched noise. Took walk down to the large drift to see what sort of view there was of the house. Too much bush for me to take it well. After dinner I went down there I tried to take the houses and water but could not manage properly. It is a sweetly pretty view. Played on the harmonium. Took a short walk. Counted the bucks. The kid is growing very fast

33. When exploring the site of the mission in 1980 we [Nancy Charton and Judy Sturrock] found a narrow stone-lined basin, complete with steps, close to the river. It was possibly the bathing place referred to here and was the only stonework still intact that we could discover in a superficial examination of the site.

34. John Keble (1711-1786) was an organist, theorist and composer. His Evening Hymn is probably 'Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear, It is not night if thou be near'

35. Thomas Tallis (1505-1585), composer and organist, mainly known for church music of contrapuntal ingenuity and technical dexterity.

indeed. We had Keble's Evening Hymn tonight. I do not like it sung in church. Mr G[arde] will have his own way. Wrote in my journal arrears.

Monday 28th. In Whitsun-week. Feel in a very restless state this morning. I do not know what from. After first service I took a pretty walk with Hall over the hills. We had a beautiful view. Locker is rigging out a gallows to make his reims [thongs] with. We gathered some very pretty flowers. And enjoyed the walk very much. We returned just in time for the communion service. I then played the harmonium. It makes a fearful row. More noise than music. Great many Kafirs here this morning because there was no work. I have not seen so many [in] a long time. Had to turn Mr Smith out of the kitchen again. Took a solitary walk, and cut to pieces an old shoe to see how it was made. Wandered about the river exploring it. Watched them putting up the reims. After dinner I helped Locker and had a twist at the work. It is a curious process. The reims are hung from a gallow post with a large weight attached to the bottom; this is twisted round and round till it is wound up into a regular screw. Then let fly; this stretches the reims out well. It takes about 3 to 4 days doing. In the evening I had a play on the cornopean. Hall and I dissected the harmonium to find where the noise came from. It took us a long time but we discovered it at last, but were not able to remedy it. I am afraid we shall not be able to use it for some [time], or till we can get it mended, it is a strain upon the bellows. I am glad it is damaged because I was obliged to take it to pieces, and then found out the way it wa[s] made. I must learn the way to tune when at Grahamstown. I hope I shall be able to carry out my good intentions. That is what I generally fail in. Oh! for a regular course of daily work. Perhaps I should make that irregular.

Tuesday 29th. In Whitsun-week. Restoration. Covernaugh woke me this morning; came to tell me the bucks were out. Got up, and turned them out of the garden. I had a twist or two at the reims for exercise. Spoke to Imbulana about the bucks, and told him I should stop 3d out of his money because they were out. Did not play the harmonium because of its "internal disorder". We sang without. Not many Kafirs here this morning. After breakfast I took a short walk, and rode back upon Covernaugh's horse. Having no saddle and being rather thin it was not very pleasantly [sic]. He started soon after for the Ixobongo. I made up my mind to go with him; only on second thoughts I thought a ride would be pleasant. Put my room in order. I have serious intentions of having a stone floor put down in it. Took a turn or two to help bray the reims. Till mid-day service. Locker moved the pole to make the gallows wider. After dinner I read and walked. Expect Mr Garde. Found an old Cape Town paper and got very absorbed in politics. Went to the garden to see progress. Locker was watering. Had a long talk with Locker about Colony, and its affairs in general. He was in the Dragoons, then in the Mounted Police. After tea had a play on the cornopean. I am progressing much better with it than I thought I should. Mr Garde not come. Very hot wind. Wrote in the evening. I continually get a day or two behind with my journal which affords me plenty to think about. Imbulana went home the other day, and came back with his head half shaved.³⁶ He went to the Ixobongo.

Wednesday 30th. Slept very well last night. Set the men to work. And took the four men on to work at the ground, on conditions that they should never make any noise about the money. Kept the buck in to have a general inspection of them. It took us a long time to run those down that got out and to attend to the others. We managed I think tho' to give them all a good dose of tar,³⁷ on their bad feet. Killed two that were bran sick [*brandsiek*; scab; a fungal foot infection]. They

36. This is an indication that Imbulana was a youth who had not been initiated, for adult Xhosa men do not 'half shave' their heads. Mourning customs dictate that adult men should shave their whole head.

37. Stockholm tar was used as a curative for rotten sheep's foot, i.e. *brandsiekte* or scab, a contagious fungal infection.

were not beauties, and so no great loss. This with getting my hands clean from tar took till nearly 11. I then read till 12. After dinner I had to spend some time in buying mealies. 1½ Muids. They will be capital for the fowls and horses. After dinner I shewed the men where to make a hole to bury the bucks. Had Latin lesson. He brought a very bad exercise. The worst he ever has. John the Hottentot is come back to live here. Smith wants him to look after the cattle again. Walked up to the quarry. And sent down the men to help make a hole, but it was finished before they arrived. Locker and I went down to measure the ground; they had done a pretty good day's work. Told the quarry men to clean out the stable, and kraals. Mr Garde arrived soon after. No news. He brought a letter for Mr Hall, which he thought he had lost when he arrived. I found it however, and gave it to him before Mr Garde knew anything about it. I have been in a melancholy state for sometime but somehow tonight I am quite fresh. Mr Garde told us some tales about the English and French generals betraying us to the Roosians. Had some talk with Mr Greenstock about mission in general, and this in particular.

Thursday 31st. Last day of this month! how very fast time flies. Up very late this morning. Set men to work. Picked out the buck to be killed. Hall very ill with the rheumatism. Read during the morning. Grahamstown papers tell us all the Cape Parliament news up to the end of session; it is highly amusing. To read the description of the night on which they tried to pass the "burgher bill"³⁸ is highly amusing. I must get some of these papers and send you. I see several extracts from English papers and one from the *Bath Chronicle* - Col[onel] Smith who came out in the same vessel with us, is ordered up to Grahamstown from Cape Town so I suppose I shall see him. I wonder how our colonial members would figure in the House of Commons. They consist chiefly of traders, men very well to do, but still wanting skill and refinement. The letter written to the papers about Cape Town transactions are very cutting. After dinner I read some more about it, wishing to furnish myself with all the proceedings. Had the Latin lessons. Then for exercise took a turn or two at the reims. Then I went down to measure men's work etc. I had another row with them about work. I think after tomorrow I shall not have them. I then had some spree with Mr Garde, to get warm. Saw the bucks in. I hear Tweed is come to Grahamstown. I hope he will stay there, and not come any further. For really I have no great desire to be near him. Rode Grid Iron a few paces without a saddle. He is very thin. I should not like to have to ride him to town without a saddle.

Friday 1st June 1855. Beginning of English summer, our mid-winter month. Oh! how different from last June. My last month amongst my friends in England. I never enjoyed myself so much in all my life as during that month. And now instead of bright long days, we have short dull days. How [does one] make the best of a bad matter? Over slept myself this morning again. Therefore I was late into chapel. Rode old Grid Iron down to the garden before breakfast to show the men what work today. As I was coming back one stirrup leather gave way, and I lost the iron in the long grass. Put my room right. Read some Greek Test[ament] with Mr Garde; of course we did not agree; we never do somehow or other. After mid-day service read some Virgil by myself. The man returned from town whilst we were at dinner. He has been faster than any other Kafir yet. No news. Latin lesson. Great improvement. Cleaned my cornopean, and put it together again. Sometime ago I tumbled down with it in my hand, and bruised it very much. I must have it repaired as soon as possible. Counted the men's wattles.³⁹ (Hall still in bed.) Then walked

38. As originally proposed the Burgher Bill would have imposed compulsory commando serve on all able-bodied men between the age of twenty and fifty. This was unpopular in the more secure western districts and the measure as finally passed required men to serve only in defence of their own districts. (Rutherford, *Grey* p.299).

39. Wattles: slender sticks and rods used for building. It is obvious that they were using traditional Xhosa methods of building at the mission.

down to measure the work. They had for a wonder earned over 6d. I am not go[ing] to try anymore till Mr Birt has been here. Took a walk up the hill to try and find the stirrup iron, but could not. Had a tune, on the cornopean. Fed the horses after chapel. I went out to drive them into the stable, and found two of them, in my mother's garden. I don't know what she will say!!

Saturday 2nd. Up early and walked up with Imbulana to see if I could find the stirrup iron. After a long search I am glad to say I succeeded. The bucks and horses all got in my mother's garden. She could not say anything because of her promise when she received the 3d. After breakfast I started with Mr Greenstock on Mr Garde's horse for the Ixobongo. It has not half the spirit I expected to find from his accounts of narrow escapes, and running away etc. In fact I was obliged to hit him to make him go. When we arrived there, Mr Greenstock took a Kafir man on to show him the way, and started on foot for K[ing] W[illiams] T[own] leaving Grid-Iron behind. The buildings are proceeding gradually. One Fingoe hut is nearly finished. The first square house is ready minus thatching and daggering. Covernaugh showed me the different plans etc. I saw his hut; it is full of holes. The corn there is all reaped. They have very good poles, and grass, but have to fetch it such a long way. I returned with Covernaugh; his horse beat Mr Garde's in a race. I only tried its pace twice; it is nothing so wonderful. The horse is touched in the wind, and I am certain has not recovered [from] the sickness yet.⁴⁰ Very pleasant ride home again. Found the two just going out to set fire to the grass. They afterwards had a great deal of trouble to put it out. Mr Garde got his face, beard and hair burnt in trying to stop it from going into a garden. Walked to the quarry. Quarrelled again with Mr Garde in the evening.

Sunday 3rd. Trinity Sunday. Mr Garde read full morning prayers, which I doubt his power of doing. I wish very much to know. After breakfast read Gr[ee]k Test[ament] and took a short walk. Made my bed, and put my room tidy. Read *Christian Year*, till ½ past 10, when Mr G[arde] read the communion service as appointed for non-sacrament days. Also a long soapy sermon which almost sent me to sleep. Read some more Keble after service. They are very beautiful, so very simple, and yet bear upon the subject so well. I then took a short ride, I mean, walk, down by the river, and explored some more creaks [sic], it is very pretty in places. By the time I returned they had had mid-day service, ½ an hour before time though. After dinner, I read some very interesting travels beyond the Orange River in *Ovambo Land*⁴¹ by Galton. I hope to be able to go there some day. Missionaries have laboured there some time already. He speaks very highly of them. Mr Garde held Kafir service. I did not go. Walked out by the old clay pit, for a slight variation and then up by the Fort. There is a grand view of the surrounding hills, valleys and country. You have our little station, and river flowing, at your feet. Umhala's kraal nearly behind you on one side. His chief councillors on the other and directly behind you a dense mimosa bush. This evening for a wonder a Kafir gave me some tobacco when I asked him. Full service again in the evening. It is getting quite cold in the evenings now. Moon rises late.

Monday 4th. Somehow, though so very cold, I got all the clothes off me and thus increased a nasty cold I had before. Covernaugh preparing to start. After morning prayer, I sent men out to work. Not so many here as there usually are. I hope that nothing is up. Very few Kafirs down yesterday also. After breakfast Liefeldt read some Bible to me. (What is meant by the Ephod

40. Horse sickness frequently exacerbated frontier relations eg in 1819 and in the build up to the Mlanjeni War. It was thought to be conveyed by mosquitoes. (N Mostert, *Frontiers: the epic of south Africa's creation and the tragedy of the Xhosa people* London, 1988, p.472; Peires, *Dead will Arise*)

41. Probably Francis Galton, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 1853. It is about journeys in Damaraland.

mentioned in Judges VIII?)⁴² I was called away in the middle however to buy some mealies. I had a great deal of trouble with them. They first let me weigh them all with the steely aids, and then told me they all belonged to different people. So I had to pay for each separately. Very windy. They also brought a lot of pumpkins which I wanted but could not buy, because they all belong to different, several persons. I believe the Kafirs are up to that dodge. However they will find themselves mistaken. Read the second lesson for the day, with Liefeldt. Bought some more mealies. They come very cheap altogether now so I intend to get in a store. Had my tongue boiled for dinner; it is very good. My corneopane sounds very much better now it is has been cleaned. I hope I shall be able to get on better. Read and walked during the afternoon. Made the boys go, and wash themselves, and clothes. Kafirs wash about once in 6 weeks. Umhala sent down for some sugar. Mr Greenstock not returned according to my prophecy. Aroused just now by a peculiar noise. One poor buck stealing the horse's mealies, it had kicked it.

Tuesday 5th. In hourly expectation of seeing Mr Greenstock appear. I suppose he must be knocked up with walking in. Liefeldt read to me. I read with Mr Garde. Mealie buying this morning. It is a long operation with the Kafirs; they will not give in till they are absolutely obliged to. One told me today, in fact, nearly all do, that I do not understand how to use the steely aids. And that when the beam is horizontal it is always a shilling bag. I should soon pay away all my money if I paid them thus. Read some Greek Testament with Mr Garde but very much bothered with the Kafirs. After dinner we bought a buck for three shillings. Locker doing very little work today. Hall indoors with a bad foot. The buck looks very wild and will not let you go near it. It is the wildest I have seen. In the afternoon I walked up to the quarry with Mr Garde. We extended our walk along the road towards town in the hopes of seeing or hearing something of Mr Greenstock. Nothing however was heard. The wood pigeon and dove is a very common bird about here, and we had several pops, that is throws with our sticks at them, but not being so well practised as Kafirs we always missed. As we were returning home, the new buck pushed past us in full run with the boys after it. We also gave chase but to no purpose that night. It got secreted in the bush. The buck tumbled head over heels once down a steep hill. No Mr Greenstock.

Wednesday 6th. No appearance of Mr Greenstock during the night. Late this morning. I have a nasty cold hanging about me. Employed the men and then, with Mr Garde, set a hen. We then proceeded to mend the harmonium. Having found out one leak, we soon discovered plenty more, and at last decided upon putting leather all round. So we proceeded: it was a long and tedious job. Having to take one part off again then another, and it fully occupied our time till 12 o'clock, when we had greatly lessened the noise, and improved the force of the wind. I bought a few mealies, and some beans after chapel. But they brought them in such small numbers that you could not well buy them. As Mr Greenstock, the man told us who went in with him, was knocked up going in, we thought it likely perhaps that he was still ill, and therefore Mr Garde decided [upon] riding in directly after dinner. Liefeldt read to me, and I played the harmonium. Mr Greenstock made his appearance, over the hill, about ½ past 5, on Mr Birt's horse. I cannot get much out of him, but he was in bed all Monday. He met Mr Garde at the Ixobongo, and he went on into town, and intends to return on Friday, which will be next Wednesday I suppose. The papers have no news. No letters for anybody, but one for Mr G[arde]. I am quite in despair about my box, and think of going to the Bay.

Thursday 7th. Mr Greenstock is very much knocked up; he could hardly get through the service last night. Trying to get himself better by medicine. I tried to get a man to take the horse into town,

42. Apparently some kind of religious emblem which later became the object of idolatrous worship. In other passages it is a receptacle for the sacred lots worn by the priest (*Jerusalem Bible*, London, 1966, p.273)

but could not manage. I offered to take him myself if Mr Greenstock could get nobody else. It was lent on conditions it should be walked all the way back. Put two or three things to rights in case I had to go. Went out to the vley to fetch a buck to be killed. Set Boi to work at it. Then read some Greek Testament. We could not get anybody at 12 so I started with Mr Birt's wonderful walker. However fast a horse walks you cannot get over the ground so fast as one in a canter. So it was some time before I arrived at the Ixobongo. There I discovered my horse's back was so much the worse for the short ride. That I was quite glad to accept Covernaugh's kind offer of his horse. Some time was lost in catching it as the boy was very lazy. When I came to get on its back, it would not move and Mr Birt's would not lead. However Covernaugh kindly broke them in for me. Just after I started they stopped again, and I could not make them move for a long time. The sun set before I reached the Yellow Woods river. It was a very dark night, and I had a very lonely ride across the flats. The grey nearly pulled my arms off. It never would move when the other did and visa versa. When I reached town, Mr Birt was not at home so I had to wait sometime. Went, and spent the evening with Mr Parker. All very surprised to see me, especially Garde.

Friday 8th. So tired did I feel last night when I went from Mr Parker's that I determined on not attempting to return today. My "ducks" were made very dirty indeed by the two horses, so Mr Parker kindly lent me a pair of his; of course he did nothing but tease me about them the whole day. He came about ½ past 7 to wake me, and turned me out of bed. Had a very substantial breakfast with Mr Birt. Read Chilton's⁴³ last story in the *Grahamstown Journ[al]*. It was very good. Went with Messrs. P[arker] and G[arde] to see the Archd[eacon's] new house, and the church.⁴⁴ Saw the new auction rooms. Went to Mr G[arde's] house, his baby is one of the prettiest I have ever seen. We had a lot of legends, and of tunes of the Isle of Man. Walked down to Mr Bell's to see whether he was returned. I hear Mr Meaden is ordained. After dinner Mr Parker came to fetch me and we went to the tailor's, where he ordered two suits for me; one dress, another not. I then returned to the office and under his direction commenced a letter requesting him to proceed against Thomson Watson & Co. for non delivery of my case. I was just in the middle, and Garde was helping, when to my great surprise in walked Mr Hardie, Mr Waters of Southwell, and a Mr Pascoe⁴⁵ who is coming to stay at the station soon. The reason Mr H[ardie] had returned was because the A[rch]d[eacon] was not able to be up here so soon as expected to take the charge of mission affairs. In the evening I went to Parker's and had some very good fun, and lastly ran away with all the stakes. Mr H[ardie], Mr Waters, and myself slept at Mr Birt's, Mr Pascoe at the Union Hotel.

Saturday 9th. We are all four going out to the station today. Mr Birt could not get the waggon at the time appointed and therefore follows on Monday. Got up in the morning, and went to Mr Parker's to order several things that were to go, on the packhorse. Gave up my stakes to Mr Parker. Went and bought some handkerchiefs for the Kafirs. They are very dear in everything here. Then returning I found them already discussing breakfast. Went up town again for some medicines, and more commissariat goods. Mr Garde is to go to Alice most likely in the place of Mr Smith who is very unwell. Of course Mr Garde was there before he was told, and jumping

43. John H Chilton was running a series of articles entitled 'Recollections of a Wanderer' in the *Grahamstown Journal* at the time.

44. This would have been Holy Trinity Church in King William's Town. See Introduction, fn.29.

45. Mr Pascoe was a catechist at St Luke's. He established a school at Ixobongo outstation where he was in charge in 1856. (*Church Chronicle*, Vol.VII, No.7, August 1883, p.242). He was ill in King William's Town on the occasion of Bishop Gray's visit that year and never returned to his post. "He travelled about the country for a time with a view to recovering his health, but all to no purpose and he died shortly after (I believe) at Cape Town" (*Church Chronicle*, Vol.XI, No.11, Nov 1887, p.331).

at such conclusions that it was quite ridiculous. The Ordination⁴⁶ went off very well indeed; very large assemblage of clergy. Messrs Bankes and Allen masters of ceremonies etc. We did not start from town till about ½ past 11. I had to get small change and sundry other small things to do. Messrs Garde and Parker accompanied us out for some distance. Covernaugh's horse is a nice little creature. Very ugly colour. We had a very pleasant ride to the Ixobongo where we off saddled. I like Mr Pascoe very well. He is come out here for a change of air. He matriculated at Exeter but was not about a month well since then, in England. This country seems to agree very well with him. Covernaugh rode Grid-Iron. So I did not change horses. We reached home after dark and greatly *astonished the natives* [Mullins' emphasis]. I had plenty to do in the commissariat line till quite late. Mr Waters I like very much indeed. Very quiet. Sacrament tomorrow.

Sunday 10th. Over slept myself, and was not up till considerably after 8. However we were in plenty of time for service. The harmonium goes very well indeed. We mustered quite a large party at chapel in the morning. Mr Waters is a very amusing man with his anecdotes about sundry of his parishioners, and his next door neighbour Mr Barrow.⁴⁷ I learned the sacrament hymn after breakfast to play. We had a very pleasant service. Revd Hardie, and Waters officiated. The service I enjoyed very much indeed. I like Mr Pascoe much better the more I see of him. I hope he will soon return here. For without Mr Garde I shall be very lonely. We had a respectable congregation in the afternoon. Mr Greenstock was in a great hurry to commence service. He did not get on so well as usual today. After service I took a walk with Messr[s] Hardie, Pascoe, Waters over the hill, and round by the *Stones* [Mullins' emphasis]. These lie as though they had [been] scattered there, but I cannot believe that there has been an eruption. We had a very pleasant walk indeed. Sorry to hear last night, and confirmed today that one of our workmen Stephannes [sic] has been killed. It appears to have originated in a foolish quarrel about some beads, and terminated by him, and Moses going to fight this other young lad, when he killed S[tephannes] and Moses ran away. The Kafirs seemed very suspicious, lest we should hear it. I hope nothing serious will happen in consequence. Bucks all right. We have not entered the new kraal yet.

Monday 11th. St Barnabas. Arose late again this morning. I must get out of the habit of oversleeping myself. After service we had to wait some time for breakfast, as John cannot do both cooking and be at service at the same time. No work today, being St Barnabas. Locker doing his reims all day. Covernaugh gone out to some neighbouring kraal. I made up some money accounts with the men, and paid them money in advance. I hope I shall be more lucky than Mr Garde was in keeping the accounts. In the afternoon, Mr Hardie, Waters, Liefeldt, and myself walked up to see Umhala. I gave my *Mawo* [Mother] a red handkerchief yesterday also Mrs Slambie. She was in ecstasies. I never saw anybody so pleased. She put it on and then asked for a glass to look at herself in. We found Umhala enveloped in a dense smoke. I could hardly stay inside; the old gentleman seemed decidedly better, and looked quite cheerful. We staid there some time. He gave us some very nice milk. The other men did not make their appearances. In fact I think there was a case going on. Perhaps the one for manslaughter. For Mr Pascoe was followed and called back as he was going over towards the Genube. They said that they thought he was losing his way, but I think there was something more under it than that. We took a walk on up to the fort, and quarry. Put the entrance to the kraal to rights; the goats slept there for the first time. I forgot to mention that the Holy Communion was administered this morning by Messrs Waters, and Greenstock. Mr W[ater]s' first time.

46. Bishop Armstrong ordained H T Waters and William Greenstock as priests.

47. Revd James Barrow - see biographical notes.

Tuesday 12th. Mr Birt is expected with the waggon today. We are run short of provision in the shape of flour, and sundry small things. Very buissy all the morning in the kitchen, and looking after the few men we have at work. Mr Birt arrived on horse back about 10. The waggon was the other side of the Ixobongo drift, and had lost one of the horses, so that it could not proceed. Mr B[irt] had come to fetch Mr Hardie's old stager which is a capital draft horse. In the afternoon the four gentlemen, Mr Greenstock excluded, took a ride towards Sandilli's place. Mr Waters seemed very much pleased with the surrounding country. He has been taking sketches of the place, as they may be useful to him if he crosses the Kei. Mr Birt very late coming. The road from the Ixobongo here is very good, so we expect another accident. Mr Hardie is always amusing us with really good stories, and he seldom tells these but when he does they are really good. About 9 o'clock John came to tell us that he could hear the waggon coming down to the drift. It was coming very slowly and we could hear them reining, and unreining all down the hill, which is not much. They reached the drift and got as far through it as the hind wheels, when through very bad driving all the horses stood still and would not move. So after trying about ½ an hour, they outspanned, and left the waggon in the drift all night. Poor Mr Birt bore it all with very great equanimity; I went down with him and brought up some bedding etc.

Wednesday 13th. I got up as soon as I woke to go and help the waggon out of the drift. Counted the bucks. Then walked down with Mr B[irt]. They had not tired the horses but were carrying all the things up to the house. Young Hewitson⁴⁸ who was driving was as impudent as possible. Several things were broken etc. Mr B[irt] told us at breakfast that when he returned yesterday he found the waggon stuck in the Ixobongo; all his goods out, and scattered about the men all away, and young Hewitson gone up to Covernaugh's hut. Moreover a very unfortunate bottle of brandy he found in the river under one of the wheels, but luckily not broken. They were nearly two hours getting up the hill owing to the bad driving, and lazy horses. Cheumi a very peculiar Tamboukie⁴⁹ that used to be out here, came also with the waggon. We had for a very great treat eggs and bacon for breakfast. Mr Hardie and Waters out walking nearly all day. No news from town. I hope soon to hear from England. I am, and have been, very much disappointed as yet. Umfundese, and Cobus Congo⁵⁰ called here today, the former is by no means a good looking man. About 35 years old I should say. He looked perfectly miserable as though from the loss of cattle. He has lost nearly all. Cobus Congo, looks a regular artful old schelem [sic; *skelm*, rogue]. He never has been against us in war, but by his look does not seem to like us much. The boys lost some of the horses which kept them out a long time. Kiempi came today. He has not been before for a very long time. He seemed very pleased with a handkerchief I gave him.

Friday 15th. Mr Birt has promised for the future to wake us all pretty early by ringing the bell. Locker and Covernaugh go into town this morning.

Saturday 16th. No horse come for Locker. So he will have to wait, till Monday. About 3 o'clock this morning I heard a knock at my door but being very sleepy took no notice of it. However I heard it again and again. So arming myself with a knob kerrie, I issued forth, when I recognised the Kafir Johnny. Covernaugh had sent him for some money to buy a first rate horse. So I got early and sent it. We took a ride this morning [to] the mountain near us called the "Quebini". The morning was very hazy so we did not get a very good or full view of the surrounding country

48. Mr W Hewitson Junion went with Clayton and Garde to establish the mission at St Luke's. He was designated interpreter (USPG Archives C/AFS/5, unsigned report on founding of mission)

49. 'Tamboukie' was the word used to designate the Thembu. See note 34, Introduction.

50. Cobus Congo, Gqunukwebe chief, brother of Phato; he lived near the Umbokazi river in Phato's country according to Maclean's census in 1848.

which is exceedingly fine. The Genube flows with its pleasant murmur about 300 feet beneath. You yourself stand on the brink of a krantz that height. To the left the other side of the river, are some immense krantzes covered here and there with bush, the asphogels [sic; aasvoëls, vultures] floating about with hoarse scream. Above your head flutter some carrion crows. The hill[s] all around seem to try to vie with each other in height. It was a glorious scene, and if it had been on a clear day, you might have seen for the distance of 9 miles round. There are not many kraals about there, but what are, are very prettily situated indeed. On returning I had a race with Mr Pascoe. Old Grid-Iron pegged along very well indeed and would have beaten [him] I think if he had been properly ridden. Our station is beginning to look more lively since Mr Birt's arrival. We have a great many more hands on. I had a hard evening's work at the mission accounts. I am in sad want of money. Which will make a mess.

Sunday 17th. Almost late for service again. But being clerk, and sexton I have to toll the bell, which has very often saved me. Covernaugh has not come yet. I tried the harmonium today but to my great disgust it ciphered the middle "a" especially in Tallis's chant. I put it to its being over strained last night. C[overnaugh] arrived whilst we were in chapel in no very good humour. For Mackinnon had made a seizure of his horse, and said the horses in the country were so few that he would not allow his people to sell them. They went to Smith however and he said he would send it down if [he] paid more money. Which money they came to me for, but being Sunday of course I could not let them have it. This of course offended them very much, as they would then probably lose their horse. It was one of those strange, and tiresome predicaments one often gets into. Between conscience, and kindness. I hope I acted rightly, tho' I was sorry for them. Mr Greenstock did not give us a sermon; we have not had one for sometime. At Kafir service there was a pretty fair congregation. Mr G[reenstock] told them again that the Israelites were more like them than us. I cannot believe this, and if true it would hit very hard at a great many persons feelings to be told so. Read some Greek Testament with Pascoe. I am very glad he is coming because he will be able to help me very much in that way. Took some short walks with him, and had some most interesting conversations about Mormonites, and other sects of a late date. Sat up late.

Monday 18th. Messrs Birt and Pascoe intend going to town today. Out early this morning. We were all awake early I think for Locker and Covernaugh started about five for K[ing] W[illiams] T[own], and Liefeldt is gone to the Dunhee [sic; Dohne]. They made a tremendous row preparing. Liefeldt in particular was in very high spirits. Mr Birt and Pascoe started about 10. They return again tomorrow. As my visitor was gone I took the opportunity of turning out my house, and having a clean out. Read some Horace. Had to look after my men which occupied some time. In the afternoon we had a capital [fire] come round the hill, it seemed to sweep everything before it. The Kafirs are very buissy gathering in their crops. Took a walk down the valley to find out where the men were cutting grass. They were very buissy directly I appeared but I do not think that they had done much before. Mr Birt's man arrived with the grey horse. It has a very bad back. Mr Birt says he can cure it however. The fires increased very much towards dark, and caught the hedge of one of the numerous gardens. I am afraid several gardens will suffer. The men only began to take in the mealies a day or two ago. I said the men, the women do all that sort of work. I saw one quite a young woman with an immense pile of mealies on her head so I asked why her husband did not help, "Oh" was answered "She cost him 16 head of cattle, and so must work to help pay for that." The woman had an infant slung to her back. The fire grew so strong that I went and put out one part. Hot work.

Tuesday 19th. Saw my bucks out, and the lost ones arrived, and safe and sound. Found one buck dead in the kraal. Set several men to work before service; discovered that Grid-Iron had a bad eye. I am afraid I must have struck him in it with a stick. Mackinnon's dog has been down here

some time it is a fine pup. I tried to send it back, but directly anybody took it across the garden it ran back here again. The Kafirs are hard at work getting in their mealies. I am glad to say the fire did not touch one of the gardens as we supposed they did. The hedges were all burned down, but not one of them set the garden on fire. Looking after the men the greater part of the day. Very dull afternoon. Read some Horace and put my room in grand order. I expect Messrs Birt and Pascoe will make their appearance to day. I have been clerk and congregation lately. Boi read Kafir very well. And always says the responses in Kafir. Imbulana is beginning to read also. Messrs Pascoe and Garde made their appearance about six. Mr Birt did not appear at all. Mr Garde is come out to fetch part of his goods, and chattels. The man that brought Mr Birt's horse brought us also some newspapers, and letters, but they were directed to Mr Birt so that we did not like to open it, and consequently never knew of them [until] their arrival just now. You may guess I was truly disappointed to see 6 large letters each containing about 4 others closely written for Mr Pascoe. Not a line to poor me. So I suppose "out of sight out of mind". Perhaps however it is my own fault for not writing oftener.

Wednesday 20th. Poor Pascoe late for chapel though he did hurry to be in time. Helped Mr Garde to arrangement [sic] his things previous to starting. He was in a great fuss about his medicines and books. However we soon settled all between us. Reading Roosian news the greater part of the morning; they seem to have had a very severe repulse at the Sea-Willow. I accompanied Garde some way on the road. Made up the accounts of the station, which to my infinite delight were all correct. We waited dinner sometime for P[asco] but afterwards hunger prevailed and I gave way. I did not feel at all well during the morning, in fact I have not felt so unwell as I did this morning since I have been in the colony. In the afternoon I walked to one of the neighbouring kraals with Mr Greenstock. We had to pass thro' Keimpis, where we met Smith. He has never been so agreeable before as he was yesterday, and today more so. He was just come from town, and said Locker would soon be out. It took us some time to reach the other kraal, the topic of conversation was English history in which I was very glad to get a lesson. The women, and two or three men came to speak to us. Strange to say I have never seen but one of them before. One poor young woman, had an immense cancer in her side. They said she had had it two years. The Kafirs know very little indeed about medicine, and their remedies in most instances fail. We did not get home till after dark. Mr Birt, Locker and Covernaugh, had returned, the two later rather screwed. Bucks come.

Thursday 21st. Mr Birt aroused us this morning. I went down to see the bucks with him. It seemed very much inclined to be a wet day, but cleared off after service. We looked at Grid-Iron's eye today, and Mr Birt says that it will all come right again, and will be a first rate nag again. His bucks are a decided improvement upon ours. We have in all now 170 bucks, and it is a long job to count them. We hope soon to have cows here too. Locker looks very seedy this morning. Covernaugh left early this morning. Pascoe, and myself read some Greek Testament. Which took us some time to get through on account of sundry interruptions by Kafirs. When we went out just before 12 we found Mr Birt buissily engaged in making a new horse kraal. The stable is too small for all. We gave a hand to help the men bring down a very large mimosa. I hope soon to have some fine fowls, now Mr Birt has his. Shortest day here, and longest in England. I hope soon to have a letter. Covernaugh sent me a letter today with his warning. Mr Garde seems to have kicked up a row with him, and he does not seem to have properly recovered his senses. I think about going to the Ixobongo on Saturday to see about it. Mr Pascoe kindly helped me to mend that unfortunate harmonium that has had a very bad cough for some days past. Macready has made his appearance upon the stage again. A great many Kafirs down here today, many more than I have seen lately. Dismal evening. Smith is in favour of English

doctors, and says Kafir doctors are cheats.⁵¹

Friday 22nd. Mr Birt obliged to kill one of his best bucks this morning; he expects it was the change of diet. Set the men on to work, of which a very great many come now the wages are in some cases raised to 9d. The men I find too [sic] work a great deal better than they did. Mr Birt commenced his hut today, it is to be superior to any yet built in the Fingoe style. Pascoe and myself read some Greek Testament together. We were again however continually interrupted. I then made up some arrear accounts, and looked over Covernaugh's letters, and bills. Practised on the harmonium. Dinner rather late today. I was very much amused today; whilst playing the harmonium, an old man came in, and noticing that I did not play very high on it, asked me to: then very low, and then he said it was exactly like *Indoda's* and *Intombi's* [men's and women's voices]. Some women came in also, and seeing that I used all my fingers, told me I was very greedy [sic], that 2 were plenty. Wrote nearly all the afternoon. I hope soon to be able to commence another long yarn home. Had to pay away a great deal of money. I am quite out of cash. And forgot to send a man into town today, so that I must wait till Monday. I had some sham fights with the Kafirs, in which I put them to flight; they have very good tempers indeed. I have seen them when fighting between themselves receive very hard blows, and never make any sign of vexation. I tried my cornepean again tonight, and succeeded much better than formerly. I am afraid I have offended Pascoe.

Saturday 23rd. Intend if Grid-Iron can carry me as far to ride to the Ixobongo today with Mr Pascoe. I want to see how Covernaugh is getting on and how his commissariat account stands. Also about this fit he has taken into his head of giving warning without any apparent cause. We had a very pleasant ride to the Ixobongo. Old Grid-Iron stumbled very much and to avoid being licked ran away everytime. Having no curb I could not pull him in at all. It was very dangerous riding down the hill. I rode on some 2 miles the other side of the Ixobongo with Mr Pascoe. He is a very kind hearted fellow, on the whole I am very glad he is coming. In coming back about 1 mile the other side of the Ixobongo, old Grid *mirabile dictu* [wonderful to say] cocked his tail, laid his ears, and set off as hard as he could put feet [to] the ground.

Sunday 24th. St John the Baptist Day. Another Saint's day. Tom Juggit⁵² still keeps on his steady pace. I hope the next St John's Day may find me much improved.

Tuesday 26th. Passed a very comfortable night. Went and superintended my bucks. One poor kid dead. The bucks do not take to them well. The [Kafirs] are very regular in coming now. Slight rain. We had some capital beef for breakfast. Just after a man arrived from town sent by Mr Hardie. He brought us letters and papers. I had a letter from Mrs Armstrong. Very dry, all about groceries. The papers were very interesting. Locker amused me very much this morning in telling me the pedigrees of several leading families of Grahamstown. There has been an elopement this week of an officer of the Cape M[ounted] Rifles, and a young lady of 15. I did not do much to my room having such engrossing papers to read. I also determined upon not having a new floor put in till I go to Grahamstown. In the afternoon I commenced to dagger [plaster with mud] the sundry damaged places in my room. I do not find it such hard work as I expected. Old Keimpi and Pondu came and watched me. The former is getting much more friendly. I had to turn several Kafirs out of the kitchen, they persevere however after all one's demonstrations of anger. Mr Hardie wrote a letter to Umhala today about Mr Birt's bringing his

51. Smith, whose scepticism was probably encouraged by the missionaries, was an 'unbeliever' during the cattle-killing.

52. Tom Juggit was a nickname for Mullins himself.

cattle out here. Liefeldt translated it. There was a very good story this week by Chilton. And also the Cape Parliament likenesses were good. There were also all the derivations of the names of Kafir chiefs. Very good and very malicious.

Sunday 1st July 1855. Mr Birt being absent I had to do all my old work. Fed the horses. And then went to the bucks. All right. Had some bother with the kids. Had a very pleasant morning service. Looked after my chicken. I am afraid I should not make a very good herder. Had not very much time to practise before service. I lost the knife Miss Bellers gave me so long ago. But strange to say after looking about some time, I found it far away from the house; where I had run after a kid in the morning, and had dropped it from my pocket. We have not yet received any news of the lost bucks. Only five at the 'Holy Communion'. No sermon. After service the harmonium having got the stomach ache again I took it to pieces with Liefeldt's help, but I am sorry to say that though we worked till after dinner we could not amend the noise. Quite a good congregation of Kafirs. Mackinnon, Umhala's son and a great many others were present. I gave Jem a new handkerchief. Had a long dispute with Mr and Mrs Hall upon the observance of Sunday. Went to fetch in the horses, counted the bucks etc. I have had no time to write today. The horses are very much fresher lately. The young grass is beginning to grow very well. Could not play the instrument in the evening. Had a very pleasant talk with Mr Hardie about church music, parish clerks, and sundry other church matters. Windy evening. Very fine evening, and moon. Could not do much writing.

Sunday 2nd September 1855. The little American clock generally wakes me as it strikes six. My head is full of my box to-day. Learned St Anne's tune this morning, and St James'. I hope now to be able to pay more attention to music in general. Mr Greenstock gave me the words of the 63 Psalm which we sing at Kafir service. Liefeldt took me to see a very large serpent he had found dead. It is almost the largest I have seen. Mr Greenstock looks very unwell. He takes a great deal too much medicine. I hope Mr Hardie will be able to stop him when he comes. We all tell him of it but he continues to do it. We are having a series of sermons on the Lord's Prayer by the Bishop of Tasmania. In the afternoon I took a walk up to the top of the flag staff hill. The pole is a very good one, but the flag is much too small. I then wrote my letters. To Mrs Armstrong, Messrs Lloyd, Allen, Bankes. We had a very good Kafir congregation. Neither Locker, nor Covernaugh here today. It was one of the nicest congregations we have had. [Mo?] wanted me to give him a coat so that he might make it into a pair of trousers. I am looking forward with very great pleasure to the arrival of my box. The Kafirs seem all right again now. M[ess]rs Birt and Pascoe go into town tomorrow. Mr Hardie comes on Tuesday. We are to have a horse-waggon to take the Locker's away. Gave all my directions to Mr Birt, about the stores that are coming out. Mr Greenstock took another dose tonight.

Tuesday 3rd. Actually Mr Pascoe came into my room, a little after 4 o'clock to ask for his keys. He was in a great hurry and bustle, but after all kept Mr Birt waiting sometime. He is a very queer fellow. Very fond of eating and drinking, especially ale. I was up very early this morning. My accounts have to be made up today, as it is the end of the quarter. Set the men on to work but I was soon obliged to call them away as it came onto rain so fast. Bought some mealies, and kafir corn. We still have a supply coming in. I am sorry to say my accounts were rather in a mess, so that it took me some time to make them out. Liefeldt came to me for his Latin lesson. He is getting on much better. My little dog Monkey has quite lost his good education. I had to give him a bastinadoing today. Mr Smith has entirely spoilt him. He is growing a nice little dog. I shall be sorry to part with him. Mr Pascoe's little dog is such a queer little fish. It looks more like a door mat than anything else. Covernaugh came over from the Ixobongo, to bring his account. I long for Mr Hardie's arrival. Very fine day after all. The rain blew over. I found 17 eggs

on the top of one of the huts. Our eggs are beginning to flow in now. I wish we had a person who would look after the bucks. Mr Birt does not take enough care of them. They are dying away very fast. The kids, *Heu! spem gregis* [Alas the hope of the flock]⁵³ are all going fast. Our best bucks that were, have it worst. The man has not arrived from town. He is to bring a cat for the benefit of rats in general.

Thursday 4th. Hall kindly aroused me this morning. Quite a day of expectation today, as Mr Hardie is coming. Made my room in order. Put the men on to work as Mr Birt desired. They worked very well this morning. Wrote and made up Ixobongo accounts this morning. Mr Greenstock removed his bed from my room, which has greatly enlarged it. The man we sent in Saturday did not arrive till late in the evening, when he brought us some books, a letter from home I am glad to say, and word that Mr Hardie would not be out till tomorrow. In the afternoon I rode the chestnut some way hoping I should meet them. I left Mr Birt's little terrier behind, but it caught me up [about] 5 miles away. Being a very hot day I rode very slowly, only walked till I came close to the top of the Ixobongo hill, then I cantered all the way home. It is a famous little horse if not so fat, and [if it did] not tumble down. My letters and some few old newspapers were enough employ for the evening. Umhala told a man the other day to tell Mr Greenstock that he must come, and see him. Of course it was a begging case. We have had not [sic] colonial news lately. A very pretty cat was sent out by the man today. Umsondolo, who was sent to Sandilli returned tonight also. The waggon does not come till next week. No news of Locker. I suppose he is in the lock-up. Mr Hardie has kindly sent out some classical books; also a lot of new account books, so I am afraid more work is in store for me.

Sunday 2nd. December 1855. Advent Sunday. As the Church commences her year on this day, and as I am sorry to find I have broken all my resolutions made at the beginning of May, I now intend to try to keep resolutely the *determination of keeping a daily account of my* [Mullins' emphasis] transactions. Tom Juggit. As the old man said of the clock maker. I am afraid I go on down, down, instead of up, up. Very nasty weather drizzle [sic] and now and then a sharp shower. The Principal is sleeping my room as his is occupied by the new magistrate and wife, Major Gawler. We hope soon to have a matron. This will relieve me from my commissariat duties. Hurrah! I long to be out of the kitchen; it is woman's work after all. Read Carwithen⁵⁴ in the morning. In the afternoon I wrote to Robins, and part of a letter home. Took a stroll with Pascoe. Mr Greenstock is better today. Smith has returned from Kreli's. He had great difficulty in crossing the Kei. We have had very bad weather lately. Mr Birt prophecies [sic] fine tomorrow. I find the pair of boots the Bishop sent me very useful in this slippery [sic] weather. We look forward with great eagerness for an English mail. We have heard nothing for a very long time. Mr Greenstock goes to Grahamstown in a fortnight with Mr Hardie. Pascoe is also going out so I suppose I shall be left in charge. I often think of school days now. Especially those during Advent at Shoreham. I used to enjoy the early morning Lauds service, and having school by gass [sic] light.

Monday 3rd. Up pretty early this morning. Mr Hardie not able to start on account of the wet. Practised on the harmonium. Had the boys to their singing lesson after breakfast. They get on pretty well now. Had a run after some fowls for dinner. We have trained Mr Birt's grey hound to run them down. It is very good fun to see him get a mouth full of feathers now and then. Read some Roman history with Mr Pascoe this morning. After I had finished I went to put the room to rights,

53. Vergil *Ecloques*, I, line 15.

54. J B S Carwithen, *The History of the Church of England*, 3 Vols (London, 1829).

but found Mr Hardie, had to [sic] red visitors,⁵⁵ Mackinnon [Makinana] and Smith. I was only just in time to prevent Smith sitting down on my sheets. Put the commissariat tidy, all ready for Mrs Sedgley,⁵⁶ who I am glad to say, has arrived at Algoa bay. I long for the time when she will relieve me of my commissariat duties. Had the boys to their Latin⁵⁷ and in the afternoon I wrote home and finished up my letters to Simmons etc. Dressed my pumpkins and flowers. I have as much as I can do before Mr Hardie returns. The floor will take me a long time I am afraid. And I have to build a fowl house, and make up all the quarter accounts. The horses had a very good race this evening. Mr Birt's winning. Umsondolo arrived about 3. No English mail. In the evening I had Liefeldt to look over his exercises. These were very poor indeed.

Tuesday 4th. Still very dull indeed tho' not raining. Practised before chapel. Mr Hardie started soon after breakfast for the D[ohne?] post. I had a great many notes and orders to write to town. And then had to despatch a man off with Amafata. I then started on the grey with Pascoe to the Ixobongo, to see Wright about the mistake he has in his accounts. About half-way we were overtaken by a smart shower but managed to keep dry by getting into a bush. Wright gave us a capital luncheon off cold boiled beef, and brandy and water. He did not remember anything about £2 which Mr Birt had given him. He is getting on very well from what I could see, with the house. I think it will be very strong. We rode back just in time for dinner. After which I started with Kicha and the wheelbarrow to fetch over bricks for my floor. The top bricks were very bad indeed but as I got lower down they got a little better. I only brought over two barrowfuls (60). But after tea, with the help of the three boys, I managed to convey about 100 more down to the drift. I got very tired over it; we have to bring them all about ¼ of a mile. I hope to lay some of them tomorrow. Went down to Pascoe in the evening. The Kaffirs come in great numbers for work, and the money goes very fast for workmen. We never get any good bread now Mrs Hall is gone. It is very provoking.

Wednesday 5th. Up pretty early this morning, could do but little to my brick floor. Pascoe began to grumble about the bread, and tho' not directly he hinted at my bad management etc. This of course set me off, and we had a row. Well I thought no more about it. But after I had had the boys to music and had fetched 3 or 4 barrowfuls of bricks over, what should I find in my room but one of the queerest notes ever penned. Requiring an answer etc. I had a great mind not to send one, but I thought it would make matters worse, so in about an hour's time I wrote a short note, telling him that it only took one of two parties to break off an intimacy as he called it, and therefore it was broken. I saw the fragments of it afterwards throw[n] in a tub outside his room for everybody to see, and read. However I am not at all sorry matters have come to such a close. I brought over about 180 bricks in the morning. And after dinner with the boys help I laid about one third of my room. I think they will answer very nicely. Expecting the man from town all the evening. However he did not make his appearance. A good number of Kafirs down here today. Mackinnon stays down here nearly all day now. After tea we brought the rest of the

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55. The distinction between 'red' and 'school' people among the Xhosa was originally a distinction between heathen, traditional and ochre-using people on the one hand, and the Christian educated and Westernised Xhosa on the other. The distinction is still in use in some areas, although the 'school' Xhosa is not necessarily a Christian today. (See B A Pauw 'Universalism and particulars in beliefs of Xhosa-speaking Christians' in M G Whisson and M West (eds) *Religion and Social Change in Southern Africa*, Cape Town, 1975, p.154)
56. Appointed matron at St Luke's where she taught the girls industrial skills, Mrs Sedgely moved later to St John's, Kubusi, then to St Matthew's, Keiskammahoek, and finally to the Kafir Institution in Grahamstown. In 1864 she resigned leaving the mission field altogether. (USPG Archives, Greenstock to SPG, 5.1.1856)
57. Mullins taught the missionary assistants Latin and singing.

bricks up from the drift. Norton who is always very careless broke several, but little Taylor got on capitally. He is a merry little fellow.

Thursday 6th. St Nicholas. Beati Mundi corde [Blessed are the pure in heart]. I [was] so tired that I overslept myself last night. But was up in time for chapel. Put down some more of the floor before breakfast. Went on after I had heard the boys music, and worked till about 11, when I finished all my bricks. I had consequently to get a man to help me bring over some more. I had some bother to get one, but at last succeeded; he worked away very well indeed. It took some time to bring them over; I had also the boys to hear their Latin so I did not do much more till three o'clock and then I worked away till six, when I managed to finish it after a fashion. It looks very bad now as it is a[ll] sprinkled over with earth to fill in between the bricks. Messrs Birt and Pascoe gone over to the Nahoon to look at the proposed site for the new buildings. I hope to finish off all tomorrow and to begin making up the accounts. They will take me a long time I am afraid. I have not looked at them for a week. We are very much pestered with hawks here. They have taken away several of the chickens already, and still persevere in trying. There are also some sort of night-hawks about here. The hens lay on the tops of the huts and then they come and feast during the night. There is also another nightly pest, in the shape of a cat. We have the kittens; she is half-wild, and comes and howls all night long. I have visited her with my sambok once or twice.

Friday 7th. Quite a market here this morning, what with a cow and very fat buck, and plenty of fowls.⁵⁸ Finished my room after breakfast and commenced putting it tidy. Mr Birt after a great deal of bother succeeded in buying the cow for £1.5. It was very small but fat. We could not get the buck; it is the largest I have ever seen brought to the station. The workmen bought it after all, I believe. Went on and with some bother managed to finish my house in the morning. In the afternoon I commenced accounts. Pascoe and Greenstock went over the hill today to some kraal. Pascoe let his horse loose without knee haltering him, the creature very quietly took to its heels, and ran away nearly all the way etc. They despatched a Kafir after it upon the grey, who managed to catch it. Poor grey gets in for plenty of work. It is as thin as a whip[p]ing post. Had Liefeldt in, in the evening to help me do the accounts I could not get on very fast. Those of the Ixobongo are all in a mess.

Saturday 8th. All buissy today. Mr Birt commenced to cut up the beef. I began my accounts. Pascoe off to town.

58. This is one of a number of indications that the frontier inhabitants were being drawn into a money economy; they sold their labour and their surplus produce. The people were quick to respond to the possibilities for trade which the mission created.

CHAPTER FIVE

*At St John's Bolotwa
1 October 1856 - 31 March 1857*



Preaching to Kafir at Tshaka's Kraal

October 1st 1856. Up early. Saul had not looked after our horses, and the poor creatures were looking very hollow. We managed to get the key and feed them, and then walked home to breakfast. Wished Mr Brown¹ and family good bye and started. Mr John Shepstone² with us. He is a very amusing, and instructive traveller having had so much to do with the natives. Met Mr Warner and afterwards Mr Bertram.³ Off saddled at Mrs Warner's. Found all right on my return. Faku⁴ came with 2 of his great men. Mr Waters says they are killing over there.⁵ A very

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1. J C Brown, a Queenstown trader, who was prominent in Anglican and in civic affairs. He helped to establish the Queenstown Mission Church in 1862.
 2. Revd John William Shepstone: see biographical notes.
 3. H Bertram: a district inspector of police. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1856*)
 4. Faku was a member of the Tshatshu [Thembu] people. Mullins had a school of 90 to 100 pupils at Faku's homestead which was situated four miles from the mission. (R Gray, *Visitation of Grahamstown Diocese 1856*, SPCK, London, 1857, p.48; Mullins to SPG, 6.10.1857 and 15.1.1858)
 5. On 11 September 1856 the Civil Commissioner at Queenstown reported that stock were being sold at one-eighth of their value to traders and others. Believers had started to slaughter their cattle. "This may be without the authority of their chiefs, but cannot be without their knowledge." Warner, in sundry reports, confirmed that the killing had started and that it was spreading rapidly (SA Archives, LG.260). In these reports Sarhili was shown as being conciliatory towards the Thembu. Worsely notes that millenarian movements strive to unify, to overcome divisions and to weld previously hostile and

large meeting at Quesha's today to hear news. They are going to plough. Dahralla asking about the cattle again. I hope all will blow over now the soldiers are arrived.⁶ I fancy matters are more at a crisis than when the first disturbance took place. John came in the evening to say that his father had sent a message for him. I believe it to be a lie. I shall not let him go till I have had a letter from his father, and if he goes now he shall leave his coat behind. Just like the Hottentots come for a time and then bolt away all of a sudden for no reason.

Thursday 2nd. Read service etc. About 8 o'clock John made himself scarce. I paid off the men and sent a letter to Mr Waters. I asked Klass to stay, only he did not seem inclined. Shut up my house and started for Phillip's.⁷ He was coming to Dahralla's to drink beer. They had made 7 large tub fulls. Had about 16 to school, and asked Tebi to come and live with me. Found a dance going on at Dahralla's on account of so much beer. A great many present. Swept the house, and washed dishes etc. Read and then brought up the horses. Shobu⁸ says I must keep some body always on the place. They all seemed quite surprised at the idea of my sleeping by myself.

Friday 3rd. Up early and started for Yoliswa. Left my hut in charge of one of Shobu's wives. Very cold morning. Found only Yoliswa at home. They had had a large dance over Nontushi for 3 days. I saw a person making a garden. Had school. And gave away some shirts etc. All very much pleased. Just after I started Umvunthla came running after me. Rode on to Riba's. He said I could have a school any time I liked there. But the children were away at the fair today. Held school at Faku's, made them a small present. On my return I fell in with Mr Perks.⁹ Found Mr Shepstone at my place and Swartboy with goods. Made some bread. Went to bed early as we were tired.

Saturday 4th. Whilst we were at breakfast Mr Perks came up to tell me that Mrs Water's wagon was outspanned close by. Saw Mr Shepstone off and then walked down there. Sent Swartboy. To Darling station¹⁰ with a letter for Governor. Saw Mrs Waters and children, and went on to Tede's. They were milking so I went on to Manseola's. Taught there, and returned to Tede's. Very few indeed. 13 wagons passing today. Had some chat and bread and cheese with Mr Perks and then came home. Swept house, got fire wood and made square for Sunday. Before I went to Yoliswa's yesterday Dahralla asked me about the oxen and yokes. Saw no killing all yesterday. I asked Yoliswa for news about Umthle-kaza [Mhlakaza?]. Also whether the people were raised, she said *Cuma* [it is growing].¹¹

separate groups together into a new unity'. (P Worsely, *Trumpet*, London, 1957, p.227). Dr T Stapleton in his recent work on Maqoma claims a very different interpretation viz that the Cattle-Killing was essentially a revolt of commoners against chiefs.

6. The 85th Regiment arrived in September, 1856. (See Lombard, *Queenstown*, Archives Year Book, Cape Town, 1952, p.168)
7. Philip (whose name Mullins spells variously) was brother of Ndarhala. There was a school at his homestead. (See i.a. Gray, *Visitation*, p.48, and *Church Chronicle*, Vol.IV, No.6, July 1883, p.214)
8. Shobu was a brother of Ndarhala (information from H Weir).
9. J C Perks was a Queenstown trader advertising regularly in the *Queenstown Free Press* in 1863.
10. Darling Station was a police post on the Swart Kei river.
11. *Cuma* means 'It flourishes'. Her answer indicates that the killing was gathering momentum. (M Barkun, *The Millenium*, New Haven, 1974, p.115)

Sunday 5th. Quite surprised when I awoke this morning to find the sun high up. It must have been somewhere about 7 o'clock. I made haste and got up. But before I had time to make a fire my children were come down to school. After school I rode down to Philip's, but could find nobody at home. I hoped to have had a good school there, but I am afraid it seems rather a failure. I read some time after my return, and had 4 children to school again. I then sent for Nogood (they were about an hour bringing him up,) and then rode to White Kei. Saw Mr Johnson¹² on the road. Found them all well. Spent a pleasant evening talking over war etc. Saw the Governur's [sic] letter to Krili. I should say that it frightened His Royal Highness. Mr Waters' account was very interesting. Very decided.

Monday 6th. Julia's birthday.¹³ After service breakfast etc I put the books together that I wanted and intended to be off. But they were so long fetching the horses that I had time to spare. Walked down to the winkle [sic; winkel, shop]. Saw Mr Perks. Mr Waters settled up accounts with me and gave me a cheque. Old Nogood was in a tremendous fidget this morning. The man could hardly hold him. Arrived home about 1. Had school. Put all the books ready for another quarter. Have to sleep by myself again tonight as I have no boy yet that I like.

Tuesday 7th. Not up again till after the sun. Put my hut in order etc and had school. Very few. Philip brought back the horse just after breakfast. Very large beer party going on. Went to turn old Chessman after the other horses, and then started for Manseola's and Tede's. Bad attendance at the last place. Always milking etc there. There was a large dance going on at the kraal where they were beer drinking. Nobody at the winkle though it was so crowded yesterday. Read some Gr[ee]k Test[ament] and wrote to Messrs Green and Smith. Had school again and went to find two of the horses. As I was returning Dahralla ran down from the road into the gardens, and asked me to kill a buck, as he had been drinking very much beer and wanted meat. I asked him if it was right for a chief to come and tell a black man to kill bucks because he was hungry. He said I was his chief he always told all his people so I told him I was going to kill tomorrow. He begged very hard for today, but I thought if I gave way there, I should have to give way again. Brought water and wood etc. Cevu arrived for Kei at night.

Wednesday 8th. Up early. Sent Cevu off with letters. Received a note telling with [sic; that] the wagon had brought plough etc to the winkle. I walked down and gave them over to Dahralla. Went up to his place and put the plough, and things in order. We did not know the places for the oxen and so could not get them to move the plough, [but did] about 3 furroughs [sic] so we gave it up in despair; went home and read. Heavy thunderstorm came on. I went and turned the horses into the thorns. Fell asleep, when I woke the storm was over, but I could not see the horses anywhere. Found them by an hour's walk etc under Jonas' kraal, Nogood leading them away. Read Gr[ee]k Test[ament] etc. 2 or 3 heavy showers. Had school. Rode down in the evening to see Mr Perks. Read, but soon fell asleep again. Cevu not returned.

Thursday 9th. Old Jerry [Mullins' greyhound] and the mice kept me awake till very late last night, and consequently I quite overslept myself. Mr Perks coming to borrow my saddle was the first thing that woke me, and I found it quite day. Put up the flag for the children to come down. They did not come so I went off to Philips. He was not at home again, and the children all gone to a dance. I am always disappointed in that quarter now. Killed a buck. I had to help myself as it

12. Johnson was probably a Queenstown trader. R Johnson received a grant of land in the Queenstown division. (SA Archives, Report of W Hare, Special Commissioner, 4.4.1856)

13. Julia was the daughter of Revd Waters.

was coming on wet. Had school and read as well as the noise of the children would allow me. Mayreman came with Dahralla's man to see about the oxen etc. Rather heavy rain. D[ahralla] came bothering for a buck again and then his wives. I do not like it at all because he must know [the missionary?] would supply him with meat. Cevu not returned.

Friday 10th. Up early. Mayreman put everything right just like an English servant. Dahralla passed going down to the winkle and said he would be back soon to plough. I walked up with Mayreman, and put all ready to commence, but seeing several people enter my house I was obliged to walk home again. Found Cevu there. No letters for me again. I am most unlucky. Sent off Cevu and then went back and ploughed a land for Dahralla. He wanted me to come again, and said Mayreman must stay to drive. When I got home I found horses all gone. Set off for school at Tede's but not seeing the horses I went in search of them. I could not find them anywhere, and after about 3 hours on coming back found them quite close to where they should be. Wrote to Mr Waters. Mayreman took note. Children not at school. I find my schools are getting very bad, worse and worse. Fingoe wagon arrived at Dahralla's today. Very hot day, and tired at night.

Saturday 11th. Up just after sunrise. Found old Chessman close at hand. Left my house in the care [of] Geshile and started for Yoliswa. I had a very pleasant ride not too hot yet. Met one of her great men on the road and he told me she had gone the day before to Nonesi who had sent for her. I went on calling at Riba's. He was not at home, had gone out. I left a pair of trousers for him and said I would teach them on my return. Met James at a kraal close to Yoliswa's. They were just taking in the cattle to milk so I had to wait till the operation was over. Made some tea, and had a good draught of sweet milk then I went to my accustomed seat, and read the Psalms and lessons for the day. The children began to gather now, and I was just going to begin, when Bobojohn arrived. He sat for some time quiet, and then asked whether the people in the Bolotwa were ploughing. I said nobody but Dahralla that I had seen. He then went on talking in Dutch a long time. I could just make out that it was about the prophet. At last I told him to talk in Kafir as I could understand that much better. I asked him whether the people there were not going to plough? He turned round and pointed "There are the gardens" but added something about ploughing himself. (I think he has, for close to his kraal is a large piece of land dug which must be his I think). I asked him whether the people then believed Umthlakaza. He spread out his arms and said *Bonke Bonke* [all, all]. I told him they would all be hungry very soon. He went on talking and I pointed out where I thought they were all going wrong. He said the people would want food, and then catching hold of an old aloe leaf he said "If you give that to Krilli and Buhu¹⁴ would they eat it? No. He would not; no more would his people, and then they will steal, and then War.¹⁵ He said he would not stay with his people but would go to the *Abelungu* [white people]. He said the Krili sent them word several times. He appeared to be sincere, but you have to be very careful before you can believe a Kafir. I told him that soldiers were coming into the colony every day. And Krili would be soon made to be quiet. He then left. I had a good number to school. My mother brought me a cake and I then started. At Riba's the people did not much seem to wish me to teach. I did however manage to get 8 girls and 4 boys; to start with I asked them whether they were going to plough[;] one of the women asked where was the rain. I said what came the day before yesterday? Oh! that was

14. Brhurhu, brother to Hintsu and uncle to Sarhili, was the second most powerful man in Gcalekaland. (Information from J Peires)

15. Bobojohn saw the risk of war: many settlers and administrators believed that war was deliberately intended. (J Peires, *The Dead will arise*, Johannesburg, 1989, p.218 ff)

not enough, they wanted a great deal before they could plough! I forgot to say when I asked Bobojohn whether they were going to kill their cattle he said No! Rode on to Faku's. Had a good number to school. Plenty of begging again. Got home before sundown. Found Cevu had not come so I was obliged to do all the household work again. Made bread and roasted some meat. Another large beer meeting today down under the mountains. I think that is where they hatch treason.

Sunday 12th. I was in bed very late last night. Up just after sunrise. Had breakfast and put all in order. Before I had finished reading the service for the day, Umsebo and 2 others came down. They were all that were coming. I then started for Philip's. I found him grooming his charger. He immediately went and brought me a good school, his man was not so successful. I was sitting under a tree waiting for them (it is the hottest day we have had) when a man came up to me whom I immediately recognized as Yoliswa's outrider. He said she wanted to speak to me. She was in that hut. I went and found her, Riba, and Umvunthla, and some other man. I had noticed several strangers about, but did not think it was her train. Common remarks only passed. She must have been here two nights I think for they had apparently killed a cow. I afterwards saw her start, with I should think 12 men at least. Riba did not go with them. She told me on her return she should come to my place. There is evidently something going on of importance. From what I could see Philip seemed to fight shy of her people altogether. I saw some of her men that I know to be great shurkers[?]. It was oppressively hot during school time, the poor children were streaming with perspiration. My horse got quite unmanageable coming home; he bolted and when I gave him curb it made it twice as bad. I had to turn him up hill. He would go at nothing but a galop. Just after I passed Dahralla's he went off again but wanted to stop at my place however I was determined to take it out of him, and kept him on full swing to the winkle. The man there seems a decent sort of fellow. I should say a Wesleyan. He kindly gave me a cup of coffee for which I was very thankful after the heat etc. Wrote and read. The four children only came again to school. Dahralla passed in the evening and I told him I must have them every day. Put all right for the night. Lovely moon light, and went to bed.

Monday 13th. Up before the sun for a very great wonder. Put all my household affairs square. Very few to school again. Found my poor dog's feet in a very bad state. The thick skin peeled quite off. Loads of people at the winkle. Saw another plough being taken up to Dahralla's, so I suppose he is ploughing in earnest. Went to Manseola's and Tede's. Pretty good number at both places. Very hot again could hardly move about in the hut. Read during the afternoon. Had school again with better attendance. Read Gr[ee]k in the evening. Very hot.

Tuesday 14th. No children to school this morning. Sent man with the cows. Rode to Philip's could only get 2 boys there. I saw all the children run away into the bush when they saw me. All my schools seem to go wrong. Saw Mr Perks going to Queenstown. Reynolds¹⁶ arrived, he is sending his wife to town. Read during afternoon. Klass Whiteboy came to drive for Dahralla; he is ploughing with two ploughs. I cannot see anybody else doing anything. Heard from Mr Waters twice today. Hans not come. Horses gave me a great deal of bother today, and just after sundown as I was going to turn them up, I saw Nogood quietly walk up the mountain. Very tired and sleepy. Fell to sleep over my Gr[ee]k Test[ament]. Went to bed early.

Wednesday 15th. Dahralla was down pretty early. He came to tell me I must keep Klass Whiteboy,

16. Reynolds was the agriculturalist and builder at St Mark's Mission. (USPG Archives, Waters to SPG, 25.12.1857)

because he had no coffee etc. I told him he must send me a buck. He said he had none, but that he would give me 2/6. Paid Geshile 2/6 for milking. Made D[ahralla] promise to send his children to school for 2/6 per month. He sent them all down this morning. Read some time and then walked up to see how the ploughing went on. They have done a good deal. Went to Manseola's. At Tede's I could not get any children. Read till sundown. Killed a buck. D[ahralla] came very coolly to ask for some meat. I would not give him any. I asked him today why his people did not plough; he said they all believed Umthlakaza. I hope however some will follow their chiefs example. Rode down in the evening. Mr Perks had not arrived from Queenstown. I am very anxious indeed to hear from home and the Bay. I almost live on the hopes of the post. Horses very quiet today. No trying to run away.

Thursday 16th. Dahralla was down very early. He came to ask me to *lend* him of the one of the shillings out of his 2/6. I told him that I would not till the month was over. He said it was his money not mine. He begged hard but I would not give in. I told him also that I must look out to be paid for keeping his man. He then seemed to go away very angry. I waited for the children to come to school but none appeared except Nomabongu all day. So I suppose he thinks he will get it by keeping the children back. Made some bread and butter. Read, and then repaired the stable, and altered the eating place. Planed some board for the letters, and made a new door for my hut, the door Dick made having gone all to pieces. Put on hinges, lock etc. This took me working hard till sundown. Cut some fire wood. Klass Whiteboy went to the winkle and sent back to say he would be back early tomorrow morning. Turned out Chessman at night as I am going to Yoliswa's tomorrow. Very tired and sleepy.

Friday 17th. Just up in time to let Mr Jones¹⁷ in with the newspaper and a letter from Lloyd about my box which he sent to Grahamstown, where it has been a long time. Rode down to the winkle just took a look at the papers and back again. Plenty more troops coming in now. Had breakfast and rode off for Yoliswa's. Just as I got to Faku's old Chessman stumbled, and jerked the bridle out of my hands breaking it in two places. The boys managed to catch him. Left an alphabet there, and also at Riba's. Found all write [sic] at Yoliswa's. Had a capital school. No ploughing done. They asked me continually about Dahralla's ploughing. My old mother did not give me anything to eat today, but we made some coffee. Found Riba at home on my return. Had a few to school. Umvumthla rode up, whilst we were there. So I suppose Yoliswa is on her way home. I found out that the garden ploughed was Bobojohn's. At Faku's Bacela asked if D[ahralla] was ploughing. I told him "yes". He said they were all stupid and were not going to plough. I told him he would have to eat stones. That Umthlakaza told lies. I had pretty good attendance. Rode home rather fast as it was storming and beginning to rain a little. Fed horses etc. Dahralla came in before I had time to have a cup of coffee. He was talking about the broken plough which I promised to see about tomorrow. He went on talking. I told him everybody was asking me about Dahralla's ploughing. And of course the conversation turned to Umthlakaza. He asked me what I thought of him. I said all he says is lies. I went into my room then. But he said to me come and sit down, and tell me about Umthlakaza. So I began "He tells you to stop. He said stop. Do you believe what you see with your eyes"? "Yes" I said. "Well, he shews you people coming out of the water." I asked, "At night?" "Yes, and in the day too!" "An Englishman told me about that he only shews you rocks and makes you believe they are men. There was never but one person on the earth that could raise the dead. That was the Son of God." We went on talking a long time. I told him the people would starve if they did not plough. He asked why the English

17. F H Jones, general merchant and auctioneer in the Hexagon, Queenstown and in 1859 churchwarden of the Anglican Church (Information, M Weir; advertisement in the *Queenstown Free Press*, 24.2.1863)

did not go to see Umthlakaza. I told him he would never be such a fool as to let an Englishman go near him. Besides it was not an Englishman's place. I asked whether the people talked. Yes. I told him about ventriloquism. He said he had heard a Fingoe do that. I told him Umthlakaza was only a very wicked man, but that if he would make my dog run after I had cut his throat I would believe him. We went on again about him and talked for about ½ an hour. When he again asked why we did not go to see him, I said I can sit here and tell you his lies; what is the use of my going to come and tell you the same. No I can sit here, and answer all your questions about such a wicked man without going all that way. So ended our conversation.¹⁸ Kani was present the whole time. He (D[ahralla]) said he forgot to send the children yesterday. Up till late reading and writing making up accounts etc.

Saturday 18th. St Luke [the] Evan[gelist]. Very windy indeed. Read service for the day and some of Short. Children came down to school. I do not know how to manage with them some are before and some behind; I can hardly get two to pull together. Old Shobu came home today. Isincaka and another of Yoliswa's *Pakati's* [amphakati: counsellors] came. They said the Warner had told them to plough and not kill their cattle. They said they were only waiting for the rain. He told them to bring Riba and Faku because they had been to see Umthakaza. I asked whether Riba had seen him. They answered "Warner said so." Isincaka is Kapapa's own brother (1 mother). Horses gave me a great deal of trouble today. Wrote and read in the evening. Mended my bridle etc and did several other small pieces of work.

Sunday 19th. Not up as early as I wished. I did not get over to Mr Waters till just after their service. Nogood went very well along over the flats. David had all his children down to school. We had some very beautiful singing. I was quite delighted, and bound myself under a promise to go over every Sunday so long as the river was passable.

Monday 20th. It began to rain last evening late. The Kafirs stole my best reim off Nogood. I was not able to start because of this rain today. Mr Waters would not think of letting me go. I read Kafir with him, and read the rest of the day.

Tuesday 21st. The horses were not brought in last night. Very wet again. I could not go. Read Kafir and spent the day much the same as yesterday. Horses brought home about middle day and another reim of master Nogood [missing]. Very wet. The river rising.

Wednesday 22nd. Made up my mind to start this morning and as Philip Nguka was going to Queenstown to give himself up we all rode in company. Not much water in the river. I taught the children and just as I finished Mr Reynolds arrived from St Marks. He had come to put the handle onto the plough Dahralla had. I went up to help him. D[ahralla] gone on very well with the ploughing. And was ploughing during the rain. It took us a long time to mend the plough. We had not been home very long before Mr Perks called from King W[illiam's] Town. He brought papers and some letters for Mr Waters. Finding the rain was not likely to leave off, and as Mr Waters had made me promise to come back if I found it so, I returned with Messrs Reynolds, Perks, Yetty and Taylor,¹⁹ and Perk's boy. Stallmaster was very fresh and would on no account be quiet. I tried him with and without curb, but it was all the same, as soon as ever

18. Typically, and not surprisingly, Mullins failed to understand the prophecies in their social and anthropological setting. (V Lantenari, *Religions of the Oppressed*, New York, 1963, p.93)

19. R Taylor was magistrate at King William's Town and a church warden at Holy Trinity Church. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1856*)

a horse started off ("for Perks and Reynolds did nothing but race,") off he went full galop generally taking the lead too. Perks said he would give me eight for him, and afterwards £10. However I would not sell him. He is so very easy and pleasant in his paces. Altogether we had a capital spree. The river about the same as it was in the morning. Mr Waters received a letter from Miss Gray²⁰ to say she was in K[ing] W[illiam's] Town so it was decided that I should start the next morning to fetch her up. Rained very heavily during the night.

Thursday 23rd. Up traps in order, and started for Bolotwa. Found river rather more up than yesterday. Willy Skippers [Scheepers] went with me riding a horse of Mr Waters as far as my place. When I had to take my three on. Rained very heavily just after I got to my place but as I found Mr Perks was going the same way I determined on going on. Old Chessman broke away after the saddle was on him and made away for about half an hour. We both rode after him, but Nogood got so very restless that I was obliged to retreat. I waited for Perks till I got to the top of the hill and then we rode to a farm close by the wagon road. When we reached his cart he offered me a seat which I gladly accepted, his boy riding my horse. To the Swart Kei. This we found up. Met Mr Thompson,²¹ and Declerk there, Mr Thompson crossed the stream; he had police money with him, so was rather afraid at first. His horse also stood still in the middle and looked at it. He got through however in safety. Mr Perks was however afraid for his cart so we determined to wait till the morning. Mr Griffiths²² arrived afterwards from Queenstown, with a Mr Taylor of the 13th Regiment. It rained heavily during the evening. We sat up till late talking over all sorts of adventures.

Friday 24th. River about the same. Perks sent his boy through on the horses (one following the other as they always do), but he thought it was too high to go through with the cart. Griffiths and Taylor next went through. When I saw that all went right with them I determined upon going, Perks then followed my example. The water did not come into the cart. I then rode and drove to Windvogel. Bought some grub there and started on for Thomas River. We hoped to have found wagons outspanned there but we were not so lucky. However an old hut of the road party made us very comfortable (save fleas). We tried to find some ducks but were not successful. Some cold preserved oxtail soup was very good. The boys however would not touch it for a long time. I thought a Kafir would eat anything. I suppose they thought it was bewitched to be cooked over the sea and still be good to eat.

Saturday 25th. Woke just before sunrise. Willy was out after the horses which had been left out all night. Perks in the middle of the night caught hold of his boot to hit me thinking it was his dog. We then inspanned and set off for the Dohne. I forgot to mention that the 29th was Mr Waters' birthday as well as my brother Henry's. Mrs W[aters] made a cake which she denominated "Pa's spice loaf". She gave Mr Perks some telling him it was made plain for the children. We used always in eating to denominate it "Pa's spice loaf". All went well to the Dohne. We had a beautiful drive. Had breakfast there and better than all a wash and started for K[ing] W[illiam's] T[own] where we arrived about sundown. I enjoyed my trip very much specially as I had a

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20. Miss Gray was a lay-worker at St Mark's mission who afterwards married Revd William Turpin. She worked by his side for many years first at St Mark's and subsequently at St Philip's, Grahamstown. She died in 1911. Miss Gray's father, a field-cornet, had been killed by a rebel Khoi in the 1850-1853 conflict. (Matthew, 'Historical Notes', p.142. USPG Archives, Waters to SPG, 30.9.1857)
 21. Identification is uncertain; presumably either Lieutenant J R Thompson of the police or Sergeant Thompson who was stationed at Andries Nek.
 22. G D Griffiths - see biographical notes.

capital travelling companion. Had tea with him and then went down to the mission cottage. Found that a Mr Rowe²³ was staying there. So I secured a bed at Suttons.²⁴ Called at Garde's and Parker's the later place to borrow a coat as I had forgotten mine. The people of King W[illiam's] Town had had a fine sell. Some one had been saying he had wagon loads of canopies etc coming and turned out to be an imposter.

Sunday 26th. Had breakfast with Mr Parker. My horses turned out with the town herd. Went to service. Mr Rowe seems very nice man and very much liked. Called on Miss Gray to tell her I was arrived. Mr Rowe and myself to tea in the evening at Parker's. Walked up to Bell's but found him from home.

Monday 27th. Walked up to Mr Bells²⁵ but found he had just started for St Luke's. Had dinner with Mr Rowe and then started for St Luke's myself. Stallmaster took me well. Mr Greenstock did not know me. I got on very well there. Everything much the same as usual. All very glad to see me. A Mr Kingloche staying there. Left my horse out all night. The box sent from England for me some months ago I found at K[ing] W[illiam's] Town. So letters in it kept me up till quite late. All old news.

Tuesday 28th (St Simon and St Jude). Up early and had a bathe. Did not hear the chapel bell and was therefore not present. Finished reading letters. Started up to see Umhala. He had just gone down to see Gawler. We called there also. All very kind and civil. They lent me a horse to ride to the Ixobongo but the creature was done. It was old Tempest. Had no time to go and see Mr Birt's place. My horse fell with me just above the Yellow Woods [river]. First spill I have had since I have been out. Went to see Miss Gray and when I got home found my horses gone. They were lost the day before. I was half mad. I did not know what to do. Very heavy thunderstorm came on which kept me in doors, or else I think I should have turned everything upside down. Some were out after them. Nobody however gave me hopes, so I thought I was done for a month.

Wednesday 29th. Horses not found or heard of. Read during the day and made all kinds of enquiries after the horses, but to no purpose. Mr Birt came into my room to wake me this morning. He is as fat and jolly as ever. Nothing heard of horses. I sent Willy to look for them. He starts first thing tomorrow to find them about the Dohne and Mr Rein's²⁶ place thinking they may have gone home. Garde's youngest child died today.

Thursday 30th. Reported the loss to the magistrate. A man came about middle day saying he thought he knew where they were, and was going to look for them. I promised him a good reward if he found them. Saw Parker in the afternoon and Colonel Maclean. He asked me to send some ploughs for him up to Mr Waters. Took a walk with Mr Rowe over new town etc. We had a pleasant walk to the river and back again. No tidings of horses.

23. Revd J H Rowe was rector of Sidbury from 1848.

24. W Sutton owned an hotel in King William's Town. (*King Williams Town Gazette*, 28.8.1856)

25. Revd A Bell was Military Chaplain at King William's Town (Matthews, 'Historical Notes', p.76)

26. Revd W Rein was a member of the Berlin Missionary Society's station at Ithembu in Britain Kaffraria in 1857. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac* 1857)

Friday 31st. Called upon Mrs Douglas²⁷ with Mr Rowe. Saw Rev Bell. Went to the funeral of Garde's child. About 2 o'clock the man came back with the horses. He had found them close to the town he said. I gave him 10 shillings and afterwards found out that he was town herd and that his brother herded for him. So most likely it was a got up affair. I was very glad however to have found them. Mr Smith came in from the Hoek [Keiskammahoek]. I had dinner with him and tea with Mr Rowe. Mr Birt in again with a broken wagon. I shall not be able to start now before Monday.

Saturday 1st November. All Saints' Day. Had breakfast with Smith. Walked about with him and Rowe till dinner time. Saw Major Douglas. Mr Addison²⁸ arrived today. Smith lent me his horse and rode mine to the Hoek so I started for St John's to see Mr Allen. Prig went well and I got there just after sundown and found Mr A[llen] asleep, his foot was much better.

Sunday 2nd. Spent very pleasant day talking over old times etc. Allen said he would go with me on Monday over the Kei if I would wait for him. We had morning service.

Monday 3rd. Early this morning we started had breakfast at Mr Lucas. 46th [Regiment] Macomo's²⁹ magistrate. And arrived in town about 12; I told Miss Gray why I stopped. Had dinner and tea at Suttons, and then a second edition of tea with Mr Bell. We showed Addison the way to the C[ape] M[ounted] R[ifles] mess house, where he was going to dine. Raining hard. I am afraid wet weather has set in. I have made up my mind to go tomorrow however thick or thin. Up till late talking. At least Messrs Addison and Allen talking and I went to sleep. Find[?] very attentive and useful.

Tuesday 4th. Got everything ready to start and went down for Miss Gray. However it began to rain and she thought it would be better to wait for the morrow. So off we went home again. Found Mr Hardie just arrived from Grahamstown. He said he would go up with us. Had dinner at Suttons and tea. Saw Mr Hardie two or three times. Nothing to do all day. Very wet. Very jolly evening with Messrs Allen, Addison, Rowe and myself. Capital fun. Slept in Addison's room tonight.

Wednesday 5th. Had breakfast pretty early and then went to see Mr Hardie. He did not wish Mr Allen to go so I had to start by myself with Miss Gray. We got on very well to Baileys Grave³⁰ with a little rain. Had some lunch there. Just going into the Hoek, Miss Gray's horse fell, and broke one knee. Miss Gray would not have been hurt at all, but the horse stepped on her mouth and cut her lip. We got safely to Mr Smith's however. Spent a pleasant evening with him. So far all went square.

Thursday 6th. Saw some oxen in Smith's field; they proved to be his own. He has plenty of building going on about the place. We started early and rode on by the Kabousi - Miss Gray's horse

27. Major Douglas of the 60th Rifles was Commissioner of the Crown Reserve. (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1856*)

28. Richard Addison - see biographical notes.

29. Macomo, or Maqoma - see biographical notes.

30. Lt Charles Theodore Bailey was killed during the Frontier War of 1835 whilst following a spoor in the vicinity of Ntabakandoda. His Bible was afterwards found in the possession of Chief Maqoma. He was the son of an 1820 settler. He is buried close to the present road which runs from King William's Town to Keiskammahoek. (Information: Kaffrarian Museum, King William's Town)

goes very much better now I have had his hoofs rasped. Very wet going over the neck. We managed to lead her horse, the boy leading the other two on foot. We off saddled on the flats. A Mr Brooks a trader overtook us. He was going to Windvogel to his station. He remembered me tho' we had not met for two years. Last time at Liew [sic; Leeuw] Fontein near Fort Beaufort. Rained very hard once or twice I got wet through but Mr Water's coat kept Miss Gray very dry. We were afraid of the Kei so after we had had some dinner and let the horses rest about two hours we again started for Swart Kei. Very wet going along. Found very little water in the river, and were soon housed safely at Websters.³¹ Miss Morris was there, Mr and Mrs Webster having gone to town. Capt Thompson was also there, of the police, so we had another pleasant evening. Thompson kindly pulled off my boots for me which were very wet; he did it after a new style.

Friday 7th. Very wet morning. Left about 12 o'clock and rode on to my station; off saddled about an hour. Saw plenty of springboks both yesterday and today. Going over the flat, and brisk shower came in our faces. Very little water in the Kei. Old Jerry [Mullins' greyhound] could hardly swim across. He was very glad to see me. Got to Mr Waters about sundown all safe all well. Spent the evening in talking over our journey. Horses are rather tired. But performed the journey very well altogether. They were forgotten and left out all night. Postman not arrived.

Saturday 8th. Rather stiff. XXXXXXXX. Read Short and walked out with Mr Waters. Very fine day. Came on wet in evening. Rode with Mr Reynolds over to Johnson's winkle to see if Philip had arrived. He was there but had nothing with him, except a letter from commanding officer. So we returned. Jerry killed a pole cat going back. It made him stink awfully.

Sunday 9th. Giamma's people sent down to say they were not coming to service as they had to go to G[iamma]'s father who was very ill. Very few Hottentots down. I suppose on account of the rain. About evening more came down. Old Kasca's people were at service. There is something altogether wrong over there. Nobody ploughing and an order came from Krili that no beast to be walking by the end of this month, the 29th.³² Nobody ploughing. There must be a smash somehow.

Monday 10th. Skippers is going to live with me. David came to ask Mr Waters about all the Hottentots settling on the station as they all wanted to be together to make a stand against the Kafirs, whom they will not join.³³ Started off. Kei got much more water in. Had school here. Put house in order Mr Hardie did not arrive. Made pie, bread etc. Very sleepy and tired.

Tuesday 11th. Made up accounts etc. Mr Griffiths came with an officer of the 85th [Regiment] about 2 o'clock. I turned them out when I could. They both very nice men. Very wet evening, killed a buck. Read, wrote and exceedingly close, loads of thunder.

31. John Webster's farm was called 'Cathcart Place'.

32. Believers expected initially that the prophecies would be fulfilled in October 1856 but later dates were subsequently stipulated. Mullins' observation does not appear to be in line with Tim Stapleton's argument viz that commoners killed cattle because they resented the compliance of chiefs to the demands of the white man, while chiefs prohibited cultivation to get back at their followers.

33. These were presumably Khoi who had been dispersed after the failure of the rebellion of 1851. Waters was successful in obtaining a pardon for those living at Grunberg so that they could return to the colony. (M Goedhals, 'Missionary Policy', p.23)

Wednesday 12th. Up early. Very hot and beautifully clear day. No children to school; read and wrote all day. Very heavy thunderstorm came on at night, my hut just like a sieve, I was obliged to go into the other half. The lightening made it just as bright as day. About the heaviest storm I have been in. Water swimming in my hut. Took Shobu on as horse herd and Pifole's man as milkman. Very wet bed tonight. River making a great noise.

Thursday 13th. River quite full. Hardly slept at all last night. Fleas something awful. Up rather late. Dial not returned. Doctored horses. Very wet all day. Nasty drizzle. Had long confab with Willy about the war. Read and wrote. Very dull this week indeed. I am obliged to talk to Willy to keep up my spirits. I suppose no chance of Mr Hardie's coming, or of my getting to Mr Waters on Sunday. Wrote to Simmons according to rule.

Friday 14th. Up and let out my horses. Very wet again; finished letters to Simmons. Dial came. Letter from home and Smith. "Illustrated"³⁴ from Elgie. Johnson called on his road into town. River rising. Shobu did not bring in the horses tonight. Rained evening very heavily. Sent Dial to station. No further political news. Long and kind letters from home.

Saturday 15th. No horses to be seen this morning and the river over its banks. Wrote to Elgi, Tagg and Payne. Read H. Martyn³⁵ which I like very much. Went out in the afternoon to look for the horses, and got very wet; water about 3 inches deep all over the flats. Dug a drain and commenced a garden. [No horses?] a' night; still very wet and river impassable. Saul, Mr Green's man, passed yesterday, and told me all. Green was good man before to many, "plenty cross and plenty trouble now. Good man before".

Sunday 16th. Rather finer this morning. Read morning service. Sent a man after the horses. Old Shobu found them the other side of Bolotwa, close to the Kei. Wrote and read. Finished H Martyn. Wrote to Messrs Wilson, Woodard and Mecters. Wet again in the evening. The men say the Kei is over its banks.

Monday 17th. Turned out horses. Read and dug in the garden. Willy went to buy some tobacco and rode Chessman and when he returned I rode down to the winkle. Sent Willy and another man for my case which I unpacked and to my great delight found several more long letters, especially one from my dear father. Looking over contents till nearly sundown. One letter very good the other turned, a little. Read, dug, and wrote to W Smith and sent spirit to John Shepstone. Only five at school today. Very large *Entomjani* [*Intojani*: girls' initiation] at Qwesha's.³⁶ Dahralla came to ask for some mealies to sow. Qwesha's people are killing. 20

34. Probably *Illustrated London News* which began publication in 1842, but there were other contemporary publications that incorporated the word 'Illustrated' in the title (British Union Catalogue of Periodicals, Vol.2, London, 1956)

35. Henry Martyn, whose letters and sermons were published, was a prominent nineteenth century missionary before Livingstone. A friend of Charlotte Brontë's father he may have been the model for St John Rivers in *Jane Eyre*. (See V Cunningham 'Mary Hall, Jane Eyre and other missionary women' in *Women and missions, past and present* edited by F Bowie, D Kirkwood and S Ardener, Oxford 1993)

36. The *intonjane* ceremony was performed when a girl reached puberty. It involved seclusion in a hut, sacrifices, dances offered to the ancestors, treatment with medicines and anointing with red ochre. It was meant to ensure fertility after marriage. M Wilson, 'The Nguni people' in M Wilson and L Thompson (eds) *The Oxford History of South Africa* Vol.1 (Oxford, 1969-71), p.125; Mabasa, 'A brief history of the Pondomise Tribe ...' (related by Mabasa, written down by E S Barn) in F Brownlee (ed), *Transkeian Territories: historical records* (Lovedale, 1923), pp.119-120.

hides bought this morning before I got there. None are cultivating down there. It must end in war. Fine day for a wonder after all the wet.

Tuesday 18th. Turned out my horses. Nobetu thatched the hut for me. The kitchen Willy washed. I dug in my garden. Read etc. Very large dance at Quesha's today. Hundreds of people going down. Had stable cleaned out. Began a larger ditch with Willy above the stable. Looks very bad. Swartboy arrived with letters for Queenstown; dispatched mine. Heard from Mr Waters. Rain very heavy there. Coming back the horsemen had a capital race. A large *skimel* [skimmel: a grey horse] beating; only 3 to school. Most awful work here. Read and had a long confab with Willy about the war, wars etc.

[The book containing Mullins' diary up to this point was among the documents and records which were sent to King William's Town with the women and children. Previously Walters had sent valuable and documents to Queenstown. Mullins continued his diary in a small exercise book.³⁷]

Wednesday 19th, November 1856. Very hot day. Quite oppressive in the house. Read till about 12 o'clock and then seeing everybody going to the dance and no children coming to school I thought I might as well take the opportunity to ride over and see Mr W[aters]. We could not get the horses to go into the stable and were about an hour catching them. I started off taking some butter with me for Mrs Waters. The road very bad. Found the river still rather up nearly over the saddle. Old Chessman took me through very well. Found them all well. A water spout had broken over the mountains and came washing by the house about 11 at night in some places up to a man's neck. Mr Waters was obliged to take the children out of bed and put them in the chapel for safety. It had washed away a large portion of the banking. Rumours here as bad as ever.

Thursday 20th. I saddled up [5 lines illegible - torn] Made up some accounts with him [Mr Waters].

Friday 21st. I was saddling up this morning to start when Reynolds came and asked me to go and see Townsend³⁸ who had been attacked in the night by Kafirs. He was in R[eynold]'s room. Had had two stabs in the stomach and his head broken with a kerrie. He was just going to blow out the candle at night when he was thus attacked by two in the house. Several more were outside. It was a wonder they let him go with his life. He manage[d] to turn them both out. Got his pistol which was not loaded. He gave them goods and they then went off. Directly Mr Waters heard this he determined upon sending the females off immediately. We went to Wayisa's³⁹ and I had to get the goods etc ready. We were all hard at work upon this buissness [sic] till dinner time. Patrols of Kafirs were out all over the country looking for the spoor. They left it over the Indwe at Umsechana's kraal. We got all ready to start about 3. Reynolds drove and had some trouble to get through the river which was rising fast. Moses W[ayisa] helped him out. I rode across and back again. The old horse had nearly to swim. The house seemed quite empty with them all

37. All papers, including this diary (Cory Ms.7112), were sent to King William's Town with the women and children. Earlier Waters had sent them to Queenstown together with books and valuables. Shepstone, Civil Commissioner, reported this to the Governor on 30 July 1856. He himself 'apprehended no danger' to whites. (SA Archives, LG.260)

38. Townshend was a shopkeeper in the Thembu location who was attacked when he opened his door to an 11.30 p.m. knock. (Lombard, *Queenstown*, p.170)

39. Wayisa was a Gcaleka chief at whose homestead a weekly school had been held. (Gray, *Visitation*, p.48)

gone so soon. Dahralla and staff arrived to hear all about the case. Which happened in his father's country. We spent the rest of the evening in putting the house right. [7 lines missing; half page torn out.] They slept at my place last night and took away my books and chair [etc] with them.

Sunday 23rd. All still quiet small congregation to service. Hottentots sang very nicely; rain all day long. The river very high indeed. Began *Zenobia*⁴⁰ which I like very much indeed. Mr Waters better today very poorly yesterday.

Monday 24th. All quiet still a daily routine of work. Postman called this morning from Col[onel] Maclean. No news excepting that Krili never sent the letter Mr Waters wrote for him to Col M[aclean] but got Mr Crouch⁴¹ to write another one exactly opposite in every sense. River very high today. We rode over to the drift. Take a ride every day now in case we shall have to give them the slip.

Tuesday 25th. We hear today that some more waggons have arrived at the drift, belonging to John Thompson an old parishioner of Mr Waters. Campbell came to tell us today that he had heard his winkle was to be broken into. They are both very much afraid because they have no guns.

Wednesday 26th. Started early with Mr W[aters] and Philip for Kreli's. He was very gracious and kind. Saw Qakiwe's mother there she seemed but a perfect girl. Teaching school etc no fresh news. The Websters have left their station.

Thursday 27th. Maclean's man that brought the letter to Mr W[aters] also brought a small note from Mrs W[aters] they were as far as the Windvogel. Vincent had told them that war was proclaimed. Rode to the drift with Mr W[aters] in the evening. The children had presents of clothes given them today. A great many got some. But to hear the crying etc. The men also kicked up a tremendous row because they did not get anything. We spoke with Messrs Thompson and Johnson over the river. Received a letter from [Boesak] with some rigmarole in it. He is a tremendous hand with news.

Friday 28th. I intend to have gone to the Bolotwa. Mr Waters thought I had better however stop and see Thompson, who was coming over. Mati went in for the post this morning. He brought a letter from Mrs Waters and not Maclean's man as I said. Thompson did not come till the afternoon. He came with Perks, R[eynolds], Moses W[aters]. No news. P[erks] and W[aters] had tea with us. Took a ride with Mr W[aters] up by [Quesha's] kraal. Very fine view of the station from that point. Hottentots sung all night. I gave them some coffee and sugar.

Saturday 29th. Started about 8 for Bolotwa. Rode to the winkle for money. Perks not there. Richardson trying to inspan a young bullock; no go. Saw Perry's wagon coming just as I was going to mount my horse, somebody rode up behind me and jumped off. It turned out to be Mr Dimond. Five minutes told me his characture. Robertson grown older without so much sense and an awful tongue. Got across the river which was still very much up. Found all right here (Bolotwa). Reynolds and Miss Gray have taken away nearly everything I wanted amongst other things my journal so I have to write in a new book. All quiet. Packed up all the rest of my goods

40. W Ware, *Zenobia or the Fall of Palmyra* (1854).

41. John Crouch a Transkeian trader who was the main intermediary between Sarhili and the colonial authorities. (Information from J Peires)

ready to send off at a moment's notice. Left Chessman and rode back Stallmaster. He is a capital horse. I could hardly hold him. Found Richardson getting his last wagon out of the river. Been all day there. Perks was on the other side watching. We stayed till the wagons got to the top of the hill and then rode home, my horse was nearly wild. Letter from home. Pretty good news. The new Bishop seems to be a very nice man from his characture. *The Guardian* seems very much opposed to the appointment.⁴² I hope it may turn out well. Mr D[imond] I was say[ing] I dislike very much as far as I have seen of him. He is too forward and talks about things he does not the least understand.

Sunday 30th. Advent and St Andrew's Day. After morning service I read the report of missions. The Bishop of C[ape] T[own's] speech, also sundry reports in the *Guardian*, where I perceive my name also figures. The Bishop of Grahamstown's death has been taken a great deal of notice of, I am glad to see. I hear that the Bishops also have subscribed £500 for 3 years for Mrs A[rmstrong]. Besides a subscription amongst her own friends. Advent service in the morning, St Andrew evening. I ought to be at Grahamstown, but I am not. The poor Bishop always tried to have this day well kept. His patron Saint. School well attended.

Monday 1st December. Started for Bolotwa with Mr Perks. Mr W[aters] gone up the hill (Cewana). Got home early put my hut in order. Read and wrote. Had school etc. Nothing fresh. The spoor of the men [who] attacked Townsend crossed the Indwe higher up, into the Celeba country. Paid Shobu and Pendula. Rode down to the winkle to send a note to Mr Waters. Perks goes to Queenstown. Read in evening. Monday is over. I hope to get the children but the dance has only just finished.

Tuesday 2nd. Up before sunrise. Wrote home to Polly, Jewell, Butin. Reynolds arrived on horseback. He has not been long coming back or in going down. He tells me that the married men are to go to the rear and the single advance so I suppose Mr Waters will go back. I hope we shall get a good one in his place. Dahralla and [lthingcaka?] came. Talked a good time outside. A good number of children to school today. I suppose because I have some prizes. Made bread and rode down to winkle with Reynolds. He has told me all about Mr D[imond] and what he did on the road. I should say a regular blackguard. Williams passed to Queenstown and took in the post. Read till night. Made up the accounts of the school.

Wednesday 3rd. Very hot and oppressive day. Sent for the children. None came all day. Had a very bad headache all day and was glad to lay down most of it. Willie came with note from Mr Waters. Mr Dimond has left and is down at the winkle. I hope he will not come up here. He has followed exactly in Robertson's steps. No news today. Very unwell towards evening and coughed so much I did not know what to do. Tied up the horses and fell asleep and woke when the man brought the horses. Fell asleep again and did not wake till very early and found the door wide open. Willy not returned. Put things in order and got into bed.

Thursday 4th. Up and read lessons. Wrote out my paper very badly I see. Send Pendula for children. He is my sergeant now. He brought down Tede's and [Umhala's?]. Give a great many presents. They were very much pleased. Read and wrote during the afternoon. Rode to winkle to see Perks. Not returned and saw Dimond just starting off. He told them down there he was going because he was ill. Heavy thunder storm; old Chessman bolted and we had an awful run to catch the old fellow. The thunderstorm was red and looked very grand. I have never seen one

42. Bishop Armstrong died 16 May 1856. (T T Carter, *Armstrong*, Oxford 1857, p.405)

so before. Rode down to winkle at night again. No news of Perks. Mr Thompson there. Liked him better tonight. I suppose because of the contrast with the others. They had a lot of tales to tell about Dimond. Moses has given him a regular rousing up. He cannot be a very bright specimen; I am very glad he has left before he got us too bad a name. He had begun on his journey to get missionaries into disrepute.

Friday 5th. Very fine morning. Found Jesmond close by (I must call him for the future by his right name, which Mr W[aters] gave him; it is from a place near Durham. Jesus-mound or Jes-mond). Got on very well to Yoliswa's I called at my other two schools to say I should be there in the afternoon. I found Umvumthla and James living in new huts close by the roadside; I do not know why they have moved. Umvumthla said he was ploughing and some few others. I asked him if Yoliswa was; he said he didn't know; which was to me as good as "No". Yoliswa said she had ploughed and finished one garden and the rain came and washed it all into the river, the garden itself was all afloat. I saw little patches done here and there, but no real work.⁴³ Made coffee and talked about all sorts of things; I was there early. They wanted to know my age. Riba, who was there told me I was a boy to him. When Yoliswa saw me arrive I saw her whisper in a great hurry to Somona and so I thought something must be very wrong by her hurry and perplexed look but I think from what I caught, it was only that the kettle was full of Umtola!!!!⁴⁴ Yoliswa had to go to a beer party. I taught the children about 40 and then started for Riba's. Old *Xagohazi* [sic; *Xhegohazi*, old woman] gave me a shilling to buy some white beads for her. There was some conversation going on very secretly. I know not what. Riba told me he was ploughing. By the way he said so, I knew it was a lie, and his people afterwards told me they were not ploughing. Pretty good school. The girl there had taught some of the little ones a few letters. They wanted news very much. At Faku's very few present. Faku not at home. They are not ploughing: they say they have loads yet in the kraals. Wanted to know why we (English) did not go to see Umthlakaza [Mhlakaza]. The country is quite altered. Very beautiful now. Found a few children to school on my return which I taught, so I had 4 schools and 99 attendance. A Fingoe that is with a wagon here trading, rode up. He was a fine looking man. He wanted to know how many days to Xmas. When I told him 20, he exclaimed loudly and said they must get off. That he was afraid of Xmas. He spoke very nicely indeed, about Sunday service etc. *Vezi*⁴⁵ passed to Dahralla's and soon after, Namba, Maqoma's son with 7 attendants. What is up I wonder? Nopote and another arrived with letter and bucks from Mr Waters. I met a man from Philip who had been sent by Yoliswa. Something must still be going on. Rode to winkle at night. Perks not returned yet. Mr W[aters] says Celeka's and Tembu's [Gcaleka and Thembu] are at war.

Saturday 6th. Up early before service and gave Nopote a pass into the colony to fetch letters from Queenstown. A very hot day could not go out, the heat was so intense. I lay still in the hut and read. The children came to school. But I could not stand going to Tede's so was obliged to give

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43. It was a sign of the dilemma of the chiefs that they resorted to subterfuge. Stapleton has a different view of the question of cultivation in the context of the cattle-killing i.e. the chiefs prohibited cultivation to retaliate against commoners who slaughtered cattle. See Stapleton, *Maqoma*, esp. p.192.
 44. *Umthole*: *acacia caffra*, or a decoction made from the bark of the root of this tree compounded with that of other plants. Its steam is used to cure a facial rash or as an antidote to a spell which causes a sense of psychological alienation and/or a facial rash as a physical symptom. Yoliswa's consternation is understandable for the missionaries thoroughly disapproved of 'medicine-making'.
 45. *Vezi* was an important Thembu chief living near the Queenstown boundary some four miles from the mission station on the Swart Kei. (See USPG Archives, Mullins to SPG 6.10.1857 and Waters to SPG 2.10.1857)

it up. Talked a good deal with the Kafirs today. Dahralla says Shobu is one of Umthlakaza's men. In the afternoon a Fingoe came again to enquire about Xmas. Also a Kafir one of Dahralla's men came to tell me, that an Englishman at the Great Kei on his way from K[ing] W[illiam's] Town to Queenstown had told him he was coming out here tomorrow (Sunday) and was then going on to Mr Waters. From what I could make out by description it is Mr Addison, but I do not know what he wants here. I wrote a note to the unknown traveller to tell him where I was going. Rode down to the winkle, neither Perks nor Williams heard of. Perry takes a mattress to Mr Waters. Rode with Willy to Cacadoo. Dahralla raced us. Mine was first, Willy next and D[ahralla] a long way behind. I could not keep my brute quiet; they were just coming out of chapel when we got there. All well here.

Sunday 7th. Had service for Kafirs very good attendance. Read and communed with Mr Waters, very hot all day. Rain and thunder in the evening. Singing very nice. Played a good part of the day.

Monday 8th. Had the horses up directly after breakfast. Got ready and after having a long ride to catch Demas started, with Mr Waters for the drift. He did not cross. Nopote had not arrived. Got here about 11 and got some good news from [Reynolds?] wagon for the schools. Perks was there from town. No news. Nopote passed last night with letters and the mail had been sent out before by Williams who was not arrived. Had school at Dahralla's. Very wet in the evening. Read and wrote.

Tuesday 9th. Had school early this morning. All the children from all over here. Just as we were finishing, Reynolds arrived from Kei. He was going to fetch two weeks post as I have said, it had not arrived. I gave him Nogood to ride in and Stallmaster out. He persuaded me to go with him. So I started but thought I had better not go and so took Chessman and turned back. Old Jerry ran after two springboks but they were too far ahead of the poor fellow so he could not get near them. He followed very well. Driving the last up into the stones, where he followed him. Just then Willy rode up on Campbell's horse, to say a boy had brought the post. Reynolds was a long way along the flats so I did not send after him. No letters for me. Some for Mr Waters and Miss Gray and Reynolds. Rode slowly home called at the large kraal under the hill, but the chief man could not give me an answer and told me to come again. Went to see whether D. Williams was at the winkle; his name sake, called him out and whilst I was speaking with him, began to talk to Willy and abuse him and when Willy⁴⁶ said he was a schoolmaster went on worse. He is regular blackguard, so I rode off. Called at Miko's but he was sick and his people could not give me an answer. Wet nearly all day. Nothing new. Dahralla wants me to lend him a saddle but I told him that I liked keep them just now. Mr Reynolds not arrived tonight.

Wednesday 10th. Before I could have breakfast this morning, Dahralla's children arrived, and soon after Tede's. I held school as well as we could with so many. The Fingoes cattle passed as we were writing. They have about 100 odd head and loads of bucks. They must be getting very rich.⁴⁷ The old man came again to ask me about Xmas and said he was *barrya bong* [*baie bang*: very frightened]. After breakfast I rode to Manscola's. Gave them some shirts etc. Very much pleased and say they will come up tomorrow. Saw Moses and Richardson at the winkle. Bought some tobacco and as Reynolds did not return gave Willie the letters and sent him off

46. Willy was one of the African teachers at the mission. It is interesting to note that at this stage he was not literate.

47. The Mfengu were not believers. See Peires, *The Dead will arise*, p.169. Mullins' observation points to their having seized the opportunity to buy stock at bargain prices and thus to profit from the situation.

on Chessman. Wrote and read just before sundown R[eynolds] arrived; no letters for me again and no important news. Rode down to the winkle after them on Dahralla's horse. It goes well. Raced R[eynolds] and soon left him behind. Stayed there during the evening talking over war etc. Moses seems a nice fellow. Plenty of news from Dimond. He turns out to be a most wretched hypocritical characture. Mr Green keeps Nogood being responsible for one half. Gave R[eynolds] a message for me to go and stay there for two or three months if I liked, in case I have to move. Send letter to Mrs Waters, with the letter enclosed that came for Miss Gray. Perks sent some brandy out of town to come up to my place. I could not quite make it out, as Moffatt spoke to me this morning about medicine and I thought of course it was the sulphur I had ordered. One lives to get sharp.

Thursday 11th. Full moon. I hope all will pass off quietly. But one has to mind all signs and times. Very dull morning. Fingoe and Tede's children came to school. I did not get Dahralla's till the afternoon and then only a very few. They were all away at the winkle about something. Nothing particular happened today. A series of thunder storms passed over the last very heavy. Plenty of rain I am afraid it will be wet tomorrow. Put the school books right; find I shall have a lot to give away over there. I do not know where it will come from. Zenzile helped me cut up some handkerchiefs. Rode to the winkle for newspapers, and some white beads for the old lady over at Chatzu. River up a little. Very cloudy and wet so our friends unless they have almanacks will not be able to find out about the full moon.⁴⁸

Friday 12th. Dull morning and drizzling rain so I did not go to Yoliswa's as I had intended. Willy went to hunt up the horses, they were close by, astonishing the difference, since Nogood has left in their whole behaviour; they do not give us any trouble now. Umkoko wanted me to give her a toothbrush. She had heard that I used such a machine, and being rather a grand young lady I suppose she wanted to have *amagensa* [*amazinyo*: teeth] perfect. Pretty good number to school, 41 in all. None of Tede's. Read etc. Gave old Manceola a handkerchief. Read account of [Cisc's?] trial. It seems to have been down right murder, his execution. The anecdote of the Queen and scotch of Balmoral.⁴⁹ Moffatt came up for a bottle of grog. He stayed much longer than I wanted him. I wish the grog was somewhere else. Very heavy thunder storm about 2. My house [owing?], obliged to go and see Willy. Wrote out St Paul's travels. All my goods wet. The river over its banks. Could not go out. Wrote more about St Paul in the evening. Talked with Shobu and Panduma. Wet night again.

Saturday 13th. Very dull morning again so I did not start for Yoliswa's. Only 5 of Tede's children came to school as the river was full. Read and wrote. I like the history of the American church very much. Perks and Butler⁵⁰ arrived. They took with them a bottle of medicine. Soon after Dahralla's children arrived. I taught them between showers. Perks sent up two notes for gun [butt ?] and yoke the latter I could not make out, so I rode old Jesmond down to ask. Rode on

48. The killing continued but was never complete, and this was used to explain the non-fulfilment of the prophecies. Thursday 11 December (full moon) would seem to have been yet another date stipulated for the fulfilment of the prophecy. Pressure was brought to bear on those who had not complied with Mhlakaza's instructions. Barkum points out that a belief system can survive many isolated 'disconfirmations'. (Barkum, *The Millennium*, Yale University 1974, p.83). Deep into April there were still people killing. See the entry for 25 April 1857.

49. The allusion is probably to an account of Queen Victoria's cultivation of things Scottish.

50. Identification is uncertain. The name of the owner of the Bram Nek hotel was Butler, while John Henry Butler occupied the farm 'Bellevue'. (Information from H Weir)

with Perks to Moses' wagon. Richardson got half way there and the Swart Kei and had to off load and come back again. Nearly drowned his oxen. Read again some time at home, when the Rvd B[?]ane came in and had some bread and cheese. Had tea, wrote and went to bed. Left the horses out again tonight. No news from Mr Waters. My hut very cold damp and uncomfortable the whole day.

Sunday 14th. Horses close by. Read the first part of the morning service. Willie responding very well from memory. I am sorry he cannot read. By the time we had finished Tede's children were close by. About 24 of them had school. They were very quiet today. Sent Willie to stop a man that was ploughing. He said that he had sowed and would only just finish that and go home. Another old woman just arrived, turned backward immediately, on hearing it was Sunday. I fancy myself, they are beginning to get the same religious superstition of the Indians about Sunday. (Washington Irving.)⁵¹ Just as I finished school, Panduna brought down their children but said Dahralla's were ploughing. I then walked up and found about 30 to 35 women all hard at work in the gardens, clearing the weeds. I made my way over the river going in with one leg and spoke to whom I thought was the great wife. She said she would stop directly, that they had not been told it was Sunday. I stayed there some hours but still only some stopped; the only excuse for them is the very wet weather we have had. I shall speak to Dahralla about it on his return. Had breakfast. Lindiwe had just got every thing ready to start with the plough, but I made him span out immediately. Read A[merican] history. Read the rest of the service. Began a map of St Paul's travels. Had Dahralla's children to school. Finished map. Had tea, and wrote in evening. I hear from Condele's man that Mullery has been killed by falling from his horse when dead drunk. I knew it would be his fate.

Monday 15th. Willy came and awoke me this morning telling me it was nine o'clock already. I found however that the sun had only been up a short time. I helped to catch the horses and then got up as fast as possible. Read prayers, took a crust of bread and started for Yoliswa's. When I arrived at Faku's, they told me that there was an *Intonjani* (dance) at Yoliswa's and that I had better not go. I sent some tobacco to Riba and said I would be back soon to teach them. I then rode on to Riba's. Found the men first and meaning to go to the dance. I had a pretty good school. Awfully bothered for tobacco. Riba was not at home. The woman there has taught some of them very well and they all knew a little about it. Left all the shirts etc that I had brought for Yoliswa's children, under the care of an old lady. Rode back to Faku's. Had very pleasant talk with him. He appears to be quite such a gentlemanly man as Umvunthle. They paid very great attention to me. Gave me a mat to sit on, and offered meat and milk. I had a little of the latter which I thought very nice. They had a great deal. Very beautifully clean and white. There were some strangers there, Macomo's son I think, and I noticed that the old man that served out of the milk tasted of the basket before he sent it to the strangers. Every thing is done with such grace and dignity. The way they salute the chief and all together is very graceful. The sun was exceedingly hot, I had a school of about 48 and by the time I finished my head was aching very badly. Rode slowly to the winkle. It seems Mullery had only broken his collarbone. [Wi-ele's ?] wagon was gone. Lay down for a couple of hours and my head got better. Had some breakfast (about 11 o'clock) and then taught some of Dahralla's children. Willy had good school this morning. Altogether we had 115. Let Jesmond and Stallmaster loose at night.

Tuesday 16th. Up and turned out my horses. Very dull morning. Manscola's and Tede's children to school. Reading nearly all the day. Manscola called on horseback. Shobu's wives went to cut

51. Washington Irving (1783-1859). American essayist, biographer and historian.

thatch. Muti came about 3 and soon after Cevu arrived with letter from Mr Waters. The Kafirs have taken all the horses from the Hottentots in the Grunberg.⁵² It seems I have to start from here next Friday for King W[illiam's] Town. I wish I was out of it. Perks' wagon could not take anything for me today. Talking with Willy most of the evening. Very dull night I wonder where I shall eat my Xmas dinner. I intend that St Luke's shall be the place if possible. I had it here last Xmas.

Wednesday 17th. Did my usual round of work. Cleaned up my old hut etc ready for going to K[ing] W[illiam's] Town. I was teaching the children for the second time in the afternoon when Rev Waters rode up. I thought at first there was something wrong, as he was a day before time. Made tea etc, very warm evening. I was up till late putting my goods in order as we had to start before I was ready. Mr Waters slept on my bed, Reynolds on the other two stools and myself on the floor, where rather I did not sleep for the fleas nearly eat me up. Dema was kicking the whole night. Chessman and two others outside and 5 in the stable. Told old Shobu to be down very early in the morning to take charge of the hut.

Thursday 18th. Roused Mr W[aters] and Reynolds about 4 and began to put all our horses ready. We took Willy with us and had 9 horses. Mr Meaden's, and Smith's Dema, Bless, Jesmond and Stallmaster and Reynolds had one. So we made a very good party. Reynolds had his rifle. The horse I led kept on breaking away. We off saddled in the Kei-poort, and had breakfast. I took the rifle to see if I could meet an unfortunate springbok. We then rode on to Webster's where we left the rifle as it was very heavy and awkward to carry. The river was very full. Reynolds went in to a hole nearly up to his neck. Willy got wet; I went lower down and got best off. When we got through we beheld Mr Waters on his charger looking very *bang* [frightened]. Reynolds went in and helped him through and thus we all managed. We found Moses and the wagon just the other side of the river, only having crossed the day before. Out-spanned at Faku's river. Had coffee. We then saddled up and proceeded. At the bottom of the Windvogel we met Mr Thompson driving to Websters. Reynolds went to Morris's⁵³ and we rode on to Millstone. Had some bread and cheese there. Our horses getting rather tired. We rode on gently over the flats up the hill to the Hoek. Where we arrived very tired about sun down. Mr Smith had turned out of his house to accommodate Major and Mrs Douglas and we found him the other side of the square. I almost like his new rooms best. Had dinner and some tea after chapel and then Mrs Douglas asked us to go and take tea with her. She sang us Mozart's "Agnus Dei" very beautifully also a German song and "The Queen of the May". It quite took one back to England to hear so many delightful songs. Talked away to Smith till about 12.

Friday 19th. Service early. Mr Smith read some Kafir capitally. It is a very beautiful place. We rode over the farm after breakfast and enjoyed the scenery. Reynolds started with three horses for Grahamstown. About 2 o'clock we left for King W[illiam's] T[own], got on to Bailey's Grave and had some coffee there. Mr Smith then left us on his fiery little steed, which nearly threw him several times. Reached King W[illiam's] Town at sundown. Found Mr Beit and two brothers at the mission house. We then walked down to Mrs Waters. As I passed by number 2, Mr Addison

52. Uithaalter, a rebel Khoi chief, was granted a place at Grunberg by Sarhili. He had a cordial relationship with Waters who had requested the Bishop to intercede with the Governor on his behalf that he and some followers might be allowed to re-enter the Colony. In 1860 Bishop Cotterill reported that he was residing at St John's Bolotwa and wished to work on the station. (USPG Archives, Waters to SPG 12.5.1856 and Cotterill to SPG, 1860)

53. W Morris was granted the farm 'Doornfontein'.

came running out to salute us. Introduced Mr Waters. He asked me to stay with him which I gladly accepted. Found Mrs W[aters] had lost her voice; all the children came running out to see us. Such a sight. Had tea there. Addison came up for me. Walked down with him to fetch Mr Waters' goods. Spent very pleasant evening with him. He was going to write a sermon and would not let me sleep on the floor but in his own bed. Such a snug, tidy little cottage.

Saturday 20th. Had breakfast with Mr W[aters]. Mr Beit came before I was awake this morning to say our horses, 3 in number and one of his brother's had been stolen during the night. It seems his brother heard it, went out, found the horses gone, and then got into bed, slept 7 hours and then went and told the constable. Sent to let Mr Taylor know. Went to service. Parker began to talk rather oddly to me this morning. I did not like it very much. Beit promised to send in a horse for me to go out and spend Xmas at St Luke's. Posted the Day Book in the afternoon. Went to Church.

Sunday 21st. St Thomas. Read during the morning. Mr A[ddison] went to tronk [prison]. Mr Waters preached for Mr Bell. Found church rather full. Very hot and dusty. Capital sermon from Mr W[aters]. Got on pretty well. Rather dull day. Began to read *Owen or the Cousins* by a sister of the Mr Goodrich⁵⁴ that was out here. Service again in the evening. Went down to Mr Waters.

Monday 22nd. Over the accounts the whole day. Very hotting work. Got on pretty well. Had tea with Garde in the evening, which made me late for church. Had tea with Mr Waters afterwards. Horse came from Beit.

Tuesday 23rd. Mr Waters said he would not be at all comfortable if I went to Umhala's, in fact he said so much about his being responsible for me etc that I determined not to go. Walked down with him to Mr Bell's where we promised to lunch. Went on with Mr Bell to Mission House. Where I did several things, and then called at Magistrate Taylor's. Mrs T[aylor] seems very nice person. Called also on Mrs Fynn.⁵⁵ She told us of her escapes in former wars. Read some time and then went to Mr Bell's. Dr [Hapa-el ?] came in whilst we were there. The very person Mr Waters wanted to see. Called at Mr Parker's and spent the evening there. Very hot today indeed. Went to service and then took a walk up to see the hospital. Read in the evening.

Wednesday 24th. Accounts again nearly all day. Cannot hear of any horses for sale. Called at Mr Conway's; he said he had some, also Mr Crouch. No news from Umhala's. Sent away the horse very early this morning with Boi who was in for some goods. Nothing heard of our horses. I hear today that a Kafir rode a horse into town which had only been stolen a few days before. Bought a hat and paid for it!!! Changed a check at Mr Blaine's. Mr Allen quite by himself. Even little Taylor gone away. I hear he is likely to leave at the beginning of the year. Poor man he must have been very miserable.⁵⁶ Spent evening with Mr Waters.

Thursday 25th. Christmas Day. Read *Gwen* till nearly church time went up with Mr A[ddison] and helped to put the rest of the flowers etc right before service. Sorrowful Jimmy never sent my hat down, and went off with his lady love leaving me my old hat. Very few at service today and

54. A Goodrich, *Owen or the Cousins*, 2 vols (1855).

55. Probably Mrs W R D Fynn whose husband was clerk and interpreter to Magistrate Gawler, magistrate to Mhala.

56. Presumably the Revd J Allen had just lost his wife and baby. Waters and Allen - see biographical notes.

more still than usual at Sacramento. It is very painful to see such a want of feeling; the very day of all others, when in England everybody goes to church. Had dinner with Mr Waters and actually they had no roast beef and no pudding, but instead, beef steaks and peach pudding. Rather a difference to Xmas in England. Read all the afternoon. Went to service again with Mr A[ddison] many more people there than this morning. Most awful singing. Mrs Moore leading. The 45th [Regiment] had a very grand jollification today and at night were up till about 12 singing and hollering most awfully. When I got home at night I found two letters for Mr Waters on Addison's table. Sat up reading till late. Took the letters to Mr W[aters]. From Mr Hardie, one. He did not like me leaving the station. I liked very much to hear the sentries calling rounds as it shewed that amongst them there were some awake.

Friday 26th. St Stephen. Mr Waters woke me this morning. He intends to start today for Krili's. Trying to get horses the whole morning. We got two very bad ones for 20£ from Perks. Went to service packed up and got all ready. Saw Colonel Maclean at Mr Waters. He was very tired and told me about some scandal in which my name was fully mentioned. He said he did not take any notice of it as it was a tremendous lie. Asked me to write to Mr Allen about it also. He said as he rode away "I know Shave got a big heavy bill at the Canteen, but it is a lie, all the rest." Had capital pudding for dinner. Gooseberry. I never tasted anything nicer. Started and got to the Hoek about 7. Found Mr Smith had company to dinner. Mr & Mrs Gibson of the 12th [Regiment] and a Miss Nesbitt. We had dinner. Major and Mrs D[ouglas] are out at Alice for Xmas. Spent pleasant evening there.

Saturday 27th. St John. Evang[elist]. Had morning service breakfast and plenty to chat. Obligated to leave the black horse was so tired and Mr Smith lent us another little pony. He rode out with us to the top to Mr Dacre's hill. Where he took my pony and gave me the staunch Old Prig. Rode on over the hill to [?] river where we outspanned and had some coffee the first kettle of which I ingeniously upset. From thence we rode on some way nearly to the mile stone and off saddled for about 10 minutes, and then on to Morris's where we had some coffee. Found Mr Thompson there. He shewed us a very beautiful hartebeest's head. Saw also a Mr Kayser.⁵⁷ Rode on to Swart Kei. Mr Waters felt so tired here that he gave up the idea of going to Bolotwa and so we turned in for the night. Saw a very pretty pet pony there. It would eat bread and drink coffee or brandy, everything and follow you about all over the place. Slept well as I was very tired.

Sunday 28th. Holy Innocents. Webster called us early, turned out the horses and got up. Had some coffee and started. We were about two hours and a quarter coming here. Very different riding up and down. Our horses were quite fresh then and now we had to flog them along. I will never forgive the Kafir that stole mine. Had some breakfast here. I boiled fruit etc for Mr W[aters]. He was very much knocked up. Borrowed Dahralla's stallion and rode on with Mr W[aters] to St Mark's. Found all well there. On entering the house which had been locked up, we were beset with boots of fleas; they were as thick as hail all over us in a few minutes. I made my escape as soon as possible. Had evening service. I shall never enjoy it as I used, as Mr W[aters] reads the Psalms in that abominable Dutch. However as I have to read Sunday service here it will not matter so much. Went to bed early as we were very tired. I only wish I had never been to King W[illiam's] Town.

Monday 29th. After morning service. We attended to loading the wagon with planks for my station. They are killing tremendously here. 10 women came into the yard today each bearing a quarter

57. M Kayser was clerk and interpreter to Lieutenant Lucas, magistrate to Maqoma.

of beef. Packed up provisions goods etc and sent off the wagon with timber about 11 o'clock. Went down to bathe. Rather hot. All [Gi-aa's ?] people came down early this morning to see Mr Waters. All very civil. Had dinner and left about 2. Over took the wagon on the end of the flat and rode on. All right here. Rode to Dahralla's he was not at home. Krili is gone down to see the prophet. I suppose this is the crisis; I hope so, for war is much better than such an uncertainty as we have been living in. Hope on made some bread. Not very well this evening so I went to bed early. Dark night.

Tuesday 30th. I awoke very early this morning. Panduma's child was kicking up a tremendous row. Got up and let out Prig. Very unwell indeed today. I have not felt so unwell since I left St Luke's. Felt quite sick. I had Tede's children to school. The women also brought grass to thatch my house again. Wrote several letters Bishop of C[ape] T[own], Pascoe and part of one home. Martinas came whilst I was in the middle of the one home. He seems to walk very fast. I should think he would make a good servant. Had Dahralla's children to school. Saw several of the storks again, quite a flock. I have only seen two or three lately. Wrote up my journal for the time I was at K[ing] W[illiam's] T[own], also made up accounts, and the school books. Made fire, and boiled rice and milk. Panduma sleeps here.

Wednesday 31st. Last day of another year arrived. How I wish it could be spent at home. 3 years since dear little Lydia⁵⁸ was buried, on that cold December day. May I follow where she has gone before! Very unwell today again could hardly sit up. Last night Panduma and his wife had such a row that I was obliged to turn them out in the middle of the night. I kept quiet till my head was aching very much and then sent them away. Shobu's wives came down very early this morning to thatch my hut afresh. I hope for the 4th and last time, that it will not leak again. Walked down to the winkle to get change. Found the children arrived when I got back. Had very short school, for my head was very bad. Had Dahralla's children and then lay down and read and dozed for the rest of the day. Felt much better towards the evening. I met a man this morning that had sold an ox at the winkle and been paid all in buttons. He had 7 packets. Sat outside and watched the sun go down. Very beautiful evening. Rode to the winkle to get some tobacco. No news, and Martinas not returned yet. Thinking a great deal about home, and new years that are passed and gone. May my next be spent more to the glory of God, and good of myself. Shobu sleeping here in the evening. End of 1856.

Thursday 1st January 1857. Circumcision. New-years-day. Not up till rather late. Sent Panduma for Tede's children. Very good night after the row I had. Put sundry goods in readiness to give the children. Had some corn for breakfast; very little, it was burnt very much. Read till the children arrived. Martinas came with post, no letters, and I had no time to read the papers, as he wanted to get on before it got hot. Gave away loads of things to Tede's children; they all appeared highly pleased. Same with Dahralla's. Gave some trousers. Paid Shobu and Panduma. Old Shobu started for Anta's⁵⁹ to fetch some cattle. Read all the afternoon. Heavy rain and mist. Man down to sleep at night. Made some plum-dough-boys. Very hungry indeed. Having had no breakfast.

Friday 2nd. Up early and turned out the house. Slight rain and heavy mist so I did not go to Yoliswa's as intended. Read in the morning. The children were here nearly all day. Good number. Zenzile brought 3 new ones with him. Dahralla came to see me. Talked about the prophet. Willie arrived

58. Lydia Mullins (1849-1853), youngest sister of Robert John.

59. Anta - see biographical notes.

in the evening to my great comfort. Wrote to Parker and rode down to winkle. Handkerchiefs not arrived.

Saturday 3rd. Not awake till just before 6. Turned out Prig and got up. Read whilst Willy boiled some rice for breakfast. Panduma did not get the children till after he had done milking so I had long morning to read and write. Whiteboy arrived from Mr Waters with the newspapers and some letters. A boor passed looking for men and women servants. I do not think he will succeed. Kani and Rifele and followers came down today to borrow a file to take off their iron anklets. They were nicely worked, but they filed them and broke them quite off. I could not see the reason. By reason of Mr W[ater]'s letters which was about Col M[aclea]n and the scandal case, I told Willy to fetch Prig and started off to see him. Left the newspapers at winkle and started at ¼ past 12. Got in at ¼ to 2 and found Mr W[aters] in close confab with Boesac, Andries and Mgcumdu. All about serious reports. I met Martinas taking me over the [clock ?] and loads of people with hides etc. Horses quite done up with their loads, and young boys also all loaded. Pumbane killed about 50 bucks yesterday and today and has been burning all his corn I saw the fire then and it was lit early. Krili has returned to Butterworth. He returned on Wednesday home and started again yesterday. Wrote to Col[onel] M[aclea]n. Very heavy rain whilst I was at Isidenge. Mr W[aters] wanted me to stay but as Willy told me when I started, that he knew I should not return that day, I was determined to do so. Saw shoals of those storks on the flats. All the Hottentots in a fearful state of excitement. Speelman has crossed the river and he told us when he did that it would be a sign that something was wrong. I hear they have been cutting up the hides because they could not sell them. I hope Mr W[aters] will get off in safety. Krili asked the prophet to give him 6 days before he brought up the dead. Boi, the herd, was told by a Kafir to leave even without his money. Another told [Magre— ?] that all white men on that side of the river were the enemies of the Galeka's [sic]. Got wet going home. Saw some of those very large green frogs with red breasts, for the first time today. Wrote to Mr Thompson in the evening. Simon P. and Whiteboy sleeping here. I hope all is right; copied out the Kafir prayers at Mr Waters. Mr W[aters] thinks something will happen before another week is over. Willy wants to go away. He says it is no place for him now and wants Mr W[aters] to leave Cacadu very much. Raining at night. The rain in the afternoon very heavy indeed. Mr W[aters] sent the cheque for the £25 the Bishop of Cape T[own] gave me; he said I ought to be chided about Col M[aclea]n and Mr Allen censured. Poor Allen!! He is most unfortunate. Not in bed till nearly 11. Very tired.⁶⁰

Sunday 4th. Owing to my being late in bed and the Hottentots singing till about 12 I never awoke till about 10 minutes to 8 this morning. Had prayers both parts together and read Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Kafir till their service time. Dahralla came down by himself. I sat outside with him for about an hour and a half talking over news; I told him all I had seen and heard, and he immediately said, "You know today is Umthlekaze's last day; he is calling up the dead tonight." I asked him what Mr Waters ought to do, he did not know as the Kafirs would not let him know anything as he ploughed etc. I talked on a long time. He was very open about everything. Said all would be out very soon. Shobu's wives and some children formed my congregation for D[ahralla] after waiting so long, said he must go. Reading all the afternoon. Showery all day. No children to school and several dances going on. Wrote some letters at night to Bessie etc.⁶¹ Rather finer. Moon shining.

60. The allusions to 'scandal' are tantalising but cannot be elucidated.

61. Bessie Mullins (1846-1928) sister to Robert John.

Monday 5th. Not up very early. Took some bread and butter, got all goods together and started for Yoliswa's. Looked at my watch at the end of the long flat, just 7. Rode gently on. Met a great many people with hides from Yoliswa's place. Just as I was going to round the Spits Kop to Faku's, I went to take out my watch and found it gone. I gave over all my goods to a man at the kraal, borrowed a sambok and rode back to where I had last taken it out. I asked everybody but they had not seen it. When I got there I dismounted and followed the spoor of my horse all the way on but could see nothing at all of it. Had the children a short time and then gave them presents. They were very much pleased and some of the men thanked me for giving them I got two men to go with me, and we all took a long search but with no effect. I did not go on any further. The pony was tired and I had got a very bad headache. Rode home by rather a different road to see if I could meet the people coming from the winkle. They had seen nothing of it. I offered a large reward. Faku was very kind and promised to do all he could to get it. Especially when I told him it was the last present from my father. This seemed to weigh much with them all. Laid down some time when I got home and my headache soon got better. Willy made me some capital rice broth. News that the Celeka's [sic] are giving away their goods and that Umthlakaza has gone to Butterworth. Read in the evening. Simon and Maso here again.

Tuesday 6th. Epiphany and 12th Night. Aroused by Shobu coming to talk over a horse case, with Simon. Dahralla came down early. He continues very kind indeed. Willy made a sort of bread cake and then left for Cacadoo. Birches⁶² wagon passed down. Simon got an order from me for a packet of chain to help him out of his horse case with Shobu. Mr Warner here again, he went before I could see him but returns tomorrow so they say. The bread took up a good deal of my time as it was a windy day and I could not keep enough fire up. Umvunthla, James, lthengeka, Vezi and Anta passed down. I gave Umvunthla my old jacket. He begged very hard for it and I promised it after I got another. James I gave Kobus Bosman jacket and a new pair of trowsers. He was very much pleased. Walked up to Shobu's talked some time. Read and wrote in the evening. Simon slept here again and leaves tomorrow morning. Beautiful moon light night. Gave man a pass to Shepstone.

Wednesday 7th. Simon called me early. He made coffee and Shobu and Dahralla, Simon and myself discussed it and Umthalakza. Simon left for Grunberg. I put all in order in my house just as Manscola's children arrived here. All quiet. Had good school from Tede's today. Sent a man to Queenstown with letters. Just as he was going to start, Hendrick arrived with some more from Mr Waters. Read Kafir and some Jerrold.⁶³ A man of Kama's⁶⁴ tribe arrived this evening. He asked to put in his horse. I was up at D[ahralla]'s this morning, watching the boys ride the calves. Saw Peligane catch one very cleverly. He threw the rein round the leg with a noose as it was running. Brought the [illegible] to school. Mr Warner did not come. A meeting there today about Townsend's case. Made up accounts in the evening.

Thursday 8th. Shobu who slept here last night aroused me by saying the man had arrived in Queenstown. Received two letters from home. One Sept 22 the other Nov 1st. I have had one already dated Oct. So the Sept one is behind time. Henry posted it in Bath. Got up and put all square and was just going to commence breakfast when Kama's friend walked in. I asked him

62. H Birch was granted the farm 'Grobler's Grave'. The owner of the Royal Hotel in Queenstown was also a Mr Birch.

63. Douglas William Jerrold (1803-1857), English playwright and journalist, on the staff of the periodical *Punch* and later editor of *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper*.

64. Kama - see biographical notes.

to have some which he did. But before he began asked me to say grace. I was very pleased with this for many reasons. It showed he had learnt something for he could neither read nor write. He stayed some time till my children came. I taught them very few and then read the papers in order to send them on to Mr W[aters]. Panduma then came and told me Warner was come. I started to see him and met him coming to see me, with two of his men. He stayed for two hours I should say. Talked a long time. I spoke to him about the papers. He said he could not endow me with power but that he wished I would offer and then he would get permission, and it would help him. I said I would rather not he pressed it. I said I would ask Mr Waters. But I thought it would be entirely against our rules. He talked a long time. Sent to Mr Waters. Read my very interesting English letters and had Tede's school. Read letters again; great dance at Philip's, all the horsemen racing as usual. Road to winkle and bought handkerchiefs, but had to return without tobacco as the place was crowded. Wrote in the evening and walked down to the winkle. Bought some tobacco. Willy arrived whilst I was there. No news. Mr Waters talks about coming here Monday next. Yesterday's note said I was to go to him on Sunday, after my service.

Friday 9th. Gave Willy a note for Mr Waters. I then started with my horse loaded with shirts etc for Yoliswa's. Looked out well for my watch but never saw it. Arrived at Faku's just before they milked. I had a very good school and loads of adults, who also learnt. Gave the rest of the children some handkerchiefs. Faku a pair of trowsers and left for Riba's. I had 73 altogether. Arrived there I changed some of the clothes and gave poor Prig as much as he could carry. The stench at the kraal was awful from the bad meat. Rode on to Umvumthla's. He was not at home but James and the boys went down with me to school. Found Yoliswa at home. She was looking very unwell and languid. Made coffee. Had a long chat. She wanted to know whether I had been to K[ing] W[illiam's] Town to be married. Only a few to school, but a lot of people. Gave them dresses and handkerchiefs, shirts etc. They were all extremely pleased and wanted to know when I should come again. Gave Yoliswa and the old woman red handkerchiefs. The old lady very cross about her beads, so few for a shilling. Smell very bad here also, tho' they say they have not killed. Returned but [Umvumthlas saw him ?] and Bobojohn to whom I gave a shirt as he had such a nice garden. He was much pleased. Rode to Riba's. Had pretty good school. Some grumbling about the presents. Give R[iba]'s wife a handkerchief and his mother for minding the goods. Rode home to winkle. Found Richardson there with his wagon. Sandilli killing at a tremendous pace. They have bought at the winkle 1000 hides a day lately. You can get a buck for tobacco over the Kei. Birch bought 250 in a day and a wagon load of hides. Loads of wagons going about. Saddle bags came. Pascoe sent some time ago. 2 of my books lose [sic] in it. W. Sermore and Pusey⁶⁵. Found a troop of Hottentot women arrived on the journey. They had made themselves quite at home here.

Saturday 10th. Very tired this morning. Kama's man came early to wish me goodbye but as I was only awake I did not answer and Willy got him away. Had D[ahralla]'s children, only 10 before breakfast. Plenty of patients for eyewear. One man had quite lost the sight of one eye. Read, very hot day. Read Kafir. Sent Mr W[aters] the saddle bags. 3 Hottentot men arrived with lots of bucks. Got them to fetch in plenty of wood so as not to go on Sundays. Read and wrote in the evening.

65. E B Pusey (1800-1862). Regius Professor of Hebrew who with Keble and Newman inspired the Oxford Movement with its stress on the Catholic tradition in the Anglican Church. He was the author of many sermons, articles and tracts.

Sunday 11th. Up and had first school. Dahralla and some of his men came down. They seemed much pleased with the children. Dahralla came into my house afterwards to have some coffee, he told me he had told the Hottentots that the ground was too small for them. I was glad to hear this. He also asked me whether I should help him in case of war. I told him I should see. He also said he should still fight supposing his own Father came against him. He promised to return to Kafir service. I lost the prayer and looked everywhere but could not find it. However Dahralla returned by himself so I did not have service. Had Tede's school and then rode over to Mr W[aters]. Hear that Perks arrived at Butler's last night. Found Mr W[aters] well but expecting the outbreak tonight. Joey was there and said he would come to see Mr W[aters] again in 4 days, so I suppose all is right. Mr Reynolds arrived whilst we were at chapel talking till 11 o'clock.

Monday 12th. Up early. Wrote out the prayer. Reynolds talking and telling all his Xmas spree. Saw Gicomma and Ziqu, Klaas and some others. Mr Waters gone to Comata [sic; Qamata] Port. Went and bathed and then started. Found Dahralla at Johnson's winkle, he was crossing the road as Perks' cattle (Pack) were stolen last night by armed men, and not heard of. Found Tede's children just at school. Perks not arrived. Read for the afternoon. Hottentots mending a kraal. I told them Mr Waters' message.

Tuesday 13th. Up rather late. Had Dahralla's children to school. Marked out the place for the new house. And commenced the holes. Martin has passed with the post. No news. Wrote a scrawl to Mr Smith. Very hot day. Almost dead. Had Tede's children. Pretty good number. Worked again at holes. Read. Went with Dahralla to Shobu's to give him the two bucks from Mr Waters, but could not find them. Rode down to winkle and saw Perks and Mullery. No news. Moses [Niggele's ?] wagon arrived with clay.

Wednesday 14th. Found Tede's children come to school - early as they have to mind the cattle during the day. Went on with house. Put in the poles and then the rafters and side poles. We had to pull a good part down again. But managed it pretty well. One John Webster passed by today. He seemed to know my name. I do not remember having seen him before. Awfully [sic] hot. My shoulders are quite burnt. I can hardly move. And my fingers all thumbs. [Pilingane ?] managed to drive the horses in to river, Prig managed to get thro', Pulutama got smothered in the mud, and the colt stuck fast we had some trouble to get her out, but we managed at last. Started Willie to fetch Dema. Fetched wood and took my things all in. Dahralla passed early this morning. He was in beautiful rig and a fine horse. Says dance again. Thunder storm in the evening. Willy not come in, and I have to go without my supper. I hope all is right with him. 3 more Hottentots come today. Martinas not back as he promised.

Thursday 15th. Bessy's birthday. God bless her. Had no supper last night. Willy got home about 2 o'clock, and woke me up. He could not catch Dema. Very bad pain in one hand. I think I must have strained it today. Martinas arrived soon after Willy. Nogood has been stolen and detected in the mountains. So I sent in a note by Moses W[agisa] to tell Mr Green to sell him to best advantage. Went on with my house. Sent away Dema by Stuurman. No news by the papers. Nogood jumped thro' the window. Put on the batens and two sides of the planks. Very heavy storm of wind and thunder. Working hard all day. Willy made me a little birthday cake. Very oppressive day.

Friday 16th. Sent Willy to give Dahralla two she goats and started for Yoliswa's. Found them milking at Faku's so I rode on to Umbulu's. The lady just painted herself. Very red. Made coffee. Talked long time. Only 20 head of cattle there this evening. No news. Had capital school and then

returned to Riba's. Yoliswa wants me to go and live there very much. Said I could go anywhere I chose. Good school at Riba's. One girl knew all but 'e'. Came on to rain and so went into a very nice hut to teach. I wish mine was as good. Rode on to Faku's, and had a tremendous school. All very kind. Been very heavy rain for two or three days. Ground very bad. Rode fast home as heavy thunder storm was coming on. Got home all seems well. Willy had 32 children and I [text illegible].

Saturday 17th. Up late again I think I must go to bed very late every night for I always oversleep myself now. Went on with school and the house. Finished the other side and put on the roof. Had D[ahralla]'s children and then finished putting in the small pieces left. Klass Whiteboy passed from the river. No news he says. Very tired. Very heavy thunder storm came on just about Sun down. We could see the clouds rolling in line and the setting sun beyond cast a beautiful light upon the mountains. I never saw anything so beautiful in my life. Of course the whole place was flooded; all the Hottentots in my hut and Shobu and 2 wives. Some Hottentots slept there, the others outside. I wish they were all gone.

Sunday 18th. Up early. Beautiful morning. All right. Had prayers and breakfast. Both schools together this morning. Children were very quiet. Wrote all day. I saw Dahralla come from the winkle and told him to come to service, but he never did. Read in the evening. I am sorry I cannot get them to service. Hoisted a flag today for the 1st time but to no purpose. Perks' wagons passed today towards King W[illiam's] Town with several Hottentots. I wish these would go too. I don't know how to expel them, except by force, and I do not want to do that. I know they live on me. For I notice the things go very fast since they came. I cannot see them starve, but I cannot afford [sic] to keep 7 grown up and 2 children.

Monday 19th. Had school. Only a few present. Read all day. Very interesting book. Very wet. Umvumthla called as he was passing. Begging again as usual, and Dahralla passed down in full trim going down to the winkle with some notice from Warner. Very cold wet day. Reading and writing in the evening.

Tuesday 20th. Wet again. Had school, very few from Tede's. Another *Intonjani* over Miss Iyakupa Qweshu so that all my girls were absent. In the evening I walked down to the winkle. No news there. They gave me some capital Irish stew. Read and wrote in the evening.

Wednesday 21st. Wet again and very cold. I had Tede's children very late today, and only Umthlumba from above. Reading all day. About 9 I sent a man to Queenstown as I had not heard from Mr Waters. Dahralla called to see me in the evening. He says at the end of this month all the killing had to be over. Paid old Shobu 1s at request. Finished two years [?] which I like very much.

Thursday 22nd. Kept awake a great part of the night by a little brute of a dog who howled like blazes. Jacob arrived early, bringing no post but saying Mr G[reen] would bring it out with him today. The bucks had made a fearful mess of all my school room. I made the boy wash the forms and declared I would put all the kids into the kraal if I found them there again. Dull wet day. Had a few from Dahralla's. Riba called early begging for a blanket. Read. No Mr Green. Rained hard part of the day. I suppose now we shall not get the post till next week. So much for Mr G[reen]'s coming out. Rode to winkle. No news. Perks gone to Queenstown. Kafirs rather troublesome over the river. Found on my return most of the kids in the school room. Kicked them out and put them all in the kraal. I suppose the Hottentots think me very cruel, but if one does not put a stop

to it they will soon turn me out of my own house. I never saw a lazier, cooler, set than most of them are. Made up my accounts.

Friday 23rd. Very dull black morning so I did not start to Yoliswa's. Umvumthla called early. He reports that Yoliswa has an increase to her family, early this morning. I told him I should be over tomorrow. Only Tede's and a very few of them to school today. Very wet afternoon. Went to get fire wood. Heavy thunder storm, one flash very near. On lighting the fire my hut got so full of smoke that I was nearly murdered. Read Linguard most of the day.

Saturday 24th. Up about 5 o' c[lock]. Got everything ready and started to Faku's. Had a capital school there. All very kind and attentive. Got my feet very wet riding thro' the long grass. Rode on to Riba's and gave notice of my coming and then to Yoliswa's. I saw her at her own request. She was looking just the same as usual. The children making just as much noise etc. She has a very small little girl about the size of my two fists. She told me to tell Mr Waters. Had school, very few. Out hunting. At Riba's I found all the old people gone to a dance, but the children came all the same. Rode past the winkle. No news. They say the river is full. Bad headache slept two hours and got all right. John and Africaner arrived at night.

Sunday 25th. Conversion of St Paul. Up before sunrise, and went to ask Shobu about Prig. He told me he was with the other horses. I had prayers and hoisted the flag,⁶⁶ which William told me meant war, *ifazi* [*imfazwe*: war]. He said it was very unlucky. Had pretty good school, wrote and read and waited for the Kafirs till 12 o'clock when I finished the litany and sent William to fetch the horse. Stand till ½ past 1 when as nobody came I started for Mr Waters. Pleasant ride. Very heavy storm coming up behind. Met Reynolds, Johnston and Cooper and Williams coming over to see after the post which I was sorry not to bear. Found the river rather full. Klass carried over my things. Found them just coming out of school. Came on to rain heavily. We had some very beautiful singing at night in the chapel. No news here.

Monday 26th. Heard early that the river was impassable and that Perks' wagon was washed down last night and turned over. It also came on to rain so Mr Waters said I had better stop. Helped in school. The Kafirs did not come down till just as we were going out and very few there. The Hottentots seem to be progressing nicely. Praying nearly all day. No news, all quiet.

Tuesday 27th. Martinas started with post, but Mr waters said I had better not go till the afternoon. Read during the morning and after dinner started with Mr W[aters] for the drift. They had just got out the wagon and were beginning to load up. Found all well here. Perks has not been out and no news.

Wednesday 28th. Up all a ½ part [?] and not very well in the night. Read before and after breakfast, had good school. Made up the books and wrote up journal. Went up to Pifile's in the evening. He said he was only just returned or else his children would have come to school. Whilst there I saw Martinas pass. He had no letters for me. Sent on the papers to Mr W[aters]. Mr Warner with 6 police and Dahralla passed this afternoon on his way to Johnston's to ask about the case. Whilst I was reading last week's papers, Mr Waters walked in, then about ¼ to nine. He had received an express from Mr Hardie stating that the accounts were all wrong, and so he is on his way down to King W[illiam's] Town. Made up a bed for him.

66. Missionaries used a flag to signal a service; William associated it with military ceremonials.

Thursday 29th. Mr W[aters] started early on Prig for K[ing] W[illiam's] Town. We had prayers before he went. Soon after I also started for St Marks which I have charge of till Mr W[ater]'s return. Rode Dema for the first time today. He is very rough. Found all well. Joey came to see us whilst there. [Last sentence partially deleted by Mullins.] There was no more news abroad. Had school etc.

Friday 30th. King Charles I. Mr Perks arrived last evening. I went down to see whether he had purchased Nogood. I asked whether he was there. They said no, and I sat down as I thought by some stranger, which proved to be him. River full this morning and very wet so I have put off my journey to Wayisa's till tomorrow. Richard and Perks to drive. I cannot get him to give more than £15 for Nogood. Reading the papers all day. School etc.

Saturday 31st. Started for Wayisa's this morning, accompanied by Boesac.⁶⁷ Jerry ran after a springbok and turned it twice before it got to the bush. Old W[ayisa] said at first that he had received orders not to let his children come to school but it turned out to be only news. He told us a lot of news come direct from Umthlakaza. Two kraals of men and 1 of horse up and a lot more lies. He said he did not believe. Had a pretty good school but as I did not get there till milking time there were some engaged. Old W[ayisa] after school with his brother Melini walked some distance on the road and then sat down to tell his news all about Umthlakaza as usual. We talked on for about an hour. [Nefelt] passed, the new master, on his way to the Zuurberg. He seems a nice man. Rode back thro' Giama and told them about Sunday tomorrow also at the other kraal. Found Mr Reynolds waiting dinner, he had made a batter pudding. Joey, Mr Bak's and Weetis to dinner. Giama also came in, and seeing the vinegar bottle asked for some brandy. We gave him some at which he made most horrible faces. Umsetshana also came to ask Mr Waters for a blanket. Had a bathe in the afternoon. Perks has taken Nogood for £17 and Reynolds has to pay me. I hope it will be all right. I suppose Perks is not so certain of Reynolds as I am.

Sunday. February 1st. Mr Reynolds called me early. Nobody to service. Only a few Hottentots. The singing rather poor, also last night. Walked up with Reynolds to see where they were. They said they did not know it was Sunday. I then asked them to come down they said they would. Nopote however let slip that they were going to have a dance, so I knew there was no chance. Had school for the Hottentots. Singing rather better at evening service. Did not read a sermon today because I could not find one I liked. Wrote home.

Monday 2nd. Giles' birthday. Writing home, and teaching in school. John Dun⁶⁸ came down this morning to have his leg doctored. He had tumbled down and cut his knee very badly with a stone. I put on some plaster and old man's friend, and said I would see him next day. David went up the hill, and Boesac to Camata at night. Dance still going on at Giama's. All Umthelehi's people going up and others. Joey here again no news from Krili. Killing very much all round us. The winklers very busy. Wagons arriving and departing again. [Weetis?] is come here in William's place.

Tuesday 3rd. The first thing this morning the hides began to arrive and continued to pour in all day. Horses with six and seven hides on from the Tsomo [?] - bucks and cows. I counted 36 people

67. Boesak taught at the Khoi school at St Mark's. (USPG Archives, Patten to SPG 6.12.1862)

68. John Dunn (sometimes Dun) is unidentified, but evidently not the John Dunn of Zulu/Natal fame. (Information from C Ballard)

with cows in about 5 minutes. Going on with the house for Reynolds. The mason arrived last night. I forgot to mention that Mrs Myrels⁶⁹ had a son yesterday (the 2nd) early. Martinas went with the post early. I wrote to Cousin Robert - they expect Krili very soon with fresh news. Old Shobu came with Panduma to get their money. I paid S[hobu] 7s and Panduma 3s for fetching the children and 2/6 for milk. Teaching the children etc. Walked up to John Dun in the afternoon his leg very bad. I was caught there in a thunder storm and had to stay there about an hour. They were talking about people who would not kill. Giamna seemed to be just going to Ciba for I saw him start and the rain came on and he returned. Fell in with four men with horses loaded from the Tsomo. One man offered to let me have a skin for a handkerchief also his [-] which he said was very [-] and [-] if [words from "also" to "if" crossed out in blue ink in original] I would not [inserted in blue ink] let him have the handkerchief. I told him I was an *Umfundisi* and that he must not talk to me so. The water melons are getting on very nicely.

Wednesday 4th. Went down to the winkle to get some money. Willy arrived this morning from Bolotwa. No news. Dahralla gone to Anta's. Had school as usual. Play on the harmonium etc. Was going up to John Dun but the rain came on and prevented me. Raining heavy all night. Nothing new today. Killing going on very badly. The postman arrived at night. I had the luck to receive 5 letters, 2 from home, from Greenstock, Allen and Colin Campbell. I have never had so many before. So I had quite a night, a letter reading. No news from Mr Waters. The papers full of thefts, that's all. The "Beny anecdotes". Poor Mr Reynolds nearly mad because he had no letter.

Thursday 5th. Started for Wayisa's but just as I was in the middle of the flat I remembered that I had forgotten both tobacco and raisins which I was particularly instructed to bring. So I rode back home, intended to go tomorrow. I then took the necessary and went to see John D[un] he was at home but did not seem much better. The cut was very deep. I then rode to the place where the mason and Mageman [?] were quarrying. They are getting out the large heavy iron stone. I do not think the mason any good at all. Very few to school. Reading letters etc all day. Heavy rain about 12 o'clock. No further news. Boesac came down in the evening. He says Bote killed 10 this morning. I noticed several women making doors for huts, it seems it is the prophet's orders, also to rethatch and clean all round the hut. They must be all mad. David was down early to take up his wife. He did not stay long. Very few of the Kafirs come to see us now.

Friday 6th. Wet night and very heavy rain in the morning so I have again given up going to Wayisa's. Boesac gone to find a bull that has run away from him. I went up in the evening to John Dun, found him at Xasca's kraal. Had a long chat there. They were very kind. Reading at night. Fine evening. Building gradually going on. Perks passed on Nogood. I did not know he [was] so poor.

Saturday 7th. This morning directly after breakfast we started for Wayisa's. Had good school. They do not seem to know much there. Got back a little after 11. He said he had no news to tell me. That all was quiet and that he believed this prophet to be a liar, and Mr Waters to be true, because the cattle did not come. Just after dinner they told us that some springboks were in the thorns so we all sallied forth. We found them about a mile off. But they got into the bush before the dogs could see them, we followed on until we came to the large flat. The Hottentots saw a steinbok [sic; steenbok] and Reynolds and myself heard from some Kafirs where the springboks were. We followed, only they managed to get some way out on the flat before we

69. Mrs Myrels was wife to a clerk in Mullery's store near Ndarhala's homestead.

saw them. Jerry then could not be made to see them but started off on scent. He soon followed in good earnest driving them into the bush at a tremendous pace. We then returned. Found the wagon not inspanned, but they did so after a short time and fetched two loads of stone before sun down. Umsito was down at Boesac's hut all day. I suppose news and lies. Loads of Hottentots down to Sunday service. David's school. Simon P. also here with an ox, Reynolds bought it. Had some very hard work to catch it and tie it up. Singing at night; they sang very middling not half so nice as I have often heard them. I came thro' Giamna's and saw J[ohn] Dun's leg and told them about Sunday. Nobody of the great men at home. Gone to some meeting I suppose. Women making doors and mending huts.

Sunday 8th. Up early. Had morning service. Very good attendance and capital singing. Only 7 down to Kafir service, which I was very nervous about, could hardly manage to get thro' it. We then had English service and one of the sermons for C[hristian] Seasons. Very beautiful singing and a large congregation. Boesac here with a long story which Umsito had told him, we were all to look out for tomorrow. Just another yarn as he generally brings. There seemed a grain more probability in this. Had dinner. At a ¼ to two we went into school. They said some of their catechism and were answering some questions when Mr Waters arrived in company with Mr Hardie. I was very surprised to see them both especially Mr Hardie. This 5th attempt has been at last successful. So we had plenty to do. The Hottentots sang very well all the time. Mr H[ardie] took a siesta and Mr W[aters] began to tell me the news. I am let in for an awful account. I don't understand it all exactly, but it seems out of £100 per annum I have to pay for saddle and bridle, at least the new one, herds and all other expenses. Of course this will make a great deal of difference in my yearly expenses, and at once squashes my chief object of sending money home to help my father. I must try to help tho', if only a little. I was very much put out at first. I cannot see why I have to pay herds and people for keeping mission horses. The black horse has been stolen from Keiskama and Mr W[aters] has returned on Prig, and so one of us must go without a horse. I am all together very much vexed. I cannot see that I went to any unnecessary expense, and my horses have never had a sore back since I bought the new saddle. However orders must be obeyed and I shall have to tip out another £15 per annum. We had Umvunthla here to tea. Come to see us. Had evening service, the singing very bad altogether; old Andries down, up or something. Long talk with Mr Waters and Hardie in the evening till about 10 when we turned into bed. Several people on top of their huts for a long time this morning. Trading at the station today. On Friday night hardly a Kafir went to bed, they were all ordered to sit up all that night to look for something and some people told me they had heard the new cattle bellowing. What will it end in?

Monday 9th. Up early. Had morning service. Settled accounts with Mr Waters after breakfast; nearly right. It seems I have to pay for the forage of my horses as well, so that it will cost a great deal per annum. Packed up, got all cash and started. Paid for some tobacco at the winkle and came onto Johnstone's. Jefri Donaldson was in his hut, and as I went into to look at some things he saluted me, of which I took not the slightest notice. Arrived here about ½ past 10 I suppose; all well here. Panduma gone and Dahralla not yet returned so I have heard no news. Old Shobu has actually killed one of his three milk cows. Writing my journal all the afternoon. Made up accounts and had some few children to school. They seem to have been pretty regular during my absence. Gave [Tiwacu ?] a shirt, and walked up to Dahralla's and had some friendly chat, also at Pifile's; they had killed another cow. They have nearly finished all their cattle. Found Moffatt here on my return also Birches wagon, outspanned, and some more Hottentots arrived. I shall soon have a large station. They have begun two huts and the Kafirs are building them fast. An express going for Dahralla tonight. Warner has sent for him. Toboka, *amagoboka* are

Umthlakaza's people; *amagogotya*, the people against killing.⁷⁰ They seem quite at enmity. Plenty of hides going down to the winkle, some from a great distance. Jones⁷¹ at the winkle again. Willy made some very nice bread. Moon rose rather red according to Umthlakaza.

Tuesday 10th. Poor little Lydia's birthday. One can hardly help wishing that all one's troubles were over like hers. The children down very early, the wagon gone before I got up. The Hottentots kindly sent me in a kettle of coffee and I had a good breakfast. I gave some of the children presents but had not enough to go all round. Martinas here about ½ past 9 going on to town. Wrote to Brown for some goods. Some few of Tede's to school. Reading all the morning. Some more Tede's came but I was obliged to send them away, because I was very tired the day being awfully hot. Dahralla passed in the afternoon. Anta not killing, so he says. Jones came up in an awful fright just after Martinas to see what was the matter; he had seen the Hottentots run by and thought there must be some very important news. Reading all day. Dahralla down in the evening. He had some talk with 3 other men, here about Umthlakaza, they were *amagogotya*. In the middle of his conversation he caught hold of the toe of my shoe, and said impressively that the cattle would be up in 7 or 8 days. I did not quite understand, but by his earnest conversation there seems to be something up, and the constant word *imfazwi* [war] was by no means pleasing, also Umlanjeni was often mentioned. No news yet. We all have to live in hope. Gave Willy leave to go to Shiloh. He promises to return.

Wednesday 11th. Up just after sun rise. Had pretty good school, both Tede's and Dahralla's together. Sorry but that I could not go to Faku's as I had intended. Tried to read up for the papers, but the heat soon sent me to sleep. Got on pretty well in the afternoon. Very large meeting at Dahralla's, to talk over all affairs. Nonesi has sent to Warner for soldiers to be stationed in her country. Also some other chief, as they are afraid of Quesha and Vadana. Warner had been to ask Umle-da-we [?], and Dahralla goes to learn the answer tomorrow. They also decided that the *amagogotyo* should remain firm towards the English.⁷² Few to school in the evening. Gave Tede's children some things. Jacob is my new *igosa* [steward]. He seems to do well. His first day. Reading hard in evening. Very hard paper. Klass Whiteboy arrived.

Thursday 12th. Up before sunrise!!! Had my last peice [sic] of bread for breakfast. I hope they will send me supplies soon. Had pretty good school. They were very late. Went on with the questions for Mr Waters. I find them the hardest I have ever done. Obligated to refer to the Bible once or twice to get on at all,⁷³ 3 droves of cattle passed today. Manscola's was one and another a man from Vadana's country. They seem to fear war now. I had a talk with some of them: they said they could not starve. They had a good number of cattle. Dahralla down early to borrow a saddle to go to Warner, about ½ past 12 a man came with post, Martinas taken and

70. Toboka: *amagoboka* 'the soft people' were those who were tender to the demands of the ancestors. *Thobeka* means 'to bend' thus to be humble or submissive. The *amagogotya* were hard or insensitive to the demands of the ancestors. It derives from a word meaning unyielding, stingy, or disbelieving. Peires uses the word *amathamba* to denote the believers. (See Peires, *The Dead will arise*, pp.165-66)

71. Jones was a trader in the area.

72. Fadana said Joyi requested other Thembu chiefs to subscribe cattle to help the *amagoboka*. They refused. (SA Archives, CO.2951, 1858)

73. Mullins studied while working as a missionary. This was a form of theological education by extension. A diocesan theological tutorship was endowed in 1874 but it was not until John Espin DD retired as principal of St Andrew's College in 1905 that the work became institutionalised at St Paul's Theological College.

gone on in Johnson's wagons. Nothing came for me so I have to scrape on as best I can. Bacela called from Faku's. Had two papers from Pascoe and England. I think [word illegible] Account of a meeting for St Andrew's College. Bishop soon expected. Rode after wagons to send on the post. Saw Perks at the winkle. Reading all afternoon and evening. Had school again; all the big girls turned out in dresses, quite a show. Spoke to Nosonthla about his children. He says he will send them tomorrow; I am afraid not. Nor more news today. People at work at house. I had hoped to have gone to Faku's but the post arriving late prevented me. Not in bed till eleven. I find night best time to read.

Friday 13th. Woke just at six. Had to start with only a cup of coffee which the Hottentots were kind enough to give me, as I had not a bit of bread etc. Found all well at Faku's. Had 77 to school. Faku knew his letters very well, but it is no wonder the children forget when I am so irregular in my attendance. They had been killing there, but I did not see any waste meat. Rode on to Riba's where I found them all buissy making doors, as I suppose according to Umthlakaza's orders. He did not appear to be killing; I saw no meat. At Faku's they had a sort of bush barricade round the huts. I suppose all to order. Found Umvumthle at home. He was just fresh smeared and looked as red as a grenadier. Found Yoliswa well. She said she knew no news. She sat still and watched for Umthlakaza. They however were having their huts put into order etc. I had school. Children very inattentive. Not so many as usual. They have not been taught at all. So Yoliswa says. The men began to collect while I was there, apparently for a great meeting. On my return Umvumthla told me the meeting was about him, because he was going to leave the country. He said he would not do what Umthlakaza wished: the people did and he could not stop them and therefore he was going, and all the big men [had] come together to talk about it, because he was their chief. Had good school at Riba's. He asked me several questions about God and Um[thlakaza] but I answered as far as I could and then told him I must wait till I could speak plainly, because God was a very great thing to talk about. Very hot day. The horse got very hot at a walk. Called at winkle and received £10 that had been left me by Mr Perks and had a leg of mutton. Found Mr Reynolds had sent me over some grub so I shall have some supper tonight after my work. Good evening school. Joey has sent to summons Qweshu and Q[weshu] says he is sick. I saw some of Joey's men. They say he has about 200 mounted men with him. He is come to settle matters with the killing people. They all say Qweshu will not go and then Joe will come to him.

Saturday 14th. St Valentine. Up about ½ past 5. Wagon left this morning. Had school. Dahralla passed with some of Joey's men. Finished the paper and reading all morning. In the afternoon walked up to Dahralla's and told them to come to service tomorrow. Old Shobu is killing his cattle as fast as possible. Dahralla walked home with me. My horse was in his garden and tho' Geshile was there he never moved to turn it out. D[ahralla] spoke to Notebe. He was in a great rage about it. Mayreman came in evening on his way to Andries Neck. He says the killing is getting worse over there. Willy says he is ill and asked for some brandy and water because I gave Sarah some. I would not give any. He behaved very bad[ly] this evening. I got in a rage and had to go and cut the fire wood at last. D[ahralla] came in about ½ past 8 and stayed a long time. He says he expects war. I talked to him about his wives and children. Up till nearly 12.

Sunday 15th. Up early and had prayers. Wagon came here very early this morning from Cacadoo, and went on to Birches old winkle. Meyreman left. Had 34 to school. They are very inattentive. Notol came down to say that all the women were away and could not come. Wagon returned but I would not let them outspan. Read litany at ½ past 11 and about 12 started for St Mark's. At Johnson's winkle there was a perfect mob of Kafirs, the hides coming in wagon loads. I saw

Dial there. Perry was buying for he said the Websters had gone, and Birch had not goods and therefore he was made by them to buy. Found all well. They attempted to steal the horses last night. Took a walk to the Bushman's caves⁷⁴ with Messrs Hardie and Waters. Spent a pleasant evening in talk and nice evening service. Went to bed about nine. Reynolds sleeping close by the door all ready armed to rescue the horses in case of need. In the night I was roused by the most horrible yells and screams, banging of doors and rattling of the iron house I ever heard. Shoved on shoes and trousers and issued forth, and found the whole garrison up from the Parsons in their nightshirts down to the old Hottentot, Meg. Boesac had seen two thieves trying to break open the door of the stable, and had holloaed out, the thieves (two boys he says) ran by him - one with a kerrie, the other [an] assegai and he never tried to stop them!!!!!!! Just like a Hottentot. He says they ran close by and he never even chased them but let them go. We found the horses loose with the reins in their mouths, and heads turned towards the door all ready to go. It was then nearly 12. Reynolds and myself then armed and resolved to stand guard all night, till about 1. Boesac did nothing but recount the history of which he decidedly thought himself the hero. Reynolds and myself sat down outside the door listening to every sound till 3. R[eynolds] then went in and to bed and I remained till cock crowing 4. Once I was nearly dosing off when the door which was left ajar stealthily opened and I turning round suddenly half asleep let drive at something entering which proved only to be old Jerry. So ended the night's adventures. It is no pleasant work being sentry. This was my 4th night. 2 for the mealies and twice for horses. You must not stand or else they can see you clearly in the moonlight you have to sit silent, and keep your sleepy eyes open, "that," as Reynolds says, "they may not take the dirty advantage of you whilst asleep because" he said (in his own language) "they would stick you as sure as God made little apples."⁷⁵

Monday 16th. Very sleepy this morning. Started, after some little trouble in catching horses, with Mr Hardie for Bolotwa, I leading his spare horse. We got on very well till nearly home and then the rain gave us a regular wetting. Stopped for an hour and Mr Hardie changed and then started for Swart Kei. Mr H[ardie] very kind. He gave me the saddle [a pencilled alteration suggests Mullins may have wished to write: I gave him the saddle] and said he would send me a cheque for it. I asked him to pay Campbell £1 and give the rest to my Father which he promised to do, when he sees him in England. He said it was a remembrance of old companionship. Very kind of him indeed. I left him halfway over the Imvani flats and returned. Changed and went to sleep for 3 hours. Mr Johnson called. He is going to clear out as fast as possible. Mr Hardie did not see Dahralla. Found the whole of Piet Jantjis family here, but Mr Hardie says they must not stay. I am very glad of it as I do not want to make this a Hottentot station. Read last week's papers and went to bed. Wrote to Mr Waters and put up £[8?] which I intend to send with Nelson tomorrow morning. I am afraid poor Mr Waters and Reynolds are in great danger just at present. May they come safely out of it. Very wet day. No school. Found three or four women making hut and a fire when I got back.

Tuesday 17th. Sent Willy early to get his saddle from Dahralla. Wagons passing all day. Dahralla here early but soon started for Warner's. Took a sketch of Bram Neck and the other mountains

74. There are San caves on the Kei river not far from the mission. (See *i.a.* USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, Report, 1857, p.24) San people survived in the area of the Tambookie location until the War of Ngayecibi. J W Macquarrie (ed), *The Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford*, Vol.I, VRA, (Cape Town, 1958), pp.45-46.

75. There is abundant evidence that the Gcaleka plundered from the colony and the 'well disposed' Thembu. The cattle were said to have been taken to Gcalekaland. (SA Archives, LG.261, 1857)

as far as Dahralla's. Martinas passed with the post and John's; some women arrived from Imvani with my little friend Adam. Felt very restless all day. Didn't no [sic] know what to do. The Kafirs say the sun has to set where it rises tomorrow. Read in the afternoon. Nobody to school. Birches wagon gone to the drift again for the last time. Fell to sleep about 8 on my bed and did not awake till nearly 12. Willy not returned.

Wednesday 18th. Umthlakaza's day today. The first thing I heard this morning was a boy holloaing out that the sun would set in the east. Only Nomsonthlo's children to school. He sends them down very regularly. Their brother from Lessyton⁷⁶ came with them. He seemed very anxious they should get on also, their old father. Birches wagon arrived early with white Johnson and some two women. He talked some time. I drew more of the outlines of the mountains. D[ah]ralla home. Willy came about 11 and loads more Hottentots and goods. Plenty of people trekking away into D[ahralla]'s country Amagogotya. Great numbers of cattle and bucks. Had letter from Mr W[aters]. Dick [?] and Boesac have had warning from the Kafirs [to] leave and Mr Waters would not give them leave to come to [my] station because of Mr Hardies order. I am very sorry for this. One of Perks' traders had a thrashing from one of Krili's brothers yesterday. They say the poor fellow is much knocked about and another last night got run over with the wagon just above the loins. He is very badly hurt. Willy drove the wagon from Cacadoo and they sent up to ask me to let him drive on, which I did. The whole of Piet Jantjies family here. Also sundry others. Mr Waters says I must send them away. Walked to the winkle nobody selling today. I met Shobu and Pifile coming back and told them look at the sun. They laughed very much and said it was Qwesha's fault.⁷⁷ Heavy thunderstorm till about 8 this evening. Walked up to see the cow which they say is very sick[,] it appears to be something the matter with the throat, and not the sickness, as it eats all right and has two lumps under the throat. Dah[r]alla called. He says all Tambookies little and big are called to a meeting at Nonesi. Wrote to Mr Waters and made up accounts etc. NB the sun set as usual.

Thursday 19th. Up rather late. The Hottentots kindly sent me in some coffee thinking I had none I suppose. I sent out sugar and coffee again. Good school from Dahralla's. Jacob is no good: he got nobody to school. Sent John to see my cow. Meyreman brought the post about ½ past 1. No letters. An Englishman has been murdered near Alice. Plenty of horse stealing going on. Loads of newspapers; reading *The Guardian* the whole afternoon. Willy back in evening. Perks has asked him for another trip. He must speak to Mr Waters. Wrote again to Mr W[aters].

Friday 20th. Having no horse I could not go to Yoliswa's. Had school. Reading all day. Wagon left early. Heavy thunderstorm over Gwytyu⁷⁸ at night quite light here from the lightening. Received note and papers from Mr Waters. Told Piet's wife about going away. Plenty of Nosonthlo's people on at work? Walked to winkle and on to Tede's to see about the children.

Saturday 21st. Got a poor horse from Stembile and started for Yoliswa's. Had good number at Faku's. He was gone to Nonesi. Passed Riba's; away too. Also Umvumthle, [Ithligcaka ?] and [Veji ?] all gone to Nonesi, the *Amagogotya*. Found they had had very heavy rain, and my horse stumbled in all directions. Yoliswa was in council with some of Sandilli's people. They gave me

76. Founded in 1848 the Wesleyan Mission Station of Lesseyton just north of Queenstown aroused the admiration of Bishop Cotterill. He attributed the Wesleyan success to the isolation of the Thembu from other Xhosa-speakers. (Cotterill, *Visitation*, pp.12-13)

77. Mhlakaza had prophesied that the sun would set in the east on the Great Day.

78. The Gwatyu river, where Mullins founded an outstation later in the year, lies south of Bolotwa.

some thick milk kind as usual very good school. The *igosa* [steward] brought them all right. Came on thunder storm. Very bad headache. Good number at Riba's. Rode home and found loads people waiting to be paid. Old Shobu got in a tremendous rage about my letting Nosonthlo's people do the house he built. I told him to mind his own buissness [sic] and made him be quiet. When I offered him tobacco he would not take it. Klass Whiteboy and Dahralla here at night. Up till nearly 11. Cleaning shoes etc and making butter.

Sunday 22nd. Very hot morning. Nobody to service again. D[ahralla] is gone somewhere on horseback so the children tell me. Had pretty good school. Wrote and read till 12 when I sent for the horse Sternile had promised me and started for St Marks. No water in the river. I cannot see what stopped the wagons. It seems Willy passed back again yesterday. It looked as tho' they had barricaded the house, but I found it was only the damp floor. Mr Waters goes to Queenstown to morrow and I have to keep house till his return. Mr W[aters] gave us a nice sermon on Lent in the evening. No watermelons, the Hottentots have finished them all. No news all quiet yet. People starving.

Monday 23rd. Mr Waters started early with Boesac and the wagon soon followed. I entirely forgot to send over my stools with the wagon. Old Ziqu came down he said Mr W[aters] had told him to come and take care of the place. I do not see why Reynolds and myself cannot take care of it for two days, however we must submit to the authority that be. Digging potatoes. Had great many to school. But most of them behaved more like devils than human beings. Some boys stole a sack from Mrs Boesac with all her valuables. Reynolds went in pursuit with his bow and arrows but did not succeed in catching them. Gave old Ziqu some coffee in the evening. Wayisa was down with one of his wives but they would not eat any fresh mealies.

Tuesday 24th. St Matthias. Shrove Tuesday and New moon. Commenced putting the stoep to rights in front of the chapel. Men digging potatoes. Ziqu and Bacela went after the thieves. The other men digging potatoes. We put a very good step in front and made it look tidy. In the afternoon had the house and chapel smeared. A few to school today. All very hungry. We had some pancakes for dinner made by [children ?] about thick enough for 7!!!! Clearing up the yard and got very tired. Burnt the chaff etc. Few children to school. We bought a great deal of firewood for corn. Mr W[aters] arrived in the evening just as we were going to service. I am glad he is back as I do not like these people. Ziqu managed to get back the sack [sic]. One of the Wesleyan catechists arrived this evening; his wagon stuck fast for about an hour in the water course. The oxen would not pull out. Reynolds says it was loaded with Kafir truck and that made it very heavy.

Wednesday 25th. Ash Wednesday. This day last year I was travelling up here in a wagon and this is the same day my poor Father was nearly killed. We had usual services. Mr White⁷⁹ was in during the commination⁸⁰ I hope he liked it. David came down with his children. Sechana sent a man to go with the wagon and Mr Waters sent old Ziqu. They started about 12. Regular traders I should say. We I am afraid did not deny ourselves much today, for when the wagon arrived we all set to work eating grapes and peaches. Some very nice singing at night.

79. Identification is uncertain. H White lived on the farm 'Qwebeqwebe' later known as 'Hayton' (information from Weir). There was also a C White who was a member of the Divisional Council.

80. The Commination was the service drawn up for use on Ash Wednesday, at the beginning of the season of Lent. It consists of an exhortation, Psalm 51, short petitions from the congregation and prayers, and was first included in the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1549.

Thursday 26th. Had some little ruff with Mr W[aters] because he had used some of my allowance for clothes. He started for Krili's and I for Bolotwa. Took down my curtains and had them washed. Nobody to school. They are all buissy with the gardens now. Joey, D[ahralla] and train went up full speed from the winkle. D[ahralla] was first on a very pretty fast horse, and Joey next. In the evening they called at my house and Joey begged a handkerchief which I gave him. He is decidedly a chief and [has] a fine expression, but seems very timid. Just like a new school boy. Seemed quite afraid to speak.

Friday 27th. Very hot day. Had the house thatched and put in order and then put up the [byes ?] and made changes in the arrangements. Umvumthla called. He wanted coffee but I was too buissy to attend to him. Very tired at night some few to school. Went up to Dahralla's in the evening. He was not at home. Told the children to come down.

Saturday 28th. Started at sunrise for Yoliswa's. They were just waking at Faku's so I did not get so many to school. Very pleased with their shirts etc. Called at Riba's he was not at home. Found Yoliswa at home and had the best school I ever had before, 70 in number. Gave them some shirts, of course a great many complaints but all very well. Had a long talk with Yoliswa about Umthlakaza. She said she knew nothing about killing etc. I told her if she had not killed there she had elsewhere, which was as bad. Very few at Riba's. It was raining so I had to have school in the hut. It was very hot all day and I only just expected a head ache. Nelson fell over an antheap with me today and I did not come off. He stumbles very badly. Called at winkle and got some change. Rode to D[ahralla]'s and told them about service. Writing and making up accounts books etc in the evening. Heavy rain so most of the Jantjis and Job slept in my hut. I made them go to bed early and had a quiet read and mended my trousers afterwards. This is the last day of the month. May I spend the next better than this. I am afraid I loose [sic] ground with the natives. I must try some more schools because I find Dahralla's children will all be wanted with the gardens. I must also procure a new *igosa* to bring them together, the present one is no good. The number of children this month are [sic] 241 and average 205. But how many more hundreds want instruction.

Sunday 1st March 1857. Had a good number of Hottentots to service. Read and wrote till 11. No Kafirs to service. Dahralla passed. I spoke to him but he was in a great hurry and could not stop. At 11 had Litany and school afterwards. Willy told me afterwards that the reason John wanted to sleep in my hut was an arrival. One of old Jantjis daughters. Read till two and then sent for my horse and started for St Marks. Found them all well. Just as I was going down the wagon road out of the bush I saw three boys run out of the garden, as fast as they could and seat themselves under a bush. I was soon upon them. It was Stephanus and two strange Hottentots. Mr Reynolds gave them all a good thrashing. They had 9 spanspecks [spanspek: a kind of melon] and 2 water melons. Had nice evening service.

Monday 2nd. Up early. After service I made up accounts square with Mr Waters and got several things I wanted. Had a bathe and then started home again. Coming over the flat I saw the spoor of a shod horse and another[.] I thought it looked like a theft and in the bushes I met all Tede's men on the spoor. Read the [lessons ?] and Goldsmith's life. Only 4 of Tede's children to school and 4 of Dahralla's. Very windy night and heavy thunderstorm. All quiet here.

Tuesday 3rd. Dahralla came early this morning for a pass to Queenstown and five men. I gave him one to Shepstone. The women came to do the hut. And Willy and myself went to D[ahralla]'s and got the oxen and brought up some bushes to put round the hut. It was very hot work. Made

a drain round the hut and paid the women. Cleaned up and swept up all round the place. Mati came and another man with post and went on to Queenstown. Wrote to Messrs Smith and Pascoe. Alec Brown in Queenstown. Reading in evening. Willy frightened the Hottentots much by telling them I was going to kill all the bucks I found in my school. William Uithalter arrived at night from Queenstown. Long talk with Willy and Klass Whiteboy about the late rebellion [i.e. of 1851]. In bed at ten. D[ahralla] is gone to Queenstown and meets Joey there.

Wednesday 4th. Up early. Had service, and read. No children to school. Took a sketch of my mission, and put the books in order. I was ruling lines the whole morning. 2 Dutchmen came looking for servants. I had only tea to give them. They seemed two pretty good sort of fellows. I could not talk to them. They told me an officer of the Germans had been murdered. Very heavy thunder storm. Mati came and confirmed the report by the newspapers. 3 people were murdered in 24 hours. Mr Hardie attacked but got off in safety. Reading the horrible news up till 11.

Thursday 5th. Mati started early. Read and then rode to the winkle and bought some tobacco, Jones kindly sent me a leg of mutton. Rode on to Tede's. Nobody at home but a few children. I saw the ox at Dahralla's. He could hardly stand and yet alive. They gave me some *imfe* [wild sugar cane]. School 3 times today. Plenty of complaints of course about what I gave away. Heavy thunder storm again. Very uncomfortable all day. Finished Goldsmith, I am quite in love with the man. I hope all will go well with Mr Waters. I have my doubts. Especially now the Hottentots do not seem to be inclined to be peaceable. Chopo's son called in to see me this afternoon. He begged for a great many things but went away empty as he came. He is a fine young man.

Friday 6th. Up at ½ past 5 and started about ½ past 6 for Yoliswa's. Taking with me as much clothes as the horse would carry. Did not have many at Faku's as they had done milking and the boys were out with the cattle. Passed Riba's and left some things there to give away on my return. Found Yoliswa at home. She made coffee. Wayisa's young wife was there. She is Mepepa's daughter. We talked chiefly about his children and of course all the news. Saw Riba and gave him a shirt. On my way back I met a man with some others. He asked me pressing to come and teach at his place under the mountain. I told him I could not manage more than 3 kraals at present. He said I must make haste as all his children were very stupid. Taught at Riba's and gave away a few things. They were all very pleased. One girl there called Nonthlo [sic; Nomhle: pretty] is the most ugly diabolical looking being I ever saw. Today I told Yoliswa I was afraid to tell her Celeka's news as I saw Wayisa's wife there. She told me not to mind her and said something herself against what they were doing. Got wet a little coming home. Umvumthla had gone to Warner's. Had a short note from Mr Waters. Paid Shobu and Geshile. Old Speelman and another slept here this evening. His wife has run away. Some Hottentots arrived. Old Jerry went with me but of course I saw no game. Gave Riba's wife a shawl. I am afraid somebody makes off very fast with my coffee. About 193 [children] today. I hope they are on the increase there. For they diminish here very fast.

Saturday 7th. Up early. Had a few to school, none from Dahralla's. Cold gloomy day. Boesac came for meat for Mr Waters. And Speelman who slept here last night had to tell him his whole tale. I gave him a paper saying what he wanted. Continual coming and going all day. Several Hottentots here at night. John Blaajis amongst them who told me some most awful lies I am certain. Said that [Iacaca ?] had been selling guns to Krili etc. A man named [Meyer ?] from Mullery's called; he says that Government have demanded the murderers and tomorrow is the last day. The farmers have had a meeting and determined not to move from their farms yet. Had some singing for the first time tonight. John B[aajis] came back as he did not like to

proceed without his gun.

Sunday 8th. Hottentots singing very nicely all night so that I could not go to sleep. [D..... ?] Krili sent generals to take care of Mr Waters' place and also came to see us but would not let us go into the colony. Had a good number to both services. They sang very well. Dahralla came down to the first and his men. All very quiet. Had the Litany in the school. Large congregation. Singing very good. Hottentots coming and going all day long. Had dinner about ½ past 2 and then started for St Marks. I was just behind one thunder storm and before another so had to ride hard. Found them well. Mr Hardie's horse escaped. He did not say much about being attacked. Mr W[aters] had a most impudent and insolent letter from Robertson about his goods and chattles. I should much like the pleasure of horse whipping him. All quiet here. The people very hungry now and rather more civil. Krili had been up there.

Monday 9th. Started about ½ past 8. But we heard the river was impassable so Mr W[aters] persuaded me not to go to the drift till after dinner. Reading and playing harmonium most of the morning. Had dinner and started back here. All quiet. Blaajis dogs had kindly finished my meat and bread. Philip called in to see me and asked some sugar to drink his coffee which I gave him. D[ahralla] gone to Queenstown.

Tuesday 10th. Awoke late this morning. Had a few to school. Read *Lord Marmion*.⁸¹ Willy started for St Marks to fetch his bucks. Reynolds passed on his way to Queenstown to fetch the post. He had Klass with him. It poured with rain. I lent him my saddle for which I think I was a fool. He took in my papers for Brown's keeping. Reading all day. Philip called in again to see me. Jones says they have tried his winkle twice, which I believe a lie, as he never said a word to me about it.

Wednesday 11th. Made some butter before breakfast. I had Popy and Klass Whiteboy here today: sugar, but did not give way. Finished *Marmion* and *The Lay* etc. Wrote out my papers for Mr W[aters]. Reading all day. Had a few to school. Dahralla called in to ask the news. Willy arrived. Mr W[aters] says he has heard of a disturbance in Krili's court. Expecting Reynolds all day. I cannot think what keeps him. 10 minutes to ten and George not come.

Thursday 12th. Five this morning Reynolds arrived having started as he says at 4 yesterday. I heard afterwards from Klass that it was a lie. I wish he would tell some little truth with it, and then pretended the horses were knocked up. No news in papers and no letters for myself. The Governor has given very strict orders about the Kafirs. He still seems to expect something. Had school and read. Mended stable, washed my saddle which Reynolds had made in a tremendous mess. Patrol out today after a stolen horse. The Kafirs galloping down with guns and assegais in fine style. Lastly Dahralla on his grey and gun in hand went down truly looking the Saul amongst his people. Mr Waters arrived at ½ past 7 tonight. No news from over the river. Mr Hardie had a narrow escape by the papers.

Friday 13th. Up about 10 minutes past 6. Wrote to tell Miss Gray to send me my clothes and started for Gwytyu with Mr W[aters]. Had good school at all three places. Mr W[aters] was not pleased with the progress and proposed another mode of teaching which I do not think will ever answer. However I must try. Gave Faku, Yoliswa and some of the others presents. Parted with Mr W[aters] at Yoliswa's kraal. The winklers left Cacadoo last night in safety. Put books right.

81. Walter Scott, *Lord Marmion* (1808) and *The Lay of the last minstrel* (1805).

Saturday 14th. Rather important events today. As I was getting up this morning I heard Dahralla shouting loudly about horses stolen and of course immediately people turned out. They soon returned however, with the news that they were Englishman's horses not Qwesha's and the thief Nogood. He managed to get off with 3 but the other 3 were captured and the man wounded in the knee. I started to go up the mountain but Willy said Dahralla had told him Warner was coming today, and he thought wanted to see me. So I sent him back and went up to the first part intending to return. I saw four reed bucks and gave chase but Jerry could do nothing amongst the rocks. And they were soon hanging over our heads on the craggs of rock. I thought however I would now go on the rest of the way. It is very steep and I was very much winded when I reached the summit. Immediately you are up you see all the country the other side. I could see some distance round. Beautiful view altogether. Saw some conies amongst the stony rocks; they really were stony rocks. Enjoyed the view for about ½ an hour and then began to come down. I then saw a long train of Kafirs go to my place, and of course began to go down with a run. Met Umthlumba coming up after me. Warner was there and wanted me. On arriving I found a large meeting going on between Qwesha and Warner, Dahralla etc. I did not disturb them, but got some tea ready. Warner came in. He said he had taken my place by storm, but the reason was Qwesha would not meet him at Dahralla's, and as missionary stations were neutral ground he did not think I would object. Qwesha gave his word that they will come back again to the tribe. Warner thanked him and the meeting broke up after sundry discussions. I saw the thief. The wound though bad, will not hurt him much. The meeting was not over till ½ past 4. Received a letter from Reynolds, wanting 4 bucks. Giama [?] and John Dun came for them. I sent 4 with bucks and two *inkabi's*. Read this evening very tired. Warner had no news; he says he cannot yet read the Kafir plans. Two Galeka's killed last night stealing horses. They have stolen two of Mr W[aters'] best oxen. Warner says the Hottentots can stay, and that no more come.

Sunday 15th. Not awake till late. In fact I have taken quite a sleepy fit. Had morning service and school. Plenty of Hottentots left this morning. Mayreman came to take away his bucks I sent and told to come tomorrow and he sent me back a very impudent message. Reading and writing till ¼ past 1 when I started for Mr Waters'. Found them well. Hermanus down about Miki and Mayreman and Boboyi there about the stolen oxen which however were brought back in a most mysterious manner. Mr W[aters] has put it all in Krili's hands and they seem determined to go to the bottom of the case. Siwani⁸² is generally supposed to be the thief. He would not take on the spoor⁸³ and would not let them take it on. They nearly came to a fight upon the subject. Krili is very angry and sent some very proper messages to Mr Waters about his staying there. Made out a lot of things to teach in school with Mr W[aters]. Uithather [i.e. Uithalder] arrived at night and off saddled without leave.

Monday 16th. W. Uithather came to see Mr Waters and protested that his men did not steal the horses and directly he was gone, Hermanus came to say that his did not so there must be a lie between them somewhere. But directly Uithalter had gone on to Krili's some men arrived from the Zuurberg following him for he had there stolen horses which Simon Paul had brought in the day before. So it shews how they can tell lies. Mr W[aters] started with Boesac to Chuza's

82. Siwani, a Ndlambe chief, was the great son of Mdusane and brother of Seyolo.

83. Hunger was already striking: raiding and counter-raiding were in part the consequence. On 6 March 1857 thirty grantees drew up a memorial to the Governor complaining of the theft of horses from veld and kraal. (SA Archives, LG.261, 1857)

where he is going to start another school and I with Hosiedwa [sic; Nkosiyedwa]⁸⁴ for this place. I came by Mullery's station for the first time it is a prettier ride but I think longer than the other. All quiet here. Read. Perks passed. I think he is gone to Butterworth. He sent for medicine. Had none. They have stopped his wagon.

Tuesday 17th. Clouded sunrise. So I could not put my clock right. Old Shobu came early with the oxen and went to draw bushes. Last night between 7 and 8 there was an alarm given and the people all started off for the winkle with assagais etc. It turned out to be nothing more than an old woman who had some reason to be frightened. I was glad however to see them turn out so readily. Cut and brought up fire wood which I put in the stable because I know the Hottentots steal it else. The oxen worked very well. Old Shobu drew 3 loads of bushes to make his kraal good as he is afraid of the thieves. I find they tried my stable last night; there are decided marks of having tried to force the staple, so I have written to Brown for another. Riba and Macina and Nabo called here bothering as usual. No postman from Mr Waters so I have told Shobu to send a man tomorrow morning to take the letters. I also told him about the thieves whom he says I must shoot.

Wednesday 18th. Dispatched Matshonga early this morning for Queenstown. Qweshu came up to borrow bucks and beg food. I promised the large blue buck Giamaa left. He was very humble and said he would speak to his people about school. I gave him a pair of trousers. Started with Willy for D[ahralla] etc. We went through the gardens. The people made us several presents of mealies and *emphoe* [imfe]. I bought some mealies. Spoke about school but they say all the children are very buissy in the gardens which are very large. Nabo left early. About 1 Nopote arrived with Mr Waters' letters, which I sent on with Willy on horse back. Went up with Nopote to Shobu's to get a milk buck and then walked down to the winkle to get change. Jones drunk, gave me a dollar as change for two shillings. Reading etc. Had 5 or 6 to school in the evening. Qweshu says I must shoot all thieves. Boesac went to Kusa's yesterday. Nugent⁸⁵ got drunk yesterday as it was St Patrick's day. It shews what these people are. What examples for the Kafirs. Perks gone to Gogwora with escort from [Krili ?]. Wrote to Brown and home. May Bennett etc.

Thursday 19th. Willy arrived about ½ past 7, with his child whom he met on the road and tobacco etc quite a load for the horse. I received a letter from Mr Kemtenville and Brown. Sent on the post, by Kani's son, also a letter Dahralla brought from Shepstone.⁸⁶ No news: the Governor has transported some thieves and intends to send away all he can catch. Had school twice today for boys and girls. Willy's wife arrived I hope they will remain now. Reading paper; history and Kafir. Had prayers early for first time. Put another lock on my stable so now it is double locked. Took letters from those passing. And made up accounts square.

Friday 20th. Read Kafir, Latin, *Lady of Lake* etc. Reading all day. Had a few to school. They seemed

84. Nkosiyedwa (variously spelt) was a mission worker apparently attached to St Mark's. Later, in 1864, he was school teacher and catechist at All Saints Mission in the Transkei.

85. Nugent was assistant to Mullery.

86. W G B Shepstone (1823-1861), son of William John Shepstone the missionary at Kamastone, and brother of Natal's Theophilus. He took a leading role in the defence of Whittlesea and Shiloh in the Mlanjeni War and was subsequently appointed first resident magistrate and civil commissioner at Queenstown. At the time of his death he was special magistrate in the Transkei. (R Gordon, *Shepstone, the role of the family in the history of South Africa*, Cape Town, 1968, pp.73-80)

to come quite by accident. Sent the yokes etc to Dembe. Nkosiedwa arrived at night to take away the oxen. No news.

Saturday 21st. Up in good time. Had breakfast and started with Willy on $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 for Yoliswa's. Found all the old people had gone from Faku's after horses lost or stolen. Whilst there Vezi passed. He seems a cheerful characture. Begged as usual. Has a smattering of Dutch of which he seemed very proud. He is nearly as big as Dahralla. Had a good number to school all very best boys are gone into the colony. Found Yoliswa well. Had very large school. They get on better. I have given strict orders to them about learning. They seem to be more attentive. Willy was useful and I did not feel so tired as usual. Had several fresh children. Spoke to Yoliswa about a place for a hut. She says anywhere I like she will never say a word. Going home Bobojohn called us to his garden as he wanted to give us some mealies. He did not understand why we passed without asking him. So we stopped for half an hour and he gave us some mealies and *emphée*. The Kafirs he says want to kill him for planting. And Umvumthla and himself are coming into the Bolotwa. They had been stealing his bucks etc. Quesha he says is not to be believed. A war will soon come. He went on in his own strange manner. Had pretty good number at Riba's. Got home about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Found Dahralla waiting for a pass for some Hottentots. Which I gave him for Klass Whiteboy and [..... ?]. Faku too also wanted another buck but as it was so late and he had a horse he said he would return on Monday. Made some butter and wrote etc - till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. Jones wanted me to let him have grog and ale. He looked as tho' he had been on the spree.

Sunday 22nd. Had morning prayers with good attendance and the Hottentots to school afterwards. They said hymns etc very well. About 20 women to second service in the school room. Read C[hurch] Chronicle and then at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 1 started for St Marks. Found all well. No news. People very hungry. Going in praying parties to the Tambookies. They have made a capital new water course there.

Monday 23rd. I met several parties on the road this morning some had procured corn others were going for it. Mati and some others were eating the mealies without any hesitation yesterday. I noticed however, that when Umthlaha's son passed he held up his blanket, so well, that you would not expect he had anything with him. Read during the day. Mr Perks' wagon arrived from Gogwora with hides. I did not see him. Two boors [boers: farmers] came about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3, one was the one that came whilst I was at Shobu's. I had to amuse them till 8 o'clock with *Illustrated News* and then Klass Whiteboy came in and talked over war etc till nearly 11. The boor telling of some most miraculous escapes. They slept in my room and I outside. Very cold all night. The Tambookies all turned out yesterday evening about Umsechamer's cattle which had been stolen. They soon came back as it was too far to go that evening. Joey, Krili's brother and Umthlenu came to beg. I gave him a handkerchief. He was in his usual good humour. The boors said that £444's worth of horses had been stolen out of their field cornetcy alone. They all fully expect war to be the end of it. Men had lost 20 horses, and nearly every day some others went in spite of every precaution. Sheep, bucks and cattle were the same. The sheep they kill and cut up and have feasts. Quesha here today begging as usual for all he saw.

Tuesday 24th. Saw the boors off early. Hardly any sleep last night. Reading Kafir, Gr[ee]k, Latin and English. A few boys to school. Philip called to see me. Nothing fresh. Tabata arrived here from Mr Waters late this evening. Willy's eyes very bad.

Wednesday 25th. Annunciation of the Virgin. Reading all day Latin Gr[ee]k etc. Good school. No

news here. Willy still ill. I forgot to read the proper service this morning and nearly omitted it this evening. Only quite by an accident I began the "Magnificat" instead of "Nunc dimitis". Tabata who started away early, arrived about 8 so that I have proved a Kafir can go to Queenstown in a day. A report the Bishop is soon to arrive in the land of Hardwick with a staff of 17 clergy. All still quiet. Several Kafirs have been transported. So the Governor hopes to be able to keep peace. No letters for me.

Thursday 26th. As I had just started Tabata and commenced some Cicero, I heard somebody say Mr Waters was coming. He was on his way to Queenstown. Having missed the postman by coming the wagon road? I sent John after him on horseback. Mr W[aters] stopped about 2½ hours reading letters. Mr Allen is soon to start for England in the *Vulcan* war steamer. Mr Hardie does not expect to go before the end of May and only 10 clergy are expected. Mr Smith is ready to take in boarders. Had school after Mr W[aters] had gone. Giamaa came for bucks which I gave him. He lost half a crown. [Johnson ?] brought me 5 more stools and some mealies and went on with a load of Hottentots. Spoke to Dahralla about sending [Nooitza ?] to school, but he did not seem to understand. Been thro' the *Legend of Montrose*⁸⁷.

Friday 27th. Up early. Willy able to work again I am glad to say. Reading and teaching all day. About 4 Mr Waters arrived. All quiet; a patrol is to continue on the border. Else all quite quiet. He saw Dahralla before he started. But D[ahralla] said he could not come to church before his people. Wanted the oxen again and ploughs. I again spoke about Nooitza but he would not hear of it. As it was his wife's only child. Very good about my horse, Mr Green and Warner. Wrote at night. Wagon not arrived. I hope to get a horse to go to Yoliswa's tomorrow.

Saturday 28th. Horse did not come till late. So that I got very few children at Faku's. Saw the wagon going over the neck. Went on to Riba's the mare I had went very badly. I had great trouble to get her past Riba's kraal. Had poor schools at all three places. I wish I could live there altogether. Started home very late. But got home by fast riding before it was quite dark. Found Mr Reynolds here. Been to see after wagons to fetch up his wife as they have determined to have their wives and children up again. Wagon brought clothes etc for me. The coffee open so that Willy could walk off with as much as suited his purpose if he chose. Very bad head ache. I told them I should be back on Monday. Some of Dahralla's children at school. Up till rather late. Reynolds brought me some quinces but they are very indigestible things.

Sunday 29th. Had prayers at 7. Wrote and read till ½ past 10 when I had school. Some Hottentots came and gave Reynolds occasion to return again to the Imvani. Dahralla was down with some of his men to 1st service. Had a large congregation of women to second service. About ½ past 2 started with Reynolds for St Marks. He cannot succeed in getting wagons. Mr Waters I was sorry to find had altered his mind and was going to Zuurberg instead of with me to Yoliswa. He sold them bags of corn last night after the wagon arrived. I have to remain here till he comes back on Tuesday. Talked till late about the way to get to [the ?] ladies up from King W[illiam's] Town.

Monday 30th. Mr Reynolds called us at 5 and we had breakfast before chapel. Soon after men began to arrive for work from every quarter we had 46. Mr W[aters] left for Zuurberg. I was pestered all day long for corn, to buy fire wood, thatch etc. The men alone have about 4 buckets between them. Reynolds made bed plank for the wagon. I was looking to see the men kept some. Joey

87. Walter Scott, 'Legend of Montrose' in *Tales of my landlord* (1816).

and Boboji, came to buy corn. I told them to wait till Mr Waters returned as nothing there belonged to me.

Thursday 31st. From 7 o'clock till 12 I did nothing but buy grass. It was just like a winkle about 60 women all abusing you and getting in your way. The men worked very well this morning. I was glad to see Mr Waters come at 12 as I was nearly knocking everybody down. About 3 I started for this, having first seen the wagon loaded for Queenstown with pumpkins. Tabata came whilst they were loading up to see how many there were. He immediately put them down at 1000. How greedy of them. They had the gardens given them. Will not eat themselves and when we wanted to send them to Queenstown, turned dog in the manger. I rode over here very fast. Passed several parties trekking [sic; trekking] this way. I left Mr W[aters] surrounded like a winkle man. The wagon is going in for corn. Settled accounts with Willy tonight for last month and gave him coffee etc also rations to the wagon people. Went to bed at 11 exactly. Rest left tonight. The wagon left about 8 o'clock I think. I heard them depart. Children for this month 301 attendance 207. I hope next month to be more successful. If another man could come here I would go to Yoliswa. They wish much for a missionary. However wherever I may be I must do my best for the welfare of the heathen. I have been here 9 months. I began with 5 children and they are now increased to 301. May they be doubled before another year is over. Paid Shobu and Umsubuku for herding. Wrote to the 85[th Regiment] Quartermaster. End of my 3rd quarter in Bolotwa.

CHAPTER SIX

The hungry months *1 April 1857 - 28 July 1857*

Wednesday 1st April 1857. This day year I was at the Cacadoo and had the pleasure of making Miss G[ray] an April fool. Sent Umsumbuku away very early. I had to go up myself and wake him. Wrote and made up accounts books etc. Nobody to school; made butter. I wrote to Mr Green and Brown. Sat up till I fell to sleep waiting for the postman.

Thursday 2nd. Up early. Read Gr[ee]k, did exercise and some Cicero and about 11 the postman came. He said he had been detained in town. I sent Geshile on with the letters. None for me. Some more news about the Bishop. Just after he was gone the wagon came. I had 4 muids taken off as the men were very tired and had been in the Imvani all the morning. Had a few to school all the Hottentot women started away with the waggon I told Windvogel not to let them ride but of course they will. I was just starting after the wagon when Amanzi arrived with a note to say I must go to Queenstown tomorrow. I wish it was possible to send Willy instead. Klass came in the evening very ill and wanted medicine. Dahralla also passed from Queenstown. I sent Amanzi away to get Reynolds and the men ready to help the wagon out of the drift. Put apparel ready to go to Queenstown. Geshile returned at ½ past 8.

Friday 3rd. Rose at 20 minutes past 4. Fetched up water and got Willy up to make a fire. I did not get off till sunrise. Rather a damp ride over the neck. The mist was down very heavy. Off saddled just before I got to Birches and then rode on into town. Mr Green just same as usual hardly seemed to care two pence about you. Mrs G[reen] ill in bed so I hadn't the pleasure of seeing her. Spent the morning in talking with Brown and went up to dinner to Green. Miss G[reen] is no beauty to my eye. Very stiff I thought. I liked old Mrs G[reen] very much. Getting change etc during the evening. Called to see Norden.¹ Brown came up in the evening and Miss G[reen] sang some very pretty songs. I like Brown very much. I saw also Mr Taylor [of the] 85th.² He sticks very close to Miss G[reen].

Saturday 4th. Tried the harmonium this morning and found it very hard. Just as we were sitting down to breakfast Miss G[reen] said that we were to go to prayers first. I saw Mr Griffiths also Giddy³ and was introduced to a Mr Jones Left town about 11 having got all the change in silver but very large. I saw the Q[uar]termaster about the pumpkins. They seem to have made a mess of them. Gave chase to some springboks but old Jerry was too much tired. He got very close. Called at Perks and found he had just started for King W[illiam's] Town. Got home about 3. Gave Hottentots rations and could not start till nearly sundown, when as Mr Waters did not arrive I started for St Marks with the cash. Found they had just managed with me. Spent a pleasant evening. Up till 11 wonderful for Mr W[aters]!!

Sunday 5th. A good number to Kafir service. Reading during the day. Kafirs all very hungry. Reynolds started for Queenstown with the wagon on Friday evening.

Monday 6th. Began the accounts this morning with Mr Waters. But his head got bad so we left off. I took the school. Good attendance and afterwards packed up the thatch into a stack. In so

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1. J Norden was Town Clerk and Market Master at Queenstown (*Queenstown Free Press* Vol.5, No.208, 27.1.1863)
 2. A Captain (Lord) Taylor is listed in the *Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1857*.
 3. R W L H Giddy was clerk to the Civil Commissioner from August 1857 (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac 1857*).

doing I got my fingers, hands, face and even tongue full of the small pricks of the grass. It made me very uncomfortable during the rest of the evening. Loads of grass etc brought for sale. [Nevelt ?] came down from the Zuurberg. I found out the great mistake in the accounts before I went to bed.

Tuesday 7th. Put the ground all ready for Bacela to go on with the bank in a separate place. About 10 we went on with the accounts and managed to bring them right. Walked up again to see the working. They get on very well, Mati did not come for the letters. Good number to school. In the evening we finished my accounts when I had to receive the immense sum of £5. Gave Mrs Yegers a dress. They start tomorrow for the Zuurberg. Johnstone the black came down today and Mrs Waters is going to employ him to bring the thatch etc. Giamma's men did 37 yards. Bacela's 27 not so much difference considering the distance.

Wednesday 8th. Up early. Told Qatana to send for his horse. Put Bacela's work right but tho' I waited and sent again and again my horse did not arrive till nearly 12. I started off with Mati. Mr Waters went to the Camana. Found all well here. Had a capital horse. Mati went on to Queenstown I wrote to Brown. Joey came at night to sleep. I put his horses into the stable. Had 4 to school. Willy starts for Shiloh tomorrow and old Shobu has to take care of the place till his return. Made up the money accounts etc.

Thursday 9th. Joey slept next to my room. He was very quiet. I went out early to turn out the horse. Had breakfast before prayers and started for Yoliswa's. Joey wanted meal to take home with him, which was rather too good for me. Had good school at Faku's about 90. I appointed an *igosa* [steward or supervisor]. At Riba's the school mistress told me not to come back as I should find them all from home, as they were going to the flat. I asked if it were to dig roots and she said yes. Saw Umvumthle and his party. All delighted to see me. Good schools I gave Satana a pair of trousers. Whilst there one of Krili's great men came to ask food and also Warner and Mr Decoush⁴ or whoever he is. I did not stop long after their arrival as I could see the people gathering all round. Rode past to Riba's and got a good school after all, but only for a short time as not knowing the road I wished to be back to Mr Waters before dark. The road is very pretty indeed. I asked for Kusi's⁵ place, but found it was too much out of my road to take. Beautiful ride over the flats to St Marks. The mission looks very pretty. I had some trouble to get over the tremendously bad drift at Pumlani's kraal. Found Mr W[aters] just paying off a tremendous lot of men. They bought a good deal of corn etc. Tomorrow being "Good Friday" there will be no work. They had bought up a great deal of the old winkle. Mr Waters having bought it for corn of Krili.⁶ Mati got back about 7 p.m. I heard from home letter brought by a Mr Hall⁷ and had letters from Elgie and Simmons which have been lying at C[ape] Town I don't know how long. Since January. Also a great many very old papers. Lindinxowa⁸ came for the corn, and started back in the middle of the night.

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4. Decoush was Sub-Inspector G S Tekusch of the Frontier Armed Mounted Police. Mullins consistently misspells his name.
 5. Kuse, an influential Gcaleka chief and one of the first to be baptised in 1857, was a leading figure at St Mark's mission. He married by Christian rites. (USPG Archives, Cotterill to SPG, 21.1.1858)
 6. Sarhili was clearly in need. In July he begged the colonial government itself for assistance. (Peires, *The Dead will arise*, p.280)
 7. A Mr Hall had received a land grant in the Queenstown division.
 8. Lindinxowa (d.1906) (alias Manxiwa), a younger brother of Sarhili. Later an important chief he became the effective head of the Gcaleka after the exile of Sarhili in 1879. (Information from J Peires)

Friday 10th. Good Friday. Very nice services today. Reading all day. Kafirs very quiet. The famine seems very bad. Mr Waters read to us at night. Wet evening. Some thunder also.

Saturday 11th. Very wet all the morning. Fine afternoon. I was chiefly looking after workmen. There were about 70 on at different places. They worked very well all day some even remaining some time in the rain. At night we could hardly find money to pay them. But by taking the 6ds again for corn, we managed to keep Mr Waters supplied.⁹ Finished all the *Umbona* [maize]. Many bought sugar and coffee, meal etc. I think we must have taken £3. We then had to supply Hottentots etc. Mrs Johnson down with loads of Hottentots. Easter even.

[*Sunday*] *12th April. Easter day.* Some rather alarming news came from Camata. They said that Piti had ordered all the Hottentots off his place so they prevented the battle from coming up. So all the women started up the hill again. Good Kafir congregation. Reading all day. Heavy rain at night. Some more half starved people arrived to find work and food. Silada and Vezi back. Loads of people trekking [sic]. Yoliswa says they pass every day by 5.

Monday 13th. Easter Monday. After prayers we set on Bacela to work but Ziqu and Giamma's men kicked and so we sent them home. Johnson married and 3 children baptised. Old John Megiels not married yet. Got my clothes for school. Old Ziqu was very angry this morning about the work. I started for this with Patelwene and Nyamane on horseback to take back mealies. Mr W[aters] rode to the drift with me. Met Giamma galloping home over the flats as fast as his horse could put his legs to the ground. He had a man with him and pointed to Inkosi Edwa in the distance with another and soon after we met two more evidently of the same party. I could not understand where they had been. I had some trouble to load up the mealies, and was only able to send half a muid on each horse as they had very sore backs. Put house in order. Gave Geshile a shirt and Shobu a knife. Mullery has returned to his winkle with Nugent. Saw Dahralla as he passed. All quiet here. Willy not back yet. His father here. Passed several parties trekking out today. Mr Hardie and the fleas and also the store in Queenstown. Wrote and put all books etc in order this evening.

Tuesday 14th. Easter Tuesday. Up before sunrise. Had breakfast and read some time. Then began to make cakes and bread, when Zenzile and Rwacu arrived. I told them they must wait as I could not have them directly. They always manage to come down at a most inconvenient time. Klass Whiteboy, Jacob and Lawrence came to see me, to ask sundry questions. They wanted to know whether they could get grub etc. Also about papers. Lawrence says he was stopped by the police. I told him they could not stop them supposing they were doing no harm. He then asked me if I had got any books, and to get him a best English dictionary and gram[mar]. Also papers, pens, ink, etc. He said he wanted the very best English dictionary and did not mind the price. He then requested me to give him any shoe mending and clothes making work I might have. I cannot quite understand him because he said the people in Queenstown would not sell him paper etc. Read Gr[ee]k, Kafir, Latin ex[ercise] and Cicero. No wagon arrived. Finished off at 4 o'clock and made some butter. Plenty of people passing on trek. D[ahralla] came to ask me to lend him money to buy a gun from Warner. I said no. He says the children will not be able to come for 2 months now. Zenzile came to school at night. The hot cross buns were very

9. Relief work was already operating with government assistance. In Queenstown at this time the Civil Commissioner was feeding 270 people a day. (See Lombard, 'Queenstown', p.172). The church was involved in a voluntary capacity too. In King William's Town a committee was established to give relief in kind to those not able to work. The Bishop of Grahamstown was President, and the Magistrate Vice-President. This was disbanded on Grey's insistence. In Cape Town, a Kafir Relief Committee was founded under the patronage of the Bishop of Cape Town. (King William's Town *Gazetter*, 19 August 1857. See also Rutherford, *Grey*, p.360 ff and Peires, *The Dead will arise*, pp.253-288)

heavy, as I had not sour dough to put in. No postman from Mr Waters. Plaatji Bezuidenhout here. He says the Germans have arrived at Dohnë.¹⁰ Read over last week's letters.

Wednesday 15th. Up just after sunrise. Very restless night. Sent off Matshonga. Had school. Cleaned out house and stable and put all square. Read Gr[ee]k and began Latin when I was interrupted by the arrival of Inkosi Edwa for mealies with 3 others. It came on to rain and they wanted to stay all night saying the sun was down tho' it was only ½ past 2. I at last got them to go. They took 2 muids. Loads of Kafirs passing today. Read Kafir and English at night. No news.

Thursday 16th. Matshonga returned early, but the letters had gone by Mr Waters' man yesterday who never called here so that two have been sent for one thing. Very cold damp morning. I had school and two new Hottentot boys came. They are from David's and know a great deal more than mine. I read some Latin, Gr[ee]k ex[ercise] etc. But was obliged to keep myself warm by digging every ½ hour. Ungweba brought me the papers and a letter from Revd I. Bradthwaitte which I was very glad to receive. Pato¹¹ is a[t] Krili's kraal. There must be something still going on I think. Sitima came. I told them I should be there early the next day. Put all things ready to start early.

Friday 17th. Awoke at ½ past 5. Got up and tried to make Mrs S get breakfast quick but she took her time. Meanwhile I put the saddle to rights and directly after prayers started for Yoliswa's. Found Faku had just come in from a patrol after a stolen beast and all his men were still out. They came in by degrees. I had pretty good school. The Galekas are stealing very much from them. They found the thieves at home quietly eating the slaughtered animal and they told the Tambookies to eat them up.¹² They could see they had got no cattle. Very poor consolation. Gave him a tinder box and Solika a shirt and rode on to Riba's and Yoliswa. Found the children all ready at the latter place. There were very few, as they have to send out so many to take care of the cattle on account of the thieves. All the larger boys were away, [name illegible] was teaching them very well. Yoliswa and her men attended. She said she could not make the hut herself and a man said he would do it all but the thatching for a blanket. They are very provoking sometimes. I pointed out a place for my hut near her own kraal and a place for a garden and then came back to Riba's. A doctor was there and the people all dancing in the hut and the sick child placed in cow-dung to cure it of the stomach ache. I had very few to school. They have progressed with the letters very well. Some little children said it best, I rode on slowly home. Found Windvogel here with 4 oxen and they to take 6 bags of corn. The wagon had brought it and so I had some work to get it all in before dark. Willy arrived about 8 p.m. Very tired indeed. Wrote to Mr Waters and gave the men rations etc. Poppy kept school with the Hottentots today. Intend to make her useful.

Saturday 18th. Up at ½ past 5. Put all the corn etc in order and dispatched Windvogel with 3 bags corn. The oxen could not pull 4. Clearing up etc all the morning. Had house smeared out. Windvogel has spoilt my garden. James came from [Chazo ?]. Begging. He had been to find a doctor. Began an exercise. Wrote my journal and made up the accounts and as I was so doing somebody rode past my window and found it to be Mr Gordon from Cape Town. He had

10. German settlers brought out by Sir George Grey. See Introduction.

11. Pato - see biographical notes.

12. The thieves who were enjoying (i.e. eating) the slaughtered stolen cattle, were 'eaten up' (i.e. had their possessions seized) by the Tambookies. To 'eat up' was to seize (often forcibly) the possessions of another as a chief might 'eat up' a recalcitrant followers. The equivalent Xhosa word is 'sidleni' i.e. to consume.

come from Windvogel. We soon got on famously and I begged him to remain the night. Quite a pleasure to be able to talk English. He had some heavy bread for supper and rice and turned in about ½ past 10. He in my bed and I on a new one. I hear from him that Reynolds has taken the wagon on to Grahamstown to fetch his wife. He is a very nice fellow. Capital joke about the Boors and *Spoke* [ghosts].

Sunday 19th. Not up very early. Had service in the school room. After breakfast we sat and talked waiting for the Hottentots to come to service. And then after school started for St Marks. We were a long time going as we stopped talking so long. I saw a springbok on the flat. Found Mr Waters looking out for us at the corner of the field. Had dinner. We were nearly 4 hours going over. Took a walk with Gordon by the water course. We then had evening service, and went to bed. Mr Waters very much annoyed about Reynolds. Smith is going home in June. Gordon is about 9 months my senior. He passed for the army only having to wait 3 years has given it up and turned his mind to the church again. Johnstone there still. They had a row yesterday about the meat. Gordon is a first rate fellow. I remember seeing him in King W[illiam's] Town at Alexander's store.

Monday 20th. Service at sunrise. All went on well. Whilst Mr Waters and Gordon were writing letters I walked round to see the work of the men. They were all working very well. Bacela's people especially. They rode with me a short way and then Jantye and myself proceeded alone. Met a man running from Windvogel and soon after came up with Windvogel. The old black ox seemed very sick. I sent back for some others and rode on. Did an exercise and some Kafir. The wagon did not arrive till about 5 so that they could not return the same night. Could not get anybody to go with the horse. They all seem afraid and made capital excuses. Dahralla sent down to know about the plough.

Tuesday 21st. Up early. Tede came for medicine, I gave him a shirt. He says he has loads of children and I can teach them whenever I like. Dahralla came down, he seems very ill and the gathering under his arm very painful. Wrote for a trecktow [sic; trekto, draw rope] etc. for D[ahralla]. He sent a man on horse back for it. Sent off the wagon. Had school for the Hottentots and directly after started for Tede's. Had good school there and plenty of new children. I appointed an *igosa* Klass to bring up the children which he promises to do. From there we walked on to Swartboy's and to the new place where Veke has settled. Only 5 children there. Then on to Mieke's. As usual no good came from the visit. I talked some time with other people so as not to come too quickly to a point that is sore to them. However Mieke said immediately the children were mentioned that he was head man of the kraal, and that before the war of the axe [word illegible] he lived on a mission station and that when he wanted to go to his people in Kafirland that they kept all his things. And he went away empty. That his children would not be blessed by going to school and they should never go. I said that the war of the axe and coming to school to me were two very different things, that he could see other children came and went away unharmed. "I am a man of few words, my children shall never come. Do you understand?" "Yes, I do."¹³ We then left and walked by Umsonthlo's. Nobody at home and all children in the gardens. Jonas came soon after from Mr Waters saying D[ahralla] could have the trek-tow etc. Also telling us, that Windvogel was still in Quesha's flat tho' he had been gone about 7 hours. I sent for the horses and we started for the flat thinking the ox was dead. Sent Willy on Xaffi's horse to turn back D[ahralla]'s oxen and Klass drove over the coppey [sic; *koppie*, small hill] and we left them

13. Education played an important part in the impact on Xhosa society and was rejected by many who saw it as a threat to their own culture and community. It led children to disobey parents, boys to dislike herding and crop minding, and girls to reject polygamous marriage. (M Ashley, 'Features of Modernity: Missionaries Education in South Africa', *Journal of Theology in South Africa*, 30, 1982).

in the bush. Seeing some cattle come down over the mountain in a queer path we followed and found they were not stolen. We overtook two of Siwani's¹⁴ men who said the ox was laying down again. We did not however turn back. Wrote out pass and sent Mr Waters' letters etc by Matshongo. Xaffi sleeps here tonight as his horse did not return till about 8. In which I have to pay. Willy overtook the cattle about Campbell's old winkle and brought them back giving the whole to Windvogel. I hope all will go right with them.

Wednesday 22nd. Tede's children arrived early. We had good school all the Hottentots etc. Ruled a book for them and made up school accounts. Wrote exercise and Kafir. Walked over to see Shobu's garden. Coming back I saw a wagon outspanned and rode down to see if it was Mrs Waters. Two traders going to Kafirland. Read in the evening. Old Shobu tells me Mr Waters 6 oxen were stolen also 2 of Boesac's. Hottentots dancing and making a noise on a skin just like the Kafirs. I could hardly believe my ears.

Thursday 23rd. Matshongo arrived early. Letters from Pascoe at last. Had school for the Hottentots. I spoke to Poppy about the dancing and told her if I found her at it again I would send her off the station. Read the important news and just as I was going to start with Willy, Johnstone arrived with 12 horses for corn. So I had a fine day's work before me. Gave out 8 or 9 muid with which they loaded their horses. Taking away all the best sacks. Dahralla came down. He spoke very strongly to them about [name illegible] and put in a good word for me. The large swelling under his arm burst today. He must have been in dreadful pain for some time. Got Johnstone etc off about 3 and soon after I started alone to Tede's. I had poor school. Klass has not been home since yesterday so the children did not come to school. Dahralla says most of his children can come again. Only two of Mr W[aters'] oxen are stolen the afternoon, two of Boesac's. The dance was kept on today and I was surprized and grieved to see the Kafirs getting together. I think I frightened Willy by the orders I gave to him. But what is the use of my teaching if Hottentots calling themselves Christians get the Kafirs together and join in their disgusting dances. Whiteboy and Plaaje started for Zuurberg. Klass came at night he goes to Keiskama Hoek with the horse tomorrow. Read some Latin and wrote to Mr Hardie.

Friday 24th. Started early with Klass for Yoliswa. I had to come back once because I thought I had locked Jerry into the hut. I had a good school at Faku's. He rode down to Yoliswa's with me. All the chiefs having been called together that day. I found a great many with Umvumthla and many more at Yoliswa. The children were there. Very few however to the general number. The men keep on coming in. I walked back after school with Litine to Riba's, but was unlucky enough to find nobody in. So having bought a fowl for supper we turned away home I promising to come again early the next day. The meeting broke up about 5 and Yoliswa told me she had called them together to tell them Warner's word about the strange Kafirs settling in the Bolotwa.¹⁵ James said it was about the spoor of stolen horses and Litine that he did not know, which I told him was a lie. Yoliswa killed a buck, and I sat and had coffee in her house and told her all I had heard about Seyolo, her brother. We had some very pleasant conversation. Riba came in and began to bother as usual so I left and having made fast my horse went to Macena's hut where I was to sleep. James cooked my meat and eat my bread. I passed a pretty good night. Only 3 of us in the hut. Rather hard the ground.

Saturday 25th. St Marks day. Read the epistle and gospel. Had a cold wash in the river and

14. Siwani, brother of Seyoli and grandson of Ndlambe.

15. This is an example of the demographic dislocation that was part of the aftermath of the cattle-killing. Officials were concerned about the large number of squatters who were moving into Thembuland. Many of these squatters were Gcaleka and joined with Fadana in his raiding parties.

breakfast off my fowl and some rice. The children came down to school very early. Not very many. The most of them knew their letters. I left about 9 o'clock and rode up from Yoliswa's to Riba's where I had capital school in a hut as it was very wet and cold outside. Some 4 girls were doing "ba be". The woman seems to take some pains with them. Yesterday they were all out digging *Loba* [sweet edible grass roots]. They *had killed there this morning* [Mullins' emphasis]. And at Yoliswa's the day before yesterday. I then rode on over the neck to Faku's kraal on the road I met Bobojohn. He called me, and I had a mealie. He is going very soon. The Kafirs are all going to kill again so he says and the men with him asked if Yoliswa was killing. There seems to be something up. He says Mr Waters ought to leave and come again another time, as if [it] is not safe for him now. I asked for Faku but he was gone to an *Itanga* [pasture] and so I could not teach the children, of whom I saw a great many. Rode on up the mountain to Chuza's. He was very kind. Boesac expected me yesterday and left before I got there and the children had all gone over to St Marks for Sunday. He kindly gave me a guide and I went home round the mountains by a short but very strong road. Came through Mati's kraal and procured a man to show me the way thro' the river. He made me take off my shoes and walk thro'. It was a capital drift and not the slightest need of my changing my stocking. I had then to ride to [Isidzee ?] to wash the mud off my feet. I found the men just going home. Spent pleasant evening with Mr Waters and Gordon. They have altered the communion cloth and put the harmonium the other side of the altar. Mr W[aters] did not know it was St Marks day.

Sunday 26th. We had service at sunrise. I finished breakfast about 9 o'clock. I then took a walk with Gordon round the premises. Had Kafir service. Then Litany etc another short walk and 12 o'clock service. Dinner. Mr W[aters] then examined Boesac's children. Namba arrived also Botman and another chief.¹⁶ Namba took letters down to Mr Smith at Sandilli's. I started myself about ½ past 3 having received from Mr Waters some very curious instructions for next Sunday. Just as I was close by my hut Mr Jones rode up and told me that Reynolds was behind with the wagons. I sent Jonas to tell them to come on to my place. All arrived well. I did not see Harry. We had service. Miss G[ray] and Reynolds came. As Mr W[aters] would not get out, Mr and Mrs Reynolds came into tea with me. Reynolds was of course full of his yarns. Passed a pleasant evening. Willy says the school has gone on quite well since I left. I hear Mr Bankes is to be married to a Miss Ayton. I wonder which one?

Monday 27th. Reynolds called me early. We had prayers and breakfast. Mr Waters kept Reynolds waiting some time. I like his youngest child very much. He will be a sharp little fellow. Dahralla came down. He says that all is true about the people going to kill again. I wonder what all will end in. They got clear off about 9. We then had a full school of about 50 children. I kept them till eleven. D[ahralla] came and said I was having them for a year and that they must go and milk. Made up journal and accounts. Tom Tayler came in for ½ an hour. He is going to start a winkle near to Yoliswa. David came for mealies twice also, I had to send away 6 muid by the Hottentot wagons to Mr Waters. There were 4 of them with some splendid oxen. I do not think the Galeka's will let them off scotch free. Matshongo returned from Mr Waters. He described his hurry very well. Had my room painted. Read Kafir and some New Test[ament]. Had school again in the evening. Mati came for Boesac's corn, but I had sent all away in mistake. Bobojohn passed on his way to Boor land. He says they have not begun to kill yet at Yoliswa's. Reading etc between whiles.

Tuesday 28th. Nobody to school this morning. Did the Divinity paper, some Kafir, a Latin ex[ercise], Cicero. I then started with Willy for Quesha's place. He was not at home but I had a long talk

16. Namba was a Rharhabe chief, son of Maqoma. Botman or Botomani - see biographical notes.

with two of his councillors. One a very fat jolly fellow. I spoke about school etc but they said the children were always out getting food from morning till evening. We then walked back to Tede's where we had a few to school. Klass is ill so I made Meleni promise to bring the children up tomorrow morning. I saw his little girl that was sick. I think in consumption. Jones had had too much grog so I did not get all the things I wanted. Wrote a letter to Brown and Rev Green, but Cevu came after so I did not send them. Tried to make some butter but it was too cold, and having a bad headache I went to bed.

Wednesday 29th. Dahralla here to breakfast he borrowed two sacks, one of mine and one of Mr W[aters]. Giamma's and [Kani's ?] Kafirs have taken 10 head of cattle belonging to one of his people and killed them all. He says he shall seize on all the horses that come over here belonging to them. He seems much annoyed. Shecanah has not been here yet about the case. Tede's children here. I appointed Meleni Corporal. Put some goods in the house in order and read. Old Test[ament]. Sent Shobu a sack. Mr W[ater]'s. The old councillor came past he says he will come again for tobacco and coffee. Very kind old fellow. He spoke very well of schools and Umfundisi but D[ahralla] thinks it was the prospect of tobacco. About 1 I started with Willy for Old Piet's kraal under Bram Neck. A longish walk. Old Piet was quite agreeable. Had a cup of coffee at the winkle, D[ahralla], Williams and Taylor there. Piet said the children would be only few to begin with as they were all in the gardens. He has had some mealies stolen lately. I did not go to the opposite kraal as the man was away to Warners. Called at Dahralla's on my road back and found that the children had been down in my absence. Read Kafir in the evening. Very long chapter. One of Riba's men came yesterday with an order for corn from Mr Waters, but as I had none I sent them to him again. A great many new houses arising at Dahralla's kraal.

Thursday 30th. Looking for the postman all day. Pifile came down with his children very early. Very thick mist and so cold that I was very glad to sit a few minutes by Willy's fire. I also had Dahralla's children. Read Kafir and Latin. Bothered a great deal during the time I was reading. First Klass Whitbooy had put his thigh out of joint and Plaatji's child was ill. [Piguish ?] came for the cow. Kuse's people for corn. In the evening I walked down to Tede's. Had a pretty good school there. Called at the winkle and found Mr Jones just the same as the day before yesterday. I bought some tobacco and came away directly. Cevu not arrived. John Bezuitenhout came with a very pitiful face and long tale about no work and therefore no food. I let him have some mealies. 5 of Riba's wives passed with new corn and pumpkins. I was quite surprized. I suppose hunger has had its way now. Very tired at night, so I went to bed early, but still it does not make me wake early. This last week especially I have been very bad. We may hope now that war has been averted and may peace and plenty smile. My school is still on the increase among this tribe tho' at Yoliswa's it has fallen off rather. My numbers for this month are 328 being an increase of about 27 to last. Tede's would be a most promising school if I could always get them to attend; the gardens (which I am glad are beginning to be gathered in) have been a great hindrance these last 2 or 3 months. Want of horse flesh I still [need] another [horse]. But I hope with the new Bishop more labourers will come into the vineyard. "For the harvest is very plenteous" for "3 poor labourers".¹⁷ Willy appears to teach the children the letters very well, which is a very great assistance to me. I think also by judicious management of a wiser head than my own Quesha and his people might be brought under instruction. The counsellor Makananda appears a kind hearted man that would help in such affairs and next month I hope to do some thing more. As Mr G[reen] says *Laudabile* [praiseworthy].

17. The entire mission establishment at this time consisted of Waters, Mullins and Miss Gray, together with a number of African teachers e.g. Willy. African helpers are obviously not counted as 'labourers' and do not feature prominently in Mullins' diary.

Friday 1st May 1857. Saints Philip and James. As Cevu had not returned I did not go to Yoliswa's today. Pifile's and Kani's children to school early. Cevu arrived about 9. I sent off the cow and 4 bucks to Mr Waters. Read Kafir and the G[reek] T[estament] and then had school for Dahralla's and Tede's children. Pretty good attendance from the former kraal. Makananda was present. I gave him a spoon afterwards he seemed very pleased. Wrote some Latin exercises. Philip called to beg. Received a note from Mr Waters informing me about the sacrament. Willy has got me a horse for tomorrow from Mieke's [Micki's] place.¹⁸ I hope there will be no row about it. Gave sulphur to a man who said his child was sick with spitting of blood. (...) Was it right?

Saturday 2nd. My mother's birthday. May I have the pleasure of spending one with her. Up very early and sent Willy for the horse, had prayers and started soon after sunrise. Very cold morning and had a little skelm of a horse to ride. He bucked and tried all sort of wicked ways. Had pretty good attendance at Faku's. He was away, gone to Umhala. Riba came whilst I was there. He was on his way to my place by some mistake of his wife's. Rode on to Yoliswa's. Litine was away so I got a very few to school. Return to Riba's where I found all away after roots. So I rode on home. Saw two springbucks on the flat. Found Speelman 2 wives and four children for a benefit there. I had to let them sleep and make a fire in the empty side of my house. They want to stay here. I hope they do not expect me to keep them. Gave John Bezuidenhout a pass to Birches. I also received a note from Mr Hardie by Klass. I hear all the Hottentots' oxen are taken at [Bolo ?] just as I expected. No news [on ?] the road today.

Sunday 3rd. Up early but some time before I could have service as the Kafirs were in the hut. Had Tede's and Pifile's children to school. When I asked Jantji who Jesus Christ was *Ek vit ne [ek weet nie: I do not know]* was the answer. Umthuba said *Unyana ka Tixo [Son of God]* immediately. I was very surprised. Had morning service at 11 and read one of the Bishop's sermons. Singing was very nice. After service I spoke to the men for about an hour about baptism and marriage. Willy and Plaatje were very attentive. But John and Klass seemed more inclined to treat it as a common subject and ask questions. I gave Klass a sharp answer and he remained quiet. Heard Poppy say her catechism and then started for St Marks. I gave old Speelman some food before I left. Rode over slowly and arrived about 4. Find all well etc. We had sacrament after evening service and then spent a very pleasant evening. Talking over school, weather etc. I met the Hottentot wagons coming on all right so the reports were great lies. They have killed 3 Kafirs in the Zuurberg. Miss G[ray's] birthday, without one knowing.

Monday 4th. Not at all cold this morning. Had some practise on the harmonium. A great deal of work going on. Read some Kafir with Mr Waters. Had my hair cut and practised on harmonium. After dinner I put my trap together and started for this. Find a wagon load of corn arrived which I put into my hut with Geshile who had not strength enough to put a sack on end when it was laying down. Up till late made some bread for tomorrow morning. In bed just before 11.

Tuesday 5th. Up about sunrise. Had service and school for Tede's children. Got the house swept just before Mr W[aters] arrived with Boesac on his way to Queenstown. Had breakfast. Mr W[aters] then spoke to Willy and John about their being married when we discovered that John is not baptised. Mr W[aters] told them decidedly about it. John [Myich?] has never been baptised so his father says. Willy asked for a little time. Had a short school for Dahralla's children. House painted. Appointed Geshile *igosa* for both schools. He readily accepted the appointment. The children were very few today. The Hottentots are going to take the corn over tomorrow. The weavil are all over my house. I let the Hottentots have some. Did some Kafir, two exercises and

18. Micki, a well disposed chief who frequented the mission.

some writing [etc] in the evening. I find very little time now to read English. Speelman had 1 bucket corn. I made him understand that I could not keep him and his children. I find one must have a hard heart in these matters.

Wednesday 6th. Had pretty good attendance at morning school. Read Kafir [etc]. Send off 20 muids corn to Gordon and bed. Read Latin and English. Mr Waters arrived about 20 to 4. No letters again. He soon left. I bought a buck for corn. Received £1 cash from Mr W[aters]. Hottentots buying all day. The money seems to tumble in to them somehow. [James ?] up in the evening to ask me to read him Peter's letter. I spoke to the men of Micko's kraal today about their coming and asking me for corn after they had refused to let me have their children. They did not seem to like it much.

Thursday 7th. Not up till after sunrise. Somehow I never wake now early like I used to. I wish I could, as I am able to do so much more during the day. I had school before breakfast in consequence Geshile brought them up; most of them new and very few. Read some Kafir. Willy will soon be able to read I think. Read also Greek, and did an exercise. Put my hut more in order and mended my tool chest, which took me some time to do. Walked up in the evening to Dahralla's. They have taken in all the corn today, and so now I hope I shall get the children to come daily. Tried to draw plan for a new chapel in the evening. The wagon that went yesterday returned about 9 o'clock. Umthlana passed [armed?] as also his son on his way to Nonesi's place.

Friday 8th. Of course as I wanted to be very early, I was extremely late, for Willy had to wake me at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 7. I tried to get things ready by eight, but Meyreman came in with a note from Mr Waters and I found what with paying off them etc that it would take me till 9 so I did not attempt to go to Yoliswa's. I had school for Pifili's, the Hottentots etc. None from Tede's. Read some Kafir and Greek. Wrote to Mr Green and Brown and send 54 bags to the latter. Dahralla's children came and I had a very good second school. Went with Willy and brought in some firewood. Did an exercise, with of course repeated interruptions. One of Krili's brothers here bothering for food. I made him look rather [word omitted] when I told him to go to Umthlakaza. He is a very impudent man I think his name is Tapayi. Umbilo also came and stayed the night. I made him look after the horses. Did some Cicero in the evening. Let Shobu have corn for 3s and gave him the larger red buck.

Saturday 9th. I have now to write up my journal for 10 days as I am writing on the 18th. I hope memory will carry me out. Being determined to start early I think I did nothing but dream about getting up. I got up once about 12, but discovered that the hands were twisted and going round together. Roused up Willy at cockcrow. He made some coffee. I read a chapter in Kafir and did all my household work, had breakfast and was going up the hill the other end of the flat before the sun rose that morning. I had good school at Faku's. He was very kind. Stockwe's son¹⁹ was there. Faku told me all about his visit to Xinira. The famine seems to be much worse there than here. Rode on to Riba's and Yelishwa's. Found nobody at home at the latter place. Loads of people coming and going. The only news as they call it was famine. Very poor school as all the children had gone out hunting. I had some meal with them. Rode back and had very good school at Riba's. Found no wagon arrived on my return. Home about sundown. Willy says his school has been [crammed ?] today. Geshile does well as *igosa*.

Sunday 10th. Awoke rather late. Had very good schools etc. Yesterday I gave papers to two Hottentots to Webster. I would not allow Poppy to come to service as she was so dirty. The

19. Stokwe, son of Nqeno [Eno], and chief of the Mbalu. He lived with Phato and took part in the war of 1846 against the colony.

singing was very nice today. I heard the Hottentots and finished service about 12.30. Had another school which ended about ½ past 2 so that I was not able to start till late. I did not arrive till after sun down, when I found Gordon very unwell, with dysentery. Whilst we were to chapel an express came to call Mr Waters down to a missionary synod at St Johns. He intends to start early on Tuesday.

Monday 11th. Making up accounts in the chapel all the morning. A good many on at work. Gordon worse today so that I have to return early tomorrow to take Mr Waters' place during his absence. I left about 4 on Dema, who was very troublesome the whole road. Arrived here (St Johns) after sundown. No wagon arrived. Up till eleven writing letters for post, wrote home, and to Brown and Thompson. Sent £10 to G[?][M] [i.e. Mullins' father] too. Mr W[aters] gave me a cheque for £5 today. Put Dema in about 10 o'clock. I hope to ride by moonlight tomorrow if I awake.

Tuesday 12th. Got up at ¼ to 3. Called Willy. Beautiful moonlight. Wrote to Mr Greenstock and started about 4 for Mr Waters. Rode on in peace, without seeing a human being till nearly daylight, when I met one man carrying hides to the winkle. The dawn broke just as I came on the great flat. Found them just having coffee so I had a cup with Mrs Reynolds. Directly after service Mr W[aters] started with 1 attendant for St John's. Sent Cevu to Bolotwa for a buck. Called over workmen and looked after them. Had school in afternoon. The Principaless²⁰ just as disagreeable as usual. I tried to be civil but it is hard work.

Wednesday 13th. Cevu arrived about 9 with the news that the wagon had arrived. So we inspanned and sent off ours with Johnson and six men as an escort. I gave him my key to put my goods into the hut. Finished all the corn etc today. Same work as usual going on. Reynolds shifted into his house yesterday. Dull heavy day. The men knocked off early. Mr Reynolds and myself started after chapel to meet the wagon. Taking with us Hans Dagga to carry the sail as it was beginning to rain. Going up the other side of the river, in riding fast by the bush some man or thing jumped into the bush again. We could not see shape. Hans said it was a man. Met the wagon by the Key [Kei]. I find this side of the river far green[er]. We did not get back till ½ past 10. Gordon was up. Lady Principaless wanted me not to let Johnson have anything that night, but I would, though I was told I was very rude etc. Put away the stores etc and turned in about 11. Joey here today begging.

Thursday 14th. A regular winking day. Selling and putting in order all the morning. My scales not come. Mrs P[incipaless] of course very *qumbile* [angry]. Lindinxowa for his corn. He tried hard to get 3 buckets but I would not. Johnstone also was very impertinent in trying to get 2/6. Till I gave him a very short answer. Gordon seems much better. Came on to rain at night sold a great deal of meal etc. Began my trousers with Miss Gray.

Friday 15th. Spent nearly the whole day talking with Gordon. I suppose all that I have bottled up so long came out. Had good school in the afternoon. Post arrived yesterday. The Bishop has arrived at the Bay. Mr Waters still away. No news today. Clearing up all round the new houses etc.

Saturday 16th. Had men to clear up. Reynolds and another party began to reap the forage. He did himself before breakfast as much as nearly all did by dinner time. Hans reaps very well, being a left handed man. Had the chapel cleared up, kept away from Lady P[incipaless]. She is a

20. 'Lady Principaless' seems to have been Mullins' somewhat wry name for Mrs Waters. It may have been a literal translation of the Xhosa *inkosikazi*, meaning 'princess' or 'chief's wife'.

regular tigress. I never met with such an extraordinary person in my life, never content even, when her grub is cut up for her. I was just beginning to pay the men when Mr Waters arrived. We paid them off and were selling 4 till 6, one continual buy and sell. Up till late hearing news etc. Mr Robinson has held service at the Bay with the dissidents. I am afraid we are going to have a very low Diocesan, and staff.²¹ Finished the trousers. Miss G[ray] having done nearly all. I am far too slow for her. Small family scenes as usual.

Sunday 17th. Rogation Sunday. Had morning service. Mr W[aters] read wrong Psalms. Had very good attendance at the Kafir service. Litany and sacrament at 11. Gordon communicated for the first time. Very fine scene at dinner worth 4/6 any day. We had a short school and then all went for a walk to the river and back. I like Gordon very much. The scene was about Miss Gray. Most disgusting. However things went smoother in the evening. Wonderful improvement.

Monday 18th. Breakfast ready exactly at ½ past 7. Got ready to start and received my school clothes for May. Made up accounts and started for Bolotwa. I have to be back again on Thursday. Jacob [Mamevil ?] came over, he was most impudent. Found all well here. Put house and goods in order. Unpacked books etc. Had Dahralla's children to school and bought two sheep, writing etc till 10. Willy has had capital schools every day. Geshile has taken pains. Shobu's wife Nogwara has a son and the old man is very pleased. He has however lost one of Mr W[aters'] bucks.

Tuesday 19th. Little John Armstrong's birthday. [Nygolechindi ?] Siwani's brother was killed by assegais just above here two or three nights since. The children came down to school whilst I was having my breakfast and before I had finished with them, Tede's came. I had in all ninety nine without Hottentots. Did not finish till eleven. Shobu down to beg coffee for his wife. Made up the school books. Had house smeared, looked thro' album etc. Reynolds arrived with wagon about 3. I had some tea and meat for him. He left again about ½ past 4. Read till ½ past 5. [Xuff ?] here again wanting grub. Sent over Matshongo with the 2 sheep. My school clothes never came. The wagon seems heavily loaded for such small oxen. Promised to meet Reynolds on Thursday night with the gun.

Wednesday 20th. Frank's birthday. Many happy returns to my dearest brother on his natal day. Read all day. Notwithstanding the rain and heavy weather Dahralla's children came down. I was obliged to send them all back again as the school room was quite wet. I thought however that it was fair to give them a wack[?] apiece for their attendance. Very dull uncomfortable day. Willy cut a tremendous lot of heavy firewood, and came up with one piece on his shoulder that would [make ?] me stagger again. He intends to go to St Marks tomorrow and return again the same night so we intend if I wake to start before daybreak. Read *All's well [that ends well]*. I do not like it so much as Shakespeare's other plays; such a cold dull day makes one quite low spirited.

Thursday 21st. Ascension Day. Woke at 20 minutes to 4. Called Willy and with all dispatch had a cup of coffee and started for St Marks. Rather a cloudy morning, but we got on very well arriving there soon after 6. Had very nice morning service chanting the Athanasian Creed. A few Kafirs to service. Somebody went into the chapel the other night and stole the table cloth. Had sacrament at second service. Lady Princ[ipaless] not present at any one service during the day. Rather strange I thought. After school took a walk with Gordon to the Kei. We had a jolly chat

21. At a time of increasing dissension within the Anglican church, Mullins and other High Church clergy were uneasy about the 'evangelical' reputation of Bishop Cotterill, the second bishop of Grahamstown. In fact, he proved a loyal supporter of Robert Gray, the 'High Church' Bishop of Cape Town. For the dispute in Port Elizabeth, see chapter 2, fn.34.

together. I saw Siwani. He had been to see the body of his brother. After evening service I started with Boesac to meet the wagon. I loaded the rifle and put all in readiness before I started. We rode at foot pace to the other side of the flat where we tried to make a fire but the wood was too damp. Off saddled for about an hour, when hearing no sounds and being very cold we rode slowly home having started about 7.20 and returning at 11 p.m. Rather a cold ride. I[n] bed soon after twelve, but aroused again at 3.30 by the arrival of the wagon and 5 boors with a troop of horses looking for servants. No letters. Mr W[aters] attended to the boors, and Gordon and myself read the news. I see the Bishop has 5 children with him. He has taken Mr Robinson on again so the Port Elizabeth paper says. I hope we shall like him. In to bed again at 5 and up at 7.

Friday 22nd. I had some trouble to obtain a horse. Gordon left for Qamata and I started for Yoliswa's on a horse of Giamma's. I rode up to his kraal first to see him before I could come on, as I did not know how long I could keep it. Rode very fast all the way to Yoliswa found a large party there eating meat and many coming and going. Had a few to school but it was too late to find many at home. Told Yoliswa to send for her corn. She was very kind etc. Rode on to Riba's. Found Tom T[aylor] had started his new winkle here. Begged me to stop and have a cup of tea, but I was afraid of being home after dark. I did not teach at Riba's because I thought I should get better school at Faku's. What was my disgust to find nobody at home when I got there. I off saddled for some time and had a talk about the prophet. Arrived here soon after sundown. Wrote and read till nine. Found the scales broken and the weights gone on to Mr Waters so I was horribly taken in about them. Wrote to Brown and packed up the scales to go back tomorrow. No school here today.

Saturday 23rd. Willy called me at 7. I do not think I should have awoken for some time else. The horse bolted away directly it was let out so that I was delayed some time. Sent off Umsembuku to town. Gave the men some corn for Riba. Had school for Tede's children. Swept out my hut. Gave Mamati some corn for Yoliswa and Litini. Philip called but could not get anything out of me. Cleared out my hut and put all square. Had Dahralla's children to school. Very good attendance. Xuff came at night. Also Willy's wives [sic] brother. Plenty of Hottentots passed. The boors have managed to get plenty of workmen but they managed to get into a mess, for the Tambookies would not let them pass into the colony, so they had stolen their cattle. I hear Campbell is dead from drinking.

Sunday 24th. Queen's birthday. God save the Queen. Had morning service at ½ past 7. Slept very well all night. Makananda here today. I had Dahralla's children directly after breakfast and before I had finished with them Tede's arrived, so they kept me employed till 11. Had service at ½ past. Good congregation. Gave them the sermon for St Peters day. Read all the afternoon. Evening service at half past 4 over by sundown. They sang a hymn to God save the Queen. Rather appropriate for the day. Old Speelman says the men have gone on with the boors. First Sunday I have missed being at St Marks for a long time. The day seemed very long.

Monday 25th. Started early for Faku's. Pretty good attendance. Rode on to Riba's and Taylor's. Had a cup of tea and rode on to Yoliswa's. Unluckily the children had all just gone. Litini had called them all together but they got tired of waiting. I managed to get a few to school. Yoliswa has been having the corn pits cleaned out. She spoke in a very undecided manner today. I told her that I was no more her friend because she liked Umthlakaza best. Threw my words aside. She then said that Umthlakaza spoke with God and therefore we must believe him. The wagon had arrived with corn so that loads of hides etc were coming in. Had a very poor school at Riba's and left just before sundown. Fell in with "Sibonda" one of my old school boys at Speelman's. Saw some springboks on the flat. Umgata here on my return, also James with 8 horses for grub

from Mr Waters. Not home till after dark. Umsumbuku arrived with scales mended and letter. No corn to be had in Queenstown. Wrote and made up books etc in the evening. Many of the school children have gone into the colony. More again yesterday.

Tuesday 26th. James called me early but I was not at all inclined to get up. I gave him the meal to start with etc. Great excitement this morning as 5 head of cattle were stolen last night. 8 of Tede's men went by with guns all in martial order. One of Mana's men arrived with a note for me from Warner enclosing another for Mr Waters which I sent on by James. It is about Galekas going into the colony. Had good attendance of Hottentots and Tede's children. Plenty of people going on the spoor, 200 or 400 of them. Mati arrived with the post. Wrote to Brown for more meal etc. [Inkon]down to Xianda. All the women went down here about 3 following the men, it seems to be a Kafir custom; only a few from Dahralla's. They are all at work today.

Wednesday 27th. Had a good number down from Dahralla's. Counted about 40 women coming back from the spooring expedition and the men also soon came back. I then had Tede's children before I finished with them bearded Johnson came. He was very civil etc and his wagons were bringing out some meal for Mr Waters. Mr Gordon also arrived soon after Mr Ross, and the wagon. So that there was quite a host of Englishmen at my place. Johnson made himself extremely cool. Tried to show off before the assemblage. Mr Ross is the son of Capt Ross of Queenstown. We had a sort of dinner about 3 but as it was so late Mr Ross said he would remain during evening. Johnson of course came up and bothered us some time, till at last we luckily got rid of him. I sent a man for the wagon about 12 and it got back here about 9 p.m. Mati arrived about 6 having lost his horse. No letters for me tho'. Up till 11 talking etc. I made up beds for them. I hope they slept well. Ross has a farm near Whittlesea. He told us some queer stories about the wars and Wesleyans which he ran down tremendously even before Johnson. Spent altogether a very jolly evening altho' I am afraid not a very profitable one. As I was not able to do any of my usual work. Bishop has arrived in Grahamstown.

Thursday 28th. I loaded up the wagon the first thing this morning. Johnson up here in the road before we were dressed. He stayed for breakfast. After breakfast he started with Mr Ross. Made some preparations and then Gordon started. Poor fellow he seems still very unwell and is going into Queenstown to see the doctor. Poor school. None from Dahralla's. Altogether I managed to get on well with my large increase of company. Curious tale about Ross's boy. Not seen his father for 5 years till yesterday. He was taken in the war.

Friday 29th. Tried to go off early to Yoliswa's but the horse bolted away tho' knee haltered and we could not catch him for $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour. At last, I made off for Jonas' kraal where with 5 other men we managed to secure him. We rode to Yoliswa's with stopping at Faku's. Had very poor school there. A great assemblage of people to eat meat, but there did not seem much left. They brought a very nice piece for me, but for certain reasons I did not eat it. Rode back to Taylor's. He gave me some coffee. Plenty of trade going on. Poor school at Riba's and at Faku's I found all from home. So I rode on arriving here about 5.30. Mr Gordon came about a quarter of an hour afterwards. No news. He had left a letter behind in the hotel which seemed to vex him very much. We did not go to bed for some time and after we were in bed, we talked till nearly 12 o'clock. I like Gordon more and more. He is very straight forward, and open.

Saturday 30th. Up rather late. Had three very good schools, which kept me employed till 1.30. We then had dinner and prepared to start for St Marks. Dahralla came dressed just before we were starting so that Gordon had a view of my handsome chief. We did not start much before 4 so that it was 6 when we arrived. Horses were lost, but made their appearance just as we got there. Spent a pleasant evening. Miss Gray by one excuse and another keeping us up till nearly

12 o'clock.

Sunday 31st. Whit Sunday. Very different to a Whit Sunday in my native land, where every thing seems glad and joyful. There was a very large congregation of Kafirs this morning, brought down no doubt by the meal Mr Waters gave them. The chapel was quite full. All seemed to enjoy themselves. Poor Gordon rather worse today. I wish he would get well. Took a walk with Mr Waters down to the Bushmen [caves ?] in the afternoon. We had sacrament today of course. Spent another pleasant evening and then to Bedfordshire [ie to bed]. Wagon came down the hill with timber last night. Oxen very much done up. All the Hottentots gone over the River. There ends another month of the year. Things just about the same. Kafirs starving on all sides and glad to pick up the crumbs under your table, who would 6 months ago have told you *Xanka* [meaning not known] if you had only proposed such a thing to them. May the next month bring its blessings.

Monday 1st June 1857. Saddled up directly after breakfast and started back here. Saw them putting up buck skins at the winkle, an enormous lot. Perks' wagon passed with corn. Good number of children from Dahralla's. Tede's were here early this morning, before I arrived. Began to make up the numbers of the schools etc and to rule the books for June. Windy day. Up till late writing. Alarmed about 10.30 p.m. by thieves at Piet's kraal. Shobu, Pifili's were all out down the river after them. Put clothes ready for the children.

Tuesday 2nd. All quiet this morning the thieves got off uninjured. Gave Tede's children some clothes etc. Very good attendance. Dahralla's got theirs also. Zenzile was not here, but as he was very impudent the other day I chose to give Pama, the trousers. He looked very much in his new clothes. Wagon from Queenstown with corn arrived about 4 p.m. They stay here tonight and go on early tomorrow to St Marks. Reports came in of a great fight on the flat between Geleka's and Vadana's people on the one part and Dahralla's on the other. Great excitement caused as three people were killed. I had to get an escort for the wagon or else the man said he would not move. I was going myself with Willy only we could get no horse. Writing till 10. At 10.30 p.m. Cevu arrived with the post. Mr Waters' kraal was attacked last night and Reynolds fired twice, but without effect. Appolis and Umqweba.

Wednesday 3rd. Sent Cevu away early. Willy started soon after on horse back and then the wagon and 6 men as escort. So I hope nothing will happen, tho' the men seem to expect it. Jones came up this morning to ask for some meal in exchange for mealies. Also about some cattle Quesha had captured. I advised him to have nothing to do with them and advise Quesha to send them to Dahralla, but I saw the cattle turn round and go back. Nothing more about the fight. Good schools. Reading in the evening. Made a pie. The wagon arrived again in safety. Krili arrived at Mr W[ater's] today. About the case and is generally supposed to be going to eat Wayisa up. So much for the Gogotya's. I wish all their cattle were done so that they must all go to the colony.

Thursday 4th. Wagon left early. Gave the escort their pay etc. Sonthlo kicked up a little row. Was beginning to do some writing when Mr Waters arrived. I had all the news. He would not stay and being very windy I had no children to school. Also the pie was not cooked through enough etc. He only stayed about 2 hours and left again, the visit not doing very much good. He thinks of sending over Klass Whiteboy to take Willy's place here. In the afternoon I commenced *The History of the Jews* and read till quite late. My clock stopped and would not go. Cevu not back after all his promises.

Friday 5th. Read some time this morning. Cevu came about ½ past 9. 3 letters from England for me

March 4, April 5th from home, and April 5 from Elgie. No very good news altogether. The harmonium was sent 4 months ago; also a letter from Henry, which has never turned up. It is very strange. But all things coming to me seem to be determined to be delayed as long as possible. Pretty good schools. Only for a short time as the wind was very strong. Reading letters and news all day. Quite in England today. Unpacked the case of clothes. I am afraid not of much use to me. Rode to the winkle at night to get some tobacco. Another Princess.²² Hurrah! for old England. Writing at night.

Saturday 6th. Started early for Yoliswa's. Had a small attendance at Faku's. All out with the cattle. Unqayi a Galeka stole 100 head last week and the thefts are very often now. No school at all at Yoliswa's. All away. Saw [Itigbuka] there and his sister. A meeting about stolen horses. Rode back and had some coffee with Taylor and then a small school at Riba's. Silo sent his children today. Very windy and cold. Litini is going into the colony I think. Got home after sundown. Sent Willy to Dahralla's to tell him to come to service. Read and wrote at night and got things ready for Sunday.

Sunday 7th. Trinity Sunday. Had morning service and school for Dahralla's and Tede's children and second service at 12. Much annoyed by the people walking in and out. All the Tambookies starting off after the Galeka to [Chengcho ?]. A report of a great fight there. I had to go and fetch the horse myself and managed to catch him and rode him bare backed. Started for St Marks about 2.15. Met several on patrol. But all else quiet. All well at St Marks. Watch in the kraal all night. Had sacrament and the Athanasian creed in the evening. Hottentot, the herd died whilst we were at tea. He had been ill, but was better and all of a sudden died. Eating too much mealies so Mr Reynolds thinks or poisoned. Reynolds keeps good guard with gun and pistol. Gordon seems very much better. A Mr and Mrs Hutt and Mr Turpin²³ are coming up and have got to go to St Marks again. I hope I shall be able to finish out a year here.

Monday 8th. Great many wanting food, sell anything for it. The wagon arrived with corn yesterday and took away today several baskets and 45 assegais bought all for food. It shows they are getting very short. Umvumthla's cattle all stolen, so report says. Krili and staff arrived just about 12. Wanting to sell a horse for Kafir corn. I had some talk with him. He rode on to Bolotwa at a tremendous pace. Followed by all his men. I started directly after dinner. I hope to read a little before the Bishop comes up, as he is going to bring Mr Banks with him, and Mr Lange. Arrived here just before sundown and in time to send the sacks on to Mr Brown. Wrote to Mr Garde, Addison and Lloyd and made up accounts etc and school books. Willy away this evening. Klass Thlathli here.

Tuesday 9th. Up pretty early. Klass does his work very well indeed. Had small attendance to school. Read some Kafir, Greek and Virgil, but I am afraid I made great mess. I hear from Willy that Ungayi, Umvunya and Iseon were killed last night in a fight about cattle with the Gaika's. Dahralla down to breakfast this morning. He said he is sorry he did not see Krili yesterday and says he must soon begin war. They took home cattle last night, and killed them immediately. Willy starts tomorrow if all is well. Gave him a parting present. David S. here tonight. I hope he is not going to be any trouble to me. Tired at night. Horses out till late and no postman from Mr Waters. We shall have more news I think tomorrow.

22. Princess Beatrice, the youngest child of Queen Victoria was born in April 1857. (Longford, *Victoria RI*, London, 1964, p.260)

23. Revd R G Hutt and Revd WH Turpin - see biographical notes.

Wednesday 10th. Awake nearly all night. Aroused early by Willy, got up had my breakfast before prayers. Willy started off and never came to say good morning, very queer. I could not get a man to take the post so I was obliged to send Klass. No schools. Very windy. Read some Kafir, Greek, Virgil and Engl[ish] Hist[ory]. Very wet and cold at night. I hear that Anta, Gonyama²⁴ and Yoliswa have got all their men out ready to fight. 6 Galeka's were killed and two Queshas. Nothing from Mr Waters. I cannot make out where his postman is. David and three others gone to Bushman's school. Tafani here wanting his gun mended. Had house painted.

Thursday 11th. St Barnabas. Geshile had to call me at 8 o'clock this morning! I cannot think how I slept so long. Made some bread. Nobody to school. Made a table of Kings of England. Read Greek, Kafir and Latin. Quesha old counsellor in here begging again. He made me very vexed by keeping on spitting. Klass came back about 7. Mr Waters had sent a man and so I did not get any letters. It is very provoking. Wrote to Mr W[aters] to send tomorrow. Klass brought me 3 lbs of butter. Very windy all day. Nothing stirring.

Friday 12th. Got up and had my breakfast before sunrise. Gave Klass the parcel to go by Matshongo to Mr Waters and started to Yoliswa's. Rode straight there. Had a cup of coffee at Taylor's which warmed me as it was very cold. Found Yoliswa at home but Litini away, so that tho' she sent for the children not one made its appearance. I taught the few there (9) and told her about Mr Hutt. She said she did not believe me. Umvumthla has had only 5 head taken. I saw him and Zezi. The latter dressed very well indeed. Saw the performance of milking. Every calf answered to its name and also the cows. Nobody at home at Riba's and himself very ill so I rode on to Faku's where I had a very few to school. So that I got home very early from my work. Found James here with letter from Mr Waters and one from Henry. Very interesting indeed tho' it made me long for England. Read the news. Mr Hardie is Archdeacon of King W[illiam's] Town now. I am very glad of it. The Bishop seems to be much liked. I long to have the harmonium as there is a portrait of Bishop Armstrong in it. Put in the horses late. Matshongo returned and I have go over on Sunday.

Saturday 13th. Up early through a dream, that somebody had been to tell me James was not gone and I never thought of my mistake till after my shoes were on. Had very poor schools. The children say they are all too hungry to come. Dahralla's the same, tho' I noticed his own children were the ones away. He is gone to Nonesi's. Read Kafir and English. A boor arrived at 3.30, so that I shall not have a very quiet evening. James came, I gave him my horse to go on with, Dema being tired. Made school books and journal.

Sunday 14th. Had morning prayers. Two very long lessons which quite tired me. Put up the flag and had breakfast. The boor soon afterwards took his departure. I read till the children came to school about 11 o'clock kept them till ½ past 12. And then had the rest of the service; nobody here to sing, so that I will not [have] a very comfortable one. Started at 1.50 for St Marks. Rode very slowly. Came up with Siwani on the road, riding a 1 year old colt at a tremendous pace. Plenty of people trekking. Found them all well and Mynheer the boor at St Marks. Had evening service. To bed about 11. I did not communicate today. Guard on in the kraal.

Monday 15th. Called them up this morning. Took a short walk with Gordon after breakfast. Went into see the children at breakfast. They all seem very happy indeed. Kuse came. Got ready and started. I did not change horses as Mr Reynolds advised me not. I came with Dema. About 30 Kafirs on the flat all trekking. Passed the wagon which was progressing but slowly. Found all

24. Gonyama (alias Ngonyama, alias Oba) was the son of Tyali (d1842) and therefore the grandson of Ngqika. (See T Stapleton, *Maqoma*, Johannesburg, 1994)

well here. Read some more. Boors passed, but I am glad to say did not put up here. I don't know why. Willy, David and Plaatje back again. Let the men have rations. Gave a pass to John [Barnes] one of the great rebels. Dahralla not back yet. Read over the old letters. Told Mr Waters that I thought the harmonium was meant to be for my private property.

Tuesday 16th. Up early. Very very cold and damp and the wagon did not start till 9 o'clock. I made an attempt at driving. I think I improve a little. The children would not come as it was cold, cold. I was very cold myself and glad to have some coffee in the middle of the day. Boors here. They took away 31 people, men I mean. Mati passed with his people, horses etc. Reading all the day. Very cold in the house. Cleared out the stable to get myself warm. Several here begging for food.

Wednesday 17th. All quiet. About 8 from Tede's and none from Dahralla, who had killed an ox. The children said they could not come for hunger. I gave them a few mealies. Finished *Hist[ory] of the Jews* I like it very much indeed. Read Kafir, Gr[ee]k, and Lat[in]. Very dull day. Cut down a large piece of firewood just as much as either of us were able to stagger under. Klass Whitbooy helped us much. Dahralla returned last night. He passed but I did not see him. Wagon not returned. Hottentots singing at night.

Thursday 18th. Waterloo Day. Made some bread. A few children from Tede's. Sent Klass to see if the wagon was coming. Mr Waters came from St Marks. He did not stay very long. Read Kaffir etc. All quiet. Sent Matshongo to town. Plenty of people trekking into the colony etc.

Friday 19th. Still looking for the wagon. Had a few more children to school. Today we heard the wheels and the wagon arrived about 3 or later. Loaded off some mealies etc for myself. The oxen quite done up also the people. No letters and no news in the papers. Philip brought a letter from Mr Warner for Mr Waters. I gave him some mealies as well as several others that came begging.

Saturday 20th. Up early. But as the Hottentots were bothering I could not get off till ½ past 8. Rode straight on to Yoliswa's. I could get no children and Litini was again away. I saw Nyila²⁵ there. It appears a Shiloh missionary has been there and held service last Sunday. I hope he does not think to cut us out.²⁶ I told Yoliswa to begin a hut immediately. Rode back to Taylor's. Had a cup of tea there. Had a very few at Riba's. All [at] Egengobeni. I am afraid unless a resident goes to Yoliswa's, there will be no profit in the station. People all trekking. Rode to Faku's and talked with the men for about ½ an hour. No children at all at home. Rode slowly home. Found Geshile back. The wagon seems to have gone all right. Just after I arrived came Walter Currie Esq.,²⁷ Griffiths and Tekusch with 3 policemen [Ithingcuwa ?] and Boi. I put up the officers and Kafirs and the policemen went down to Jones. We spent a very pleasant evening. The Bishop is to be at Beaufort tomorrow. Currie seems a capital fellow. They have been on patrol. Plaatje came at night with two horses from Mr Reynolds. Cevu still here.

Sunday 21st. Up before sunrise but the other gentlemen did not seem very much inclined to turn out of their beds. We got on very well altogether. Tekusch left early, the other later in the day.

25. Nyila was evidently a lesser Thembu chief.

26. Shiloh was a Moravian mission situated just south-east of Queenstown. Denominational competition, so evident in this entry was introduced and exacerbated by missionary enterprise. It was one of the reasons why culture contact with whites had such a divisive impact on Xhosa society.

27. Walter Currie - see biographical notes.

Currie shot a crow. Had school, a mixed sort of service. Read and started for St Marks. All well there. A boor Farreria there. He seemed a good sort of fellow. Had Holy Communion. No news from Grahamstown.

Monday 22nd. Up early. Went into the garden and tried to murder some wild geese but I did not succeed. After breakfast I knocked ½ a sovereign out of Miss Gray and started with Boesac and Mr Waters for Yoliswa's. We had a pleasant ride. Boesac was poetical. The crow answers. We meet with some Englishmen on spoor, or rather with recaptured cattle. Bought some huts and set up the crop. So our Moravian brethren will I think have to go some where else. Rode on to Riba's where I parted from the others and came on old Dema here. The Hutts not arrived yet. No news. Wrote and made up books. Wagon arrived just at nine o'clock. I almost think I shall be sent to Yoliswa's by myself, but I must have a decent house to live in if I do. I am almost tired of this rough unsettled life. I think others ought to take a turn now. Or else I shall soon be worn out. I have Dema here for this week and my own is resting mean time.

Tuesday 23rd. Klass called me early. The Hottentot kraal was attacked last night by Kafirs, and a blanket stolen, only girls being on the place. I wonder I never woke with all the row they are said to have made. But so it is. I am always sure to know nothing about a row till it is all over. Sela came down to ask leave to come into my house but I was obliged to say no, as I am daily expecting Mr Hutt. I did not have breakfast till ¼ past 11 as I waited to see if Mr Reynolds came. Had a few girls from Dahralla's. Gave notice of the feast tomorrow. They all seemed pleased with the idea. The boors' horse wagon came and two nice boors, with Reynolds. I made tea and lent them my saddle. They have hired 50 people to go with them and requested me to let them have some mealies for 7/6 and let the people sleep in the two empty huts. Which I did. Cevu left early to go to a friend of his to beg corn. About sundown the people began to arrive. I never saw such a horrible sight. They could hardly crawl along. I was never so tempted to cry in my life as to watch the poor little children coming along. At the same time I should like to have punished the men. I gave them the food and let [Pegrish ?] and family sleep in my hut as there was not room for all. His girl is going with him. I was very fond of her I gave them some extra food, and several others. The children crying all night. I have [been] here 1 year today.

Wednesday 24th. St John Baptist Day. My patron saint. The people started off on their long journey early, (for they have to go over the Orange River). Gave some of them more food and let them go. The people soon began to come together for grub also, pots and firewood in abundance. Had my house *xinda* [smeared with clay or dung]. However Mr Waters did not come nor any of his party. I gave out corn and mealies according to the number of people. Much as follows.

		lbs	=	£ s d	Number
	Mealies	110	=	1.2.- }	250
				}	
Kafirs	Kafir Corn	120	=	1.4.- }	
	Sugar	1	=	-.8 }	17
Hottentots	Coffee	1	=	-.1.4 }	
	Meal	10½	=	-.3.-	
		230 lbs of corn		£2.11.-	267

My school was quite full in all the parts and they said the hymns etc very well indeed. We also had service after the men arrived which quite filled the school. I allowed 1 lb for each person, so that what the children could not eat others might. I think it was quite enough. Geshile counted 54 men and I could altogether 215 but I think in round number it would be 250 some coming and

going the whole time. Everything went off very well. The cooking was performed in 18 large pots. 1 an immense size. I hope all had enough. They left just as the sun went down. Dahralla was not here and only a few of his wives. All the other people were here from every quarter and in some instances those that were not invited. I afterward had up Dema, and had just got on him, told Klass to let go his head but he would hold tight; the bridle broke, of all things to happen, bit came out of his mouth and off he went. I caught hold of his rein and held tight and gradually brought him to a walk when I jumped off. It was very lucky he was so quiet and did not bolt. Took the meal etc up to the Hottentots and then rode down to the winkle. I had a man and boy here early named Skiti a miserable looking being. I was quite surprised to see [Gwadiso ?] fallen off. Cevu back and begging food. Thus ended St John Baptist day 1857. I hope next year coffee and bread may be more acceptable than a regular feast of corn, but just now I thought the corn would be preferred; besides for such a multitude I do not think I could have money enough. Williams passed. He tells me our wagon did not get up the hill till sun down and he has sheep at 8 shillings and bucks at 6s.6d for Mr Waters if he wants them.

Thursday 25th. Up rather late. Had pretty good attendance to school. Dahralla came down, he got some mealies. Hottentots also to school. Reynolds arrived at 4 just as I was finishing the last of 3 schools. No letters and no news of the Grahamstown people. It is I think rather queer we have had no letter to tell us when to expect the new people. Reading till late at night.

Friday 26th. Whilst I was at breakfast, Dahralla passed looking after a lost horse. I got off pretty early. Gave Cevu some grub and told him not to let me find him here on my return. Called at Faku's. I had a great deal of trouble to make the horse go. He did not seem to understand the bit. I then rode to Riba's. Left papers at Taylors and on to Yoliswa's. Had 8 children to school. She made great enquiries as to when the wagon was coming etc and sent Litini to point out the wagon road to me. I think it quite good with a little trouble. Had a cup of tea at Taylors. Williams was there most civil and obliging. He is certainly a man of a better cast. If he would only keep away from grog. Had a few to school at Riba's. The sun was behind the mountain when I got to Faku's and all the children away. So I had a talk and came on here. I met a man at the winkle with Dahralla's lost horse, which I took up home for him. Mr Waters was here on his way to Queenstown this morning soon after I left, very much put out because he could get no coffee and had started this morning without his breakfast. He told Klass he was expecting Mr Hutt this evening. However he has not arrived. Jones kindly offered to send me up some meat tomorrow.

Saturday 27th. Eve of St Peter. Up pretty early. Had only a few from Tede's. Dahralla was down early. He had coffee and wanted me to give him money to buy a horse for me, but I was rather too old a bird to be caught with chaff. We had service etc. Old Quesha came up to beg corn. He would have some meal to eat whilst here also. Women here thatching the hut. Just as I finished Dahralla's school Mr Waters arrived, with the alarming news that the Bishop was in Queenstown and would be out on Monday. I had some meat and fruit, so we had a hearty meal. Mr W[aters] then left with Boesac and I paid off the people, got ready and followed about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour after. I rode very hard and overtook them on the flat just before going into the thorns. We were truly delighted to see the wagon (which had passed my place about 12 o'clock) just out of the drift and ascending the other side. Reynolds could hardly get them to drag it, so he and Johnson took a turn in the yokes and afterwards Reynolds and myself till we got home. Found Capt Tekusch just arrived off patrol. He was very civil and shew[ed] up in rather better colours. Pleasant chat till late. All going on well here. I helped to weigh out corn and mealies for the Kafirs and to pay them off. A great many oxen have been stolen lately from the farmers. Gave some men papers that came with Dahralla.

Sunday 28th. Up early before the others and went out in a blanket and had a good roasting by the

kitchen fire. Mr Tekusch left before prayers. Umvuthla and [lthingcuwa] were with him. We had the usual Sunday services. Took sundry short strolls with Gordon. Mr Bankes it seems is not going to be married after all. Got some knives and a lb of butter etc from Miss Gray. Mrs Prin[cipaless] just as bad as ever. Left about ½ past 3 and got home about 6 p.m. Jones let me have some dripping and has promised blankets. Had Kafir service and just as I finished two wagons arrived laden with corn. So I had some unpleasant work in helping to unload them. 46 muids altogether. I hear Dahralla's men have taken a bull from a Galeka and killed it. A little revenge I suppose. More people here tonight so I had more applications for grub. Sent for Geshile and Matshongo to sleep and mind the corn.

Monday 29th. St Peters day. Up early. Had breakfast before sunrise. Sent Geshile to buy a sheep and had the other men hard at work all the morning. I hoped to have all right before the Bishop arrived. Made a pie. I had the house *xinded* and got all in order. Mr Waters arrived with Boesac about 11. I had a regular hurry to get things square. Mr W[aters] kindly brought me some bread so that I was well off for grub altogether. Boesac was to wait and Klass to cook. I had school for a short time. The Bishop and Messrs Bankes and Green, arrived about 2. Quesha was here, and Dahralla and Philip came soon after. The Bishop spoke to them all there, and when we told the two sons they were handsome, old Quesha asked "And what am I?" Dahralla seemed disposed to be a little troublesome. But altogether the meeting went off peaceably. Bishop gave them a bag of corn between the 3. D[ahralla] grumbled very much. The other two seemed to be much more content. We then had grub in the shape of mutton and rice and a fruit pie after. I had only 3 plates so it was rather awkward; we managed on the whole pretty well. Took a walk with Mr Bankes and heard all the news. Had prayers about 8 and tea at ½ past nine. Bishop I like very much indeed. Very much like Bishop Armstrong. I could hardly get the idea out of my head. Mr Green very kind but just the same man as ever. Mr Bankes amusing. Bishop and Mr Green in my hut and Messrs Waters, Bankes and self in one of the Hottentot ones. Had a good fire all night.

Tuesday 30th. My birthday. Up early. The others soon turned out. We had prayers and breakfast and then started for Yoliswa's and Mr G[reen] for Queenstown. Sent the pack horse by Cevu to St Marks. We had a pleasant ride. Took Jerry with us. He went after a springbok but the creature was too far a head. Faku was out and also Riba. The Bishop is a capital horseman. His boots and spurs look quite martial. Found Yoliswa at the drift. Umvunthla had never let her know about our coming. It was very provoking as we did not see her at home and comfortable. She had to run all the way down. It was settled that I have to go there with Turpin. I do not know how I shall like it. But it is best to obey orders. Rode on to St Marks. The Bishop made every enquiry about the people and the wants of them. We arrived at St Marks soon after sundown. They had the flag hoisted and all quite grand. Mrs W[aters] of course quite delighted. The force of her remarks were wonderful. When we were speaking of the softness of the Kafir language, she volunteered that it was 300 (!) miles to Burghersdorp and that the boors came all that distance for servants. Had evening service. I slept in Reynold's house. So ended Tuesday and with it my 19 years in this world. I hope I may live in peace for the rest of my life. I have had a good deal of knocking about and perhaps as much this last year as ever. We had been in daily expectation of war. I have been quite an exile. But still I manage to live and seem rather to like the rough life. This ends a year at the Bolotwa station. How long shall I be at Yoliswa's remains to be seen. She seemed pleased at the idea of my going and Dahralla was very much displeased. Mr Hutt is to take St John's. I myself think that Government²⁸ will take possession of Kafirland and give the chiefs farms or let them go elsewhere. At present it is nearly

28. Sir George Grey was eager to annex territory across the Kei but his proposals did not win favour in London.

depopulated. Tambookieland will I think soon go. To be sure they have a few cattle and bucks but then it is at least 7 months before mealies can be had and beside[s], where are they to get corn for seed? Time will show what will be done. They have sold their guns and ammunition and continue to do so. Therefore they can be hardly so mad as to intend war. But it may even be this. Who knows?

Wednesday 1st July 1857. Here to begin another year of lonely life. Up early and went out to have a shot at the geese but the gentlemen were too sharp and took to flight before I could get within shot. I then went after some springboks but they also had disappeared. We had Communion Service at 11 and sacrament. Krili arrived about 1. Yoliswa came whilst we were in chapel. She was very well dressed. Lady P[rincipaless] of course in a tremendous way about the Kafirs coming into her house. But Mr W[aters] would not give way. Krili gave some little trouble but altogether we got on well. I forgot to mention that I was interpreter to the Bishop in talking with Dahralla and Quesha yesterday. I managed pretty well, but now and then came a hard word that I could not get over. After dinner we walked down to the Bushman's caves and got back at dark. Bishop and Mr Waters very buissy all the morning at missionary matters. Went to bed about ½ past 10. Very windy night in great fear that the shed would come down.

Thursday 2nd. Went after the geese again but a crane gave the alarm and away they went. Got ready all things and directly after breakfast started with Bishop and Messrs Bankes and Waters for Darling station. The pack gave us some little trouble at first but I managed to get all things in order and then we went on well. Mr Waters left us at Xuff's kraal. I got him as a guide. He took us a capital road to Faku's kraal. Unluckily he was no[t] returned so the Bishop missed seeing him. Xoff took us on but the road was very bad we passed Rennie's²⁹ farm and then Webster's but still did not come to the police station. At last we arrived and then my horse which Reynolds lent me became unmanageable and bolted under the verandah I was all but off. Tekusch was very kind. We off saddled and Mrs T[ekusch] made tea and we had bread and butter. The Bishop then started with Mr Bankes and a policeman as guide. I had a shot with Tekusch's rifle, he fired first and missed. I then hit the wood the bottle was on. He fired again and missed and I broke the bottle. It is a beautiful gun. Just like lightening. Rode home rather hard as it was getting late. Found all well. Very tired and went to bed early. Wagon arrived bringing some forage for me.

Friday 3rd. Up early. Sent Geshile to the winkle to try and purchase a sheep or buck but they were all done. So I started the wagon with Mr Waters' goods etc and 11 muid mealies. Putting my house in order all day. Nobody to school. John Dunn came with some bread from Miss Gray. Read and wrote at night. Made up accounts and put the books all ready for Mr Waters. Returned blankets to Mr Jones which Klass had neglected to do.

Saturday 4th. Very windy and wet night. Made up school books, wrote home. Read some Eusebius. Pumiani came with a letter from Mr Waters. Dahralla called. He says he is starving and he denies that he received anything from Government. Had one present of £10 when Joey was down. Writing up journal in the evening. Very windy still. I see bearded Johnstone has been robbed of £200 odd. No other news in the paper. Mr W[aters] expects Mr Hutt daily. Yoliswa sent Klass for part of her corn so I opened a sack for her. I sent a small bag full to begin to sow.

Sunday 5th. Dahralla down to early service. Had service again soon after breakfast for the Hottentot women two of which came. Had Hottentot school in my hut and the Kafir children outside.

29. Rennie had been granted the farm Rennievale.

Dahralla came and again brought his people to a second Kafir service. On coming out the horse was gone, so I started with Klass in search but during our absence Geshile returned with it and then let it jump away unneehaltered, so that we were a long time before we could catch it. Called at the winkle. Jones and Taylor both there as ever. Took on a note to Mr Waters, that a wagon would be there the first thing in the morning to buy horses for corn. Found all well. Spent a very pleasant evening indeed, although the Lady P[rincipaless] began to grumble. Reynolds fired 2 shots at a man today who was making away with 2 of Mr W[ater]s' horses. I was much pleased with Klass today after both services I asked him to repeat the parables and he did so nearly word for word as I had read them. Mr Gordon now wears a surplice. Half the service is in English and ½ in Kafir. This I do not like as I used to enjoy our English service so very much. It bore one back to England.

Monday 6th. Very windy night. Had very little sleep the onions under my bed kept me awake. The stench was awful. Gordon, Mr Waters and myself at the accounts till 12 o'clock. I found I was in debt for the first time in my life, but on my return here I managed to make out that I had 16/3 in the world. I must draw in my horns this quarter the Kafirs are eating me up every way I go. Settled with Mr Waters. Krili arrived just after dinner, we got on well together. I was obliged to borrow Dema as my horse has such a sore back. Arrived here about sun set. Writing till late. Made up all accounts.

Tuesday 7th. Up early. Directly after breakfast I began letter writing and continued all day at it. Klass Kafir called on his way to town with two horses of Reynolds. But as he said he had not orders about the post I did not give him my letters. The Tambookies all on patrol today. Some cattle having been stolen from Warner. I hear also that Umsunbuka has got into the *tronk* [gaol] and I suppose he will be transported. He was in the colony without a pass. People passing all day. Nobody to school. Sent the wagon off early with 13 bags of corn. In the evening we heard that Vadana had in two engagements put the other Tambookies to flight. He seems to be a brave man tho' he is such a rascal. People coming back a[fter] dark with all sorts of reports. No postman arrived. (*Wathi kubuth lwa wafika abafazi ababini. Diyabuza mina wati "Ufunantonina". Wathi "uku pimisa namadoda. U Klass wetei into. Diyeva asingulunyile, [illegible] mina tina abafazi masi - goduka.*)³⁰ I did not like it at all, and he did not speak to Klass. I am afraid he had something to do with them. It is a great pity, but what can you expect with raw Kafirs.

Wednesday 8th. Over slept myself so I was up late. Some kraal was attacked last night and Tiyedwa fired several shots, but I did not hear them. George and John Bosman came with post, George riding my horse, with a very sore back; gave him Dema on into town. John going on with him. House *xinded* etc. Washed my horse's back. Dahralla came and I promised to give him a bag of corn for his kraal he seemed very pleased but of course begged for more. Had a good number to school, 53. Just after school Lindiwe came and sent the boys off in all directions after the cattle. They soon brought them up and then Lindiwe came on horse back to call the people together as some of Vadana's men were in the mountains. Before he returned the top of the mountain was full of men and firing began. We counted 9 shots but I think there must have been many more as a man from the winkle said they had been firing a long time. Lindiwe came for the corn at night but I could not hear any particulars of the case. It seems however that they beat off Vadana's men. We shall hear more tomorrow.

Thursday 9th. All quiet last night and this morning. Bought a cow from a Galeka chief. Zena came

30. Xhosa translation: It happened that two women arrived. I asked and said: 'What do you want?' One of the women said: 'To make love with men'. Klaas said, 'I hear that is not right. I want that you should go home.'

early. He was armed his gun loaded etc just off patrol. I had very good school from Tede's. Just as I was going to give them some corn, Klass from Yoliswa gave me a note written by Taylor from Yoliswa saying another missionary was come and she did not want me. George came just after, so I sent back message to her that I had received her word and would take it to Mr Waters. So after I had finished Dahralla's school I rode over to Mr Waters. Received a letter from home. Saw 7 springboks today they stood quite close to the road. Found all well there. Took Mr Waters' rifle to try to get a shot at a springbok but it was gone. Spent very pleasant evening. Miss Gray tremendously lively and Mrs W[aters] very civil for a wonder. A great many people there all in a dying state. Many are come to settle on his station.

Friday 10th. I had hardly gone to sleep when Mr W[aters] wanted to rouse us to get up, only I protested against it. Zenzile has gone away in a queer manner nobody seems to know how. Up early went and had a shot at *quingoshe* [*uQimngqoshe*: hamerkop]³¹ before breakfast, broke its legs. Directly after breakfast started with Mr Waters and Boesac for Yoliswa's (I met the wagon yesterday in the road). Mr Reynolds lent me his large horse to ride. Called to see [Rigeng ?] and sent Pumlane over to fetch the cow. Found Yoliswa at home. She after a great deal of talking denied all she had said in the letter and said she would send her word to Warner and Mr Waters must send his. So it was all a lie. Called at Taylors and Faku's. Promised him some corn. Saw 10 springboks on the flat. Got home rather late. All well. The corn all sent off. Vadana walked off with 70 head of cattle and 10 horses last night. He is getting more and more impudent. Paid off the *igosa*'s. Wagon not arrived. Read Polly's long letter.

Saturday 11th. Dahralla came whilst I was at breakfast. I gave him 10s and some mealies. He seems quite down hearted poor man. Wanted to leave one of his wives with me. Had a good number to school from both places. Very dull wet day, clouds all over the mountain. Wagon came in afternoon so I was fully employed putting goods etc away till dark. 2 shots fired at night at Dahralla's kraal. Sent the cow away early with Pumlane but she came back and I had to send Matshongo to help them thro' the river. Gave Xani and Jonas papers to Mr W[aters] and Mr Nel,³² district Queenstown. All quiet today. Reading *Guardian*, Chinese War³³ etc.

Sunday 12th. Up very late. Had morning service, hoisted the flag. Had Tede's children to school. Then the Hottentots first then Dahralla came with his children. I had a very good number to service, about 70 children, 7 or 8 men. They seemed very attentive. Old [Tolerey ?] is come to live here. After school I got ready to start for Mr Waters which I reached not long before sundown. All well. Reynolds in a tremendous rage about what I could not understand. Had evening prayers and sacrament. Up till late. Mr Gordon mesmerized Miss Gray. Not exactly the do[d]ge on Sunday. However harmless it might be. We had a long conversation about ghosts. Could not find the 10/- I lost Saturday I hope it may benefit some poor half starved creature of which there are plenty.

Monday 13th. Up early. All Kafir service. Went after the geese but they went to the river and followed and drove them back, but when I had a good chance for a shot, the cap shaped and off they went. Very provoking after all one's trouble. Tried to buy a horse, but could not. Reynolds bought a very nice little pony which he lent me to ride over here. I tried also to purchase a Cape Corps gun and requested them all to get it for me, as it is very light to carry. Saw several

31. According to Kropf the hamerkop is a sacred bird to the Xhosa that should not be killed. (A Kropf, *Kafir-English Dictionary* (ed by R Godfrey), Lovedale, 1915).

32. W Nel was granted land in the Queenstown Division.

33. Opium War (1857-58) to compel the Manchu ruler to allow the importation of opium.

springboks etc in the road. 13 horses going from Mullery's. Changed some meal with Jones. Dahralla came down in the evening. He says he intends to treck and asked me what I should do. Tole came to ask permission to stay in one hut whilst his house was being built. Wagon arrived. Wrote to Mr Waters and Tekusch. Let Dahralla have 1 bag mealies, I am to have a horse tomorrow.

Tuesday 14th. Up early. Dispatched Windvogel with wagon. Good number from Tede's also from Dahralla's. Had to give Zenzile a good thrashing for humbugging in school. In the afternoon Dahralla brought down a horse, good enough but with a very sore back. Reading during the afternoon. Jacob passed with the post. Klass I gave leave to go to St Marks. Klass returned at dark with a gun and some ammunition for me. So if Vadana comes I shall be able to receive him. Very bad headache so I turned in early.

Wednesday 15th. Up before sunrise. Had prayers etc. Dahralla down early. I could not get the barrels off the gun so I fired off to see that all was right. D[ahralla]'s dogs killed and eat 3 dogs today. They are getting very dangerous. I hope they will not come after Jerry. Good numbers at all schools. Just as I was finishing Tede's school Wemyss the famous came on horseback on his way to St Marks to hire men. I told him Mr Waters would be obliged by his taking them all away. I then had the Hottentots to school, and lastly the Kafirs from Dahralla's. Quite tired by the time I had finished. Heavy thunderstorm came on. Passing showers all day and now and then very high wind. All the Kafirs seem to be very much afraid of Vadana and his sons. I wonder they do not make an attempt to get rid of him. Jacob not returned. Put the books etc all in order and read up the new service with Klass. Washed down my horse's back today. It is much worse. Klass rode him down to the winkle full gallop and then I rode him again and on his return we poured some brandy over his back. I hope therefore he will get well soon.

Thursday 16th. Very cold and wet all day. A few children to school in my hut. Read Shakespeare and other books. Sat in Klass' hut in the evening. Jacob not come.

Friday 17th. The wet of yesterday had during the night turned into snow and mist. The ground quite white by 11 o'clock and where no water was it was about 3 inches deep. Very cold of course had two or three snow balls at the Kafirs etc. The horses not able to eat so I put mine in the stable. No Jacob. The Hottentot Reynolds sent came back yesterday. He says he saw Jacob there, so I suppose the letters have arrived in safety. Very cold towards the evening. Wemyss came at dark. Took him into have a warm. He seems to be an open hearted fellow. A great pity he has given away like he has. Rather a fall from Aide de camp to police. Yet Napoleon was a policeman and now Emperor of France.³⁴ I hope he will keep steady now and get back to England. Up till late. Had some fire into the hut in the back pot. Snow thawed towards evening.

Saturday 18th. Dahralla sent down a horse for me but I was not able to go as it rained hard and was late. Snow still on the mountains quite thick. Wemyss still here. So I got him to help me to clean my gun, which he did with great care. Put it all right. Dahralla brought some horses down for me to see. Only I would not have them. In the evening after I had swept and cleared out my hut I rode over to William's winkle with Wemyss. He had several families there. Ordered some bucks for Mr Waters. James came from Mr Waters today to fetch the letters, but Jacob had not returned. Some horses and cattle stolen yesterday.

34. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, assumed the title of 'Emperor' in January 1852 after a plebiscite of the French people. He had been a special constable in Britain during the Chartist demonstrations.

Sunday 19th. Up pretty early. Had morning Kafir service. Very cold indeed. No children to school. Soon after breakfast we saw a large congregation of people at the winkle and having to go and turn the horses we walked on to see what was there. It turned out to be some of Vadana's men with horses. Dahralla was there. He and his people took the horses and let the people take away the corn they had. They then rode away on some other spoor, so that I did not get them to service. Had a second service in English and Kafir. Wemyss responded very well indeed. I am really very sorry for the poor fellow. Soon after James and Shushu arrived with 3 horses. I rode back on Vena. Wrote for Mr Waters to Warner and also to Brown for some ammunition. Wemyss left as I did. He sleeps at the winkle tonight and rides on tomorrow morning to Warners. Met Reynolds and Johnson in the drift. Spoors of cattle all across the flat, stolen I suppose. Found them well. All the people very bad this weather. Snow very white on the Zuurberg.

Monday 20th. Called up by James arriving with post about 12 o'clock. I did not read as I had no matches, so left them till morning. After breakfast gathered all the poorest people together and sent them away in the wagon. One man tumbled down in walking to the wagon and some little boys were most awfully bad. Made me quite ill to look at them. Started on a pony of Reynolds directly after dinner. A very good one. People on the flat looking after Butler's stolen cattle.³⁵ I suppose it was their spoor I saw yesterday. Overtook the wagon at the winkle. Here soon before sundown. Put the forage on the top of the stable. Gave the people all rations. Tai's husband we heard died in the road. No news. I hope they will not try to steal the oxen tonight. Paid Matushongo. I am much afraid several of the people will die before they reach the colony.

Tuesday 21st. Wrote to Brown. Send off Windvogel and wagon. All the people still alive. Crying very much last night, all the children. Dahralla brought [Quesha's ?] and Tabata's guns. He was armed himself. Had Tede's children to school. Nocama came to *xinda*. James and [Kividni ?] came with horses going also with the post. Put my house in order etc. The men swept up the place and got a little firewood. Special messenger arrived with a letter from Warner. I have to send all on to Shepstone. Gave men rations twice today. They seemed all very thankful. Wrote to Mr Waters and sent a man with the letter. Read at night. Had a few of the Hottentots and D[ahralla]'s children to school. Vadana has taken some more of Nonesi's cattle. Made up school books.

Wednesday 22nd. Up early. Very cold. White frost. [ThlaJune ?] returned with the letter. He met four men on the flat the other night. They proposed to kill him. Gave Warner's man rations. Just before he started 3 more of his police came on foot on their way to Mr Waters with despatches. They were all dressed in long military cloaks and looked very well altogether. I heard Warner's man give Dahralla orders about the people. Washed my horse's back and then rode him up to the flat. Chased some springboks with Jerry but he was too tired to do anything. Several people came for papers and I told them all to come tomorrow and then I would send them away with Dahralla's man. D[ahralla] has begun to plough today. All his people were out. All quiet. James not returned at night. Williams says he can send the people tomorrow with a buck wagon. Obligated to carry the old man outside today. I heard him say "let me alone to die" once or twice.

Thursday 23rd. Had prayers at sunrise!! The Constable came down for the people, but they did not come. Good school from Tede's and the Hottentots. Read in the afternoon and whilst reading fell asleep and had a bad attack of the nightmare. Gave the Tambas rations etc. James not returned. I hear that Vadana has killed 7 Kafirs of Nonesi, has taken a lot more cattle. Whilst

35. Sarhili's men had stolen 30 cattle from Butler. (Lombard, 'Queenstown', p.169)

I was at tea Mr Reynolds and Johnston arrived in search of James with the post, so that I had some company. George roused us out very early. Got up and had breakfast and saw them off long before the sun rose. But this ought to be written for tomorrow. Windvogel caught a man trying to steal some flour and so Reynolds punished him by giving him 10 with the sjambok.

Friday 24th. After prayers I read some time. James at last arrived with the post. No letters for me. Had Tede's children to school and the Hottentots. Then went with the wagon to take a load of firewood. I heard that the oxen have been stolen from the wagon bringing out supplies. So our wagon cannot return tomorrow. Great row at sundown as it was supposed Vadana was coming over the mountain, but it turned out to be Englishmen on the spoor of the cattle, but Vadana's people said it did not go there. I here [sic] Warner is here. A chance of a small row tomorrow I fancy. I think I must stay to see Warner and yet I want very much to go to Yoliswa's. I cannot now get off the Tambas as soon as I had hoped. Received some jam from Mrs Brown with a kind letter from Mr Brown.

Saturday 25th. St James. Up early. Sent to Dahralla's five men to take away the Tamba's. No news of the wagon so Windvogel left soon after breakfast. Dahralla gone to Imvani to see Warner who passed thro' and did not sleep here. So I sent Lindiwe to catch a horse for me and started for Yoliswa's. I had a very frightened horse. He would not let you mount. I did not stop at Faku's. Saw several springboks. Taylor claimed the horse, he says it is Townsends. And told me to take it from Dahralla. Rode on and found nobody at home but Mati. Yoliswa was in her garden ploughing away very hard. She told me that Warner had sent to say another *Umfundisi* was coming very soon and that he had been there again to see her. As nobody was at the kraal and it was getting late I did not stop long but rode back to Taylor's. He kindly made me some coffee. I am so hard up for grub that I have begun Yoliswa's seed corn. Got home soon after sundown. And as I was riding up the road to my hut, I saw two men (Boers as I thought) looking very hard towards me. I was glad to find the long expected Messrs Hutt and Turpin. I like Mr Hutt very much he is a real jolly fellow. Turpin seemed rather shy. We got on well together and sat up till late talking together. They had walked all the way from St Johns up, because they could get no horses or wagon. So they have begun the roughing. Received letters from Messrs Smith, Addison, Greenstock (Kafir) and Waters. He has £1000 allowed for the school.

Sunday 26th. We managed to be up pretty early. Several horses stolen last night and a cow. Dahralla was down early with his school. We had two very good schools and then a Kafir service and an English one by Mr Hutt. I caught Sweleka stealing mealies and gave him 10 with the sjambok. His brother was present but could say nothing. I then sent for 2 horses and after a great deal of bother I managed to get two, 1 from Dahralla and another from Umsonthlo. I myself riding the chessnut Reynolds sent here yesterday. It was very great fun at starting. Mr Hutt could not ride and Turpin very poorly, so I was obliged to go very gently. We managed to get on pretty well together. My horse is a famous animal and I decidedly intend to buy it. We had a good laugh at each other, but altogether got on pretty fast. Reynolds and Johnson overtook us soon after we crossed the drift. They rode on to say we were coming. They were in at Kafir service when we arrived so we went in. The sacrament in the evening. Had a small tiff with Mr Waters about going to Yoliswa's without a good hut. Gordon and myself slept in the dining room at night.

Monday 27th. Up early. Soon after breakfast we had a sort of meeting in the chapel where we arranged about money etc for our new stations and schools. About ½ past 11 started back to Bolotwa on the chessnut. Passed the wagon on the road and called at Mullery's to buy a bag of corn. Saw Mullery but he had none. I managed to buy 1 bag *ingxowa* [maize] from a Hottentot for £2. Rode on very hard to St Johns. Gave the horse some forage and about 1 hour

before sundown left again for Queenstown. Called at the Umvani [Imvani] but could not get any oxen so I rode on into town. Sun went down just as I got off the flats. Met Williams and the wagons in the road. They had just moved about 1 mile from where they stood, when the oxen were stolen. Arrived in Queenstown about 7. Put up the horse at Coleman's³⁶ and engaged a bed and then walked down to Brown's. Found him well. Had some tea and then went up with him to hear the bugle band. And returned. Saw his brother and went to bed about 10.

Tuesday 28th. Walked down to Brown's and purchased some goods and then went on the breakfast. Walked up with him to see his new house. Called for letters at the post. Walked up with Mr Brown to the parsonage, he left with Mr Green to see the burial ground and I staid with Mrs G[reen] whom I had not seen since her wedding day. She seemed very much altered to me. I liked her very much. Had to go thro' my p's and q's with Mrs Griffiths. We then called on the Quartermaster and he gave me leave to procure some caps. Called to see Norden and then returned to Brown's. Got my horse. He would make me go down and have some lunch. Left with Mrs Ella³⁷ and two Bells³⁸ who rode to the flats with me. They intended to have come on with me, but had to turn down to [Chaboard's ?].³⁹ My horse got very tired before I got home. Found Williams' wagon just arrived, Mr Waters and the other two there. I was very tired and did not much fancy putting up for another year at Yoliswa's. I am afraid I vexed Mr Waters. Sonthlo's cattle stolen. Tabata fired at the thieves and I fired over the neck that I thought they would pass. Slept in the kitchen the rest of the night.

36. J H Coleman had a hotel in Queenstown.

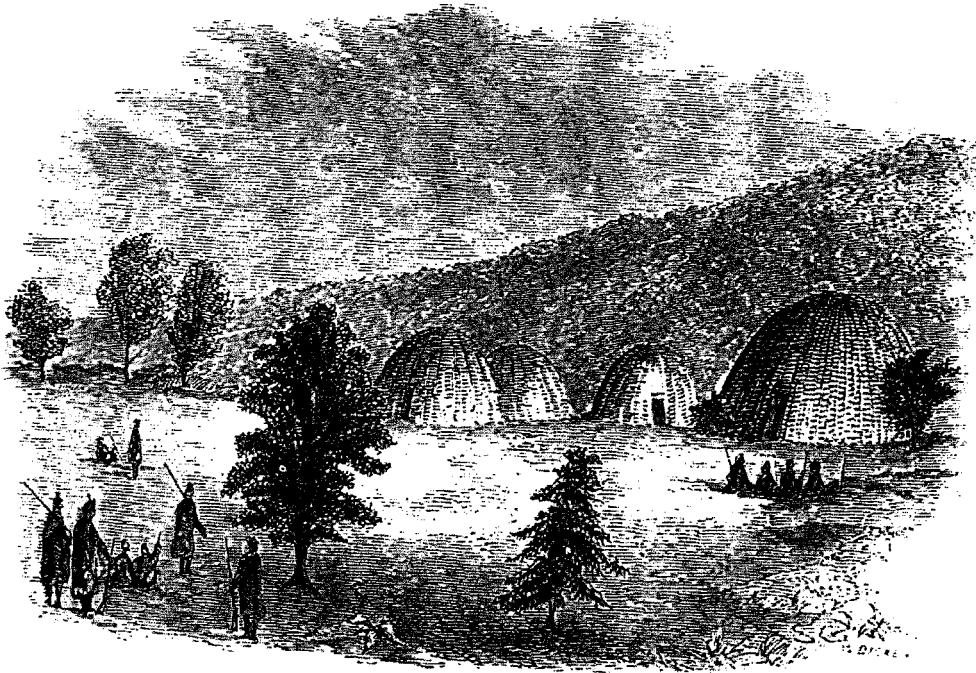
37. Mrs Ella was the wife of the first Town Clerk of Queenstown. He was an engineer and road surveyor who settled in the town in 1853.

38. There were two Bells in the Queenstown district at this time. H C Bell the postmaster, and W Bell a solicitor.

39. L and E Chabaud were listed as grantees on the farm 'Lausanne'.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Founding a new station
29 July 1857 - 31 December 1857



St Peter's Mission, Gwtyu

Wednesday 29th. Started as soon as we could for Yoliswa's, taking blankets etc with us and food. All quiet over here. Took possession of the hut and made very pleasant night. Cooked some sausages and rice together. Found them very nice. Got a man to mind the horses. We fixed upon a very good sight [sic] for the station down in the river close by a pretty waterfall.

Thursday 30th. Mr Waters went off early and about 11 o'clock I left with Mr Hutt for Bolotwa. Left him just above Faku's kraal to go on with a guide. Got back early. Read during the rest of the day. Plenty of visitors and the people ploughing.

Friday 31st. Looking about the country. I cannot get any children to school. We took a ride today for a short distance. All the people very buissy ploughing. Yoliswa came to borrow a saddle but I would not. Some provisons arrived from Mr Waters by the man who took over the buck. We also heard from Mr Hutt. Some papers but no letters for either of us. Went up in the evening to the bush to look at the poles; there seem to be some good ones. This is the end of another month and now begins my old life over again. Loneliness, distress, and work altogether. However I must keep going. I hope also with Mr Hutt's assistance to be able to do more in the reading line than I have yet done, but till I get settled in a hut it is impossible to read. Mr Hutt I like very much; a real University man. Turpin I think I shall get on with. I also hope Mr Waters will not alter, but I fancy he seems much more distant than he used to be. Also so very suspicious; you cannot say anything but what he expects a hidden meaning. It is annoying in some cases. Turpin has to board with me at £50 per annum. This seems rather high but Mr Waters says it will cost me fully that. I must try and make every [thing] comfortable without extravagance. At present everything will be very dear because we have no wagon. I hope Mr Hutt will be able to procure the one promised to him. Or else we shall [not] be able to keep

children at such a small expense as they do at St Marks.¹ I intend myself to get out a good large wagon load that will last me some months so that I shall not have to buy from other people for that is where the money goes to. I have so many small bills and all for food, that at retail price I find it costs me a great deal to live. I should like also somebody to take care of my dog as he is also a great expense to me. I should not like altogether to part with him, but if anybody would take him for a short time till there is more food to be had, I shall be glad.

Saturday 1st August 1857. Reading all day. People very buissy in the gardens. We get a few people to morning and evening service. Yoliswa here both services. April has to look after my horses. Klass seems a good ready sort of man and has begun to cut wattles for my huts. I find I get on pretty well with Turpin. It would be very dull here however if we had not brought the books here to read. I have read through Barmem.²

Sunday 2nd. Before day light this morning we heard some firing in the direction of Bolotwa and just as we were going to have prayers. We heard the war cry coming down the valley and the people soon began to turn out. Yoliswa was a[t] prayers both times. She was rather put out because I gave her the kettle and requested her to keep some coffee for Tozo, our servant. Directly after 2nd service we had up the horses and started for Bolotwa. Called at Taylor's. He was all right. Rode on to Bolotwa. On other side of the bush on the copy [koppie: little hill] was Umthingake[?] and his patrol. Turpin thought they were enemies and I told him to draw his pistol and run, so he began in a tremendous hurry but as I did not follow up, he soon stopped. On arriving at the Bolotwa we found the whole country in a tremendous state of alarm. Some coming and going. Called at the winkle. Jones showed us the body of the Kafir supposed to have been shot by Tabata. He was a large fat man. Quite as big as Klass. Found Mr Hutt at home and well, only rather alarmed. They had a fight just above him this morning.³ 5 of Dahralla's men killed and 3 of Vadana's. The country in a tremendous state. He [i.e. Vadana] has cleared out nearly every kraal round the country. Dahralla intends to move so they say.⁴ Poor man he ought to receive some assistance. Spent a pleasant evening. I had everything ready in case they came for our horses. I did not undress and had my gun close by my side so that I was ready equipped for the field.

Monday 3rd. Spent this day in packing and unpacking the things from King W[illiam's] Town, and repacking some books etc to go to St Peters. Mr Hutt sent off a lot of his people. I shot a duck with a ball but did not kill it and we could not find it anywhere. Only one however rose. Whilst looking for it Mr Waters arrived with Boesac. We had some dinner and heard the Bishop's letters. Mr W[aters] has got permission to build a new chapel, but when I asked for some tools I was refused. I do not think I am quite well used. The Kafirs after a long hunt managed to get

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1. They were obviously already planning to board children at St Peter's as they did at St Mark's and St John's. As the children were drawn from the immediate neighbourhood, the aim was to isolate them from their own culture.
 2. The allusion is obscure. It may refer to the place, Barmem, where a German missionary journal *Das Missions Blatt* was published.
 3. Fadana, after consulting with Qesha, went to chastise Ndarhala. "I sent out two hundred men and captured from Ndarhala about two hundred head of cattle and ten horses." One of Ndarhala's men was wounded. (SA Archives, CC.2951, Vol.4, 1857). In his report to the SPG Revd Hutt wrote of being overcome by indescribable feelings as he stood at his door in the middle of the night hearing "their fearful screaming war cry, seeing the flashing of their guns, [and hearing] the groans of those who had been shot and the bewailing of the women and children." (USPG Archives, Hull to SPG 1.10.1857)
 4. On 11 August 1857 the Divisional Commissioner reported to Southey that Ndarhala and his people were to take refuge from Fadana in the Colony. (LG.261: Report of Shepstone to Southey, 11.8.1857)

the duck. Mr Waters' wagon arrived and he left again. Leaving Mr Hutt a pistol. We were all in readiness in case Vadana came for the oxen. 15 pieces on the station and close by. But the night passed off in quietness. Man buried today. [The previous sentence is crossed out in original.]

Tuesday 4th. Finished some letters and got our goods in order and then started to Yoliswa's. I remembered I left my ink behind so I had to ride back and fetch it. Very cold dull ride. Turpin's horse nearly knocked up. All quiet here. No wagon arrived. The people will not bring their wagons into the Bolotwa. We were obliged to drink our coffee without sugar as there was none. Umvumthla not returned so we could not ask him about the road. The old man died today. The one that couldn't walk.

Wednesday 5th. After breakfast we went down to the new site and marked out places for our new huts. It took us some time as we had to clear away a great deal of rubbish. Quite tired at night. We carried up some firewood which was lucky as it came on to rain in the evening. [Ummjala ?] and Toba brought us some bread, meal, and sugar so that we shall not be obliged to [starve]. We had also sent for some meal and tea from Mr Hutt. The postman did not call there yesterday so our poor letters never went. Plenty of news here with [Ummjala ?]. Heavy rain at night.

Thursday 6th. Raining all day with short pieces of sunshine. Sent off Umvulu [Ummjola ?] and Toba much against their will. Writing letters all day till dark. It is very hard work writing on such a small book so that it took me a long time. Paddy [Turpin] went to fetch some tobacco from the winkle and stayed with his countrymen some time. Read again at night. Still raining at night.

Friday 7th. Went down with Klass in the morning to show him where to build the hut. Had up my horse and washed his back for it was very bad. Quite a deep hole into his back. I then walked to Umvumthla's and saw him. Had a long conversation about all things. Faku came whilst I was there. I said he had never said anything about our wagon not going that road. Called at Taylor's. He was away and so I walked on to Riba's. No children at home all away, so I had my walk for nothing. Plenty of people ploughing. We read during the rest of the day. I had several pleasant conversations with people on the road. Showed Kosana a place to build his hut. Klass has nearly finished his. He cut some poles this evening. Yoliswa borrowed Paddy's saddle this morning to go to the Darling station. She has not yet returned.

Saturday 6th. Showed Kosana another place to begin his hut, began to write but could not get on. Had the house smeared out and just as we finished the rain came on and kept us in for the rest of the day. I have set several men on to cut wattles so between them all we hope to get the place done. Heavy rain at night. I had a glorious wash to myself. Mended my saddle bag. Yoliswa not back yet and poor Paddy in a stew about a saddle.

Sunday 9th. Still heavy rain. Umvumthla came just as we finished our breakfast and so we managed to borrow a saddle from him. We then had second prayers. Tozo having gone to fetch the saddle, but just before he came back, then about 11 o'clock, came in Klass to ask whether the horses were to remain there all day. Tozo had never let the poor creatures out and there they still were poor creatures. I gave him a tremendous rowing on his return. We soon after started. The road [was] very bad. We rode slowly. Found the Kei a little up. We actually had so mistaken the time that instead of arriving late, we had come just in pudding time. Some letters for me from Warner and home and Mrs Armstrong. About 3 the rain came on very heavy and by 4 the rain came down in torrents washing into the chapel [when] we were at Kafir service.

I had a chat with Reynolds and listened to all his exams. Mr Hutt did not arrive. We had evening service and sacrament. Pleasant evening afterwards. The kitchen chimney fell down.

Monday 10th. I was going early, only the river was up and Mr W[aters] said I had better remain. Paddy is to stay there for a month so I shall have loneliness again. After dinner I started with James for Bolotwa. The river was not much up. Got to Mr Hutt's just before sundown. Plenty of grass about. He was just going to pay 2/- for 6 thatching bundles instead of 6 [starving us?] Mr Waters' wagon had just returned from Imvani. Dahralla gone under Bram Neck. Sonthlo gone. People trekking in all directions. Had service and spent a very pleasant evening with Mr Hutt. I am afraid I kept him up till late as it was ½ past 12 when we went to bed. Made up monthly school accounts. 1 of the oxen broke its leg.

Tuesday 11th. Directly after breakfast I helped Mr Hutt to buy the grass and soon got it finished also some *intango* [*intambo*; thongs of hide rope]. We made up the post, sent off the wagon etc. Took some little grub and rode off on my poor white who has a very bad back indeed. Got to Taylor's and found him without any grub whatever. I could not lend him my horse as his back was so bad. He says he shall go and not come back again unless he can bring a wagon. Veneables let him in by selling the corn to Butler. Found Klass in the house and Tozo away on my return. Put things in order brought up my horse. Ummjola and [Toba ?] came, one with Umvumthla's saddle and the other with bread and fruit. Raining heavily again all night. They say the Kei was getting very full. I fired this morning at the stone Klass always misses and hit it just in the middle. Read till bed time. No news here. Umvunthla came for his saddle and kept on sending messages to Yoliswa. I fancy from what I heard they intend eating somebody up tonight.

Wednesday 12th. Plenty of people and cattle going backwards and forwards during the day. They had eaten up one of Nyila's people because he had eaten up one of their's. 20 head they took. Wet dull day. Sent Umvuyulu and Toba away. The smoke of green wood last night was very bad and this morning and all day my head has been dreadful. Had up the horse and gave his back a thorough good washing. It is in an awful state. I must ride him till Doleraine is well and then let him rest for a month. Sent Umvunthla his saddle. Walked down to the site but they have done nothing more to the huts because of the wind, rain and cold. Some other men are also cutting. Inthingcaka passed today. He says I must let him know when Sunday is so that he may come to service. Faku also called to see me in the evening. They all seem to be ready for a row either with Vadana, Nyila or Vezi. Raining again during the night. Yoliswa sent me some meat.

Thursday 13th. After morning work was over I wrote up this journal which was 13 weeks behind hand. Plenty of people coming and going to Yoliswa's as there is a meeting held today about Vezi etc. It seems he has now taken 47 large cattle not to count calves, bucks etc. After I had finished this, I walked up to Yoliswa's and managed to get a few children up to school. The people do nothing but talk about war. I hope it may pass off quietly but I have my doubts. Finished all our grub. Tozo's mother came to see him.

Friday 14th. Had a tremendous party here this morning. 14 at one time. After they were gone I sent Kosana to the Bolotwa to fetch food. I then had up the horse and rode to Faku's. He had not returned so I went round all the kraals and had a chat. Saw Soleka down in the gardens and went down to him. Had 6 children to school. Called at Riba's coming back, but there was nobody at home, but 2 little children. Told them all not to work on Sunday. People hard at work in their gardens today. Had a chat with Yoliswa in her garden and rode home where I had a few

children to school. Kosana returned after dark, with note from Mr Hutt and the long expected letter by Mr Greens pencil. We shall have grub now, I hope for sometime; a young Greene has made its appearance. Mr Hutt gives a small hint that I shall have to be godfather some day.

Saturday 15th. Up early. Had a great many in to see me this morning. Yoliswa came early and staid some time. She wanted to take away my axe again with her. Read all the morning as the house was being smeared out. Wrote during the afternoon. Toba came with some meat to fetch Turpin's saddle. Sent him with it. Went to see Tina's mother, Banga and promised to get some medicine from Mr Waters. Had a walk down to the sight [sic]. The hut Kosana has made looks very small. Had a capital supper of meat, rice and meal mixed. Klass in talking till late.

Sunday 16th. Awoke just at sunrise. Yoliswa came down with all her children before I had time to have first service. So I had school first, as she had some buissness with her *pakatia* [sic; *phakati*: counsellors] and then service just 25 present, very few men. They killed an ox last night and are all buissy eating today. After Yoliswa left we had breakfast. Klass answered some of my questions very well today. I told them about Sunday not to allow any ploughing etc to go on. I then started for the Bolotwa. Wagons just arrived at Taylor's. Very vexed to find several people ploughing I told them all how wrong it was. Called at the winkle; Taylor was there and Jones very drunk. Found Turpin and Mr Hutt both here and well. Walked up to Dahralla's kraal and called at the other ones, where I asked about the children for Mr Hutt. Awful news from Bombay and Bengal.⁵ It was only Brown's message to me about the body. Mr Waters has bought another 8 oxen so I hope I may get my goods now. Up till very late talking about fines etc. I fancy I shall most likely be again by myself as Mr Hutt wants Turpin and Turpin wants to be there. Vadana has sent a message to Mr Waters to send his [age stick?].

Monday 17th. My dear Father's birthday. 57 today. I hope he may live to spend many and more happy ones. After prayers I took my gun and went down the river and up the mountain but could not see anything so I fired at Dahralla's kraal, and shot a *qingqoshe* [hammerkop] and after breakfast spoke to the people for Mr Hutt. He is having some very good huts built and has got some men to live on the station. Rode down with him to the winkle to buy corn £2/10/- a muid. After dinner the wagon came and we had a tremendous case about the man that murdered his child when the wagon went in[to Queenstown]. It finished in [Tupa ?] making him confess and I ordered him to be tied up to be sent to Mr Shepstone. I then started, it being after 4 and got home here just at dark. Yoliswa still killing very fast. No news. Wrote in the evening. We have to go over to Mr Waters on Monday next, St Bartholomew.

Tuesday 18th. Had two or three to prayers. All quiet here, but Swili was sent round to call all the men together again. An answer has come back from Vezi. Reading Martyn till about nine. I then managed to get a few children to school. Read a little more and then started off to see the people at the neighbouring kraals. Saw Banga he appears to be very ill. I then went to [Temba's ?]. His people and children he says, belong to Vezi and he [must ?] ask him first. I next walked down to Kabalasi's kraal, where there was only an old woman at home. She promised to send the children. I next crossed the river to Gomati's kraal. He was away but another man promised to send the children. Beautiful place all round our new station. Talked to some people in the gardens and gave them some money to buy corn. Yoliswa and Philip's wife came down in the evening. Wrote and read. Paid Kosana today for his hut.

5. The Indian Mutiny (1857-59). There were massacres of whites in the early stages, e.g. at Meerut in May 1857.

Wednesday 19th. Up early. After breakfast Toba went off to get meat and so I did not see him for a long time. At last he came and I was able to start with my horse for Faku's. Called at Taylors and got some tobacco. Rode on to Faku's. Had 5 children to see. Saw a police man of Brownlee's there who could talk very good English indeed. He was a Caleka, had been at Butterworth. Only 1 girl at Riba's kraal. Stayed a short time at the winkle and then rode home. I washed my horse and was just settling down to read when [Umjala ?] arrived with Mead and then they said Umvumthla was passing down with some horses he had stolen, and soon we saw him. Klass and April were off for their assegais like shots and then the whole of them went to fetch [last word crossed out in black pen] Umvunthla's party. And soon Slambies appeared and James fired and then a rush write [sic] and left. They got two guns from the Slambies and wounded one more. 3 of them passed just in front of my place and the whole of Umsonthla people after them. But they made for the mountains and Umvunthla sat with his 47 people in counsel. A fine sight altogether. One man escaped being killed by running to Yoliswa's place. All talking about it during the evening. I hear a body of English are at Darling station.

Thursday 20th. Sent off Umjala. Had very few to school. All out very buissy ploughing. After school I read some time as it was very hot and then started for the Slambies' kraal. I saw Skepie and Klass (Thlana). Put some tobacco leaves on the old man's wounds. He was very patient indeed. Stabbed three times with the *Qanda* [*inqanda*: short, round, sharp, stabbing instrument] and once in the back with a large assegai. On my road home I met two fingoos [sic] who asked me for a pass to the Galekas as they were afraid to go without one. This I gave them. I hear the English patrol has gone to Imvani and Nudulu neck by Nonesi's place. I should like to know whether it is all true. Umvumthla sent me down some meat. So we get plenty just at present. The Slambies are gone to Vezi today about the row. They still talk of war. I have a great mind to ride on to Bolotwa tomorrow and shall if I can borrow a horse.

Friday 21st. Up pretty early. Tried to borrow a horse but could not succeed. Yoliswa was here early. Had some coffee and bread. Directly I could get away I rode to Umvunthla's and tried to borrow a horse there. But just as he was going to let me have one the news came that one of the horses had gone off to the Slambie kraal and off they all went after it. Called and saw Taylor. He had heard nothing of the soldiers going to Bolotwa. Umvunthla said they were on the great flat, and Faku told me that Quesha had been ordered to move back. I could not get any children to school tho' Soleka went round the kraals. So I rode on to Bolotwa. Found Reynolds there on his way to Queenstown. Currie is up with 150 police to go and punish Vadana. They expect him on Monday. The post had passed so I did not get my letters. Building very fast here. I stayed till about 3 and then returned, Mr Hutt and Turpin going part of the way with me. Taylor tried very hard to get a horse from me to go on commando⁶ but did not succeed. Warner has sent for the chiefs to meet him at Imvani early tomorrow. Umvunthla fired again today.

Saturday 22nd. I was very unwell yesterday and during the evening. Overslept myself. Cleared out the hut and got some girls to smear it out. Had school. Ithingcaka passed early. Yoliswa tried to borrow my saddle last night but could not succeed and therefore has not gone today. Fell asleep outside whilst reading. Feel very weak and unwell today. I cannot think what it is from. Wrote for some time and then walked up to Yoliswa's garden. She was buissy ploughing. I am glad they go on so well. We fancied we heard some firing early this morning. Made some doughboys [dumplings] for supper for a change. Saw Micki today a very handsome fellow;

6. Local residents in the Queentown district could be required to assist in defending the territory. A burgher commando assisted Walter Currie to restore order in the Thembu location at this time.

some of the chiefs here.

Sunday 23rd. Up early. Had early service and then school for some time. Breakfast. Nasty dull heavy day and very cold. Yoliswa came to second service and just before she arrived Ithingcaka came with 8 armed men. He was going to see Yoliswa and tell her the news from Warner so he stopped to service so that I had a good congregation altogether. They were also very attentive. Read during the rest of the day. Cooked some fruit but it made me feel very unwell again. I took a walk down to the river. The waterfall looked very pretty but it was very cold. Had a few to evening service. Saw the horses in a little rain at night.

Monday 24th. St Bartholomew's Day. Up early. April has turned out the horses and so before sunrise I was ready to start. Off just after sunrise. A beautiful ride to St Marks. The country beautiful and green. People all asking about Vadana and the patrol. I was there just at 5 minutes to nine. Messrs Hutt and Turpin were later. Very pretty row between Lady Prin[cipaless] and Turpin about a borrowed horse. Turpin spoke plainly out just like an Irishman. We had prayers and sacrament at 11. Mr Hutt preached. School at 12 till 2 and then dinner. Afterwards about 3 we had a meeting in the chapel. Present Messrs Waters, Hutt, Gordon, Turpin, self and Miss Gray, Plaaji and Boesac. We settled about the Sunday services and sundry other things of importance and it was then agreed that the next meeting should be on Michaelmas Day.⁷ No news today. Heavy rain in the evening. Spent a pleasant evening. They had night school for the men. They sang very nicely indeed. I really think Gordon has been the making of that station. He will have things done in order. Mrs Prin[cipaless] very civil altogether. We heard nothing of the patrol.

Tuesday 25th. Before six this morning Reynolds came to tell us Vadana was catching it most awfully. We went out and could hear the shots distinctly. Very heavy firing. Before we had time to dress a man was seen riding for the station very hard. It proved to be a messenger from Mr Currie requesting Mr Waters to send and tell Krili not to let his people cross the river, and to keep Vadana's from crossing the Indwe. Chusa was dispatched with this immediately. He rode away very hard. We then had service and breakfast, and got things ready to start. Mr Waters intended going to the top of the mountain to see what could be seen. We could see loads of places burning. The smoke of the country went up like the smoke of a furnace. At ¼ to 10 Chusa returned having ridden there and back in 2¾ hours. Krili requested Mr Waters to send his men as he had none to send. I of course found it impossible [not] to go and so we got guns from Boesac and I mounted my old nag to escort Messrs Hutt and Turpin to the drift. Reynolds was to bring the body of men with him afterwards. We left them in the river and then Mr Waters, Gordon and myself patrolled round the mountain down to the place opposite Umsechana's kraal. We then rode back along the flat. I fired to see if we could make the others hear. We then rode back almost to St Marks and seeing that the people had gone we started and left Mr Waters to go home alone. We got upon the spoor in the river and rode thro' the bush to Umsechana's kraal then keeping along the banks of the river we came at last to Reynolds and his party off saddled at Umthlakaza's kraal. We did the same and then Reynolds proposed that we should cross the Indwe and ride to Currie. It was [a] very mad thing but we all agreed, and off we rode. We three English and Chusa as guide. Both he and Boesac persuaded us not to go. We were determined. We crossed and rode till we reached the Kei and then crossed into the scene of desolation. The huts all burnt. In one we found an old woman in a hole covered up with a mat. The dogs all crowding into the fire. All the time from the time we started it had been raining hard. We were wet thro'. I managed to get a double

7. The Bishop's policy of consultation and shared control on missions was obviously being heeded. See Introduction.

barrelled gun from Chusa and a good cover from Boesac. At a very large kraal we found another old woman left. Every hut destroyed. Dogs of all shapes and sizes. We then rode down to the river and recrossed it. We came at last on the spoor of the patrol and after going thro' a wretched port [ford] came into bush the other side. There also all the houses were burnt. We rode on through water up to our horses' knees and at last came upon the patrol. Horses about [300 ?], and loads of Kafirs and natives and the rest Dutch. They did not seem to know where Currie was gone. We off saddled and they gave us a very acceptable cup of coffee. We here [then ?] fired off our guns and reloaded and after about an hour took the road home. The Boors said it was sundown. We soon crossed the Indwe and then had to ride *very very* [Mullins' emphasis] slowly, as the road was very bad. On the top of the stoney mountain we saw a fire, and Gordon wanted me to fire at it. His own gun would not go off. I was just going to do so when Reynolds persuaded us not. We had now to dismount and let our horses slip down a tremendous bank, walk they could not. We had not ridden much further when Reynolds advised us to take out our guns as we had to go thro' a very bad place. One minute after and Chusa who was in front said "There goes a Kafir". I could not see him but Reynolds told Chusa to ask who they were. This he did several times. The man ran behind a tree and in a few seconds [along ?] came a ball over our heads and more Kafirs now showed and Chusa again asked. He said Galekas, "why do you fire then [when ?] I tell you not. I am Chusa with *Umfundisis*." *Andisimazi* [I do not know you]. He then rode on and spoke to them, and after speaking for a few minutes called us to come on. We rode on and found we knew a great many of them. Of course we gave them a tremendous blowing up and made some go with us on through the port. They had increased to about 30 before we left. We had just got to another very bad place when behind a rock up jumped 3 more with guns all ready and loads came down the mountain behind rocks and stones and in every direction. But they let us pass on. Altogether when we left there were about 80 men old and young. So I have to thank GOD for a wonderful escape. I dismounted after the first shot and was just going to return fire only Reynolds stopped me. We rode on hard as it was nearly dark till we came to Umthlakaza's place. Our people had left. Chusa said he saw some more people in the river a[t] the drift, but we rode on home, overtook our patrol in the thorns and got home just at 10 minutes to 6. My horse went beautifully the whole time. Mr Waters of course in a dreadful stew about us. Changed and then off to bed. Thank GOD. I must have been a tremendous weight for my horse, gun and ammunition with the saturated garments. I never had so narrow an escape.

Wednesday 26th. After breakfast I left with Reynolds for Bolotwa. Very heavy rain all night and this morning. Rode same horse to Bolotwa. The Fingoes were beginning to go home. Found Mr Hutt and Turpin well. Had some coffee and rode off for this place on Doleraine. I loaded my gun before I started, one with round ball, the other [with] miniè.⁸ Arrived here quite safely. Very wet tho'. Made all snug. I had loads of visitors to hear the news in fact I was a great gun. Quesha is supposed to be in this country some where. I should like to know what he intends to do. The fires in Vadana's country were as thick as ever quite early this morning. Many must have perished with the cold. I hope they will catch him and his son.

Thursday 27th. Cleared out the hut and put things to dry. Cleaned the rust off my guns. I had another narrow escape today for which I ought to thank GOD. I thought the gun would be most likely wet so I fired it off at a tree. The first barrell (right hand) hung fire so I rammed down the second tighter with miniè ball. Bang, and a tremendous blow on the nose, which I thought was on the kick of the gun, but James who was by my side picked up the cock of the gun and the

8. Minié ball was an elongated bullet, invented by M Minié of Vincennes, which, when fired, was expanded by the powder contained in an iron cup. (*Oxford English Dictionary*)

nipple had gone I know not where. The ball went whistling across the valley. It must have been the cock that hit me on the nose. So I must again thank GOD that the gun did not burst. As it is, one barrell is useless and I do not think can be repaired. Cut some large firewood in the evening as I fancied it would rain. Quesha came with 4 men. He is going about afraid of the *impec* [*impi*: armed group]. His wives and children, about 30 have to follow him about. Dull day. No children to school. Cramp at night.

Friday 28th. Pouring rain this morning. So I was right in having firewood. The river came down in torrents. I am afraid Mr Waters will be some time without grub. Read all day and till late at night. Very cold wind blowing in, in the middle of the day. Banga here last night. I lent him the other house. Horses lost at night. Poor Vadana's women and children must have suffered very much. Wickedness paid off.

Saturday 29th. Very little rain today but still very cold. Wrote and read, talked a great deal to the men today. Riba called to see men. Vezi passed on his way to Yoliswa's. They have sent to drive away Quesha. Cut some firewood. Reading and writing again at night. I am glad to see April and Klass are very regular at prayers and I hope I may get more so. They spoke very well today about mission work.

Sunday 30th. Had pretty good school. I sent message to Yoliswa to come to service and she sent back to say she should not because I never gave her any grub. I was sorry to receive this answer but she came. We had about 20 to service and I afterwards read to myself some time. I then rode up to Skepie's kraal, as I had heard that they had returned. I put some plaster on his wounds. Quesha and his party just starting to cross the Kei. A very long train of women and children. I then rode to Yoliswa's kraal she was not at home. Called at her garden where I found her making holes and the children putting in the seed. I gave her a good blowing up. She said she was not ploughing. It was nothing. All the other people that have gardens here were also ploughing. Litini who was at morning service said he did not know it was on Sunday. Found all well in Bolotwa.

Sunday. Spent pleasant evening. Came on to rain at night. All quiet here. Could not say much as Turpin was present. I do not like him at all. He is a lubber [lout].

Monday 31st. All quiet last night. Took my gun and went after the ducks. They rose however before I was within shot. I shot several dogs, that had been pulling about the bodies in the graveyard. Wrote to John Owen Smith, and Brown. No news here. I left immediately after dinner. Mr Hutt tried to make me stay but I was determined to get back. Found all well here. Put things in order and read the *Grahamstown [Journal]* I had. Klass left this morning for St Lukes. Old Windvogel hear [sic] with the wagon just before I started, he is going to Queenstown. Turpin rode part of the way with me. I was tremendously cold when I got to Taylor's. He kindly gave me some tea which warmed me and I soon got home. Here then is the end of my first month at Gwytyu. I like the country and people. Yoliswa has fallen in my opinion. She is not so kind as formerly. I hear the Kei is very full. I hope to get down to my new station this month. An express came for Yoliswa the other day. She has to go and see Warner. Personally. I must now bring this volume of my journal to a close. Quesha has gone to Anta or towards there. For he could not cross because of the rain.

Tuesday 1st September 1857. At home all day. No news from Mr Waters. I suppose the river being up prevents them from sending me any bread. Another dull wet day. Yoliswa came back from the Imvani. Reading all day. I hope to be able to get out tomorrow.

Wednesday 2nd. Read till the sun came out about 11 and then started for Faku's. I had not time to stop there but I thought it was as well just to go and see them. Taylor kindly let me have some meal. The people are very frightened. They have to pay so many head of cattle by the end of the week. I hear also that the English are coming in again. There is a patrol also at the Imvani. Quesha was caught last night with his two sons and several of his people. I hear he is to be sent to Cape. Found Kosiedwa [sic] here on my return with some bread. Jacob also with him. I was very thankful at receiving the bread as I had run quite out. I sent Jacob on to Bolotwa as they had brought Mr Waters' letter here that ought to have gone to Mr Hutt. The other went home. Read and wrote this evening. My congregation improves very much. Yoliswa seems very unwell. Mr Waters' wagon upset in the river and two oxen drowned.

Thursday 3rd. At home again today. Very hot. I had the house cleared out. Taylor came down to see me. Made some tea and had some of the bread. He was very civil etc. I have hired Klass to come and live on the station at 1/- per diem. He seems very glad to come. Reading during the rest of the day. Yoliswa here two or 3 times today. Remarkably civil. We hear that Vadama is dead, caught by the Boors. But I am afraid it is not true.

Friday 4th. Anniversary of my first going to school and leaving home. I have got so used to liv[ing] without seeing my relations that I really sometimes almost forget that I have any. Rode to Faku's. My horse did not come for about 8 hours. It had strayed and Taylor had some trouble to find it. Had school at Faku's. Better number than usual. Yoliswa in her gardens. She is going to Warner's tomorrow with the horses she has taken. The children came to school in the evening. Whilst I was away Uzanenkabi began the other hut and has made a mess of it. Plenty of grass coming in today. More than I shall want I think. I am glad to see the people so anxious to get seed corn. I hope they may live to reap the fruits.

Saturday 5th. Reading and buying grass from morning till night. At last all my money was done. Macina carried some of the grass herself. Yoliswa has returned from Warner. He has taken the horses. And says another patrol will come thro' to burn out the rest of the Tambas [sic]. I think it a very good thing. Matshongo arrived with a note from Mr Hutt containing a message from Mr Warner requesting me to write papers for the Tambas and those that want seed corn. Matshongo on Turpin's white charger. He had to drive it in front of him. Good congregation in the evening.

Sunday 6th. Had morning service and school and then read for sometime. When Yoliswa came I had second service and read the parable of the labourers. Some seemed very attentive. I then had up my horse and rode over to St Marks very slowly. Very few people about. Found the lower drift quite full but as I thought the horse would know the drift I ventured in and reached the opposite bank in safety. Mr W[aters] and all quite well. Mr Hutt there. Arrived with wagon in the middle of the night. Reynolds in the water with the wagon from ½ past 11 till 3. Poor fellow, I wonder it did not kill him. After dinner I took a jolly walk with Gordon. He has not been so well lately. Received a long letter from home dated July 4th. Very good news; altogether better than usual. Service and sacrament in the evening.

Monday 7th. Began to prepare sundry goods after breakfast. Wagon got ready. Messrs Waters and Hutt started for drift. I took in provision and started soon after. Off saddled by [Shekana's ?] kraal. Saw a large *pow* [paauw: bustard] there. Rode on home. Called to see [Shekana ?] he said I could have huts 5/- each. I think that it is better to have quite new grass. The kitchen is thatched already. I think it will do very well. The huts are I am afraid rather close together. Klass getting his house ready tomorrow. Put all the grass to rights. Toba lit a fire in the kitchen to dry

it. Tired at night. Very hot day.

Tuesday 8th. Klass moving down his hut etc. His wife came back last night she seems a good sort of woman. Walked up to see Yoliswa; she seemed very bad. Sent Klass to winkle. About 1 o'clock [as] I was just going to begin to read they told me that a white man was coming. It proved to be Gordon come over to stay a few days. Hurrah! We had some tea and then walked down to the huts. Gordon is very much pleased with the site. We returned across the gardens to Yoliswa's she was not at home so we returned. I am quite glad Gordon has come. Faku passed in the evening. G[ordon] was much pleased with him.

Wednesday 9th. Had a great deal of work this morning writing papers. About 10 we started for Faku's. Called at the winkle on the way. [Ummungali ?] who came over with Gordon returned early. We had to wait a long time at Faku's before we could get any children to school. Called at Riba's. Only two or three present. Also at the winkle where we tried to buy some cattle only as the price was rather high. Mr G[ordon] thought it better to send and let Mr Waters know first. We went to see Yoliswa in the gardens. She had on all her best. Had nearly finished quite an acre today. Yesterday we cleaned out the hut ready to thatch and today Toba began the floor. Did a little digging in the evening just to say I had begun a garden. Gordon not so well at night.

Thursday 10th. Went down early this morning to Mission Creek as Gordon calls it. We began some digging. Klass who moved down his hut this morning came to help today. He digs very well indeed. We finished a good piece. Expecting Mr Hutt all day. Chusa came with 5 men to take the oxen back to Mr Waters. After we had finished digging we put some more wattles into the hut and made it strong. Cleared out the earth all round. I hope Klass will continue to work as well as he has begun. Gordon pretty well today. Faku passed again today. Gordon is quite delighted with him.

Friday 11th. We hear they are gone to take Faku's *nkulu's* [important] cattle.⁹ Went down early again this morning. I cleaned a place [at] the two new huts. Klass had to put another centre pole into my hut. I was very vexed about it. Just as I was going down to plough we discovered Messrs Hutt and Turpin approaching. Went up home and had some coffee etc. They kindly brought me over a ham and some jam. Sat up till late talking. Turpin went home but Mr H[utt] slept here. We did some more digging and came home late. Klass dug a good large piece today. Made a ditch round the kitchen. Rattle his bones.

Saturday 12th. Mr Hutt left pretty early. We singing for his benefit "rattle his bones"! We have promised to go there tomorrow instead of to St Marks. Went down again to Mission Creek. Did some more digging. Benesi came running down to tell me a dog had got at my ham and went up and found that Toba had made it fast with a reim. All the best part of the ham was finished but still there was enough left for a meal. We took the dog down to the river and after Tozo and Nkosana had fired and missed, we stoned the animal to death. Had coffee several times during the day as it was very hot. Klass did not work today as he went to ask Umvunthla for some cattle. He came back yesterday with a tremendous lot of cattle. I hope they will have to give them all up again. When we got back to the hut at night we found another large black dog just finishing the ham bone. This animal we hung so altogether they have eaten with the candles about 15/- of my money. Both of them belonged to April. He did not come at night. But the men tell me he is glad I have killed the dogs as else most likely he would have had to have paid. So poor creatures after all our hard work we had to go without our ham supper. In fact we only had

9. Faku's 'nkulu cattle' would be those belonging to his eldest son.

one meal from it. Up till late.

Sunday 13th. We had early morning service for the Kafirs. Never seem to like the service very much. I hope Klass and [my ?] Klass when he comes will really try to learn. Gordon and myself read the evening service to ourselves and chanted the psalms. Yoliswa came down very late so that it was quite 12 when we started for the Bolotwa. Our horses were very fresh and we rattled over the flats at a capital pace. Found only Mr Hutt at home, Turpin having gone to Mr Waters yesterday. Hutt's hut is very cold and damp. Dahralla was there. He looked very tired but cheerful as usual. He is very hard up for grub now. Sat in the boys' hut to have a warm. At night our horses were lost so I had to mount the grey and go in search of them. I found them just under Dahralla's kraal. Very cold at night. A great many Temba's [probably believers] passing to Queenstown. A most miserable sight. I am very glad my people are not so bad. My goods that are here all in confusion. I hope I shall get some of them over here.

Monday 14th. I was awake up and out with my gun some time before the others. I could not find any ducks. After prayers I shot some of the dogs. I actually ran one down on foot. A good looking grey hound. The bones and skulls are lying exposed all about the burial ground something ought to be done to keep the dogs from pulling up the bodies. Commenced packing up my goods that I was to take. Gordon not so well again this morning. We had some trouble to catch our horses. I rode as far as Swart Boo's kraal with Gordon and then we parted. I stopped at the winkle and paid my account. Came home. Put the hut in order and went down with Klass to dig leaving Tozo to get in firewood and come down to us. We finished all the seed we had and then began a hole to make dagga in. Came home. Somebody had been into the hut during our absence. I did not however miss anything. Wrote at night.

Tuesday 15th. Sent a man over to Mr Waters to fetch some candles and Kafir picks. Went down early with Klass. It was some time before Tozo came. We got the dagga made with some hard work as there was no large bucket to carry the water in. I then commenced the large hut. Klass did the work very quick[ly] and very well, new brooms sweep clean tho'. I cannot tax him too much at first. Very cold dull day. We got the first hut nearly finished. The man returned from the Bolotwa very late. The load for him was too heavy. Reading and writing at night. Very tired with the work but I want to get it done out of the way. Klass' toothache very bad.

Wednesday 16th. Down again early had more men on to work. Today we finished the large hut and nearly the kitchen, being cold I could not get them to work well. I have a very bad cold and cough, the worst I think I ever had. I am obliged to cut the service short for I cannot get thro' it properly. My throat burns almost directly I begin. I hope it will soon pass off. Just before sundown [-lefana ?] and 8 men arrived with corn and meal, my chair etc from Mr Hutt's. I gave them some food and let them go to [-ogolo's ?] kraal to sleep. The poor fellows were very tired. It was curious to see them all straighten their necks after removing the load. Mr Hutt had loaded them rather heavily. Read at night.

Thursday 17th. Klass' face so bad he could not work today. We did some more plastering. Cleaned out the huts and laid ant heap in the kitchen.¹⁰ The men I hired would not work at all because there was a cold wind. Commenced a ditch round my hut. Siku began another hut but did very little. Helped Zenekabi to put the poles into the other hut. I think it will do pretty well now. It is low at the sides but high in the middle. Had some small row in paying the men. I only gave them sixpence because the work was so little. Writing this evening.

10. A stamped-down antheap made a particularly hard and durable surface.

Friday 18th. Klass able to work again today. It makes all the difference. Carried ant heap for the other house. His wife put it in. She finished the kitchen today. Klass, the girls' hut, and dug some time. I want to get a good large garden here. I should like to be allowed money for 5 good men. We could buy the produce for the schools. [Umugulu ?] brought some bread in the evening also a host of papers. Mr Woodroffe has arrived. Gordon does not like him. Very unwell today indeed no strength left in my body. I should like to be all square again. Gordon wants me to go over on Sunday but I have written to say I cannot. I am still obliged to recite part of the service. A man that used to live near Umhala's passed today. Knew I had seen him but could not remember where. He then came to me. At last I discovered he is the father of Nancy, Mrs Sedgeley's little girl that used to be. He says he will send her to me.

Saturday 19th. Up sometime before sunrise. Cleared out the hut and had it smeared. John Brown and wife arrived from K[ing] W[illiam's] Town going over to St Marks. No news. Tusey and Gawler tried to catch Umhala but that he was too well armed. Read till the hut was dry and then went down to Mission Creek, finished the ditch round my hut but felt too weak to do any more work. Sent off [Umugulu ?]. Klass began the other hut but could not get on with it. Went home and read and sent Tozo to finish the new hut out. They have finished the floor of mine. It looks very well. In the evening had up Doleraine and rode to the winkle. Williams drunk; bought some tobacco and returned. Called to see Yoliswa in her garden. She says that she would rather have mealies than Kafir corn. I suppose it does not make any difference which she has. Wrote and read all night. Up till late. Warner has sent to tell her to give up all the cattle she has stolen. I am very glad of it. I hear the patrol has returned.

Sunday 20th. A man came calling Tozo before we were awake this morning. We got breakfast and had 1st service, read and wrote up my journal. Yoliswa at last came to second service. Pretty good congregation considering it was a wet day. Tozo gone to see his father; and did not return till night. Reading and writing all day. The people seem in a very unsettled state just at present. One party stealing from another. I hope to hear less of their rows down below. Yoliswa asked me when I was going there. I hope to have some children tomorrow. Tozo tells me they killed a Galeka early this morning near his father's. He was only supposed to be a thief. Oh! I do pray for peace and quietness in some established shape. I have been now 3 years out and nothing but wars and rumours of wars every day since I landed at Table Bay.

Monday 21st. Directly after breakfast we began to remove to our new station. I carried down three loads with the horse, the rest April and Klass brought down. I then set to work to clean up a little before the arrival of Mr Waters whom I expect today. Where we had marked to build the chapel hut, I buried all the rubbish and made a round garden. During this piece of work Mr Waters arrived with Jangalo. He intended to stay the night so I was able to have some pleasant talks with him. He is very pleased with the place indeed. I am glad he likes it. He took a sketch of the station from the waterfall. Klass went on with the other hut. I am sorry he could not finish it. Mr Waters went round the ground with me. Yoliswa came down with Mamati¹¹ and [Matletekeni ?]. After some talk I asked her if she was going to give them to me and with a little hesitation she complied telling me to take great care of both. The little girl said she would ask me when she wanted to go home. We slept in the last hut. Neither of the others being dry. Yoliswa came down to service in the evening dressed.

Tuesday 22nd. Up early. We had service after breakfast. Pretty good number; sent off six to the

11. Yoliswa's son, Mamati, was later baptised and attended the Kafir Institution at Grahamstown. (USPG Archives E Barker to SPG, September 1861)

Bolotwa. Tozo finishing the hut today. He begins to work very well. Tozo and Klass' went to cut poles in the afternoon. I got two more children Qanda and Filinisa late last night and this evening Mipisi came to stay here, so now I have five. Read to Mr Waters and worked in the garden. The children all very happy. The boys working well in their gardens. We had some kafir corn with them; I am glad they like it. [Matletekeni ?] cooks for them. Poor little creature manages very well. Some news this evening. Vadana is caught at the Xuka and taken to Queenstown. Patrol come back. We shall have to wait and hear all the news from George. Mr Waters is altogether I think pleased with the station and Klass. He answered very well today considering. Rather afraid to speak out. Yoliswa and a lot more company at night. Hutt has sent some blankets and some of the children's things. Our letters just in time for the post.

Wednesday 23rd. Up early. After prayers Mr Waters went round the ground with Yoliswa. She agreed to all the place. I had to buy grass which took me some time. Soon after Mr Waters left I also started for Faku's. I think the sun must have struck my head this morning, for I had a very bad headache all day. I could do nothing. Called at the winkle and paid for the cattle and got change. Saw a man with my sjambok. I took it from him and another man said it was his and had been so a long time. He caught hold of my horse and would not let go, so I caught him a hard blow on the hand with the thick end of the sjambok. He still held on, till I raised my hand to hit a second blow, when he left go and I rode on. He had evidently tried to hide the appearance of the sjambok, for it had a new string and some wire twisted round the broken part. Some man no doubt passing thought he might as well take it. 8 men arrived with corn etc from Mr Hutt. I gave them some kafir corn and let them go again. Both bags short. I shall have to try some new plan. All the men knew my sjambok and said it was mine. Did a little ploughing today. Klass Thlathle¹² arrived at night with my gun and carpet bag. I hope he will stay and work quietly.

Thursday 24th. I showed Thlathle this morning my ground and told him what he would have to do. He seemed to like it altogether. Set my boys on to plough. They did a good large piece. Klass helping them. They were a[t] work today cutting poles etc. Early this morning Klass (Peter as I must call him) did my hut out very nicely for me, and afterwards started with Tozo to the bush and cut a lot of poles each bringing a load with them. I am glad they both work so well. This evening came Nonsolytye and three men from Mr Waters. We then had evening service. All went well and Nonsolytye took to my two girls immediately. They talked on for a long time. Till I was obliged to tell them to go to sleep. I, [Thlathle ?] and the boys slept in my new hut. [Umvandaba ?] came today. I do not think he will be a very bright boy.

Friday 25th. I could not get Mr Waters' oxen to go for a long time, great many people down bothering this morning. Old [Kiki ?] would not thatch the hut yesterday, however this morning she commenced and finished it very well. The two Klass at work in my garden. Vezi called to see me yesterday. The man from whom I took my sjambok was with him and looked very sulky. Nonsolytye began her work very well. Had Tozo's hut cleared out nicely for her and the walls smeared also the floor. I made two doors today they took me a long time as nearly all my tools are more or less broken. The saw very much so. Banga came down again today and looks like a live skeleton. Yoliswa sent down a man to summon her people as Warner had sent for her. Man arrived from Mr Waters with a horse for Yoliswa and some bread for me.

Saturday 26th. Pete got a pass from me this morning to go to Warner to see his sister who is very ill there. Directly after breakfast I set the men on to dagga the girls' hut. Klass and myself

12. John Thlathle was baptised on 25 March 1858 - see chapter 8.

changing the goods into the different huts. Plenty of people here today. I made a shelf for the clock and had some bother to get the huts all right. Dull cold day and could get very little work out of the men. Sent one man to Bolotwa; he returned in the evening. Mr Hutts' goods have come; I am glad to say, so now I shall not scruple to have all mine away. Rode up to the winkle and got some change. They were just going to dinner off a very tempting dish of potatoes and pork. So I sat down and had some with them. Williams in his proper senses today for a wonder. Rode home with April. Doleraine in first rate condition. Williams gave me a few very fine potatoes to take home, so I had a very good supper. Paid off the men. At night I had reading and writing to do. But did very little before I fell fast asleep. So I was obliged to begin again. It is very awkward I have to lie down to write and do everything so. I find it very tiring work. Dweba, Faku's brother came down in the afternoon. He is to stay here. I forgot to say that Faku came on Thursday according to [name illegible], all he was afraid of was that if he let me have Dweba I should not care anything about himself. *Sathle* [.....]. So they call it.

Sunday 27th. Up early and had service under the tree. Very fine day. I read a long time after breakfast out in the air. Yoliswa came down about 9 and so we had the second service rather earlier than usual. Warner sent a message by her to say I was not to write any more papers¹³ that they had all got to go to him. I am very glad to be relieved from the trouble. Yoliswa has got to pay up all the cattle she has taken from the *gogotya's*. I hear that Magomo [sic; Maqoma] is shot in trying to make his escape. They say it is quite true. I hope not for I think he ought to be punished if any of the Kafirs ought. I had school for the children, Tina and Bogolo there during the whole time, Mamati seems to remember names so very well. Wrote in the evening but could not do much as I was very sleepy.

Monday 28th. As my clock now goes I hope to be able to get the right time. I rose at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 6. The mealies are coming up very well. Nasty wet morning. I sent off some men to the Bolotwa. Planted some potatoes and beet today with Klass. Very wet towards 1 o'clock and is I think set in, so I shall not be able to [get to] St Marks tomorrow. April's child is dead. It has been ill they say a long time. Tina's and Bogolo's wives and Makasi have been caught without papers and put in the tronk. I am very sorry for the poor creatures. But it is their own obstinate fault. Wrote in the afternoon. The men returned bringing Jerry and some cooking utensils. All quiet. Yoliswa sent me some very bad meat. Peter returned this afternoon. I am afraid I shall not be able to go tomorrow. Heavy rain. Hutt and Turpin say they shall not go if it is wet.

Tuesday 29th. Michaelmas Day. This day I have been in the colony just three years. I hope 3 more will find me at home. Got up at a little after 4 but found it very wet. So I thought I would not go to Mr Waters today. The rain however held up about 11 so I sent Tozo for my horse, got ready and started about 5 minutes to 12. Gave the children rations and Klass before I left. Had a splendid ride over. Arriving about 2. My horse was fresh and took me over well. Found all well except Gordon, who seems getting worse and worse every time I see him. I helped at the children's service. I like Mr Woodroffe very well. At first you would not like him but he improves upon acquaintance. Pleasant evening confab. Messrs Hutt and Turpin did not come. Cleared up towards the evening.

Wednesday 30th. Reynolds called us but we were very late up. Made a rush into chapel just in time to help Mr Waters. I also helped at second service. After breakfast we decided upon meeting

13. Ordinance 49 of 1828 sought to regulate the flow of black labour into the Colony and to prescribe the conditions of service. Missionaries were authorised to issue letters of recommendation. (M E Donaldson, 'The Council of Advice of the Cape of Good Hope 1825-34, D.Phil thesis, Rhodes University, 1974, pp.409 ff.)

on Sunday and so I betook myself to the field and made good plough with the oxen till 12. When I was called to luncheon. I fired at some dogs yesterday with Reynolds' rifle and this morning, I went and shot with Woodroffes. Singing [day ?] today they doing nicely. Directly after dinner I started for this place accompanied as far as the drift [by] Messrs Waters and Woodroffe. Arrived in safety. All well. Paying off the men at night.

Here ends another month and also another quarter of the year. It has been a very rough one but I am now getting more comfortable. I was [sic] try during the next quarter to get the schools into full play again. I have now some children who ought to help me much. Mamati is a very promising lad. I hope he will soon be able to help me in every way. He keeps his boys in good order. Directly their own huts are in proper order for their going in I shall be able to see what sort of boys the others are. My next care will be to provide a proper person to look after the girls; till the end of October I shall be provided but after that I am afraid Noneslytye will not stop. She seems even now to wish to go home. I want if possible to avoid having any Hottentots on the station. If I can manage to get [Mosonthla's ?] sister and teach her I may be able to get on. Next month also the gardens must be got on with. They are very important adages [appendages ?] in every way to the mission. We can say to the Government such and such has been cultivated by us and therefore (i.e. if the farms are given away) we ought to get an allowance made for ours. We shall be able to see in a short time. But during that short time let me persevere.

Thursday 1st October 1857. Wet morning. Had service in Mamati's new hut. Sent 2 men to Bolotwa. Read till 12 when it cleared up a little. Men went to dig. I had school with the children. Mamati gets on very well indeed. Umsandaba very stupid. Went out and looked after the dagga making. And then marked out a place for the new chapel. Somebody stole all my string. They are a nest of thieves. Klass and myself cleaned all the place for the chapel. He seems very desirous to learn to read. I hope he may stay. He does not like the country he says. Pete dug a large piece of ground today. Yoliswa down at night. At first very kind etc but got into a tremendous passion about the corn, as she said the bag was not full. I told her to get it from Mr Waters as I was quite tired of getting corn for her. She waxed very warm and told the children to go home etc. April came to announce that he had found our horses stolen by somebody from Nyila's; I told them they must catch them and take them to Warner. Yoliswa was decidedly afraid of them.

Friday 2nd. Dug a little before service. Directly after prayers I had my breakfast it was over by about 9 o'clock. I then had up the horse and started for Faku's. Klass walked on before to take my horse on to the Bolotwa. I am almost afraid he is up to no good. Gave him over the horse and walked up to Faku's. All the men in great excitement as 7 women and 13 children had been caught and taken off by the police for digging roots in the colony. I waited a long time trying to get school but could not. So I left and walked home. Called at Riba's, nobody at home. Called at Winkle and got £5 of change. Stopped and had some tea. Very hot indeed. Walked on home. Took down the cross from the old hut. Had school. Men from Mr Hutt with planks etc. Very little altogether. Bought grass. Yoliswa down to say the thief could not be caught. Also Umvumthle. I asked for his sister Bulukazi. Klass not returned. The last time I shall lend him my horses. Yoliswa sent Pete to take her up some corn after all. I hope all will now be well. I was very reserved to her and said little. Made up accounts.

Sunday 1st November 1857. All Saints Day. Still showery. We were up rather late but had all our services and schools. Mr Hutt was a great help to me today. Yoliswa sent a very good congregation to service. All went on well. She could not come herself having stuck her foot with a thorn. About ½ past 1 I left with Mr Hutt and Matshongo for St Marks. Two boys came from [Nyali's ?] just before we started. Madolo's mother had sent for him. I told them I could not let

him go but would bring him down on Tuesday. We unluckily found the Kei very high, quite impassable; so after off saddling for ½ an hour we again started for St Johns. My old charger was very troublesome. I could hardly manage him. Felt very unwell by the time I got to Mr Hutts. Turpin was in service. Spent pleasant evening. Their houses are all very wet from the late rains and a great many things spoiled.

Monday 2nd. Fine day. Had some fun with Dahralla, a small race. We were equal. My horse was of course very tired. The wagon left early this morning and is to come over to me on Wednesday. Rode on to the Gwytyu. All square here excepting that Madolo bolted directly I was gone yesterday. Klass and some others went after him but his mother would not let him return on any account. Vezi was not at home. I had school and did a little garden work. The gardens are getting on very well. Klass made a few mistakes in the measuring.

Tuesday 3rd. Left early this morning with Klass for Vezi's. We found him sitting in the kraal. He was very kind and said he was very sorry the child had come home but he would try and get him back again. I had a very good school there. Vezi rode home with us and had some coffee. [Zexgile ?], Zena and some other men came so I had quite a party. In the midst the boys told me that two English men were just coming. It proved to be Mr Green and Capt. Cowemaker,¹⁴ 85th Reg[iment]. They had come to see me. Very kind to find their way here. They only stayed a few hours and then I rode with them to Faku's to put them in the right path. We were just caught in the commencement of a thunder storm. I rode back to the winkle just in time to be under cover. It came down in bucketfuls. Quesha and Fadana here to come to Queenstown to be tried at the assizes. I am sorry for this as it will disturb the peaceful Kafirs. Reynolds and [Hewson ?] with the rest have taken 61 prisoners in the Camata poort. An express sent for the police to take them. The hail has knocked my garden to pieces and the river was so full when I got back that I could hardly cross it.



Quesha (R) and Vadana (L)

14. Mullins' spelling appears to be incorrect. The *Cape Almanac* of 1857 lists a Captain A L Cousemaker of the 83rd Regiment.

Wednesday 4th. In the garden this morning. I was just having school when a man came to tell me that my wagon had arrived. I went up with all the men and got a great deal down that night. Williams was very obliging. I left 4 sacks there. Had to help some of the men. Caught Bagashi stealing and turned him off from work this week for it. I do not like him at all. In fact I wish he was far away. I shall turn him off the next bad thing he does.

Thursday 5th. Gunpowder treason [Guy Fawes Day]. At home till 9 and then I started for Faku's. Had a pretty good school there. Called at the winkle on my return and had to wait there a long time to get the bags up to send the mealies by. Had some capital dinner with the men. Williams very kind and attentive. Sent off the men and rode down home. Gordon not arrived. Very hard work today. Tired at night. Managed to get all the corn away and the place put all square. Before dark. I have hardly room to turn in it now. I am very much afraid I shall be in debt at the end of this quarter.

Friday 6th. Soon after breakfast etc I started for Vezi's alone. I took some plaster and dressed Madolo's arm. The wound is in a very nasty place. Stayed there some time. Only a few to school as I was rather late. Nyila's son, Warner cam[e] back here with me to get some food for Madolo. He had a beautiful young black horse. Found on my return Messrs Turpin, Gordon and Jackson waiting for me [Mr J ?]. About some horses [Giamaa ?] had of his. I knew nothing about the matter and so could not advise him what course to take. He left it all to Mr Waters. Turpin did not remain very long. He came only to see the hut. I do not think that he has had enough experience tho'. Planted some more seeds in the garden. G[ordon] talking to me. We spent a very pleasant evening. Gordon wanting very much to sleep on the floor only I would not let him. At Vezi's today I had a long talk with Madolo's mother but she would not let him come back again. I had not yet seen his father. He may perhaps say different. Yoliswa I am glad to say did not come down tonight. Men's night school.

Saturday 7th. Up rather late. Gave men their work. They are however very troublesome as they do it very slowly. Giamma and Nonsolytye left early this morning. I am very glad he is gone. Strolling about with Gordon. Planted some potatoes etc. Taylor came down just in time for some coffee. Soon after Mr Waters arrived from St Marks. Then intending to go to King W[illiam's] Town but he was not well and did not want to go and so altered his mind by returning with Charles. We are to follow tomorrow. He had not been gone long when Her Royal Highness came, of course having heard that he was here. She begged very hard but having given her coffee yesterday and sugar today I would not give her anymore. In the middle of night school down came her sons etc but I sent them away empty. Slight rain tonight. Making up accounts I kept Gordon up rather later I am afraid than proper for him.

Sunday 8th. Yoliswa down this morning before we were out of bed and actually walked into the hut and sat down, tho' we had shut the door. I had not completed my toilet but she did not seem to care much about that. Very nice morning service, Gordon read prayers. I the lessons. I had them into singing last night and again this morning. I read the second service. Altogether a very good attendance. Faku was present. Yoliswa again down and I had to get coffee etc. She behaved very badly today. Gordon was quite disgusted. A heavy thunder storm came on. Which kept us much longer than we had intended. After the first break in the storm we started and rode on hard to the last kraal. There we took shelter in one of the deserted huts for about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour. We then upsaddled and rode on for St Marks. Crossed the Kei just as another heavy storm came on and got there just at 10 minutes past 4. They were in service. I had just got myself square for tea when I heard something about thieves in the Kei and that Reynolds [was] there. My charger was soon saddled and I was off with Gordon's gun (which by the by

would not go off). I passed nearly all the horsemen only two in front of me and I should have passed them only I did not know the road. Doleraine went splendidly. It was raining hard all the time and the roads were very bad. I crossed the drift with [Malhwani ?] and Boesac, his horse went down altogether and both disappeared for some time. The name of the river is I think [Kutukweni ?]. We just saw somebody carrying meat and Boesac and the rest made a rush and were soon lost amongst the branches. Bang, bang, bang went the guns and then a naked Kafir bolted along the edge of the Kei.¹⁵ Boesac and another man soon collared him and then there was such a rush for the meat. Just like a lot of wolves. We had to wait some time for Reynolds' horse which was the other side of the river. The thief I know very well, he used to live with Umvumthla. His name is Cwangu. George had a very bad fall from his mare going home. I was again in first. Nobody could keep near me. Pleasant evening and service. Sacrament. Mrs W[aters] of course much the same as usual.

Monday 9th. Up early and had a good morning service. Pringle, Stubbs,¹⁶ [Elere ?] and some others passed on their way to Bashee. They staid to breakfast. Quite a room full. Mr Hutt also arrived in time for the early meal. Stubbs has two waggons with him. Curiously they slept at the Kei drift all yesterday and we knew nothing of it. Prisoners left with Chusa and some others for Queenstown. They also took the captured cattle. I remained to dinner, and afterwards started but had to return as we found the river up and John Dunn said it was not safe to venture. Had a few shots with the gun. Gordon very jolly and Woodroffe giving Mrs Waters some beautiful quite [sic] raps.

Tuesday 10th. Nobody up for children's school and so Mr Hutt and myself took it. We left immediately after breakfast. Gordon rode with us to the drift. I raced Reynolds on the flat and beat him till he called to me to pull up. I do not think he knew my horse could go so fast. Began to rain as we arrived at the Bolotwa. Had some refreshment and then finding "my white horse's back still sore I was obliged to go on with the chessnut. He is getting very poor. Called at the winkle for change. Found on my return I had shut Jerry in and that stupid old [Tai ?] and [L ?] let him out. He had broken some plates etc and pulled up all the earth in front of the door. Had school and begun to teach them the first psalm. Men to school in the evening. All quiet here. Kikey [sic; Katjie] has a very bad knee. Vezi's brother here to buy seed corn but I told them to wait. Paid Qada.

Wednesday 11th. As soon as prayers were over I measured land for the men, sent two to the Bolotwa, and started with Mamati for Bezi's. I had a very bad horse which put me to great pain. No children at home so I rode some short distance up the river and then returned home across the mountains. All a very fine country. Had school here and then worked in the garden till dark. Vezi's brother again here, also Vezi late at night. I had some little trouble with Mamati this evening. But managed to get over it very well. He saw I think, that he was wrong. I intend, if fine, to go to Faku's tomorrow.

Thursday 12th. Wet morning so I staid at home and began the chapel windows. I could not get them right and managed to break one pane of glass. Had school etc. Men at night. They got on very nicely.

15. Pursuers were authorised to fire at thieves who fled; while thieves who were apprehended faced transportation. (*King William's Town Gazette*, Vol.2, No.30, 7 March 1857).

16. J Pringle was granted the farm 'Otterburn'. W Stubbs (1814-1883) younger brother of the diarist was a farmer and field cornet in the Queenstown Division. He lost the use of one arm when wounded in battle, 1851.

Friday 13th. Fine morning, had breakfast before chapel. Gave the men work and read some time. Started for Vezi's. Had pretty good school. Had school here on my return and then wrote up some of my journal which is very much behind hand. Heavy hail storm again with very large stones the largest I have ever seen. Yoliswa came down in the evening she was not dressed. Gave Kita pass this morning. Writing and reading *Vicar's Life*¹⁷ at night. I rather like the book. He must have been a true soldier of the cross. Poles cut and grass for the porch.

Saturday 14th. Directly I could get away I rode to Faku's and was just in time to collect a few children. Faku says he will come to service tomorrow. I hope he will. Called at the winkle. Both very kind. They say they will come to service tomorrow. [H ?] will be doing good if they do. Reynolds they say has returned. Put in some seed. Finished *Vicar's [Life]*; had school and put all things square for Sunday. Nobody from St Marks, I wonder whether the river is up. Had singing school at night. Another heavy thunderstorm. Vadana is transported for 7 and Quesha for 1 year. Very uphill work in school today. The children were so very stupid.

Sunday 15th. Had very nice early service. Matshongo came during second service bringing a letter for me from home. All well there. Mr Hutt had not gone and hoped I should go over there to see him. Taylor and Williams both down to service. We had some breakfast together. Yoliswa was also here. I lent Williams Creasey's *Battles*¹⁸. He tells me his cousin is the Revd Sir Williams and has a living in Wiltshire; it may be the one at Marlbro'. About 1 I started with Matshongo. We were obliged to stop at the winkle. The rain came down in torrents for about ½ an hour and then along by Faku's kraal it was one mass of running water. They had had nothing at the Bolotwa. After service Mr Hutt started to walk into Queenstown. We walked on to Napakade's kraal with him and then returned. Very sleepy and went to bed, not very much sleep on account of the fleas.

Monday 16th. I returned back as soon as possible and called at Faku's kraal to have school but Turpin had been so long getting breakfast ready that I was far too late. They had not had very much rain here not so much as we expected. The men all at work as usual. Sent some men to Turpin for some goods; he intends to come and see me this week. Put in some more seeds etc. Very hot day.

Tuesday 17th. After settling the men on to work I went on to Vezi's kraal and had no school as they were all out before I arrived. Made a chapel window this afternoon. Klass started to go to the Bolotwa to Turpin. He remained there not returning tonight. No news of any kind afloat. The Kafirs have been to see Warner and he is coming here to take their census. So I suppose I shall have the honour of entertaining him. The other day I heard a curious conversation go on between the two Klass's as they were digging. Big Klass Eh! Who was Faro? *Inkosi amagipte* [King of the Egyptians]. 2. Yah. Little Klass. Who was Joseph? the son of Israel. Who was Jacob? the son of Isaac; who was Isaac? the son of Abraham. Who was Abraham? Friend of GOD, that's all right. Who were Moses and Aaron? *Abafundisi* [priests]. Yah! and then followed by big Klass' sundry quotations from Exodus as: Faro would not let the people of Israel etc. I was glad to see they paid such attention to the service. It is a capital thing.

Wednesday 18th. Klass back again this evening. Turpin thinks of coming over on Friday if all is well. I do not think the crops are nearly so good as they have been during the other years I have seen them. Scarcity of rain makes a great difference in the crops when they are just starting.

17. Possibly Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, 1766.

18. Probably J Creasey, *The Fifteen decisive battles of the world from Marathon to Waterloo*, 2 vols. 1851.

Friday 20th. Had a letter from Turpin this morning to say that he was so unwell that he could not possibly manage to come, and was going to leave for St Marks. Mr Woodroffe was there and so was Mr Waters. From old Shobu's account who brought the note Turpin wrote to say he was ill and so Mr Waters sent over Woodroffe to help him. Woodroffe found Turpin very much worse than he had expected and therefore sent for Mr Waters and meantime got ill himself the effects of a wet ride from St Marks. On Mr W[ater's] arrival he packed them both off to St Marks. Turpin in the wagon and the other on horses. So Gordon now left alone at St Marks will have as much as ever he can to do.

Saturday 21st. Yesterday and today working at the planks. Heard from Mr Waters late the evening. He is at the Bolotwa alone and sent over an express for me to forward to Mr W[oodroffe]. - [?] Kosana a [?] to carry it.

Sunday 22nd. Kosana left very early this morning on his mare. Yoliswa was down very early, so we had both services and school over very quickly. I then had up Doleraïne and started for St Marks. I gave them out rations till Tuesday morning in case I should not return. Reached St Marks early whilst they were in English service. Turpin in bed, and also Woodroffe and Gordon looking exceedingly tired and ill. I did what I could to help and took as much of the services as possible. Miss Gray also looks very unwell. Turpin very fidgety and fretful. I stayed up with him all night, he kept on bothering; never quiet for an instant, and did not seem at all thankful for what you did. Gordon declar[ed] he never thanked him.

Monday 23rd. Up soon after four, that is to say I dressed for I was kept wide awake all night. Took the 2 services and set the men on to work with Gordon's help. Mrs W[aters] urging me all the time to go over to the Bolotwa and see Mr Waters, saying how lonely he would be and all the rest of it. She did not get me to go however for I found I could be of much more use where I was. The doctor has been sent for but we do not much expect time [sic]. Woodroffe seems very bad and in great pain, but he does not complain half so much as Turpin. I have to stay with Turpin again tonight; I cannot think he is so bad as he makes out. But I must not judge others for I am never ill myself.

Tuesday 24th. Got up about 5. Had a very short night's rest but I slept so soundly that if Turpin called me I did not hear him. Helped in all the work and after lunching had up my horse to start back here again. Mr Wright¹⁹ of the police arrived just before I left. He seems a very nice quiet sort of man, with very fine eyes which I actually noticed for once. Met a man on my return and gave him a pass to go to Chusa. Children all very delighted to see me. Fell asleep with my clothes on and slept soundly till the next morning.

Wednesday 25th. Very late this morning and so sleepy I hard[ly] knew what to do; read and slept most of the day. Did a little in the garden but altogether very seedy. Towards evening a man came with a letter from Mr Warner to say he would be here to breakfast. Two other Kafirs also here, I gave them some food. I had a note from Mr Waters by Geshile. He said if I was well he would like me to come over. I had however just sent off 2 messages and Tozo with the answer from King W[illiams] Town by Kosana.

Thursday 26th. Up early and had all my house in order. Began working with the boys at earthing potatoes when Mr Warner, Dahralla and some other attendants made their appearance. Had

19. Sub-Inspector W Wright of the FAMP.

a very pleasant chat with Warner over all Kafir affairs. Directly after breakfast he began to take his census. Which he got thro' very rapidly indeed. An immense lot of men came and Yoliswa in the midst. When the census was over the case began between Vezi and Wagisa, Dahralla conducting the case for Warner. Basa and Tozo returning, I see by Mr Waters' note that he would like me to relieve him, tho' he did not say so in words. So I got my horse and started leaving my keys with Warner if he should sleep there. Fell in with Capt [Cousemaker ?] and [Bellonus ?] and they gave me some birds and then came and had some tea afterwards. Mr Waters was glad to be relieved and left for St Marks immediately.

Friday 27th. Up pretty early. After I had got all my work performed I started with Geshile for St Peters, Geshile carrying Dahralla's gun for me. I lost Geshile in the thorns and was some time before I could find him again. Keeping my horse at a gallop the whole time. He ran away with me twice and nearly had me off. Took Gordon over some of the quail. Found him there before me. He seems quite pleased to be there, rather than taking care of Turpin. I had some tea and stayed a short time and then we started out on our return I made over all keys to Gordon. We only saw 1 buck and then was a great deal too far off for a shot.

Saturday 28th. Early this morning I began for the clearance. I just began by clearing the store then the bedroom and lastly the sitting room. I had them swept 2 or 3 times and the fleas and a[ll] manner of live animals was [sic] perfectly awful. I had my head beautifully decorated with two handkerchiefs a red and blue one. [Gicelo ?] returned from town but minus the goods I wanted. Townsend also passed on his way to town so I sent in a note by him for sundry goods. The hut was just like an Irish cabin.²⁰ I had a lot of clothes that I found behind boxes etc washed. By night it looked quite another place. I found two or three books quite rotten. Selling took up a great deal of my time this evening. I am very glad I have not to do it on my station.

Sunday 29th. After early morning service I had the usual school; very poor attendance. Just as we were coming out of school his Royal highness and train arrived. I had second service soon after and explained the parable of the Prodigal Son, but they paid very little attention. I was never so much disappointed with a mission. I thought everything was going on so swimmingly there, but when you come to look closely it is all a shadow and not substance. Gave Dahralla tea and got off as soon as I could. Met Reynolds at the drift with [Mr ?] Wright and four police, Gordon had been waiting for me some time. I forgot to make my pudding. He had made his. Spent pleasant evening.

Monday 30th. St Andrew's Day. James trying Faku's horse this morning and soon was level with the ground. Two men from Mullery; his horses have been spooed over the river; they were lost last night. Gordon and myself started as soon after breakfast as we possibly could. I went over the lower drift with him and then rode slowly on. Saw a lot more Kafirs on the spoor of one of Williams' horses and a buck that were stolen last night. I stayed up till late waiting for the wagon etc. Turpin arrived in it. I made him as comfortable as I could. He began to talk in his sleep. I think he did not much like my new arrangements in the hut. I had put all the clothes I found into his great chest. Up very late writing letters for the post. Sent off [Gecilo] early today. Woodroffe returned early. He had ridden in from Queenstown in 5½ hours.

Tuesday 1st December. The old saying says that "Rolling stones gather no moss". I am afraid that will apply closely to me, for here I commence the last month of the year back at my old station.

20. Mullins' Anglo-Saxon prejudice is evident in the description of the hut as an 'Irish cabin'. See V Glendenning, *Trollope* (London, 1992), p.115 for comments on how middle-class Victorian English travellers (who did not see the poverty in their own society) encouraged disdain for the Irish poor.

I was aroused this morning by the arrival of two wagons and found to my astonishment that it was getting late, the sun being already high. I had the wagons both soon off loaded and despatched [Meguna ?] as Turpin said he would rather ride in [sic] his horse. I rode a short distance with him to see how he got on. All went well and so I returned. Reading all day. Postman passed from Mr Waters. Cwangu broke out of the tronk and has been caught again by Reynolds and the police with a stolen horse. I do not like either the children or people at this station. I have plenty of winkling and sowing to do every day but that seems about all.

Wednesday 2nd. Set some men on to dagga the huts. They worked very slowly. I got a little done. Classed the children in school etc. The men have to go about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile for water and back again. Dahralla is here nearly all day quite a bother except that you can speak your mind to him without giving offence which you cannot do to Yoliswa. [Gecelo ?] arrived in the evening with some letters etc 1 from Pascoe for me. [Galvan] came in about 8 to tell me a thief was lying under the hedge. I made haste, got the people out and went down but our bird had flown. [Galvan] behaved very well, having had to pass within a yard of him. He says the Kafir had an assegai. The wagon arrived from town about $\frac{1}{4}$ to 11. So that I was up rather late. Awful Indian news.

Thursday 3rd. Drizzling rain. Gave out rations etc and determined not to go over to Gordon, but at last I thought I would. I got wet thro' tho' in riding there. Found him quite well; stayed a few hours to see how things had been going. Had some radishes, the first fruits of my garden. I rode home with Xagwana. Saw only 1 springbok and Jerry, being just fed could not get near it. I had a fall from my horse. He got both his front feet into a large hole which was so covered with grass that you could not see any difference. The men of course did not work today as it was wet. Mr Hutt was to have started from town on Wednesday (yesterday). I went out with Galvan all round the garden and kraal but we could find nobody. Fell in with Capt Cowmaker today, he had been for his sjambok.

Friday 4th. During morning service some police arrived and directly I went out of the chapel, a red-bearded Irishman I should think by his speech came forward making a most delightful salaam with 'Good morrow to your Reverence!!' with a very strong burr. I could hardly refrain from a good laugh but somehow I managed to be quiet and look I hope very dignified. He was the bearer of an epistle from Mr Waters. I sent back an answer. Set some men on to finish plastering the huts and others to make good the kraal. I let Dahralla have $\frac{2}{3}$ of a bag of corn to sow. I sat up till very late looking out for Mr Waters' wagon which was to have come.

Saturday 5th. The wagon arrived just after morning service. I loaded and sent it off. The men making drains round the huts. [Gecela ?] came from town last night but not with the stuff I wanted. I was looking after the horses and men all day. I think the fleas are nearly extinct there now. Much vexed today. *Xadiya entanjeni diya ku bona bona amakwankwe nezintombazana wathlamba endawennyne* [When I go to the river and there see the boys and girls washing in the same place].²¹ I sent old Shoba down with the sjambok. Dahralla is gone to [Gecelo ?] to beg cattle. His wives came down to beg corn and were a great nuisance. I managed however to get off without giving them any. The men finished the kraal very nicely today and as we did not go to bed till very late I thought no thieves would come. However towards morning I heard the bucks rattling the planks all round the old stables and so I walked out to the kraal but as my horses were all right I thought that the bucks had only just walked out of the kraal.

21. Mullins writes in Xhosa presumably because he did not want English colleagues who did not know Xhosa to read what he wrote. Mixed bathing, especially at a mission school, would have been thought quite shocking.

Sunday 6th. St Nicolas my patron saint. I heard a great din early and found that ten bucks were missing. 9 of these were found down by the old winkle but of them 1 had been taken off to Yoliswa's country. Of course all the men went out on the spoor and therefore my congregation was very small. I had a pretty good school only the children know nothing. I was ready to start for the Kei about 12 but of course could not find my horse nor could I till ¼ to 2. I then rode full gallop to the Kei and arrived there about 10 minutes before Gordon and Mamati made their appearance. They both looked very well, the former as to health, the latter as to his new suit of clothes. Found all pretty well at St Marks. Of course all just much the same course of things as usual. The services were very nice. The sermon was for the benefit of the sufferers in India. I think the subscription was about £2/10/-. The best we have ever had. Bedford [i.e. probably gloomy] skies as usual. Miss Gray fighting with Mr Woodroffe today for a change.

Monday 7th. The foundation stone of the new chapel was to be laid this morning so we all remained to see the operation. I cut very rudely the words "Marcus Sanctus" in the top of the stone only of course made a muck and spelt it santus, in which Woodroffe had to correct me. We had all the Kafirs collected and Mr Waters laid the stone. The singing was very nice indeed. Biscuits were then distributed to the multitude by the 2 field cornets and Reynolds, getting his men together fired a volley. The stone was very large. It took 8 Kafirs to carry it. After lunch Woodroffe and myself started for Bolotwa. Some boor [is] here to buy timber, going to take it over to Aliwal North. [He was] present at lunch. Rode slowly to Bolotwa. Got my goods together and started for St Peters which I reached just in time for evening service and very glad I am to get back here again. I hope now to stay for some time. Making up all sorts of accounts at night.

Tuesday 8th. Up pretty early directly after service I began to clear out all my hut. Found that the whole of my bags were eaten in holes at the bottom by the white ants. So I made a sort of bench for them to stand upon. My bluegum tree seed in a mouse hole under one of the large cases. Took it out carefully to send to Gordon. It took me a long time to put the place in order. I also mended the other half of my bookcase. Umvumthle, Yoliswa and Vezi all here today, but I had no time to attend to Their Royal Highnesses. The chapel looks very well indeed, much better than I had expected. I hope to get a little money to fit it up. Writing and reading in the evening. I had men's night school they are getting on very well altogether. Messenger arrived from Mr Woodroffe. He has already had a small row with the Kafirs and given somebody a small knock on the head with a spade. I gave Yoliswa 2s/- to buy food with.

Wednesday 9th. This morning early soon after Pete had started with Mr Gordon's goods for St Marks, we saw a horse coming down the hill thro' the boys' gardens. Soon a man followed. He could not give a good account of himself so I thought I had better tell Micki. We had the horse put in the kraal and told the man to come at sundown. I thought it was one of Mr Waters' and sent over Klass and April there to see. They returned late but no horse had been stolen. All seems very queer about it. I am certain by the owner's manner he has stolen it from somebody, and lately too. However I had to give it up. The children got on very nicely in school. Yoliswa was down here again today and made herself very comfortable by turning my provision box into a sofa and going fast asleep. I had to rouse her and gave her some coffee and went to school. Made up the form of accounts for October and November for Mr Waters. I expect him here Friday or Saturday.

Thursday 10th. Set the men on to work. We have been obliged to stop ploughing as the ground is so very hard. I set them to cut poles and wattles. As soon as I could get my horse I started for Vezi's and had a pretty good school. The boys I sent out for a day's hunt with [Thlathle ?]. They

came home with only 1 bird. Had not seen anything. Sent a messenger from Vezi's to tell Ithingcaka that Mr Waters wanted to see him. Rode and read during the afternoon. Heat tremendous and had a heavy thunderstorm but very little rain. I have used the prayer for rain every since my return; the whole country is burned up and my mealies are going fast. I hope it will please GOD to send it soon, because if these poor creatures' crops are spoiled nobody will be able to live near them. Ithingcaka came just before service and wanted to know what he was wanted for by Mr Waters. He bothered very much I first gave him a 1s/- and then *amazimba* [kaffir corn]. Coffee he wanted, sugar but I did not give him any. He then begged meal which I also gave him. He is rather an expensive chief. He has a bad command of a most fiery temper. Turpin passed today to ask for some salts.

Friday 11th. Sent April and Uyatanga to the Bolotwa for meal. Uvumthle and James here for passes. I could not get my horse up for sometime and therefore had to ride very hard so as to be in time to catch the children at Faku's. I had a very tolerable school. Faku has two little boys about 3 months old. The one he calls Gogotye and the other Tamba. He says that they are to come to me when old enough. Some police rode up just as I was leaving. The hottest day I think I have felt in the colony regularly scorching. All my mealies and potatoes very much damaged to [sic; by] it. The wind seemed to blister your face. Had school on my return. Ciwa arrived in the evening from St Marks. No letters from Mr Waters. He brought one from Mother. My letters do not seem to have reached at all regularly. Up till late reading. I spoke to the men today about alms giving in the Indian case. They seemed generally to understand and when I told them that in the sight of GOD to the poor man's penny was as great as the rich man's pound Big Klass addressing the others said, "*Siki Umbala* [thus it is written] when he reads out of the big black book (New Test[ament]) about Jesus seeing the *Umthlolokazi* [widow] throwing in the two pennies, said that she had surpassed the rich in giving as she gave out of her poorness and they from their richness." It shows he has been an attentive listener. I hope all the others may have been like him. Mr and Mrs Hutt and Turpin and Aldred²² arrived at Bolotwa today. April came back very much astonished at Mrs Hutt's height. I hear also from Woodroffe that my harmonium has at last reached Queenstown, which is capital news.

Saturday 12th. Ithingcaka here early to meet Mr Waters but I thought it best to send him off again. He seemed rather vexed at having to come for nothing. Men cutting wattles today. Reading and writing all day. Yoliswa sent for some sugar. Uyatanga came in this evening and said "you paid me 1s/- for the wattles; I have bought corn with 6d these others (showing it to me) I am keeping for Sunday. Poor fellow it is very good of them, for I know they really will miss it much.

Sunday 13th. Had early morning service well attended. I then had school etc and told the men that if they wanted to borrow money from me I would lend it to them but that they must return it before next Sunday or else it would not be their own giving. Klass collected the alms. Yoliswa was down here with a good number of people, also Faku. The collection was 10s/6d. The children gave their coffee for these times to help; this amounted to about 3/6. I was very glad they made such a handsome collection. Rode over to St Marks. Several wagons there for timber as the Hottentots have returned to cut. Also Mr Hutt's wagon, they all being over there. Mr Wright and also Mr Aldred the new arrival. He seems a nice quiet little fellow. I did not see Mrs Hutt as she was unwell. Poor Hutt seems in very low spirits. Slept in Gordon's room.

22. Revd John Aldred spent a few months in Grahamstown before moving to Bolotwa in December 1857. He subsequently worked at St John's mission Kabusi and with Revd Waters at St Mark's but was later to work among the settlers because he could not master Xhosa. (USPG Archives, Waters to SPG, 31.12.1857.)

Monday 14th. Started early accompanied by Mamati and Mr Waters. My harmonium arrived at the winkle today and I immediately went up with a lot of men to bring it down. It was very heavy indeed. The two Klass, myself and April carried [it] the greater part of the way. We had it slung on poles. On my return I found Mr Waters very unwell. So I had evening service without him. Yoliswa came down, only I told her to come again tomorrow and not to disturb Mr W[aters] now. Went to bed early. Mr Waters sleeping in the other hut.

Tuesday 15th. Up early and got off the top of the harmonium. Yoliswa down again she seemed to be in an awful state lest Mr W[aters] should depart without her knowing it. After morning service I opened the rest of the case and great was my delight and surprise at finding so very handsome a harmonium. I played the evening hymn for the first time and we soon had it going. I shall, I suppose often have to mention it. The books and all the other presents: I was much delighted at. I do not think we let it be quiet very long during the day; one or the other of us were always playing. Mr W[aters'] head very bad but I think altogether he was much better.

Wednesday 16th. Again had morning service by myself as Mr W[aters] was not up. School etc as usual; nothing of importance today. The men commenced my hut but did not do much today.

Thursday 17th. Up early. Rode up to see where we could bring out the water and then Mr W[aters] left for home; Jada riding after to carry the books. My white horse getting very lame on the hind leg so that I did not go to either of the schools. Commenced making the boys' dresses. Tai does not do her work half so well as I could.

Friday 18th. Sewing again all day and made my fingers quite sore from it. Had school etc and thus ended another day.

Saturday 19th. Again at work at the boys' dresses. But could not get on with them so I sent them over to Mr Gordon to get finished for me by a Hottentot.

Sunday 20th. Had services as usual. Yoliswa came down. Neither Turpin or Mr Hutt have been over to see me yet. Rode to St Marks after service. Found Aldred in the chapel playing very nicely. Everybody well. Offended Miss Gray much today. She thought I was in a serious rage when I was only shamming and would not speak to me. All Sundays at St Marks are just alike: at least I never can find any difference.

Monday 21st St Thomas. Started back here again. Had schools all over when who should arrive but Turpin with a kind invitation from Mr Hutt for Xmas day. This I was obliged to refuse as I have promised to go to St Marks. Whilst we were both in at night school Woodroffe and John Dunn arrived. Spent a very pleasant evening and I then took up my quarters outside leaving the other two in.

Tuesday 22nd. Sent up all the men to begin a water course. Walked up afterwards with Turpin and Woodroffe; April and Pete undertook to do it all. We helped them for a short time and then returned. Turpin left for home with letters to go to the post. I had school and then walked up to the dam again. Mr and Mrs Hutt are both at the Bolotwa. They left St Marks last Saturday so that I have as yet seen nothing of Mrs Hutt. April says she could walk under Klass so that I am prepared for something very small.

Wednesday 23rd. Today after sending up the men we rode down to Vezi's. He was at home but asleep and no children to be seen as they were all gone to eat flesh. W[aters] smashed a pipe

at the Ciba and we then returned going the road round the mountain. Had a pleasant tho' rather a hot ride. School etc.

Thursday 24th. Sent Pete for my chessnut horse today. [Mytyinze ?] lent me his mare and we rode up to Faku's. W[aters] was much pleased with Faku. Had a very good school there and Faku rode back here with us. Yoliswa has bothered very much at this last week. I must say with all his curious ways I like W[aters] very much. We sat up till very late making our Xmas pudding. It will not be so good as we could wish as Turpin did not send in my letter to Brown.

Friday 25th. Xmas Day. Had our pudding put in the pot at 5 o'clock this morning and it boiled till ½ past 1. Yoliswa had gone home last night rather cross. She did not however come to church at all today. Went [sic; when] quite late we started for St Marks. I saw several people on the road. Woodroffe in a tremendous fright but we got on all right. They had had a very jolly day there altogether. Had a very nice evening service and sacrament. Mr Hutt did not come over.

Saturday 26th. St Stephen's Day. Started back here with Woodroffe. Messrs Waters and Aldred accompanying us as far as [Tiaka ?] river where they parted and proceeded to the Bolotwa. Reynolds lent me his little gun. Woodroffe had a led horse having bought Ciwa's white one. Spent a lazy evening here. I took some pudding over to Miss Gray.

Sunday 27th. Two services as usual; not very well today. Woodroffe made coffee for Vezi and Yoliswa so he has seen all my great chiefs. We employed today chiefly in reading and talks. Woodroffe read the commandments so that I was able to chant the responses which made a great difference in our service.

Monday 28th. Innocents Day. Directly after service we had breakfast and then started with April and W[aters] for the Swart Kei. They crossed it in safety just above Vezi's and I returned to Vezi's kraal and held school. Not many present. All well tho'. The boys look very nice in their new coats.

Tuesday 29th. At home reading all day. Did a little work in the garden. April returned bringing a note from W[aters] to say he had arrived at the Windvogel in safety.

Wednesday 30th. Schools, services, reading, etc.

Thursday 31st. Rode up to Faku's and had a pretty good attendance at school. I took Dweba with me. He was very much pleased at going. Faku himself was not at home. I have small rows about the water courses. Tina has made one just above mine and he stops all the water. I have tried to make several arrangements with him but he will not come to any proper terms. Came home with a very bad headache; had schools. Sowed some radishes and cabbage. The boys helping me. [Mica ?] came down; she had been very badly used by a man of Namba's. He had tied her hands behind her and she seemed altogether very ill. I was very angry and sent up Klass to tell Yoliswa that I should ask her some other day about her and what she had done to the man. As I was tying up some lettuce Reynolds made his appearance. His head was also very bad. We stayed up talking till very late and then heard guns firing which kept us awake much longer. We could not make out what it was, but now conclude it must have been the police firing the old year out and the new one in. And so I must now do the same with my poorly kept Journal. I have had several changes since the 1st of January 1857 and may have many more before another year is over. I have also very many blessings to be thankful for. I must begin again to look over everything of my past life and try to exceed all efforts before this.