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JIM'S JOURNAL: THE DIARY OF JAMES BUTLER

A Critical Edition

by

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JAMES BUTLER  
Photograph taken  
c.1876

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

- A.Y.B.            Archives Year-Book for South African History.
- B.P.                Butler Papers deposited in the Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
- Branford: Dictionary        J. Branford: A Dictionary of South African English. Cape Town, 1978.
- C.A.                Cape Archives.
- C.L.                The Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
- C.P.S.A.           Church of the Province of South Africa.
- D.S.A.B.           Dictionary of South African Biography.
- E.S.                The Eastern Star.
- fn                  footnote.
- M. Gibbens: Two Decades    M. Gibbens: Two Decades in the Life of a City: Grahamstown 1862-1882. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Rhodes University, 1982.
- G.T.J.                The Graham's Town Journal.
- Hunt: Municipal Government    K.S. Hunt: The Development of Municipal Government in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, with Special reference to Grahamstown, (1820-1862), in Archives Year-Book 1961, Cape Town, 1963.
- I.O.G.T.            The Independent Order of Good Templars.
- J.P.                Justice of the Peace.
- L.M.S.              The London Missionary Society.
- M.A.                Methodist Archives in the Cory Library.
- M.S.                Manuscript.
- M.L.A.              Member of the Legislative Assembly.
- n.d.                No date.
- S.A.L.              South African Library, Cape Town.
- S.E.S.A.           Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa.
- V.R.S.              Van Riebeeck Society.
- W.M.M.S.          Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

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A NOTE ON SOURCES AND TERMINOLOGY

The material in the Cory Library for Historical Research, both printed and in manuscript, has been the single most valuable source. I have also found useful material in the Albany Museum, the Cape Archives and the South African Library.

The two topics on which information has been most difficult to acquire are Quakerism and temperance: both were of primary importance to Butler himself. Very little original material on Quakers is available in South Africa. Many works cited in the general Quaker histories are out of print or unobtainable in South Africa. Some aspects of the Temperance movement in America and in Britain have been studied; a history of South African temperance has yet to be written. No manuscript material on the Independent Order of Good Templars has been found.

I have made use of some material given to me orally: see the list of acknowledgements and the biographical index.

On the vexed question of the terminology of racial groups in South Africa, I have used "blacks" to denote dark-skinned people and "whites" for the descendants of settlers from Europe, except where a more specific term seemed appropriate, such as Xhosa or Gcaleka.

INTRODUCTION

PART I

English Background

On 17 October 1876 a young man called James Butler embarked at Poplar Docks, London on the steamer Dunrobin Castle<sup>1</sup> for distant Cape Town. His destination was Grahamstown in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony, his purpose: to recover from a severe illness, probably tuberculosis, in a warm and sunny climate. He was twenty-two years and three months old.

His sheltered Quaker background had not prepared him for life in a country strange in so many ways, much less for an experience which was to change the course of his life. His visit to South Africa lasted two and a half years: at the end of it his health was largely restored and he had decided that he might return to Cradock if the doctors in London thought it advisable. Cradock was the small Eastern Cape town where in fact he was to spend the rest of his life. The diary which he kept for that crucial two and a half years begins with the voyage to Cape Town and chronicles not only his travels around the Eastern Cape, but provides also a record of his own emotional growth from a somewhat insecure boy to an assured young man confident in his own future under God's guidance.

#### Family Background and Life of James Butler up to 1876

James Butler was born on 22 July 1854, the third son of Philip John Butler and his wife Mary (born Watts). James had two older brothers, John and Joseph, three sisters, Mary, Eliza and Emily, and two younger brothers, William and Charles. The household included Mary Butler's mother Rebecca Watts ("Grandma Watts") and a maid.<sup>2</sup>

All the family were members of the Society of Friends. Indeed the Quaker influence was the strongest and most pervasive one in the young James Butler's life up to the time of his visit to South Africa, a visit which brought him for the first time into contact with a different world.

Nevertheless his Quaker beliefs endured throughout his life and formed the foundation on which all his attitudes and activities were based. When he died in 1923 his obituary writers noted his Quaker convictions as the single most significant characteristic of their subject.

James Butler's forbears had been Quakers since 1666.<sup>3</sup> His grandparents John Butler and Philippa (born Norman), came from Bristol. They were married there at "The Friars" Friends' Meeting House on 16 May 1820.<sup>4</sup> The early childhood of their son Philip John Butler, James's father, was spent in America where the family lived until the death of John Butler in 1830 when Philippa Butler and her two surviving young children returned to England.

James Butler's father moved to London in 1847 and worked in a grocer's shop. In 1854 he was offered a job as a clerk in John Poole's watch and chronometer maker's firm, recently established in new premises at 57 Fenchurch Street, London. Fourteen years later, in June 1868, after the sudden death of John Poole, Butler was appointed a manager by Poole's widow, Maria. In due course he became the senior partner and received a third of the profits.<sup>5</sup> He retired in 1887 when the business was sold. At his death in 1890 Philip John Butler left an estate worth over £7,400.<sup>6</sup>

Mary Butler's family, the Watts's, lived at 13 Peter St., Bristol.<sup>7</sup> Her forbears were North Devon farming people. Her mother's family were the Challacombes who had owned Buttercombe Farm near Ilfracombe since 1706. They were related to the Blackmores, the family of the author of Lorna Doone.<sup>8</sup> Mary herself was educated at the Friend's School, Sidcot, Somerset.<sup>9</sup> She and Philip John Butler were married at the "Quakers Friars" Meeting House, Bristol on 10 May 1850.<sup>10</sup> Mary kept close touch with her extended family including her Watts and Challacombe relations in America.



No. 55 De Beauvoir Road.

Philip John and Mary Butler lived at first at 29 Liverpool Street in the City of London in a building demolished when the Liverpool Street Station was built. From 1853 to 1887 they lived in De Beauvoir Town, Hackney, once a country estate which had been caught up in the expanding urban sprawl of early nineteenth century London. Until 1866<sup>11</sup> the Butlers' home was 26 Ufton Road, a three storeyed house where all but the two eldest children were born. They subsequently moved to No. 55 De Beauvoir Road and it was this house more than any other that the young Butlers thought of as home. No. 55 was bigger: four floors, with larger rooms; and had a larger garden than the Ufton Road house. No. 55 was the centre of a Victorian family life typical in its concentration on leisure activities such as reading, writing, poetry and scientific pursuits. The children collected plants, insects and shells. Both parents wrote poetry: much of Mary's addressed to her children and grandchildren has survived. Philip John was known to his descendants as a "scientific man". It was he who connected by electric telegraph the house and a summer house in the garden.<sup>12</sup> Other Victorian pastimes such as card games and dancing were not permitted in this Quaker household but music in the form of hymns and religious songs was popular.

The Butlers lived in the area of London which lies north of the City and west of the Kingsland Road, the old Roman road from London to Cambridge.<sup>13</sup> De Beauvoir Town,<sup>14</sup> as the estate was called, had been rural, part commonage and part the grounds of a large Italian-style mansion, Balmes or Baumes House, built in 1540 by a Spanish family called Balm. In 1686 the house and estate passed into the hands of Richard de Beauvoir of Guernsey. The De Beauvoir family owned the estate until the early nineteenth century. The house itself was pulled down in 1851.

Between 1802 and 1826 no less than three attempts were made to buy or lease the estate by a building speculator called William Rhodes.

Rhodes was the grandfather of Cecil John Rhodes, politician, imperialist and a prominent figure in the economic development of South Africa. In 1827 William Rhodes succeeded in getting the Rev. Peter de Beauvoir, the last of his family to own the estate; to sign a 99-year building lease. The construction of several rows of small terraced houses began according to the plan of a local architect and surveyor, James Burton. The terms of Rhodes's lease were legally questionable: not only was the estate grossly undervalued but the usual contemporary restrictions on size and number of buildings to be erected were missing.

In 1835 the ownership of the estate passed into the hands of Richard Benyon of Englefield, Berkshire, De Beauvoir's heir, but only after a lengthy court case. Benyon continued to develop the estate on a more generous and spacious scale with long streets of substantial semi-detached villas built on ground leased for 60 to 80 years. De Beauvoir Road was one such street.

In the 1840's the villas were occupied by bankers, solicitors and "gentlemen", for De Beauvoir Town was then a fashionable place to live.<sup>15</sup> After 1851 the population increased enormously to reach 12,101 in 1861.<sup>16</sup> A growing proportion of the inhabitants was working class including many people in the building trade and in domestic service.

By 1867, when the Butlers had just moved into No. 55 De Beauvoir Road, a change was beginning to be noticeable in the social structure. Labourers, cabdrivers and railway porters moved in, the middle classes moved out.<sup>17</sup> The trend tended to accelerate towards the close of the nineteenth century because De Beauvoir Town inhabitants were inclined to move on: the place was a temporary stop on the way to more desirable suburbs. By 1900 the population was almost entirely working class, with areas of poverty on the perimeters of the town along Hertford and Tottenham Roads.<sup>18</sup> As the vicar of St. Peter's Church wrote as early

as 1886:-

"The parish has undergone a vast change; the character of the population has marvellously altered; houses once occupied by a single family are let out in tenements; families live in one room in many parts."<sup>19</sup>

Despite the downward social trend De Beauvoir Town remained a residential area. A straw hat maker's, an artificial flower maker's, a whiting works and a dust contractor's were the only industries within the parish boundaries,<sup>20</sup> but nearby Hackney Wick was heavily industrialised. There jute, soap, matches, celluloid and dyeing works were established in the 1860's and 1870's, attracted by good communications (by water and rail) and by cheap land.<sup>21</sup> There was a dock area along the Regent's Canal and an iron and brass foundry on the east bank of the Kingsland Basin.<sup>22</sup> The proximity of such heavy industry meant that the atmosphere in that part of London was heavily polluted.

Light industry such as clothing, footwear and furniture manufacture existed in other parts of the East End. Conditions of poverty and squalor in the slop trade (clothes making) were such as to provoke a public outcry when in 1850 The Morning Chronicle exposed the abuses.<sup>23</sup> It was not until the early twentieth century that workshop conditions were improved and minimum wages were fixed.<sup>24</sup>

The Butler family, like many middle class Victorians, were not indifferent to the poverty and distress in the East End districts bordering on De Beauvoir Town. All the Butler brothers spent much of their free time in voluntary service. As Quakers they inherited a tradition of practical philanthropy and humanitarian service. As Quakers influenced by the Evangelical movement they placed emphasis on the need to bring everyone into a personal relationship with God. Religious revival affected Christians inside and outside the established

church and prompted the development of a social conscience which expressed itself in efforts to improve the lot of the poor.<sup>25</sup> The Society of Friends was most strongly influenced by the Evangelical movement between c. 1830 and c. 1885.<sup>26</sup> The support given by Friends to philanthropic movements was quite disproportionate to their small numbers. They were in the vanguard of movements for penal reform, for better treatment of the insane and for the abolition of slavery.

Admirable though much of this philanthropic activity was, the workers themselves sometimes failed to see the wood for the trees. As J.S. Fry, himself a philanthropist and a Quaker, put it:

"... All this machinery, itself, may absorb our thoughts and energies, and distract them from the real plodding work, the actual struggle with evil."<sup>27</sup>

Charitable works provided a mechanism by which the rich could assuage their guilt about the poor and at the same time ensure their own salvation. Apart from eternal rewards more earthly ones in the form of recognition awaited the philanthropist: Elizabeth Fry's reputation was almost world-wide. Charities provided an outlet for the talents of women, especially the single, the childless and the widowed.

At one level, according to the thesis of Desmond Bowen, charitable activities helped to preserve the social status quo: by giving the poor a little material aid philanthropists worked to prevent class warfare and revolution.<sup>28</sup> Their motives were thus partly self-interested. As Sharp has suggested, the belief that poverty was due to laziness, and a conviction of social and moral superiority on the part of the givers tended to provoke a generalised but unfocussed resentment against the establishment.<sup>29</sup> S.G. Checkland has mentioned the "drabness" of middle class aid, based as it was on the fear that the poor might enjoy that aid and therefore the problem might thereby be exacerbated. Only when

government began to recognise the value of professionally trained investigators using scientific procedures; only when government began to see the need to enlist the aid of working class initiative; only then were some of the barriers to social improvement removed.<sup>30</sup>

There can be no doubt that the Butlers regarded service to the poor simply as part of their Christian duty and were unaware of any less worthy motives. James Butler and his brothers were deeply involved in the work of the Bedford Institute, Wheeler Street, Spitalfields. "The Bedford" as the Butlers called it was a large school-like building completed in the mid-1860's and financed by the Society of Friends. The building was designed by the architect William Beck of 33 Finsbury Circus.<sup>31</sup> The Bedford Institute was the scene of several educational and philanthropic activities initiated by the Society of Friends for missionary work among the local largely Jewish population. A night school met there on Tuesdays and Thursdays. There is no direct evidence that James Butler was actively involved in the night school but he was deeply committed to the other two Bedford Institute activities, the Sunday School and temperance work.

John and Joseph Butler taught classes of children over thirteen in the Sunday School; James's class was for "juniors" who met on Sunday afternoons in the basement of the Bedford Institute, in rooms poorly lit and badly ventilated. Joseph thought that the unhealthy conditions of the basement might have contributed to the development of James's illness.<sup>32</sup>

The three eldest Butler brothers regularly attended Sunday School Conferences, occasionally as part of their summer holidays. In 1874 they went to a conference in Darlington and afterwards toured Scotland.<sup>33</sup> The following year (1875) James himself delivered a paper at

the Bedford Institute on special evangelistic services for children.<sup>34</sup>

James Butler's temperance work at the Bedford Institute was also directed at children. He was the leader of a Band of Hope which was divided into a junior and a senior section and met on Wednesday evenings. Butler belonged to an international quasi-Masonic temperance society called the Independent Order of Good Templars. The I.O.G.T., as it was called for short, had been founded in 1851 in Utica, New York by a temperance worker called Coon.<sup>35</sup> The first English Good Templar local society or lodge met in Birmingham in September 1868. According to Crespi<sup>36</sup> some four to five thousand lodges existed in England about a decade later.

As a member of the Independent Order of Good Templars Butler was a teetotalter and pledged both to spread the gospel of total abstinence and to campaign for the suppression of the trade in intoxicating liquor. Committed teetotalters like Butler were often involved in the juvenile temperance work of the Band of Hope which was part educative and part recreational.<sup>37</sup>

A consuming interest in educational matters and in practical missionary work among the underprivileged was not unexpected in a product of Quaker education such as Butler. The importance of service to one's fellow man was stressed at Friends' schools and regarded as secondary only to religious duties. Children at Friends' schools were expected to take a share in domestic chores as a first step towards the life of service which was the Quaker ideal.

John, Joseph and James Butler were sent for a few years to a small boarding school at Portishead near Bristol, a school run by their father's cousin Miss Mary Ann Norman.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps their parents disapproved of the school because the boys attended an Anglican church

while they were there. At any rate, thereafter all the Butler children except Emily were sent to the Friends' School, Park Lane, Croydon, one of several boarding schools which existed to provide higher education on specifically Quaker lines for Friends' children. James Butler was a pupil there from 1863 to 1869.<sup>39</sup> In his time there were between seventy and seventy-five boys and sixty to seventy girls housed in two blocks separated by the residence of the Superintendent, Mr. William Robinson. Boys and girls were kept apart except for a brief period after breakfast when brothers, sisters and first cousins were allowed to meet for a supervised walk. Discipline was tight, the hours long, the holidays restricted to a few weeks twice a year: small wonder that the influence of Quaker schooling was so lasting. In this respect it is interesting to note that James Butler's own children, Ernest and Mary, were sent to Sidcot Friends' School<sup>40</sup> where their grandmother Mary Butler had been educated. Of James Butler's seven children they were the only ones to retain more than a passing interest in Quaker affairs.

Quaker views about the value of education altered radically during the course of the nineteenth century. In the early 1900's many Quakers believed that religious education on a regular basis was a denial of divine inspiration, and there were grave reservations about the kinds of learning which were appropriate or suitable for young Quakers in the Society's schools. In fact in the course of the century the curricula offered in these schools broadened to include science subjects and even music, a change parallel to the movement towards greater social involvement of the Society itself.

The earliest of the Quaker boarding schools was Ackworth School, near Pontefract, Yorkshire. Ackworth was founded in 1779 for the children of Friends "not in affluence".<sup>41</sup> Croydon Friends' School where the Butlers went had existed in embryo form alongside a Quaker

workhouse in Clerkenwell since 1702. The school functioned in Islington between 1786 and 1825. A reorganisation took place in 1811. In that year the school was reformed so that the boarding system and indeed the whole educational policy closely resembled Ackworth's. The school was moved to Croydon in 1825 where it remained until 1879. In 1879 Croydon school was transferred to Saffron Walden, Essex.<sup>42</sup>

Ackworth and Croydon were not the only Friends' schools. Several others were founded in the nineteenth century. Some placed emphasis on industrial training, others, like Bootham Friends' School, York (founded 1823), were organised on public school lines. In 1879 a Friends' conference on education decided that the teachers in the Society's schools should receive more formal training so that such schools could compete more effectively with other private schools and offer an equivalent or higher standard of education. An inspection of Friends' schools in 1905 revealed that they no longer catered for the children of the poor, or exclusively for Quaker children either. Increased fees and higher educational standards had made the Friends' schools much more like other independent educational institutions.<sup>43</sup>

The pattern of Friends' religious training followed that of Friends' general education. Though the Society had supported the Committees of the earliest Sunday Schools which were founded in the late eighteenth century for illiterate poor children, Quakers came late into the field of Sunday School work of their own. Quaker First Day (Sunday) Schools aimed to give basic reading and religious instruction to the uneducated poor, both children and adults. The teachers were usually young Friends like Butler himself. In 1851 there were only 35 First Day Schools out of a total of 23,137 Sunday Schools in England; but between 1849 and 1899 the number of Quaker Sunday scholars rose from under 5000 to over 45,000.<sup>44</sup> The Friends First Day School Association was formed

in 1847. The Association arranged annual meetings and occasional conferences, and issued annual reports. Butler and his brothers attended one such conference in 1874.<sup>45</sup> From a position of doubt about the value of religious education as such, Quaker ideas changed, so that the First Day Schools by the 1870's catered as much for non-Quakers as for the children of Friends.

The Friends' First Day Schools were linked with Friends' Adult Schools, part of a widespread movement for adult education which provided instruction in reading, writing and religious knowledge for urban workers. The first adult school was founded in Nottingham in 1798 and the movement developed in the course of the nineteenth century to embrace a variety of schemes aimed at self-help and self improvement for members, such as insurance and library facilities. Adult schools, many of which functioned on Sundays, became part church and part club. They offered not only Bible lessons, singing and sermons, but also lectures on secular subjects and even outings. From the beginning the Quaker influence had been paramount. Like many philanthropists, the promoters of education for the poor hoped ultimately to produce a better society and at the same time avoid the dangers of violent revolution.<sup>46</sup>

One of the most distressing features of the lives of those with whom Butler came in contact at the Bedford Institute was the prevalence of drunkenness. For the London poor, drunkenness was a form of escape from an existence otherwise almost intolerable, but, to many concerned Victorians, reform of the drinking habits of the poor seemed not only urgently necessary but would lead to the eradication of a whole gamut of social evils.

To modern minds the activities of temperance reformers may seem more distant and less comprehensible than other Victorian concerns because

social attitudes towards, and understanding of, alcoholism and drunkenness have changed so radically. Even the terminology raises difficulties. "Drink" in the nineteenth century was a pejorative term and meant a variety of intoxicating alcoholic beverages from beer to spirits. Even "temperance" often meant not moderation or restraint but total abstinence or teetotalism.

Nevertheless, according to Herbert Butterfield, it is part of the historian's task to point out the "unlikenesses between past and present."<sup>47</sup> Temperance is a useful example.

The earliest temperance societies had been founded in America: in Saratoga in 1808 and in Massachusetts in 1813. In the 1830's the temperance movement spread in England<sup>48</sup> especially in Yorkshire and Lancashire where there were 127 societies claiming a membership of 23,000. One group of temperance societies belonged to the Independent Order of Good Templars which had been started in Birmingham in 1868.<sup>49</sup> Members of the Independent Order of Good Templars had to be teetotal. They belonged to a local lodge which met weekly for about two hours. Local lodges were controlled by up to 14 officials elected quarterly under a chairman, the Worthy Chief Templar. Secrecy, passwords, regalia and initiations were characteristic of lodge activities. A typical lodge meeting began with an introductory prayer and included a business meeting and possibly a lecture or debate. The Independent Order of Good Templars had obvious similarities with Freemasonry, and with some Friendly Societies, a few of which adopted a temperance platform.<sup>50</sup> As Gosden has pointed out the Friendly Societies and organisations similar to them provided a form of protection for industrial workers who were politically powerless.<sup>51</sup>

The activities of temperance reformers were directed at a major social problem. In 1830 the government temporarily removed the tax on

beer. Under the Beerhouse Act any householder could open a beershop without a licence if he paid a 2 guinea fee. 31,000 new beershops were opened with a predictable increase in drunkenness.<sup>52</sup> Even after 1869 when a licence from a magistrate was necessary to run a public house, consumption of alcohol continued to rise. Consumption reached its highest peak per head in the United Kingdom in the mid-1870's. In 1875 1.30 gallons of spirits per head were drunk and in 1876 34.4 gallons of beer per head.<sup>53</sup> Tax revenue on alcoholic drinks rose from 30.1% of total taxes in 1849 to 43.4% of the total tax income in 1879-80.<sup>54</sup> In the 1880's and 1890's brewery owners like Sir Henry Allsopp and Sir Michael Bass were ennobled.<sup>55</sup> In other words the problem was unrecognised by government and by certain powerful vested interests.

Temperance reformers adopted a three-pronged approach: political pressure, personal abstinence and education. There was a wide diversity of opinion within the temperance movement about what kind of legislation was desirable. Some favoured total prohibition which had been introduced in the state of Maine, U.S.A., in 1851. Others wanted restriction of the very long opening hours of public houses; especially restriction by "local option" by which voters could close public houses in their area by a majority vote.<sup>56</sup> The United Kingdom Alliance, a temperance organisation founded in 1853, campaigned in parliament for permissive legislation. Like the Quakers, many of whom supported the Alliance and became teetotal, the temperance interest in parliament usually supported the Liberal Party. Sir Wilfred Lawson, M.P. for Carlisle, introduced a permissive bill for local option in 1869 and support for the bill prompted the government to introduce its own measure, the Licensing Bill of 1871. The 1871 bill was opposed by both the Alliance and those who had interests in the liquor trade, and was withdrawn. When in 1872 a Licensing Act was passed it had only limited effect. The 1872 Licensing

Act aimed only at reducing the number of liquor licences. Stricter conditions governing the issue of liquor licences were introduced in 1904, but by then political pressure from temperance reformers was considerably weakened.<sup>57</sup>

The temperance reformers failed to distinguish different causes for the ills of society: they thought that all poverty and disease could be cured by eradicating drunkenness. Even their contemporaries pointed out the superficiality of such a view. The Chartist J.R. Stephens said temperance reformers were

"nibbling at the effects and seldom speaking of the cause" of drunkenness.<sup>58</sup>

In 1844 the political theorist Engels condemned temperance reformers for blaming drunkenness on moral irresponsibility and not on prevailing social conditions.<sup>59</sup> Charles Booth in his great social survey of London published 1889-1902, found that illness, unemployment and large families were more likely causes of poverty than drunkenness.<sup>60</sup> For the poor liquor offered an avenue of escape: unfortunately one that only added to their problems.

The temperance movement was closely associated with nonconformity in general and with the Society of Friends in particular. For instance, the London Temperance Society (later the British and Foreign Temperance Society), which first met in June 1831, depended on financial support from Quaker families like the Sturges, Crewdsons, Frys and Gurneys. The treasurer of the London Temperance Society was a Quaker minister called Cornelius Hanbury.<sup>61</sup> In 1871 the Somerset shoe manufacturer James Clark, a Friend, became a supporter of the U.K. Alliance when he saw his workers spending their wages in the liquor shop opposite the factory.

In Harrison's work on the Victorian temperance movement the author

notes some of the defects of the movement.<sup>62</sup> Unaccustomed to the use of political power and lacking in understanding of the process of political decision making, the temperance reformers' parliamentary campaigns were marked by crude propaganda, an unwillingness to compromise and a rejection of the traditional ways of preserving order. The temperance campaigns wasted parliament's time. The reformers failed to make use of research and statistics and failed to realise that prohibition, even if it became law, would be impossible to enforce. They refused to recognise that total abstinence was impossible in a culture in which the use of malt liquor was justified and even applauded as medically beneficial. Harrison detects hypocrisy in the temperance movement's focus on drunkenness as a convenient cloak to cover vices which could not be discussed, and in its contempt for the "rough" poor. Many people suspected that temperance reformers drank in private and pointed to the U.K. Alliance's admission of moderate drinkers to membership as confirmation.

However the picture was not completely negative. Harrison finds value in the movement's positive functions. It provided a basic education in how to transact business, how to address a meeting, how to manage funds. It tried to bridge the gap between the "rough" and the "respectable" poor. People could cross that gap by means of a teetotal conversion analogous to a religious conversion experience, and celebrate a new social status with badges, regalia and teetotal processions. The temperance movement opened the way to a wider cultural experience through its peripatetic lecturers. The temperance movement taught society that the prevailing level of drunkenness was not acceptable. The movement was unique in promoting what Harrison calls "dietary freedom"; for ginger beer, soda water, lemonade, cocoa, tea and coffee all became socially acceptable beverages; indeed the tea meeting became a widespread social

function in temperance circles.

The juvenile branch of the temperance movement was the Band of Hope<sup>63</sup> which concentrated on the educative aspect of temperance. Band of Hope leaders were committed teetotalers who tried to provide for working class children not only a form of respectable recreation but also a new cultural identity. The Band of Hope aimed at individual moral reform through self-help. The movement changed with time. By the end of the nineteenth century the emphasis was on the goal of a socially adjusted working community rather than on individual economic heroes.

The Band of Hope movement was founded in Leeds in 1847 by a Baptist minister called Jabez Tunnicliff and Mrs. Anne Jane Carlile, an Irish travelling lecturer. They were assisted by a Ladies Committee of the Leeds Temperance Society.<sup>64</sup> The term "Band of Hope" was used to describe various youth groups for children aged six to twelve within the temperance movement, sponsored by secular societies and also by churches, including the Society of Friends.

The early Bands were very informal: a group of children would be invited to a house or school room to sing a temperance song, read a passage from the Bible and hear a short talk on the evils of drink.<sup>65</sup> The Bradford Band of Hope Union, an umbrella organisation founded in 1851, served as a model for others, such as the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union (Manchester) and the London Band of Hope Union (London). There was some opposition between northern and southern unions: the London one reflected its middle-class control and objected to the use of northern dialect and cultural patterns such as were found in Bradford and Leeds.<sup>66</sup>

In the 1860's and 1870's the Band of Hope tried to attract members by offering lantern slide shows, special speakers and entertainments as well as prayers, hymns and temperance talks.<sup>67</sup> It tried to substitute

for a street society in which children were early introduced to gambling and drinking a new teetotal world view with temperance heroes such as Joseph Livesey, the pioneer temperance reformer from Preston, and temperance histories with links between Biblical and modern times. There were several temperance catechisms with fifty-two questions (one for each week) to be answered and memorized by the children. The message was simple: drink was the source of all evil.<sup>68</sup>

A similar message was conveyed in temperance literature. Mrs. C.L. Balfour's Morning Dewdrops, published in 1853, became something of a textbook, and Mrs. Henry Wood's Danesbury House (1860), a novel with a temperance theme, had sold 304,000 copies by 1892. The Band of Hope Review which first appeared in 1851 was the official organ of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union which was London-based. It promoted self-help, thrift, patriotism, hard work and cleanliness as well as temperance.<sup>69</sup>

The Band of Hope movement, like the Sunday school organisation, was less successful in the very poor slums despite the hope of the Methodist minister the Rev. Charles Garrett that a "whole army of Sunday scholars" would be produced for mission work at home.<sup>70</sup> Children from slum areas lacked the basic discipline necessary to plan ahead or even to sit still for the duration of the meeting.<sup>71</sup> James Butler and the other teachers at the Bedford Institute had to evict badly behaved boys from their classes.<sup>72</sup>

While the Band of Hope failed to produce the sweeping social reform its promoters hoped for, it did help to shape a new attitude towards children. Instead of smaller and weaker workers in the industrial machine children came to be regarded as a separate group with special rights, including the right to play.<sup>73</sup> While on the one hand the reformers did not scruple to use children as weapons in the anti-drink

battle - for the Bands of Hope were encouraged to march in political demonstrations - on the other hand they did help to create a new view of the social importance of children. Modern educational theory which seeks to combine useful learning with play for little children owes something to the reforming recreational ideas behind the Band of Hope.

Butler's Band of Hope and Sunday School activities at the Bedford Institute took place during his free time at the weekend and in the evenings. His working hours were spent at Poole's, his father's firm. He left school in 1869 and was apprenticed at Poole's in November 1870 to learn all aspects of the watch maker's craft as well as something of bookkeeping and business management. He had barely completed his apprenticeship before he fell ill in the spring of 1876.

In the early 1870's all the family lived at home. John and Joseph were employed by a Quaker firm, an engineering concern called Tangye Brothers and Holman of 10 Laurence Pountney Lane, Cannon Street in the City. Together with their father the three brothers commuted daily by train. The hours at Poole's were long: 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. After work James Butler attended evening classes at City of London College where he learnt French and German and possibly bookkeeping.<sup>74</sup>

The years just before James Butler fell ill were a period of adjustment for the family as they recovered from the shock of Mary's death. On 20 June 1869 the eldest Butler daughter died just eleven days after her thirteenth birthday.<sup>75</sup> Mary's death occurred at school after a short illness. She was buried in the Friends' Burial Ground close to the school. Her family were deeply affected and missed her sorely, particularly her mother who had hoped for her companionship and help at home. Eliza filled that role five years later. For James himself Mary's death produced a period of spiritual turmoil which he

afterwards regarded as a conversion experience.<sup>76</sup>

A conversion experience was understood in nonconformist circles to be a normal stage in spiritual development.<sup>77</sup> That Butler recorded such an experience places him firmly within the Dissenting tradition which is rich in the history of man's personal relationship with his Creator. The founder of the Society of Friends, George Fox (1624-1691) himself recorded a mystical experience which he regarded as the culmination of a six year search for God. He was twenty-two years old at the time (1647). For Fox, the son of a Leicestershire weaver, knowledge of God was the result of the work of the Holy Spirit present as the "Seed of God" in everyone.<sup>78</sup> Fox regarded the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit as more important than existing churches, than their rites and ministers, even than the Bible itself. Since all men possessed the "Seed of God" social ranks and distinctions did not exist for Fox. He opposed church rates and tithes, the swearing of oaths, and warfare, on grounds of conscience. Another early Friend whose ideas exercised a profound influence was Robert Barclay whose Apology (1676) expounded the doctrine of the "Light Within" by which God reveals Himself in every heart.<sup>79</sup>

George Fox's ideas were regarded as anti-social and politically dangerous, so that many of his followers, the early Friends, were penalised for their beliefs by imprisonment, fines and confiscations of property. In 1675 a committee of Friends, the Meeting for Sufferings, was set up to collect information and administer aid.<sup>80</sup>

The following century saw a change in public attitudes towards Friends. Following a decision of the Attorney General in 1776 they could be excused from military service.<sup>81</sup> Gradually Friends came to be respected for their honesty, thrift and hard work. By the early nineteenth century, so far from being regarded as a threat to the

established order on the one hand, or a persecuted minority on the other, Friends had started on the road towards greater involvement in the world. They began with philanthropy, influenced by the Evangelical movement, which attracted many of their members.

By the middle years of the century old traditions among the Quakers were frequently criticized by the reforming party within the Society. In 1859 John Stephenson Rowntree of York published a prize winning essay on Quakerism past and present<sup>82</sup> in which he criticized the Society for isolating itself in the past, for its exclusive regulations and its refusal to change. He demanded modernisation in dress and in speech, the right to teach religion to children and greater involvement in society.

In fact the process of change was already well under way. Though Joseph John Gurney had found the holding of political office incompatible with his Quaker convictions and refused the offer of a parliamentary seat in 1833, John Bright ten years later campaigned vigorously in the House of Commons for the repeal of the Corn Laws.<sup>83</sup> Bright made public office not only respectable but even laudable for Friends.

Most Friends who were M.P's supported the Whigs and then the Liberals in parliament until the Home Rule crisis of 1886, but they were disunited on issues such as Free Trade and temperance legislation.<sup>84</sup> Political influence behind the scenes is an issue shrouded in obscurity but the Quaker industrialist George Cadbury undoubtedly gave substantial financial support to the Liberal Party in the 1890's. He also aided individual politicians, although the charge that he wielded political power irresponsibly may be overstating the case.<sup>85</sup>

John Bright's brother and two sisters had been expelled from the Society or "disowned" for marrying non-Quakers.<sup>86</sup> By 1859 this regulation had been relaxed, largely due to the work of Joseph Rowntree

(1801-1859),<sup>87</sup> Quaker grocer and philanthropist, and the father of J.S. Rowntree, the writer of the essay calling for modernisation. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the requirements to wear plain dress, to keep hats on indoors, to use archaic language like "First Day" for Sunday and "thee" for you had very largely fallen into disuse.

The trend away from peculiarities or distinguishing characteristics was felt in all aspects of the Society's activities including worship. Nevertheless the salient feature of Quaker worship - silence - was retained despite a greater freedom to participate and the use of less stylised language. Theoretically anyone was free to speak at a Quaker meeting for worship but only if he or she had been spiritually inspired. An official known as the Elder had the duty of encouraging speakers who were "in the life" and discouraging those not "savoury".<sup>88</sup> Usually the meeting would be held in a Meeting House, a plain building, often square, or in a completely plain room. The elders and ministers sat on a raised platform. The long periods of silence could be oppressive, especially for children or the recently converted.<sup>89</sup>

Under the influence of revivalist meetings such as those of Moody and Sankey,<sup>90</sup> who visited England in 1873, similar missionary and evangelistic services called General Meetings were occasionally held.<sup>91</sup>

Quaker ministers were those with recognised divinely inspired powers. They were not professionally trained or paid but had the right to travel on preaching missions. Such a ministry was exercised by James Backhouse who visited South Africa in 1839 and Isaac Sharp and his associates whose world tour in the 1870's included South Africa.<sup>92</sup> James Butler actually met Sharp twice during Sharp's South African visit.<sup>93</sup> Sharp's ministry convinced Butler's friend Robert Wilkie that he should remain a Quaker, as Wilkie afterwards testified.<sup>94</sup>

Sharp's mission, like those of others who made journeys abroad, was paid for by Friends in England and sanctioned by Yearly Meeting.<sup>95</sup>

Yearly Meeting was the annual gathering of Friends for deciding policy and changing rules. An individual Friend would belong to a Preparative Meeting of his local congregation, a Monthly Meeting which covered several congregations, a Quarterly Meeting which included a larger geographical area, and Yearly Meeting. The Monthly Meeting had local executive functions such as the collection and administration of funds and the registration of births and deaths. It elected representatives to Quarterly Meeting which in turn sent representatives to Yearly Meeting. Yearly Meeting met towards the end of May at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London.<sup>96</sup> The executive of Yearly Meeting was the Meeting for Sufferings, which had the power to appoint subcommittees and raise and administer funds for special purposes. The Meeting for Sufferings had oversight of Quakers abroad. In 1903 a war relief work committee appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings sent Lawrence Richardson of Newcastle-upon-Tyne to investigate postwar conditions in South Africa with a view to the best distribution of the Quaker War Relief Fund. Richardson's companion on that tour of investigation was James Butler.<sup>97</sup> The Yearly Meeting also had an important social purpose: cementing old relationships, making new ones and generally unifying the Society.

At the end of the nineteenth century the Society remained an exclusive one despite the disappearance of the "peculiarities". Membership remained small: 17,476 people were listed as Friends in 1901 compared with 78,087 members of the Presbyterian Church of England and 1,945,000 Easter Day communicants of the Church of England.<sup>98</sup> With the proviso that such figures have their limitations they do give some indication of the relative strength of three church groups.

Contemporaries found praiseworthy qualities within the Society's

membership such as calmness and generosity, and qualities to blame such as complacency and avarice. In the 1890's philanthropy was still a major concern, as was mission and educational work. The Society was led by well educated experienced business and professional men. Quakers were respected for their integrity in business affairs and their pacifist convictions. The flexibility of their organisation, working as it did through small but efficient committees and supported by Quaker periodicals like The Friend enabled the Society to undertake humanitarian work wherever it was needed.<sup>99</sup> Quakers took a full part in local and national politics.<sup>100</sup> No longer a small isolationist sect hedging itself from contact with a contaminating world, the Society was fully and fruitfully involved in that world. James Butler's own contribution to war relief work as well as his record as a Quaker newspaper editor signified not only the Society's willingness to provide material aid but also pointed to the value of individual Quaker initiative. In his own way Butler was a Quaker pioneer.

Butler's breakdown in health occurred early in 1876. His illness was probably tuberculosis, a disease from which his grandfather John Butler had died and from which his father had suffered as a child.<sup>101</sup> The polluted environment of Hackney may have been a factor in the onset of the illness as well as the hours spent in the basement of the Bedford Institute. Butler was taken to see the family doctor, Buxton Shillito of 34 Finsbury Circus,<sup>102</sup> who referred him to a specialist, Dr. Thomas Bevill Peacock of St. Thomas' Hospital. Dr. Peacock was a Quaker.<sup>103</sup> On his advice Butler was sent to the country for the summer to his Watts relations at West Hagginton Farm near Ilfracombe.<sup>104</sup> There he began to improve and by October was sufficiently strong to undertake the voyage to South Africa which medical opinion advised. Thus it was he embarked on the Dunrobin Castle<sup>105</sup> and began the diary which told the story of his new life.

Footnotes to Introduction

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PART I

1. Dunrobin Castle

Flag: United Kingdom  
 Line: The Colonial Mail Line (Donald Currie's)  
 Route: London-Dartmouth-Cape Town  
 Built: 1875 Scotland (R. Napier, Glasgow)  
 Tonnage: 2820 tons  
 Capacity: 100 first-class and 50 second-class passengers.

The Dunrobin Castle was the first Currie steamer built specially for the Cape service to take advantage of the mail contract of 1876 in which Donald Currie seemed certain to secure a share. The Dunrobin Castle incorporated several improvements in design. On her maiden voyage she set up a speed record and became known as a "flyer". In the Zulu war of 1879 news of the disaster at Isandhlwana (see fn. 28 p 369) reached England at the earliest possible moment because the Dunrobin Castle left Cape Town earlier than scheduled. She was transferred to the "intermediate" service in 1883. In 1893 she was sold to R. Camboul, a French ship-owner, and was finally scrapped in 1914 at Genoa.

- Marischal Murray: Union Castle Chronicle 1853-1953 London 1953 p 77, 359, 28 (photograph).
- Marischal Murray: Ships and South Africa Oxford 1933 p 53, 168, 284.

2. Census Return of 1871. Letter S.C. Tongue to J.M. Garner dated 29 Sept. 1981 with enclosed transcript of the Census Return.
3. B.P., PR 3500/6; Typescript copy of a letter Cephas Butler to John Butler, 24 Sept. 1917 p 3.
4. Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 15, 52 (photographs) Hereafter cited as Guy Butler: Karoo Morning.  
B.P.; PR 3502/1; Butler, Watts and Challacombe family trees.
5. B.P.; PR 3500/6; Notes by Eliza Butler on the life of Philip John Butler p 3.
6. B.P.; PR 3500/6; Letter from Joseph and William Butler to their brothers and sisters, dated 26 July 1919.
7. B.P.; PR 3500/5; Typescript: Ilfracombe Re-visited 1915, by William Butler.

8. B.P.; PR 3502/1; Butler, Watts and Challacombe family trees.
9. B.P.; PR 3502/3; Exercise book dated 12 Month 1840.
10. B.P.; PR 3502/1; Butler, Watts and Challacombe family trees. Photographs of Philip John and Mary Butler appear in Guy Butler: Karoo Morning p 52.
11. B.P.; PR 3481/1; Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler, p 6.
12. Guy Butler: Karoo Morning p 15.
13. J. Bartholomew (ed.): The Times Atlas of the World Comprehensive Edition London 1980 Plate 55, 56.
14. Information on De Beauvoir Town comes from Stuart Weir: "The De Beauvoir Town in Hackney" in The Journal of the London Society December 1968 p 38-44; and John Sharp: The Founding and Development of a Victorian City Parish: St. Peter's De Beauvoir Town 1841-1901 Unpublished M.Th. thesis University of London 1976. Hereafter cited as Sharp: Victorian Parish.
15. Sharp: Victorian Parish p 12-13.
16. Sharp: Victorian Parish p 13.
17. Sharp: Victorian Parish p 15. Sharp quotes a letter to Richard Benyon from a local member of St. Peter's Church written in 1867:
 

"Most of the inhabitants are respectable people, chiefly clerks in Banks and other City establishments, but in the outskirts of the district are many poor such as labourers, cab and omnibus drivers, railway porters, and such like, driven into this district as a result of demolitions following the railway boom."
18. The Relieving Officer of De Beauvoir Town provided weekly assistance to about 220 people. Sharp: Victorian Parish p 34, 37-38.
19. Quoted in Sharp: Victorian Parish p 33, 46.
20. Sharp: Victorian Parish p 35.

21. F. Sheppard: London 1808-1870: The Infernal Wen London 1971 p 164 Hereafter Sheppard: London 1808-1870.
22. See map p 376.
23. Sheppard: London 1808-1870 p 173.
24. Sheppard: London 1808-1870 p 173-174. In 1888-9 a Parliamentary Select Committee investigated the whole slop trade system. Legislation to improve conditions was passed in 1901 and 1909.
25. D. Bowen: The Idea of the Victorian Church Montreal 1968 p 290. Bowen cites the example of the Evangelical clergyman the Rev. W.W. Champneys who not only ministered to the spiritual and physical needs of his Whitechapel parishioners for thirty years but persuaded the gentry to assist him. Hereafter: D. Bowen: Victorian Church.
26. Elizabeth Isichei: Victorian Quakers Oxford 1970 p 8 ff. Hereafter: Isichei: Victorian Quakers.
27. Quoted in Isichei: Victorian Quakers p 215.
28. D. Bowen: Victorian Church p 259.
29. Sharp: Victorian Parish p 59.
30. S.G. Checkland: The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885 London 1964 p 310-311. Hereafter Checkland: Industrial Society.
31. B.P.; PR 3486; Engraving of the Bedford Institute; PR 3481/1; Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler, p 8-10.
32. B.P.; PR 3481/1; Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler p 12.
33. B.P.; PR 3501/4; Diary and notebook of Joseph Butler 1872-1932, entries for 1-18 Aug. 1874, summer holiday, 1874.
34. B.P.; PR 3485/1; Pamphlet dated 4 Dec. 1875.

35. Encyclopaedia Britannica Micropaedia 15th edition, Chicago 1979  
Vol.IX p 877.  
A.J.H. Crespi: "The Good Templars" in Colburn's New Monthly Magazine Vol.155 n.d. but probably c.1875, p 508-520.  
Hereafter Crespi: The Good Templars.
36. Crespi: The Good Templars p 513.
37. See below p 17-19.
38. B.P.; PR 3481/1; Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler, p 2-3.
39. B.P.; PR 3481/1; Pamphlet by Joseph Butler, p 4.
40. Guy Butler: Karoo Morning p 68. Ernest and Mary Butler were at Sidcot from 1897 to 1900.
41. W.A.C. Stewart: Progressives and Radicals in English Education 1750-1970 New Jersey 1972 p 177. Hereafter Stewart: Progressives and Radicals.
42. Stewart: Progressives and Radicals p 177-178.
43. Stewart: Progressives and Radicals p 178-183.
44. Isichei: Victorian Quakers p 259, chart on p 262.
45. B.P.; PR 3501/4; Diary and notebook of Joseph Butler 1872-1932, entries for 1-18 Aug. 1874. At this conference an observer satirized the comfortable circumstances of several delegates:
- "Carriages at command,  
Servants a goodly band,  
Foot-stools on every hand,  
This is the cross bearing."
- Quoted in Isichei: Victorian Quakers p 264 and fn. 4.
46. Isichei: Victorian Quakers p 258-279. For further detail see Ernest Champness: Adult Schools. A Study in Pioneering Wallington Surrey 1941 and  
M.G. Currie Martin: The Adult School Movement. Its origin and development London 1924.

47. Quoted in B. Harrison: Drink and the Victorians. The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872 London 1971 p 23.  
Hereafter Harrison: Drink and the Victorians.
48. Encyclopaedia Britannica Micropaedia 15th edition Chicago 1979 Vol.IX p 877.
49. See p 9 above; Crespi: The Good Templars, p 512-520.
50. One was the Independent Order of Rechabites which was affiliated to the Oddfellows. In 1873 the Rechabites claimed a membership of 9000. - P.H.J.H. Gosden: The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875 Manchester 1961 p 125. Hereafter Gosden: Friendly Societies.
51. Gosden: Friendly Societies p 7.
52. Checkland: Industrial Society p 234.
53. D. Read: England 1868-1914 London 1979 p 109.  
Hereafter Read: England 1868-1914.
54. Harrison: Drink and the Victorians p 346.
55. Checkland: Industrial Society p 289.
56. Read: England 1868-1914 p 111.
57. Read: England 1868-1914 p 111-112.
58. Harrison: Drink and the Victorians p 391.
59. Harrison: Drink and the Victorians p 391-392.
60. Read: England 1868-1914 p 112.
61. Harrison: Drink and the Victorians p 107.
62. Harrison: Drink and the Victorians p 355-368.

63. Information on the Band of Hope is taken from Lilian L. Shiman: "The Band of Hope movement: Respectable Recreation for working-class children," in Victorian Studies Vol.XVIII No. 1 September 1973 p 49-74. Hereafter Shiman: Band of Hope.
64. Shiman: Band of Hope p 51-53.
65. Band of Hope Review, November 1852. Quoted in Shiman: Band of Hope p 52.
66. Shiman: Band of Hope p 54-55.
67. Shiman: Band of Hope p 54.
68. Shiman: Band of Hope p 57.
69. Shiman: Band of Hope p 61-66.
70. Shiman: Band of Hope p 56.
71. Shiman: Band of Hope p 67.
72. B.P.; PR 3481/1; Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler p 9.
73. Shiman: Band of Hope p 51, 74.
74. B.P.; PR 3481/1; Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler, p 10.
75. B.P.; PR 3500/3; memorial card; PR 3481/1; Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler, p 6.
76. Jim's Journal 20 June 1877.
77. The obituary notices of Wesleyan ministers recorded in the Minutes of the Conference usually mention that their subject "was converted" or "saw the light" at an early age. See for example the obituary of the Rev. John Wilson in the Minutes of the South African Conference 1892 p 6 and that of the Rev. John Priestley in the Minutes of the British Conference 1906 p 136.

78. W.C. Braithwaite: The beginnings of Quakerism 2nd edition Cambridge 1961 p 34-36.
79. Isichei: Victorian Quakers p 16.
80. M.E. Hirst: The Quakers in Peace and War New York 1972 p 74 fn. 2. Hereafter Hirst: Quakers in peace and war.
81. Hirst: Quakers in peace and war p 205-206.
82. O. Chadwick: The Victorian Church London 1966 p 434. Hereafter Chadwick: The Victorian Church.
83. Hirst: Quakers in peace and war p 273. Chadwick: The Victorian Church p 424.
84. Isichei: Victorian Quakers p 205.
85. Isichei: Victorian Quakers p 208-211.
86. Chadwick: The Victorian Church p 432.
87. A. Vernon: A Quaker Business Man. The Life of Joseph Rowntree, 1836-1925, London, 1958, p 55.
88. Isichei: Victorian Quakers p 94.
89. Chadwick: The Victorian Church p 424 points out that silence was no match for "lusty Methodist hymnody".
90. Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899) and Ira David Sankey (1840-1908) made three successful evangelistic tours of the United Kingdom: in 1873-1875, in 1881-1883 and in 1891-1892, besides extensive travels in the United States. Moody's preaching and Sankey's music inspired widespread religious revival. Moody encouraged educational, mission and youth work in the U.S.A. Sankey was the composer of numerous hymns and hymn tunes and the compiler of several hymn collections. The evangelistic tours were financed by voluntary contributions and the income from the hymn books, especially Moody and Sankey: Sacred Songs and Solos (1873) and Gospel Hymns (1875).
  - Who was Who 1897-1916 London 1920 p 626-627
  - C. Van Doren (ed.): Webster's American Biographies Springfield, Massachusetts 1974 p 731-732.

91. Isichei: Victorian Quakers p 93.
92. F.A. Budge: Isaac Sharp, An apostle of the nineteenth century  
London 1899 p 81 ff
93. Jim's Journal 16, 17, 24 March 1879.
94. Emily Butler Fear: Record of Quaker Activities in South Africa  
Johannesburg 1938. Unpublished typescript lodged with the  
Friends' Yearly Meeting Committee, p 60.
95. Isichei: Victorian Quakers p 96-97. The chapter on Quaker  
organisation p 68-110 contains much useful information.
96. Chadwick: The Victorian Church p 427.
97. A.M. Davey (ed.): Lawrence Richardson Selected Correspondence  
1902-1903 V.R.S. Second Series No. 8 Cape Town 1977 p 5-6,  
201-205. Hereafter Davey: Lawrence Richardson.
98. Figures quoted in Read: England 1868-1914 p 421.
99. Davey: Lawrence Richardson p 1. On the other hand the Quaker  
decision-making process was cumbersome and slow and open to abuse.  
Bright's criticism has a ring of truth:  

"To solve questions merely by what Friends 'feel' is  
to subjugate the reason, and the domain of fact and  
experience, to a delusion; and, it may be, to  
subjugate the course of the Society to the guidance  
not unfrequently of the feeblest heads in it ..."

 Quoted in Chadwick: The Victorian Church p 429.
100. Birmingham had seven Quaker mayors before 1892. Chadwick: The  
Victorian Church p 426.
101. Guy Butler: Karoo Morning p 15.
102. B.P.; PR 3481/1; Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph  
Butler, p 12.

103. B.P.; PR 3485/2, Transcript of a talk, entitled The Quakers, by James Butler, read at Cradock 26 March 1883.  
Newspaper cutting in Jim's Journal Vol.1.
104. B.P.; PR 3502/1; Map in Butler, Watts and Challacombe family trees.
105. See fn. 1 p 26.

PART II

South African Background

The Dunrobin Castle docked in Table Bay on Saturday 11 November 1876 after a voyage of twenty-six days from London. For Butler life on board ship had been very boring since many of the diversions such as dancing or betting on the distance covered in any one day were barred to him as a Quaker. He could not take part in the rather vigorous "Crossing the Line" (Equator) festivities for health reasons. Besides, he had been very sea sick at the start of the voyage.

Butler landed at Cape Town with relief, eager for new experiences in a new country. He had gathered as much information about South Africa as possible from his fellow passengers. As a Quaker Evangelical he took a particular interest in mission work, a subject he was to learn more about once he reached Grahamstown, his destination. Meanwhile he made haste to buy a map of the Cape Colony pieces of which he cut out and glued into his diary.<sup>1</sup>

As a citizen of London, the imperial capital, Butler knew that the Cape Colony and Natal were outposts of the extensive British Empire of Queen Victoria and that both colonies contained settlers of British origin. Young, naïve, idealistic, he was an avid reader of newspapers and periodicals through which he kept himself informed of world events. He brought to the South African scene a fresh, acute, critical, and as far as possible, informed eye. His diary makes interesting comment on contemporary affairs at a time of mounting crisis.

Butler knew that Cape Town was the most important town in South Africa, the place where the Governor of the Colony lived and where parliament held its sessions. Cape Town was the biggest town in the subcontinent. In 1875 its population was estimated at about 33,239, with about 12,001 people living in the surrounding suburbs.<sup>2</sup> Cape Town was a flourishing commercial and administrative centre very conscious of its dignity as the Mother City of the Colony.

Yet the development of local government in Cape Town was slow. Hunt<sup>3</sup> has suggested that the reason for delay was the proximity of the official colonial government which actually inhibited local progress.

The local civic administrative body under the government of the Dutch East India Company was the Burgher Senate. From the establishment of the Burgher Senate in 1796 responsibility for street inspection, control of fire engines, the appointment of watchmen, the listing of householders for tax purposes and oversight of public morals within Cape Town itself fell to the Burgher Senators. In 1799 Cape Town was divided into twenty-five wards each under a Wykmeester appointed by the governor on nomination by the Burgher Senate.<sup>4</sup>

When the British formally took responsibility for the Cape in 1814 they continued the Dutch system of local government. But in 1828 on the advice of a Commission of Enquiry (which had arrived in July 1823 to investigate among other things the deteriorating financial conditions at the Cape), the Landdrosts and Heemraden which formed the backbone of the Dutch system were abolished. Their administrative functions were taken over by Civil Commissioners and their judicial ones by Resident Magistrates.<sup>5</sup> In Cape Town itself new local officials were appointed: the Superintendent of Police and the Collector of Taxes, but they could not function without the advice of one of the Burgher Senators whose services they retained.<sup>6</sup>

Between 1828 and 1836 public demand for more representation at local government level increased. Governor Sir Lowry Cole suggested that some form of popular government should be introduced in towns and villages in order to reduce the pressure on district officials. He hoped that the colonists would learn by "the management of their common concerns" to take over constitutional power at a national level when they were ready to do so.<sup>7</sup> Under Ordinance 9 of 1836 local communities

were permitted to establish Boards of Municipal Commissioners and frame town regulations. Cape Town itself was specifically excluded under Section 53 of the enabling legislation. Until 1840 when a special Ordinance ( No. 1 of 1840) authorized the election of Municipal Commissioners for Cape Town,<sup>8</sup> municipal revenues were paid directly to the government. The Commissioners' duties included the collection of rates and taxes, the management of the pound and the commonage, and the improvement and repair of roads.<sup>9</sup>

After the establishment of the Board of Municipal Commissioners time was needed for the development of experience in local government. In particular, the relationship between the colonial government and the Cape Town Municipal Board was clarified in the conflict which arose in the 1840's between the Board and the Secretary to the Cape colonial government, John Montagu, over market revenues and the Cape Town police.<sup>10</sup> Montagu's attempts to streamline local government in Cape Town were subsequently justified: Cape Town's income from market dues increased appreciably.

In 1861 the Municipal Board was increased to eighteen members. Under Act No. 1 of 1867 Cape Town was incorporated.<sup>11</sup> As an incorporated body the Municipality of Cape Town achieved greater financial independence: it could raise loans and mortgage its property. Standing committees were established to control markets, public works and water affairs.

The system of local government which developed at the Cape in the first half of the nineteenth century was unique. Hunt has pointed to three constituent elements: the Dutch tradition, a popular demand for elective institutions, and the insistence of the British authorities that initiatives towards independence at the local level could not be permitted before central government functioned efficiently.<sup>12</sup>

The Cape experiment in local government pre-dated practice in Britain, although it was in line with imperial constitutional theory. Lord Durham's Report on Canada (1839) recommended that experience in local government should precede the granting of representative institutions.<sup>13</sup>

A representative constitution for the Cape under which a parliament could be established, was passed by the British government in March 1853, despite an agitation demanding a separate government in the Eastern Province. For the next twenty years the electoral returns to the Cape parliament showed how Cape Town dominated the western "party". Even after the constituencies were changed Cape Town members like Saul Solomon represented western views.<sup>14</sup>

Cape Town was the main centre for manufacture and commerce in the 1860's. Wholesale concerns developed a two-way trade: importing manufactured goods and exporting local products like wool and hides. Such wholesalers had agents in Britain and in smaller South African towns where local storekeepers collected the produce.<sup>15</sup> A faster and more frequent steamship service in the 1870's boosted Cape trade. Harbour improvements at Table Bay had been started in the 1840's. A new graving-dock was opened in 1870. The advent of the 'imperial' banks gave Cape entrepreneurs access to the London money market.<sup>16</sup> Commerce in Cape Town, and indeed the whole South African economy, was stimulated by the discovery of diamonds in the hinterland in the late 1860's.

The centre of Cape Town's economic life was the Commercial Exchange, a large hall which had been opened in 1822. Public meetings were held there and local auctioneers conducted their sales from the verandah. The Exchange was demolished in 1892.<sup>17</sup>

Butler had only two weeks in Cape Town. Like other tourists he visited the Public Library,<sup>18</sup> the Botanical Gardens and the South

African Museum. He walked "round the Kloof"<sup>19</sup> and took a train trip to Stellenbosch. When the time came to board the coastal steamer for Port Elizabeth he was not sorry to leave, for he was anxious to settle down in Grahamstown and begin the process of rest and gradual resumption of normal activity which would restore him to health.

Butler could have had little idea of how complex was the situation in which South Africa stood in the mid 1870's. A modern analysis of the political diversity of the subcontinent divides the country into British and non-British South Africa, which may be a helpful starting point.<sup>20</sup> Under the heading British South Africa, Schreuder includes the settler-colonies of the Cape and Natal, and certain territories beyond the Cape borders: Griqualand West, Basutoland and the Transkeian territories,<sup>21</sup> over which the British High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony exercised trusteeship responsibility. Non-British South Africa, according to this classification, included several large black-ruled independent states and the two independent Boer republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

Within British South Africa the Cape Colony was the most advanced: it was more prosperous and had a more organised administration under responsible government<sup>22</sup> than any other state in South Africa. The Cape exhibited expansionist tendencies of its own: colonial officials administered Basutoland and exercised an informal influence beyond the eastern frontier. That influence, reinforced by missionary pressure, resulted in annexation to the Cape of large areas of the Transkeian territories by the end of the nineteenth century.

In the conflict between the demands of British Imperial paramountcy in South Africa, especially the defence of British trading interests<sup>23</sup> and a nascent Cape nationalism lay part of the explanation of the crises

of the late 1870's. De Kiewiet<sup>24</sup> sees the conflict in terms of an incompatibility between imperial and colonial points of view, especially over native policy. Goodfellow stresses the dilemma within British policy: in the difficulty of maintaining paramountcy yet practising economy, the duty to safeguard the black peoples fell from sight.<sup>25</sup>

The Imperial government hoped to create a "local associative empire" ruled by the colonists which would safeguard British interests, save money, and allow the withdrawal both of Imperial troops and of the trusteeship responsibility for the just treatment of the black peoples.<sup>26</sup> That hope lay behind periodic attempts at federation in the 1860's and 1870's,<sup>27</sup> a hope which was burnt up in widespread warfare between 1877 and 1879 on all the frontiers where black and white came into contact. The crucial matter of black-white relationships was neglected to the point that the total extinction of the white-ruled South African states became in 1878 more than a remote possibility. The sad legacy of frontier friction over land, over guns, over labour relationships, was an enduring suspicion and distrust between black and white.

In the new conditions of the 1880's British policy became more aggressively imperialist because of the competitive interest of other European Powers. Schreuder has stressed how far British action in South Africa between 1877 and 1895 was dictated not only from London with an eye on European rivals, but also by men on the spot and local situations. He has shown also how the partition of the subcontinent in the 1880's and 1890's grew out of the older Cape expansionism of the 1870's.<sup>28</sup>

The late 1860's were years of depression<sup>29</sup> and drought in South Africa. The discovery of diamonds<sup>30</sup> in exploitable quantities at the end of the decade in a stony unproductive tract of land on the northern Cape border stimulated the economy in several ways. Diggers flocked

to Griqualand West from all over the world and a sudden large inland market developed to supply the needs of the mining camps. Regular transport services to the diamond fields were established and railway lines were begun to link the rich mines with the ports. Diamonds introduced South Africa's first industrial society and attracted the capital necessary to build a modern credit economy with extensive banking and insurance services.<sup>31</sup>

The question of the ownership of the diamond fields produced the first of the crises which marked the decade of the 1870's. The most important claimants to the diamond fields were the Griquas under chief Nicholas Waterboer, and the two Boer republics. The Griquas, a people of mixed descent from Khoisan (Bushman and Hottentot) from Malay slave, black and white ancestry, had moved into the area on the northern border of the Cape Colony in the 1820's.<sup>32</sup> In 1845 Sir Peregrine Maitland, then the Governor of the Cape, had tried to confirm their land ownership by dividing their territory into alienable and inalienable areas.<sup>33</sup> but even under British rule, some land west of the border of the Orange River Sovereignty was sold. British withdrawal from the areas north of the Orange River meant increasing encroachment from farmers from the Republics during the 1850's. The territory had thus been in dispute for many years before diamonds were discovered there. In September 1870 Waterboer appealed to Great Britain through the High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape. A newly appointed governor, Sir Henry Barkly, reached South Africa in December and visited the diamond fields shortly afterwards. He persuaded all claimants except the Free State to agree to arbitration.<sup>34</sup>

President M.W. Pretorius of the Transvaal mishandled the matter of his country's claims to the diamond fields. He annexed Zeerust and forced a diamond concession through his Volksraad in June 1870.<sup>35</sup>

This antagonised the diggers who set up their own Republic at Klipdrift. Without consulting the Volksraad Pretorius urged some local Tswana chiefs, over whom he claimed jurisdiction, to lay their claims before the Arbitrator, Lieutenant-Governor R.W. Keate of Natal. When Keate gave his judgement in October 1871 the Transvaal claims were rejected in favour of Waterboer's claims, presented by his legal adviser David Arnot. President Pretorius was forced to resign. His successor, Thomas François Burgers, was determined to reverse the Keate Award decision.<sup>36</sup>

Barkly had visited Griqualand West in February 1871. The maintenance of order in the turbulent mining community was in the hands of rival administrations since both the Cape and the Orange Free State had magistrates in the area. Barkly realised that the only way to safeguard Griqua rights in the face of President Brand of the Orange Free State's refusal to submit to any but foreign arbitration (which the British government refused to countenance) was to annex the diamond fields. In October 1871 Griqualand West thus became a Crown Colony and the Griquas British subjects.<sup>37</sup>

Barkly's action deeply offended the Dutch colonists in the Cape and the republics. He had in fact exceeded his instructions, which had authorised annexation only if the Cape were prepared to assume responsibility for Griqualand West<sup>38</sup> - which it was not. Molteno's ministry lacked the resources to control the mining community, nor did they want to become involved in Griqualand West land and labour problems.<sup>39</sup>

Despite the annexation, despite the Keate Award, President Brand of the Orange Free State continued to press his claims to the diamond fields. In March 1876 the Griqualand West Land Court, set up by the British Government under Judge Andries Stockenstrom of the Cape Bar

to settle the land ownership question, gave its decision. Arnot's claims for Waterboer were found to be based in false documentation and therefore the disputed territory justly belonged to the Orange Free State.<sup>40</sup> In his detailed discussion on the land question in Griqualand West White has pointed out the vital importance of the land itself: the struggle for its possession meant for the blacks a struggle for survival. The lack of accurate surveys and precise definition of boundaries as well as the use of forged documentation complicated the whole issue.<sup>41</sup>

President Brand went to England to negotiate a settlement with the British Government. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Carnarvon, was eager to reach agreement with Brand in order to promote his confederation scheme (see below p 45 ). On 13 July 1876 Brand agreed to waive his claims to the diamond fields and accept £90,000 in compensation.<sup>42</sup>

It was a diplomatic triumph. Brand had rid himself of a potentially overwhelming administrative and political problem, for he could not control the mining community any more than Molteno could. Besides, many diggers were English and might have swamped the Boers in an election. The money moreover put republican finances on a healthy footing.<sup>43</sup>

Since its annexation in 1871 Griqualand West had been beset with problems. By the end of 1874 the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Richard Southey faced anarchy and financial collapse due to falling prices, high taxation and land speculation.<sup>44</sup> Southey, bent on the extension of British control over the old missionary and trading road to the north, came into conflict with the Transvaal which continually encroached on the Keate Award area on its western border.<sup>45</sup> Both republics strongly objected to the traffic in guns and ammunition

which Southey permitted in order to encourage labourers to come to the mines. Over 18,000 guns were brought into Griqualand West in the period April-December 1873.<sup>46</sup> The gun trade was very profitable for the governments of the British colonies and apparently nobody in power there thought it irresponsible to turn black South Africa into a vast powder magazine.

Southey was dismissed and replaced by Captain Owen Lanyon in May 1875. Stricter regulations aimed at abolishing illicit diamond buying, controlling the sale of guns to blacks and reducing drunkenness and prostitution were introduced. De Kiewiet suggests that with Southey went the chance of black people to own a stake in the new industrial society. Henceforth they could only be labourers.<sup>47</sup> The Report of the Native Labour Commission of May 1876 which had investigated the conditions under which mining was conducted, recommended a regulated wage and labour control structure. Siebörger<sup>48</sup> has pointed out that the lot of the black mine worker was improved physically, socially and morally between 1871 and 1888 at the cost of the entrenchment of his subordinate position. If the large capitalist diamond and gold mining companies of the last decades of the century produced wealth inconceivable in the lean and drought-stricken 1860's, they brought in industrial apartheid no less certainly.

To Lord Carnarvon, who became Secretary of State for the Colonies in February 1874,<sup>49</sup> the solution to the "terrible labyrinth"<sup>50</sup> of South African difficulties seemed to lie in confederation. In August 1874 he sent the historian and former editor of Fraser's Magazine (in which the editor had advocated imperial unity); James Anthony Froude, to report on possibilities of confederation.<sup>51</sup> Froude, who believed that only the Cape Peninsula should be retained by the British government "as

a military and naval station", concluded that Britain would have to abandon the diamond fields in order to conciliate the republics sufficiently to induce them to join a federation.<sup>52</sup>

On 4 May 1875 Carnarvon's famous despatch on confederation was sent. It proclaimed Britain's rights as paramount power in South Africa and called for a conference of delegates from the white communities to meet under Sir Henry Barkly's chairmanship. The main point to be discussed was native policy, not confederation. Carnarvon named the delegates whom he thought should attend, including John Paterson, member for Port Elizabeth, who represented the Eastern Cape separatists in the Cape Legislative Assembly.<sup>53</sup>

To have named the delegates at all was a monumental blunder on Carnarvon's part, for it seemed to the Cape ministry an infringement of their constitutional liberties.<sup>54</sup> Paterson as an easterner was totally unacceptable to Molteno. Molteno refused to attend the conference, which finally met in London on 3 August 1876. Only Griqualand West and Natal were officially represented although both Molteno and Brand were in London at the time. The conference therefore, in the absence of representatives of two important South African states, must be judged a failure.<sup>55</sup> The only crumb of comfort for Carnarvon was that Molteno had agreed to incorporate Griqualand West into the Cape.<sup>56</sup>

On 13 June 1875 President MacMahon of France gave his decision as arbitrator between the rival claims of Britain and Portugal to Delagoa Bay, a port on the south eastern coast of the subcontinent, in favour of Portugal.<sup>57</sup> President Burgers of the Transvaal saw the chance of a port outside British control. In mid-1875 Burgers went to Europe to negotiate a loan to build a railway from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria. He did raise a large and expensive loan in the Netherlands on the

security of Transvaal land but the railway building project collapsed because of inadequate planning, a war with the Pedi<sup>58</sup> and the bankruptcy of the Transvaal.

By September 1875 the Transvaal had expanded westward beyond the line of the Keate Award and eastward into the Blood River territory, a disputed area along the Zulu border.<sup>59</sup> Conflict with the Zulu armies seemed imminent and Sir Henry Barkly, backed by a vigorous and irresponsible anti-Transvaal campaign in the newspapers, began to press for British annexation of the Transvaal.<sup>60</sup> The Transvaal Government was in financial difficulties: it owed the railway loan; it owed over £60,000 to the Cape Commercial Bank. The Transvaal Government had borrowed money at low interest from that bank since 1872 and repayment was now demanded. The customs revenues of Natal fell by nearly £18,000<sup>61</sup> in 1876, a further indication of the low state of the Transvaal treasury.

Carnarvon decided on annexation. The agent he chose as Special Commissioner was Theophilus Shepstone, lately Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, who had a reputation for the successful management of black peoples. Shepstone was anxious to acquire more land for the "surplus" black population of Natal. Zululand, the Blood River territory and even the Transvaal itself seemed to him possible areas for expansion. In any case to extend British control over both Zululand and the Transvaal would remove the threat of a Zulu war. Carnarvon was eager to gain the consent of the Volksraad for annexation but was nevertheless prepared to go forward without such consent.<sup>62</sup>

Shepstone annexed the Transvaal on 12 April 1877.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately for the British he made no real effort to conciliate the Transvaalers and opposition to British rule began to gather behind Paul Kruger, a member of the Transvaal Executive Council. De Kiewiet suggests that

it was the failure of the British to guarantee the Dutch language and institutions in a future confederation dominated by the British colonies; or even to guarantee Dutch institutions in the recently annexed Transvaal, that turned Kruger and his followers ever more firmly against the annexation.<sup>64</sup>

In the event, two and a half years elapsed before the Transvaal received a constitution.<sup>65</sup> That neglect led directly to the Boer rebellion against British rule in 1881.<sup>66</sup> The annexation left a legacy of Boer distrust of the British. A new Afrikaner patriotism developed symbolised by the formation of the Afrikaner Bond in the Cape in 1879.<sup>67</sup>

Carnarvon made one last attempt to secure confederation: the Draft South Africa bill. This piece of permissive legislation was modelled on the British North America Act of 1867. Under the bill, native policy was to be reserved to the British Government and black people were to be excluded from the franchise. The bill passed the House of Commons on 12 June 1877 and received the Queen's signature on 10 August but only after determined obstruction by Irish patriots. Carnarvon hoped to coerce Molteno into confederation by means of Molteno's promise to annex Griqualand West, but the Molteno ministry not surprisingly rejected the principle of the Act altogether. Dutch opinion had already been alienated and Natal would not consider a confederation for fear of incorporation by the Cape.<sup>68</sup>

Carnarvon resigned on 25 January 1878. He left to his successor a subcontinent spectacularly disunited and a policy committed to imperial defence, to white self-government and to imperial control over native policy.<sup>69</sup> In South Africa it was left to the High Commissioner to prosecute confederation if he could.

In March 1877 a new Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner arrived to replace Sir Henry Barkly, who had been recalled. He was Sir Henry Bartle Frere, a brilliant administrator who had served in India as Governor of Bombay and a member of the Viceroy's Council. His appointment had the approval of the Queen and of humanitarian groups like the Aborigines Protection Society.<sup>70</sup>

The first crisis with which Frere had to contend was war on the Cape Eastern frontier<sup>71</sup> which broke out in September 1877. For white colonists the year 1878 must have been one of terror because armed conflict erupted on all the frontiers where black and white came into contact. It was no wonder that the Cape eastern frontier thought in terms of a conspiracy<sup>72</sup> of black tribes all over South Africa to kill all white men, when the evidence of apparently concerted rebellions mounted so damningly. Hysteria and panic there was in plenty, fanned by blow-by-blow newspaper accounts, but the danger to continued white presence in South Africa was nevertheless a real one.

James Butler arrived in Grahamstown at the end of 1876 when the frontier was in the grip of a war scare. Rumours of a possible combined attack by the black tribes were current in the second half of 1876 and alarmist reports<sup>73</sup> were sent in from some places, though other magistrates reported nothing abnormal.

The focus of frontier anxiety was the Paramount Chief of the Gcalekas, Sarhili, known to contemporary whites as Kreli. In Spicer's view Sarhili emerges not as a warmonger nor the eminence grise behind a pan-African anti-White conspiracy but as a conservative and traditionalist figure whose policy aimed at non-involvement and the preservation of Gcaleka independence and tribal unity. Sarhili was aware of potential divisions among his own people<sup>74</sup> and he did his best to avoid

war. He rightly foresaw that confrontation with whites would cost him his position as Paramount and the Gcaleka their lands, the basis of their independence.

Evidence of a common black front against British rule is hard to find, despite frontier fears. In 1877 and 1878 the distances were too great, the communications too poor for such a collusion to be practical. The Xhosa on the eastern frontier were split by intertribal and intratribal dispute. The Thembu, for example, both inside and outside the Colony, were too fragmented to contemplate an effective invasion.<sup>75</sup>

Nevertheless there was contact, some of it facilitated by the whites. The Pedi rebels in the Transvaal were thought to be egged on by the Zulus.<sup>76</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Southey of Griqualand West sent recruiting parties to the Tswana, Pedi, Sotho and Ndebele tribes to collect labourers for the diamond mines, a policy continued by Southey's successor, Major Owen Lanyon. One such party was accompanied on its way back to Griqualand West in April 1877 by an embassy from Lobengula to Letsie, the Sotho Paramount.<sup>77</sup> There is evidence that Xhosa workers on the mines urged rebellion on their fellow workers once conflict had broken out on the eastern frontier. Of the black leaders who rebelled against Major Lanyon's administration between April 1878 and July 1879 one (Klaas Windwaai) was a Colonial black, one (Gamga Jan Pienaar) was a Griqua who had returned from Griqualand East in the early 1870's, and one (Donker Malgas) was a Thembu.<sup>78</sup>

Donker Malgas was the leader of the "Prumberg Kaffirs" a Xhosa group which had been settled near Schietfontein on the northern Cape border before 1830 by the British. He had spent twelve years working in the Colony and found no land available on his return. For him, as for so many blacks in Griqualand West, rebellion seemed the only way

to regain the land on which his survival depended. The rebel groups were never able to take concerted action and were beaten by the superior organisation, tactics, fire power and communications of the white forces.<sup>79</sup> The rebel leaders were captured, tried and sentenced to death; but Frere commuted their death sentences and they were freed under an amnesty of 1880.<sup>80</sup>

On the eastern frontier the slide to war at the end of 1877 was a complex process. Both the Mfengu and the Thembu had called for white help in the past and were regarded as the traditional allies of the whites.<sup>81</sup> For their part the British thought the Thembu a useful counterweight to a possible Gcaleka threat and thus found themselves drawn into the Gcaleka-Thembu boundary dispute which was the immediate cause of hostilities. The Mfengu, whose collaboration with the British had brought them prosperity in the past, provoked the Gcaleka, knowing they would involve the whites. Spicer thus lays part of the blame for the war on the Mfengu.<sup>82</sup> In Spicer's view the war was the result of unbearable pressures on the Gcaleka people by white land hunger, by other tribes bent on using the whites to their own advantage, by internal dissensions and betrayal. De Kiewiet sees the origin of the war in economic terms: too many people and animals on too little land at a time of drought. He makes the point that the intermingling of black and white in colonial society due to the migrant labour system had produced a "uniformity of grievance". A war on one frontier might easily spread or provoke others elsewhere.<sup>83</sup>

On 18 August 1877 Sir Bartle Frere left Cape Town to make a tour of the frontier and settle what he regarded as a minor intertribal dispute.<sup>84</sup> He interviewed delegates from the quarrelling tribes at Butterworth amid urgent calls for the strengthening of frontier defences. Charles Griffith, the British Government Agent in Maseru,

came to take charge of the reconstituted Frontier Armed and Mounted Police, (the F.A.M.P.), and to supervise the training of Mfengu levies.<sup>85</sup>

The campaigns of September-November 1877 which took place across the frontier showed the effectiveness of black guerilla tactics,<sup>86</sup> though the Gcaleka armies were no match for white forces in a pitched battle such as that at Ibeka on 29 September 1877. Nevertheless the evidence suggests that the whites would have been routed there but for the help of the Mfengu troops.<sup>87</sup>

By November 1877 the war seemed to be over. However the pressures on the blacks were not relieved. Continuing drought, stock-theft and restlessness among Xhosa within the Colony resulted in armed rebellion by the colonial Thembu and the Ngqika.<sup>88</sup>

The Ngqika location was within the boundaries of the Colony so that the war, according to Molteno, now became a colonial responsibility. On 11 January 1878 he announced that the Cape government would undertake a separate campaign using colonial troops under Griffith's leadership. For Frere two non-communicating rival military establishments (Griffith's and the imperial army) was intolerable, and he dismissed the Molteno ministry on 6 February 1878.<sup>89</sup>

His action was technically legal and supported both in the British and Colonial press and in the Cape parliament by a majority of 15. Molteno was replaced by the recognised leader of the opposition, John Gordon Sprigg, member for East London. Goodfellow suggests that the Molteno ministry was dismissed for attempting to undertake the Colony's own defence and that Frere was prepared to scrap even this basic aim of imperial policy if it appeared to conflict with the confederation scheme.<sup>90</sup>

The direction of the war effort was taken over by Lt. General

F.A. Thesiger, (later Lord Chelmsford), from March 1878. His forces mopped up the remaining pockets of resistance by the end of June when an amnesty was proclaimed (30th).<sup>91</sup> According to one contemporary report black losses in the war had been heavier than losses in the wars of 1836, 1846 and 1851 put together.<sup>92</sup> The cost to Britain was about £800,000.<sup>93</sup> After 100 years, Xhosa resistance to white rule was finally broken.

In De Kiewiet's opinion the Sprigg government's settlement after the war was more constructive than previous policies, though the frontier point of view that whites should be provided with plentiful land and labour and adequate defence, prevailed.<sup>94</sup> Sprigg believed in a policy of "vigour": detribalisation, disarmament and civilization through labour. His Peace Preservation Act of 1878<sup>95</sup> provided for the wholesale disarmament of the Xhosa, whether they had fought against the Colony or not. The Ngqika lands were confiscated and the people relocated beyond the Kei. Sprigg had difficulty in justifying the resettlement of the "loyal" Ngqika, perhaps half of whom sought refuge on Ciskeian farms rather than move. In all 7,664 Ngqika were resettled in the district of Kentani.<sup>96</sup>

The black rebels who were captured were sentenced to death, but a revulsion of feeling in the Colony against punishment which seemed vindictive and undeserved in many cases resulted in many death sentences being commuted. Prisoners of war were released under an amnesty of 1888.<sup>97</sup>

For Frere the war had delayed the implementation of the confederation scheme. Confederation seemed to him the more urgent because of the "long thin line of rebellion" which broke out in the second half of 1878. Fighting occurred in Griqualand West, in the

Keate Award area, in Griqualand East<sup>98</sup> and on the Western Transvaal border. The poor and weak Transvaal administration was menaced in the east by the Pedi and the much more serious Zulu threat.<sup>99</sup>

Between July and September 1878 Frere acted to extend British sovereignty over the coast from the Cape to the borders of the Portuguese possessions in East and West Africa.<sup>100</sup> He sent Colonel Evelyn Wood to annex the mouth of the St. John's River in the Transkei. He asked for a protectorate over the Thlaping and Rolong tribes in the Keate Award area. He called for troop reinforcements. He journeyed to Natal to settle the Transvaal-Zulu boundary dispute in the Blood River territory.<sup>101</sup> Embarrassingly for Frere, a large part of the disputed area had been awarded to the Zulus by an arbitration commission, but Frere decided that the time had come for a showdown despite Colonial Office and Treasury alarm about additional expense. On 11 December 1878 he presented the Zulus with an ultimatum which demanded the disbandment of their army. They did not respond, and thus the imperial army entered Zululand on 11 January 1879.<sup>102</sup>

The battle of Isandhlwana on 22 January 1879 was disastrous for the British: some 800 white soldiers and 500 black ones were killed to a Zulu loss of over 3,000.<sup>103</sup> Later in the campaign the Prince Imperial of France was killed. Even the British victory at Ulundi on 4 July and the capture of the Zulu chief Ceteshwayo could not redeem the disaster.

Frere was made the scapegoat and severely censured by the Colonial Office and in the British press. The British government came under fire in parliament and only saved itself at Frere's expense.<sup>104</sup> A High Commissioner for South Eastern Africa, Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed on 28 May 1879. Goodfellow traces to Isandhlwana the reversal of the confederation policy. Thereafter the

Secretary of State, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who succeeded Carnarvon in February 1878, endeavoured to withdraw from South African responsibilities as fast as possible.<sup>105</sup>

The settlement in Zululand was Wolseley's, though inspired by Shepstone. Thirteen chieftaincies were established under a British Resident who had no real control.<sup>106</sup> Failing annexation by Britain which Hicks Beach refused to countenance, the postwar settlement effectively destroyed the unity of the Zulu nation.

The Zulu War had repercussions in Basutoland, where the administration of Cape magistrates was weak and the power of the chiefs strong. Thus when the Phuthi chief Moorosi defied the magistrate at Quthing in mid-1879, it took six months before colonial forces were able to conquer his mountain stronghold.<sup>107</sup> Sprigg visited Basutoland in October 1879 and witnessed a parade of 7000 armed Basuto cavalry. It was this sight, in Benyon's opinion, which confirmed Sprigg's decision to extend disarmament to the Basuto.<sup>108</sup> He made a speech of remarkable tactlessness to the assembled chiefs and compounded his error by announcing an increase in hut tax and the sale of land in the Quthing district to white farmers. It was small wonder that the Basuto chiefs rebelled when disarmament was proclaimed in April 1880. In the guerilla campaign that followed, Sept. 1880-1881, the weakness of the Cape forces, now without imperial backing, was exposed, perhaps a belated justification for Frere's dismissal of the Molteno ministry. In 1884 the British government agreed to administer Basutoland as a High Commission Territory and it became the model for the later Protectorates of Bechuanaland and Swaziland. The tragedy for the Zulus was that there was no comparable protectorate set up for them: Shepstone's policy of divide and rule made consolidation impossible.

The crucial decade of the 1870's helped to define more clearly the

role of the British High Commissioner. Benyon has traced the history of the office which was vested in the Cape Governor from 1846, and shown how different incumbents used their power. As long as the Cape Governor controlled executive power tensions between his two appointments were avoidable, but responsible government revealed his strange constitutional position.<sup>109</sup> As Governor, Barkly was bound by the decisions of the Cape ministry; as High Commissioner, Frere could dismiss that ministry in the interests of imperial policy.<sup>110</sup> Barkly had the power to annex Griqualand West but not to force its incorporation into the Cape. It was Frere's commitment to the confederation scheme which prompted him to dismiss the Molteno ministry because of its stubborn opposition to the scheme (pace Goodfellow: Confederation p 154) and thus bound him to Sprigg. Part of his tragedy lay in the fact that he was forced into supporting Sprigg's policy of disarmament<sup>111</sup> in Basutoland where he could see it would be disastrous, in pursuit of a federal chimera which had become irrelevant in a post-war situation.

Rapidly mounting war crises, especially those in Zululand, did point to the urgent need for better communications between England and South Africa. The movement of troops and despatches was facilitated by the prompt action of the steamship captains who occasionally anticipated government orders and saved valuable time.<sup>112</sup> The underwater telegraph cable between London and Cape Town was completed in December 1880.<sup>113</sup> After that date the High Commissioner's freedom of action in South Africa was limited by the close supervision of the Colonial Office. After the 1870's the High Commissioner's role became more closely identified with imperial responsibilities towards blacks, especially those in the Protectorates.

The confederation scheme had in some sense forced the acceptance

of its trusteeship responsibilities upon an unwilling British Government. Carnarvon ought to have realised that a confederal system was inappropriate when the components were so different; and he ought not to have pressed it in the face of opposition from the most advanced community, the Cape. The annexation of the Transvaal alienated the Dutch and stimulated the growth of a specifically Afrikaner political consciousness. Within South Africa any impulse to unite was stifled by a selfish localism. With the benefit of hindsight one can see that federation was premature in the 1870's. Underlying all the failures of British policy was the neglect of the "native problem" of which the "general war epidemic"<sup>114</sup> was a symptom. Confederation obscured what lay at the root of the black-white conflict: a struggle for the ownership of the land.

James Butler could have had little grasp of the realities of the South African political situation, nor could he have foreseen the critical events which were soon to engulf the country where he hoped to take a rest-cure. Untroubled by any premonition Butler left Cape Town on 3 December 1876 and arrived in Grahamstown three days later. His journey had included a voyage by coastal steamer to Port Elizabeth, a train trip to Sandflats (the modern Paterson) and the rest of the way by Cape cart; for him a novel and uncomfortable method of transport. He was thankful to have arrived safely.

He had reached the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, the area in which, though he did not yet know it, he was ultimately to settle permanently. Two Eastern Cape towns figure prominently in his diary: Grahamstown and Cradock. With one, Grahamstown, he was to become thoroughly familiar during 1877; the other, Cradock, was to become his home. Grahamstown was the most important centre - at least until 1860 it claimed to be the "capital" of the Eastern Province.

But it was in Cradock, the small Karoo market town, that Butler made his contribution to South African life. There he started an outspoken English language newspaper The Midland News and Karroo Farmer in 1891.<sup>115</sup> Cradock benefitted from his activities in the service of the public. It was from Cradock that he helped to direct the Quaker War Relief Fund<sup>116</sup> after the South African War. He established a Quaker meeting in Cradock in 1904. At his death in 1923 Cradock citizens paid tribute to his efforts to improve the quality of life in the town where he had made his home for over thirty years.<sup>117</sup>

When he arrived in Grahamstown all this lay in Butler's future. In 1876 people in Grahamstown and Cradock were still conscious of their unsettled past. On the one hand frontier conditions had fostered self-reliance and independence, on the other a basic insecurity which was not completely eradicated when life became more organised and safe.

Permanent white settlement in the Eastern Province was a much more recent development than such settlement in the environs of Cape Town. The single most significant fact about the Eastern Province was that since the late eighteenth century the area between the Gamtoos and the Fish rivers had been a frontier zone; the scene of sporadic armed conflict between black and white; a struggle for the possession of the land. Cultural interchange had been no less real than military clash, though the long-term effects of such exchanges were not understood at the time nor have they been fully explained since. In a discussion on the nature of frontier in the late eighteenth century Herman Giliomee<sup>118</sup> draws a distinction between an "open" and a "closing" frontier. The open frontier was characterized by "cross-racial alliances", by relatively free trade and limited peaceful cultural interchange. The closing frontier showed cultural withdrawal and an

increase in conflict as rival groups tried to control the available land, labour and cattle. Martin Legassick<sup>119</sup> suggests that the frontier zone only became incorporated into "the Cape colonial system" when Britain assumed responsibility for the Cape in 1814 and imposed a system of "industrial capitalism" in place of "mercantile capitalism."

The concept of frontier has been variously treated by modern historians.<sup>120</sup> At its most basic the frontier meant a place where different races met. The result for the whites of two centuries of frontier experience was a defensive attitude, a mental insecurity which colours racial attitudes in South Africa to this day.<sup>121</sup> The tendency was to see every event in terms of threat and to demand removal of that threat. The emotional reaction was the same whether the danger seemed to come from tribesmen, from an inadequately protecting (or overbearing) government authority or from missionary betrayal.<sup>122</sup>

The frontier mentality had its roots in fear and in the long, often violent struggle for territorial supremacy: for pastoral peoples of whatever colour the right to the land was of vital importance. The frontier tradition took colonists a step further: they differentiated between the rights and privileges they wanted for themselves and those they were prepared to concede to blacks.<sup>123</sup> In political terms the triumph of frontier attitudes was first seen when Sprigg came to power as Prime Minister in February 1878; the hallmarks of his native policy were typical of enduring and still current policies, viz.: disarmament and resettlement. For Legassick<sup>124</sup> the persistence of the frontier tradition is to be seen in modern racial attitudes. Just as it was impossible for a frontiersman to see a black man in any role other than that of a servant or an enemy so, when "frontiersmen" came to political power legislation based on colour was the logical result.

Successful control of the frontier challenged and eluded both the

Dutch and British colonial governments at the Cape. In 1780 the Fish River had been proclaimed the official boundary of the Colony<sup>125</sup> but it was not until 1811-1812 that there was any hope of enforcing it. In October 1811, a month after his arrival, the Governor of the Cape Colony Sir John Cradock instructed Colonel John Graham, Commander of the Cape Regiment, to clear the area between the Sundays and Fish Rivers (the Zuurveld) of "Kaffirs".<sup>126</sup> Graham was to establish there a military headquarters within reach of the Fish River boundary at a place suitable for civilian settlement. Graham chose an abandoned farm De Rietfontein and there in August 1812 Graham's Town was proclaimed.<sup>127</sup> Graham's Town became the seat of a Deputy Landdrost and the centre for local economic development.

As part of his forward military policy Cradock strengthened the frontier with a double line of block houses along the Fish River.<sup>128</sup> Near the southern end was Grahamstown, near the northern one, Cradock, each with its military post.<sup>129</sup> In July 1812 Andries Stockenstrom, the son of the late Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet was appointed Deputy Landdrost at Cradock. He established his office, house and a prison on the farm Buffelskloof and on 21 January 1814 the new village was officially named Cradock.<sup>130</sup> Thus both towns were military in origin.

The arrival of the British settlers of 1820 boosted the growth of Grahamstown in particular. By 1831 it was the principal town in the Eastern Province with over four hundred buildings, the nucleus of a flourishing trade not only locally (especially with the military) but also with the Xhosa, even though transfrontier trade was officially frowned upon.<sup>131</sup>

The expansion of Grahamstown imposed so many extra burdens on the local government official the Civil Commissioner and his staff that necessary administrative tasks such as control of the market and the

pound and repair of the roads were neglected.<sup>132</sup> Agitation for a representative body to control town affairs grew, but government action to provide legislation for such a development was checked by the frontier war of 1834. It was not until 1837, under the enabling legislation of Ordinance 9 of 1836 that Grahamstown elected its first Board of Municipal Commissioners.<sup>133</sup>

The growth of Cradock was slower than that of Grahamstown, partly because official favour was transferred to Somerset (later Somerset East) and the seat of the Deputy Landdrost was moved there in 1825.<sup>134</sup> Nevertheless in June 1836 the first Civil Commissioner of Cradock was appointed: William Frederick Anderson Gilfillan. His newly defined and vast district included the field cornetries of Brak River, Tarka, Klaas Smit's River and Achter Sneeuwberg.<sup>135</sup> Later, on 15 September 1837 Cradock was granted municipal status, five months after Grahamstown.<sup>136</sup>

The Municipal Commissioners served Grahamstown in local government for the next twenty-five years and built up an impressive record of innovative experiment and public spirited management. On one occasion in 1861 the Commissioners even pledged their personal credit as security for a loan to pay municipal debts incurred when the Grey Reservoir was constructed.<sup>137</sup> But by the end of the 1850's the problems of town administration, particularly in the area of municipal finance, prompted the Commissioners to seek incorporation. Port Elizabeth was the first town to be incorporated as a municipality under Act 31 of 1860.<sup>138</sup> The Grahamstown Act was No. 29 of 1861 "for establishing a municipality for the city of Graham's Town". Under this Act and subsequent legislation (Act 23 of 1869 and Act 12 of 1878),<sup>139</sup> the financial restrictions of Ordinance 9 of 1836 were removed. The Mayor and Town Council were empowered to raise loans for municipal

improvements and mortgage municipal property. Apart from increased borrowing powers municipal revenue came from rates, market dues and land sales, the traditional sources. In fact the Town Council was fairly constantly in debt as its responsibilities outstripped its means.<sup>140</sup> Here Grahamstown reflected the immature state of credit and money market facilities country-wide rather than civic neglect or any lack of financial expertise.

The challenge for the Town Council after 1862 was how to retain the town's economic and political importance while its isolation increased.<sup>141</sup> The Council met the challenge by encouraging the town's development as a legal and educational centre. The symbol of their success was the Town Hall, the culmination of a long cherished and ambitious municipal scheme. The hall was opened on 4 May 1882.<sup>142</sup> The Jubilee Tower, inaugurated twenty days later, commemorated the contribution of the 1820 settlers to South African life.<sup>143</sup> It was fitting that in Grahams-town, the Settler City, the tower and the town hall should have been part of the same building.

Cradock's development after 1837 was much slower than Grahamstown's. As late as 1875 its population numbered only 1,712.<sup>144</sup> As in Grahams-town the municipal commissioners did their best to encourage Cradock's economic growth, but were hampered by lack of funds. It was only by the sale of town erven that the Municipal Commissioners could raise enough money to justify a government loan to build the small red brick town hall and municipal offices which were opened in 1865. On 25 January 1869 the Gilfillan Bridge across the Fish River was opened after a nine year struggle to raise funds to complete it.<sup>145</sup> The bridge facilitated communications and boosted Cradock's trade.

Though the Municipal Commissioners might lack funds for major civic improvements in the 1860's, one group of Cradock citizens

apparently continued to thrive despite the recession: the Dutch speaking community. Many were wealthy farmers who came to town to buy and sell and to go to church. The large and magnificent stone Dutch Reformed church was testimony to their community spirit and their generosity: it was estimated to have cost over £24,500. It was opened on 10 September 1868.<sup>146</sup> The presence in Cradock of a substantial Dutch speaking community was in sharp contrast to Grahamstown with its English Settler-influenced culture. In Cradock the English speaking citizens were to be found in local government and in the commercial sector though many were farmers as well. Links with Grahamstown through common Settler ancestry and ties of friendship and religion were strong,<sup>147</sup> as Butler was to experience in his own travels.

Cradock acquired a new town hall in 1882 but it was not until ten years later that Cradock was incorporated under the terms of the enabling legislation, Act No. 45 of 1882.<sup>148</sup> As the new Town Council foresaw, Cradock's future lay in its position as the marketing centre of the eastern Karoo and as a centre for road and railway communications between the hinterland and the coast. By the early twentieth century Cradock had gained a reputation as an educational centre as well.<sup>149</sup>

Butler's first impressions of Grahamstown were favourable despite the "stragglng appearance" caused by many vacant plots. He was pleased by the wide streets, many trees and some "very good" buildings.<sup>150</sup> By London standards Grahamstown was small: according to the Cape Census of 1875 the population numbered 6,903.<sup>151</sup> Butler soon identified the Post Office, the principal churches, the market square, museum, library and main shops and stores. In time he came to know at least by sight most of the leading personalities of the town and to

understand something of the issues which were important to them, such as commercial prosperity, adequate defence, a railway link to the sea. Politically Grahamstown had long fought for a separate government in the Eastern Province but had not overcome local rivalries for leadership. Despite a close acquaintance with several Grahamstown families Butler kept a certain detachment from their affairs. His capacity for cool, critical and candid judgement combined with common sense is particularly evident in the Grahamstown section of the diary.

Butler stayed at first with the Copeland family at The Grotto, Grey Street. Thomas Harrison Copeland was then a partner in a local outfitters' shop Birch and Copeland. Evidence other than circumstantial for a link between the Butlers and the Copelands has not been found, but the connection may have been a Quaker one.<sup>152</sup> The tone in which Butler wrote of the Copelands suggests that his family knew them.

When Butler arrived in Grahamstown his determination to "settle down comfortably"<sup>153</sup> could not obscure his feelings of isolation. Not only was he physically separated from a united and close-knit family, but he felt spiritually bereft, for there was no supportive religious network such as he had been used to in the London Quaker world. In these circumstances his deep personal faith was in a real sense his spiritual life line. It was only when he began to find a sense of identity within the Wesleyan church that he became capable of making friends locally. Grahamstown Wesleyans gave him the happier frame of mind in which his physical recovery could proceed. The Wesleyans used his talents for teaching, evangelism and youth work since he was unable to work at a formal job. They gave him a measure of self respect. When the time came for him to move northwards it was to the Wesleyan community in Cradock that he carried his notes of introduction. With them he retained links which were to last a lifetime.

Grahamstown in the 1870's was a strongly Wesleyan town in that many people of influence locally like the Wood, Godlonton and Ayliff families<sup>154</sup> were Wesleyan. The other Grahamstown church communities lacked the size, unity and cohesion of the Wesleyans: the Anglicans were divided by the feud between the Bishop and the Dean.<sup>155</sup> M. Gibbens has mentioned the "strict Wesleyan conscience"<sup>156</sup> which informed not only decisions affecting public life but also family life. It also found expression notably in the pages of The Graham's Town Journal. To modern minds the Wesleyan community might seem at times rigid or hypocritical but it did give a strong lead in public service, charitable works, education and mission work.

Butler attached himself to the Wesleyans because they were the group most like the Quakers. The Wesleyans were strongly evangelical, a confident missionary church with a successful organisation established by the settler-missionary William Shaw, a much-revered figure in Grahamstown. As General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in South East Africa between 1837 and 1856<sup>157</sup> Shaw consolidated the work of the chain of mission stations he had founded beyond the frontier and fostered the spread of the traditional Methodist lay preaching and class meeting system<sup>158</sup> as well as the growth of local congregations and the building of churches and chapels.

The Journal, under the editorship of Robert Godlonton, had since the 1830's been the mouthpiece of Wesleyan interests. Its influence continued after Godlonton's retirement as editor in 1857, still Wesleyan, still separatist, still devoted to the promotion of Grahamstown interests, especially its own railway and harbour (at the Kowie mouth). The Journal was anti-Responsible government and favoured a strong native policy, a popular frontier point of view. B. le Cordeur has assessed the influence of Godlonton as a journalist and a politician and shown

his strengths and limitations.<sup>159</sup> M. Gibbens has listed the newspapers all over South Africa which owed their origin to the Godlonton firm.<sup>160</sup> Butler himself could testify to the widespread availability of the Grahamstown newspapers: from Alexandria to Grass Ridge.<sup>161</sup>

Godlonton had been one of those who campaigned for a railway between Grahamstown and the sea. A line to Port Elizabeth had been sought as early as 1856 and petitions and memorials were sent to Cape Town.<sup>162</sup> Although a Grahamstown Railway Act had been passed in 1862 subject to a survey to ascertain the best route, nothing was done because of lack of capital. At the time the government had proposed to pay for the construction by a loan on the security of the colonial revenue and on that of the land through which the railway would pass. Individual landowners had to provide a subguarantee for the loan which they were unwilling to do. The impasse remained until the diamond mining industry provided sufficient capital for a colony-wide government railway building scheme.

Under Act 19 of 1874 a railway was started from Port Elizabeth through the Bushman's River valley to Cradock which was reached in 1881.<sup>163</sup> From there the line crossed the Orange River up to Kimberley. This was the most direct route from Port Elizabeth. Grahamstown had to be content with a branch line from Alicedale through very difficult terrain. The railway was finally opened on 3 September 1879.<sup>164</sup> The line was continued to Port Alfred in 1881 by private enterprise and government subsidy but it failed to show a profit.<sup>165</sup> The Kowie harbour had been extended and improved at intervals since the 1850's, as the author Anthony Trollope was told when he visited the port in 1877,<sup>166</sup> but was never sufficiently large or safe for the steamships in use by the 1870's. In retrospect the judgement of the railway planners seems vindicated. When the focus of industrial expansion moved

northwards the most direct routes were obviously the most useful. The Grahamstown-Alicedale railway carries more goods and passengers than the Grahamstown-Port Alfred line.<sup>167</sup> Cradock was luckier: by an accident of geography the main line to Kimberley passed through the town reaching De Aar in 1884 and Kimberley in 1885.<sup>168</sup>

The financial resources for railway building came from the diamond mines. Locally both Grahamstown and Cradock suffered from a drain of manpower to the diamond fields in the early 1870's.<sup>169</sup> The loss was felt not only in the towns but also in the countryside where farming was temporarily neglected. Butler suggested that the popularity of ostrich farming was partly due to the diamond rush: if people failed to make a fortune at the diamond fields they hoped to make one almost as quickly through the ostrich.<sup>170</sup>

Ostrich farming expanded rapidly in the 1870's.<sup>171</sup> The invention of the Douglass incubator in 1869 made breeding safe and lucrative.<sup>172</sup> Ostriches were kept in camps which had to be securely fenced. Adult birds were plucked every eight months. The feathers were sorted at the farm and sold at local markets to agents of the principal London auctioneers. Feathers fetched from £3-£6 per lb. in the 1870's; in 1882 253,954 lbs. were exported, valued at £1,093,989.<sup>173</sup> The birds also commanded high prices: in 1882 laying birds fetched £100-£400 per pair.<sup>174</sup>

The weakness of the industry was its dependence on "a freak of fashion", as Trollope pointed out.<sup>175</sup> Fortunes were made by a few. There was a crisis due to overspeculation in 1882 but the market only finally collapsed on the eve of the First World War. Ostrich farmers who had failed to diversify went bankrupt.<sup>176</sup> The ostrich mania resulted in extensive tracts of land being fenced, which facilitated control and efficiency in stock farming.

Despite the shift to ostriches, wool production remained the major agricultural industry in the Eastern Cape. Angora goat and merino sheep farming had developed in the area in the 1860's and merchant-farmers in both Grahamstown and Cradock were prepared to expend money on agricultural experiments and the importation of fresh breeding stock.<sup>177</sup> As Gibbens points out such attempts indicate awareness of the extent to which the towns were dependent on the surrounding agricultural districts.<sup>178</sup>

Although agricultural production was dislocated as a result of the frontier war of 1877-1878, expectations of devastation were far greater than actual destruction. An extreme reaction was that of Joseph Wood whose fortified farm near Bathurst was visited by Butler.<sup>179</sup> Neither Grahamstown nor Cradock were threatened by hostile forces for they were far removed from the actual battle grounds, but memories of previous wars<sup>180</sup> evoked hysterical excitement. Butler's common sense, uncoloured as it was by previous experience of wars, and his exasperation with "native troubles" helped him to keep a sense of proportion, though there can be no doubt that the death of his friend Willie Shaw<sup>181</sup> affected him deeply. That bereavement made him much more sympathetic towards the white colonists' point of view.

War hysteria in Grahamstown was fortunately of short duration. Butler commented on the fickle interests of Grahamstown people<sup>182</sup> which contrasted strongly with his own steadfastness of character. His loyalty to temperance principles, for instance, was life-long.

The temperance movement in Grahamstown was largely the province of the Independent Order of Good Templars. Prior to the 1870's temperance work in South Africa was dependent on local initiative. Early temperance societies in the Eastern Cape were sometimes established

by local missionaries. An example was the total abstinence society formed in Cradock in the late 1840's. That society was attached to the Harpenden Congregational Chapel, originally an L.M.S. mission. By 1871 that society had a membership of 310.<sup>183</sup> In Grahamstown there was an active Total Abstinence Society in the 1860's, established in 1865. The Hon. Samuel Cawood was the president. At an annual meeting in September 1868 it was reported that the society had held 52 public meetings, 12 "life boat" meetings, 3 soirées and a bazaar.<sup>184</sup>

In 1873 an official delegate of the Independent Order of Good Templars, a Mr. Smith, was sent to South Africa to set up a system of local lodges of the Order. The first lodge was established on 2 May 1873 with ten members under the chairmanship of the Hon. John Geard, M.L.A., as Worthy Chief Templar. That lodge became the Grand Lodge of South Africa. Three years later there were 80 lodges with a membership of four to five thousand.<sup>185</sup> The first lodge to be established in Grahamstown was the Good Samaritan Lodge No. 5 which held its first meeting on 4 June 1873 with thirty-three members. By 1877 local Grahamstown membership of the Order was estimated at 450.<sup>186</sup>

Local lodges sent representatives to the annual session of the Grand Lodge, held in a different town each year, where policy decisions were taken and elections took place of Grand Lodge officials and representatives to attend Good Templar conferences overseas. At the Grand Lodge meeting of 1877 in King William's Town the delegates decided to establish three new Grand Lodges, one in the Eastern Province, one in the Western Province and one in Griqualand West, all under a Supreme Worthy Grand Lodge of South Africa.<sup>187</sup> Robert King was elected at that meeting as the official representative of South African Good Templary to America. As Grand Worthy Chief Templar (1876-1877), King was expected to tour the local lodges. In May 1877

he paid an official week-long visit to Kimberley where he attended a combined meeting of local temples.<sup>188</sup> His host at Kimberley was C.R. Gowie, a merchant, formerly of Grahamstown.

In 1876 a schism occurred in the international Order which had repercussions in South Africa.<sup>189</sup> The Grand Lodge of America took a decision to exclude "people of colour" whereas the Grand Lodge of the World regarded the exclusion of blacks as a breach of fundamental principle. A Colonel Hickman of Kentucky was sent by the Grand Lodge of South America to persuade lodges in Britain to join the Grand Lodge of America, but of the 3,500 English lodges only about 100 were willing to agree to join him.<sup>190</sup> Despite efforts to reunite international Good Templary the schism persisted.

The issue split the South African lodges. Of a dozen Natal lodges, two adhered to the American organisation, the rest applied for a charter as the Grand Lodge of Natal,<sup>191</sup> presumably affiliated to the Grand Lodge of the World. The Grand Lodge of South Africa apparently preferred to be affiliated to the Grand Lodge of America since Reuben Ayliff had made contact with that Grand Lodge as an official representative.<sup>192</sup> A parallel organisation, the Independent Order of True Templars was founded in 1876 for black teetotalers, and they presented a report at the annual Grand Lodge session the following year.<sup>193</sup>

Besides the annual meetings of the Grand Lodge, local lodges in Grahamstown held an anniversary festivity each year. Such anniversaries usually included speeches, musical items and a generous tea.<sup>194</sup> From 1876 such celebrations took place in the Albany Hall. Members of the Independent Order of Good Templars formed a limited company, the Good Templars Hall Company, and bought the Albany Hall in October 1876. The hall, now called the Good Templars Hall, was dedicated on 1 November 1876.<sup>195</sup> By May 1877 the Company had paid £1000 towards the cost and

and still owed £534.15s, including interest. The Company declared a dividend of 8% to its shareholders and had made a net profit of £172.19s 2d.<sup>196</sup> Alterations had been made to the hall in August 1876 to provide a lodge room and reading room.<sup>197</sup>

Members of the Independent Order of Good Templars in Grahamstown regularly protested against the granting of liquor licences. There was no real possibility that the liquor licensing system would be abolished but the protesters were assured of a hearing because some members of the Licensing Board such as the Hon. George Wood and Robert Godlonton were sympathetic to the temperance cause. Licenses were more likely to be refused or granted conditionally in cases where violent or disorderly behaviour could be proved, than by speeches and memorials urging abolition.<sup>198</sup> Under Act No. 8 of 1875 no new liquor licence could be issued unless one-third of the ratepayers of the district had expressed their consent. On 3 July 1877 Mr. S.C. Wright was given leave to introduce a bill to amend the Act but he withdrew the amendment a few days later.<sup>199</sup> The temperance interest in parliament, never a formal "party", made little impression upon members who were concerned with important constitutional issues and the war crises of the 1870's.

Butler regularly attended Good Templar Lodge meetings on Monday evenings when he was in Grahamstown. He was a member of the Ark of Safety Lodge, the one to which Reuben Ayliff and Robert King also belonged.<sup>200</sup> He took an active part in its affairs, served on its committee and did his best to encourage support for the temperance cause. Once he reached Cradock he attended the Magna Charta Lodge No.32. In 1878 this lodge had 60 members, including prominent citizens like William Cawood, and the Rev. Ezekiel Lones, Wesleyan minister.<sup>201</sup>

Paradoxically, Cradock, the smaller of the two towns Butler knew best, introduced him to a wider circle of people. There he met his future wife Annie Letitia Collett<sup>202</sup> and her large family. He enjoyed their company: Cradock itself failed to impress him, and he was to spend much of his life trying to improve it. Conversely his experience of life in the Eastern Cape in the late 1870's made an enduring impression on him. He was to find in a small South African town opportunity for philanthropy of a specifically Quaker kind and a chance to show that he was more than just a conventional religious youth with a talent for observation. The diary hints at his future, the Eastern Cape was to provide a unique setting for that future.

Footnotes to Introduction

PART II

1. Jim's Journal 5 Dec. 1876.
2. Figures quoted in P.W. Laidler: The Growth and Government of Cape Town Cape Town 1939 p 470. Hereafter Laidler: Cape Town.  
C.F. Goodfellow: Great Britain and South African Confederation 1870-1881 Cape Town 1966 p 2. Goodfellow quotes G.M. Theal's figure of 45,000 for the population of Cape Town in 1878. Hereafter Goodfellow: Confederation.
3. Hunt: Municipal Government p 138. Information on local government comes from this source, especially p 137-147, 156 and 182-186.
4. Hunt: Municipal Government p 139.
5. Hunt: Municipal Government p 139.
6. Hunt: Municipal Government p 141.
7. K.S. Hunt: Sir Lowry Cole Governor of Mauritius 1823-1828 Governor of the Cape of Good Hope 1828-1833 Durban 1974 p 149.
8. Hunt: Municipal Government p 156.
9. Laidler: Cape Town p 255-258.
10. For details see Hunt: Municipal Government p 182-183 and J.J. Breitenbach: The Development of the Secretaryship to the Government at the Cape of Good Hope under John Montagu, 1843-1852, in A.Y.B. II (1959), p 202-207.
11. M.Gibbens: Two Decades p 16 fn. 40.
12. Hunt: Municipal Government p 137.
13. Hunt: Municipal Government p 146.
14. J.L. McCracken: The Cape Parliament 1854-1910 Oxford 1967 p 23, 61. Hereafter McCracken: The Cape Parliament.
15. M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.): The Oxford History of South Africa Vol.II, South Africa 1870-1966 Oxford 1971 p 2-3. Hereafter Oxford History II.

16. Oxford History II p 4.
17. Laidler: Cape Town p 339.
18. The South African Public Library was opened in 1822. In 1861 the valuable private collection of Sir George Grey was added. E. Walker (ed.): The Cambridge History of the British Empire Vol.VIII Cambridge 1963 p 885. Hereafter C.H.B.E. VIII.
19. The trail "round the Kloof" was a recognised walk for tourists. The trail is described in The General Directory and Guide Book to the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, as well as the Border Republics, 1876, Cape Town 1876, p 202-203.
20. D.M. Schreuder: The Scramble for Southern Africa, 1877-1895 Cambridge 1980 p 16-17. Hereafter Schreuder: Scramble.
21. Griqualand West: became a Crown Colony in 1871; annexed to the Cape 1880.  
Basutoland: annexed by the British in 1868; administered by the Cape 1872-1884; became a British High Commission Territory 1884.  
Transkeian Territories: within the Cape sphere of influence during the 1870's; annexed 1890's. Schreuder: Scramble p 16.
22. The Cape was given responsible government under Act 1, 28 November 1872. The first responsible ministry took office under Molteno in Dec. 1872. McCracken: The Cape Parliament p 27.  
C.H.B.E. VIII p 498.
23. In 1878 the value of trade involved in the Cape route to India and the Far East exceeded £90 million. Schreuder: Scramble p 18.
24. C.W. de Kiewiet: The Imperial Factor in South Africa Cambridge 1937 p 14. Hereafter De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor.
25. Goodfellow: Confederation p 47-48.
26. Schreuder: Scramble p 21.
27. Goodfellow: Confederation gives a detailed discussion of federation schemes and helpful insights.
28. Schreuder: Scramble p 305-318.

29. C.G.W. Schumann: Structural changes and business cycles in South Africa 1806-1936 London 1938 p 81.
30. B. Roberts: Kimberley: Turbulent City Cape Town 1976 p 3-25.  
C.H.B.E. VIII p 460. Oxford History II p 11.
31. Oxford History II p 12.
32. R. Ross: Adam Kok's Griquas: A Study in the development of stratification in South Africa Cambridge 1976 p 1.  
Hereafter Ross: Adam Kok's Griquas.
33. C.H.B.E. VIII p 341. E.A. Walker: A History of Southern Africa 3rd Edition London 1957 p 224.
34. J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton: The Road to the North, South Africa, 1852-1886 London 1937 p 58. Hereafter Agar-Hamilton: Road.
35. Agar-Hamilton: Road p 47. A.N. White: The Stockenstrom Judgement, the Warren Report and the Griqualand West Rebellion 1876-1878 Unpublished M.A. thesis Rhodes University 1977 p 14.  
Hereafter White: The Stockenstrom Judgement etc.
36. Goodfellow: Confederation p 46.
37. Oxford History II p 256. White: The Stockenstrom Judgement etc. p 21. T.R.H. Davenport: South Africa: A Modern History London 1977 p 128. Hereafter Davenport: South Africa.
38. Oxford History II p 255.
39. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 12-13. Davenport: South Africa p 128.
40. White: The Stockenstrom Judgement etc. p 60.  
Oxford History II p 256.
41. White: The Stockenstrom Judgement etc. p 43, 58-60, 140-141.  
De Kiewiet mentions that of six at least semi-official maps of the Transvaal published between 1870 and 1877 no two agreed on the lines of either eastern or western boundaries. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 218.

42. Oxford History II p 295. Goodfellow: Confederation p 97-101.
43. Goodfellow: Confederation p 149.
44. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 48-53.
45. Goodfellow: Confederation p 55.
46. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 18.
47. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 55-59.
48. R.F. Siebörger: The Recruitment and Organisation of African Labour for the Kimberley Diamond Mines 1871-1888 Unpublished M.A. thesis Rhodes University 1975 p 153-154. Hereafter Siebörger: African Labour.
49. Goodfellow: Confederation p 54.
50. "These South African questions are a terrible labyrinth of which it is very hard to find the clue," he wrote to Barkly on 25 Aug. 1874. Quoted in De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 28.
51. Goodfellow: Confederation p 54-5
52. Goodfellow: Confederation p 60.
53. Carnarvon listed the following delegates:  
 Barkly as Chairman  
 Froude for the Imperial government  
 Molteno for the Western Cape  
 Paterson for the Eastern Cape  
 Richard Southey or J.D. Barry for Griqualand West  
 Shepstone for Natal  
 Two representatives from the republics  
 Goodfellow: Confederation p 63-4.
54. Goodfellow: Confederation p 73.
55. Goodfellow: Confederation p 104-107. C.H.B.E. VIII p 471.  
Davenport: South Africa p 129.
56. Goodfellow: Confederation p 109-110. C.H.B.E. VIII p 463.
57. Goodfellow: Confederation p 79. C.H.B.E. VIII p 463 gives the history of the rival claims. Oxford History II p 296.

58. K.W. Smith: The Campaigns against the Bapedi of Sekhukhune, 1877-1879 in A.Y.B. II (1967). Hereafter Smith: The Campaigns against the Bapedi.
59. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 100. T.R.H. Davenport and K.S. Hunt (eds.): The Right to the land Cape Town 1974 p 24-26, 25, 27, 28 (maps). Goodfellow: Confederation p 81, 113 fn. 1. Goodfellow points out that Sekhukhune's land lay north of the proposed railway and not right across it as De Kiewiet contends.
60. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 102-105.
61. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 111.
62. Goodfellow: Confederation p 115-116.
63. Goodfellow: Confederation p 127. Davenport: South Africa p 129-130.
64. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 114-119.
65. Goodfellow: Confederation p 177.
66. Oxford History II p 298-300.
67. Oxford History II p 302. By 1883 the Bond had 43 branches. For further detail see T.R.H. Davenport: The Afrikaner Bond: The History of a South African Political Party, 1880-1911 Cape Town 1966.
68. Goodfellow: Confederation p 118, 123, 133, 141, 148, 149.
69. Goodfellow: Confederation p 150.
70. Goodfellow: Confederation p 123-124, 152.  
De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 126-127.
71. A detailed account of the war of 1877-1878 is to be found in M.W. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi 1877-1878 Unpublished M.A. Rhodes University 1978. Hereafter Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi.
72. Schreuder: Scramble p 30, 69.

73. See fn. 38 p 209. The Rev. H.H. Dugmore telegraphed from Queenstown on 13 July 1876:  
 "Secret information - Kaffirs invade in spring - Nehemiah, New England - Gangelizwe, Dordrecht and Queenstown - Kreli, Eland's Post and sea coast - all concentrate at Amatolas .... Do send means of holding our ground before path is closed."  
 Quoted in Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi, p. 45.
74. An old Gcaleka tribesman said on the eve of the war that "he could not see how it could be possible for Kreli to combine with the other tribes against the Govt. [sic] when his own tribe would not be unanimous, as a very bitter feeling exists between Maphasa [a rival sub-chief] and Kreli ... and Kreli is aware of it."  
 Quoted in Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 48.
75. As Charles Brownlee the Secretary for Native Affairs discovered when he investigated the frontier situation in 1876.  
 Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 45-46.
76. Smith: The Campaigns against the Bapedi p 17.
77. Siebörger: African Labour p 77-81.
78. White: The Stockenstrom Judgement etc. p 145 (Donker Malgas) p 146 (Jan Pienaar) p 154-5 (Klaas Windwaai)
79. White: The Stockenstrom Judgement etc. p 103-123.
80. White: The Stockenstrom Judgement etc. p 129 fn. 18.
81. Oxford History II p 258.
82. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 244.
83. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 148-164.
84. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 167.
85. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 96.
86. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 169.

87. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 107. For a description of the battle of Ibeka see fn. 46, p 211.
88. C.H.B.E. VIII p 480. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 169-170. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 151-154, 186, 194-201.
89. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 170-174. C.H.B.E. VIII p 480-1. Goodfellow: Confederation p 154.
90. Goodfellow: Confederation p 155.
91. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 183. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 174.
92. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 185.
93. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 181.
94. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 174-177.
95. Oxford History II p 268.
96. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 222-225.
97. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 201-203 (the case of Gungubele) 212-213 (the case of Tini Maqomo).
98. Ross: Adam Kok's Griquas p 131-133.
99. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 179-182.
100. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 220, 222.
101. Goodfellow: Confederation p 158-160. C.H.B.E. VIII p 483-486. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 223-6.
102. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 181-2. C.H.B.E. VIII p 486. Goodfellow: Confederation p 165.
103. See fn. 28 p 369. C.H.B.E. VIII p 487.

104. De Kiewiet: Imperial Factor p 235.  
 Goodfellow: Confederation p 169-170.  
 "... Somebody must be fixed with the blame ..." said a speaker in the House of Commons, and the press denounced Frere's "criminal infatuation" with the war.
105. Goodfellow: Confederation p 173.
106. Goodfellow: Confederation p 176. C.H.B.E. VIII p 489.
107. Oxford History II p 268.
108. J.A. Benyon: Basutoland and the High Commission with particular reference to the years 1868-1884: The Changing nature of the Imperial Government's "special responsibility" for the territory. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis Oxford 1969 p 374.
109. John Benyon: Proconsul and Paramountcy in South Africa. The High Commission, British Supremacy and the Sub-Continent, 1806-1910, Pietermaritzburg 1980 p 128-130.  
 Hereafter Benyon: Proconsul.
110. Benyon: Proconsul p 149.
111. Frere had originally supported disarmament at least for the Xhosa.  
 Benyon: Proconsul p 170.
112. Marischal Murray: Ships and South Africa Oxford 1933 p 54.  
 Marischal Murray: Union-Castle Chronicle 1853-1953 London 1953, p 93-94.
113. C.H.B.E. VIII p 490.
114. White: The Stockenstrom Judgement etc. p 83. The term is Warren's, used in a letter to Frere dated 21 Sept. 1878.
115. Guy Butler: Karoo Morning p 22.
116. The Friends South African Relief Fund was established in 1899 in England to help alleviate civilian distress caused by the South African war. In October 1903 Butler accompanied an official delegate of the Society of Friends on a tour of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal to investigate postwar conditions with a

view to the most useful distribution of the Relief Fund. Partly through Butler's efforts Friends' resources were used for educational bursaries and book-grants as well as for clothing, seeds and household equipment.

A.M. Davey (ed.): Lawrence Richardson Selected Correspondence (1902-1903) V.R.S. Second series no. 8 Cape Town 1977 p 3-4, 201-205.

117. B.P.; PR 3481/3; Scrapbook of the life of James Butler, with obituary notices from various newspapers including The Midland News, The Middelburg Echo and The Northern News.
118. R. Elphick and H. Giliomee: The Shaping of South African Society 1652-1820 Cape Town 1979 p 291-328.  
Hereafter Elphick and Giliomee: South African Society.
119. Martin Legassick: "The Northern Frontier to 1820: the emergence of the Griqua people", in Elphick and Giliomee: South African Society p 243-278. Legassick writes of the northern frontier but many of his remarks could apply just as well to the eastern frontier.
120. For a discussion of frontier historiography see P.H. Lyness: The Life and Influence of William Shaw, 1820-1856. Unpublished M.A. thesis Rhodes University 1982 p 33-66. Hereafter Lyness: William Shaw, and J.C.S. Lancaster: A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban at the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-1838 Unpublished M.A. thesis Rhodes University 1980 p 3-21.
121. E.A. Walker: The Frontier Tradition in South Africa. A lecture delivered before the University of Oxford at Rhodes House, Oxford on 5 March 1930 Oxford 1930 p 4. Lyness: William Shaw p 33.
122. Lyness: William Shaw p 37-8, 50-51. Missionaries like Dr. John Philip (1777-1851) were criticised by the colonists for taking the side of the blacks in any dispute.
123. Lyness: William Shaw p 34.
124. M. Legassick: "The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography" in S. Marks and H. Atmore (eds.): Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa London 1980 p 44-79.  
Lyness: William Shaw p 38-40 stresses that despite Legassick's

emphasis on attitudes the frontier was at least as much a physical and geographical fact as it was a social concept.

125. Hunt: Sir Lowry Cole p 96.
126. Hunt: Municipal Government p 137, 148.
127. Hunt: Municipal Government p 148.
128. Hunt: Municipal Government p 137.
129. K.W. Smith: From Frontier to Midlands. A History of the Graaff-Reinet District 1786-1910 Grahamstown 1976 p 39.
130. D. Smith (ed.): Cradock 1814-1864. 150th Anniversary Brochure Cradock 1964 p 53-57. Hereafter D. Smith: Cradock.
131. Hunt: Municipal Government p 149.
132. Hunt: Municipal Government p 151.
133. Hunt: Municipal Government p 158-160.
134. D. Smith: Cradock p 65.
135. D. Smith: Cradock p 67-69. G.T.J. 23 Feb. 1837.
136. Hunt: Municipal Government p 135 (map).
137. Hunt: Municipal Government p 197. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 96.
138. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 16-17. Until 1882 incorporation had to be by special Act of Parliament. Of the seven towns incorporated before 1882 five were in the Eastern Cape.
139. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 30-33, 354-380.
140. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 96-97, tables p 91, 93.
141. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 32-33.
142. K.S. Hunt: "The Grahamstown City Hall; The Tale of Two Foundation Stones" in Contree No. 10 July 1981 p 27-31. Hereafter Hunt: City Hall.

143. Hunt: City Hall p 30-31.
144. Cape Census 1875 in G. 42-'76 Cape Town 1878 p 23. The population of the Cradock District numbered 12,084. At the 1891 Census (in G. 6-'92 p 13) the population of the Cradock district had increased to 22,074, an increase of 82.67%.
145. See fn.23, p 316.
146. See fn.21, p 315.
147. B.A. le Cordeur: The Politics of Eastern Cape Separatism 1820-1854 Cape Town 1981 p 221.
148. The General Directory and Guide-book to the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies as well as Natal, Free State and Transvaal, 1882 Cape Town 1882 p 184. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 16. The Acts of Parliament relating to municipalities and village management boards Cape Town 1908 p 5-43.
149. S.E.S.A. Vol.3 p 469. B.P.; PR 3492/2, Booklet by A.E. Butler on Rocklands Girls High School, Cradock, 1925, which gives the history of one school in Cradock.
150. Jim's Journal 6 Dec. 1876.
151. Cape Census 1875 in G. 42-'76 Cape Town 1878 p 18. Of the total population 1,548 people were black including "Malay", "Hottentot", "Fingo" and "Kaffir and Betshuana" people. The following census was not taken until 1891: the Cape Census of 1891 in G. 6-'92 Cape Town 1892 p 10-11 refers to Grahamstown. Of a total population of 10,498, 6,297 were whites, 4,201 were black. It was not until 1921 that the total black population exceeded the whites according to the census of that year.
152. Mrs. Copeland's family the Holloways were Quakers and came from the west of England where the Butlers had relations. Mrs. Copeland's sister Eliza was married to Trenly Birch, her husband's partner. See biographical index. Butler mentioned that Mr. Copeland and Robert Wilkie "had an interesting chat about Ackworth School" where Wilkie was educated. Jim's Journal 15 May 1877.

153. Jim's Journal 6 Dec. 1876.
154. See biographical index.
155. The conflict between Bishop Nathaniel James Merriman and Dean Frederick Henry Williams turned on the precise position in law of Bishops elected by the Church of the Province of South Africa. The Dean held that the Bishop could not be regarded as the legitimate successor of Bishop Cotterill, the second Bishop of Grahamstown. The Dean prevented the Bishop from preaching in Grahamstown Cathedral. The quarrel was carried on publicly in The Eastern Star a newspaper which Williams controlled, and in both ecclesiastical and civil courts. It was only settled in 1885 after the deaths of both protagonists, but the whole episode helped to clarify the relationship between the Church of the Province of South Africa and the Church of England.
- D.S.A.B. Vol.2 p 847 and Vol.1 p 535.
  - C. Gould: Grahamstown Cathedral. A Guide and Short History Grahamstown, 1924 p 30-34.
  - P. Hinchliff: The Anglican Church in South Africa London 1963 p 111-135.
  - M.M. Goedhals: Nathaniel James Merriman: Archdeacon and Bishop 1849-1882: a study in church life and government. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis Rhodes University 1982.
156. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 22.
157. See biographical index and Lyness: William Shaw p 164.
158. The term Methodist was applied to the followers of John Wesley (1703-1791), the founder of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, for their simple, devout and disciplined life style. Methodist "societies" (later congregations) were divided into "classes" of about twelve members each under a class leader to direct their spiritual life. Societies were grouped by areas into "circuits" or "rounds", the circuits into districts under the care of a superintendent. Local evangelists or lay preachers assisted the peripatetic ministers who until 1784 were priests of the Church of England. In 1785 Wesley's "ordination" of a few followers for ministerial work made schism from the established church inevitable. The Wesleyan Methodist pattern was well suited to a multi-cultural society such

as South Africa's. The Wesleyans were pioneers in mission work among the Xhosa.

- Lyness: William Shaw p 7-14.

159. B. le Cordeur: Robert Godlonton as Architect of Frontier Opinion, 1850-1857 in A.Y.B. II (1959)p 148-153.
160. M.Gibbens: Two Decades p 312-313. Six of the ten were Eastern Province papers.
161. Jim's Journal 22 Oct. 1877, 26 Jan. 1879.
162. K.S. Hunt:"When the Railway came to Grahamstown" in Contree No. 6 July 1979 p 24-28 Hereafter Hunt: Railway.  
G.D.R. Dods: Nineteenth Century Communications in the Zuurveld Unpublished M.Sc. thesis Rhodes University 1960 p 164-171.
163. H.C. Hopkins: Die Ned. Geref. Kerk, Cradock, 1818-1968 Cape Town 1968 p 49-50.
164. G.T.J. 5 September 1879.
165. M.Gibbens: Two Decades p 74. Hunt: Railway p 27-28.
166. A. Trollope: South Africa, a reprint of the 1878 edition edited by J.H. Davidson, Cape Town 1973 p 147-148.  
Hereafter Trollope: South Africa.
167. Hunt: Railway p 28.
168. Smith: Graaff-Reniet p 81.
169. M.Gibbens: Two Decades p 65-70.
170. Jim's Journal 1 Nov. 1877.
171. The 1865 Census recorded 80 domesticated ostriches; in 1875 there were 32,247. Quoted in J. Noble (ed.): Official Handbook: History productions and resources of the Cape of Good Hope Cape Town 1886 p 259-260.  
M.Gibbens: Two Decades p 86.

172. Arthur Douglass (1843-1905) was an Albany farmer who adapted the principles of an imported incubator which arrived broken, to his own successful invention. He wrote a book about ostrich farming. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 86.
173. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 87. M.F. Wormser: The Ostrich Industry in South Africa Unpublished M.A. thesis Rhodes University College 1930 p 33. Hereafter Wormser: Ostrich Industry.
174. Wormser: Ostrich Industry p 21.
175. Trollope: South Africa p 145.
176. Wormser: Ostrich Industry p 80.
177. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 83-85. D. Smith: Cradock p 73.
178. M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 89.
179. Jim's Journal 25 March 1878.
180. C.L.; MS 14550; A brief history of Harpenden Chapel, Cradock, 1872, by the Rev. R.B. Taylor. Both Grahamstown and Cradock had been used as refuges in wartime by local white farmers. At the time of the "Hottentot Rebellion" of 1851 white anxieties in Cradock were focussed on the local "coloured" congregation. According to the Rev. R.B. Taylor, the Congregational (Independent) minister at Cradock, members of his flock were subjected to "great annoyances, designed it would seem to excite them to some act which might be laid hold of to justify a general massacre." Not surprisingly, Taylor was ostracised by white Cradock.
181. See biographical index and Appendix 1.
182. Jim's Journal 13 April 1879.
183. C.L.; MS 14550; A brief history of Harpenden Chapel, Cradock, 1872 by the Rev. R.B. Taylor, Congregational minister.
184. G.T.J. 16 Sept. 1868.
185. The Cradock Register 9 May 1876.

186. G.T.J. 2 July 1877.
187. G.T.J. 17 Aug. 1877. Jim's Journal 10 Aug. 1877.
188. G.T.J. 7 May 1877.
189. G.T.J. 4 Dec. 1876. The Cape Argus 5 Dec. 1876.
190. The Cape Times 27 Nov. 1876. The Cape Argus 5 Dec. 1876.
191. The Cape Argus 5 Dec. 1876.
192. G.T.J. 17 Aug. 1877.
193. G.T.J. 17 Aug. 1877. B.P. Willan: The Role of Solomon T. Plaatje (1876-1932) in South African Society Unpublished Ph.D. thesis London University 1979 p 263. Plaatje, a noted black writer, was active in the True Templar organisation in the 1920's.
194. For example, at the fifth anniversary of the Ark of Safety Lodge No. 13 the guest speakers were Isaac Sharp and Langley Kitching the Quaker missionaries. See fn. 37 p372 and E.S. 11 Feb.1879.
- Butler attended the Ark of Safety Lodge anniversary in January 1877 - Jim's Journal 29 Jan. 1877.
195. G.T.J. 1, 3 Nov. 1876. E.S. 3 Nov. 1876. The E.S. regretted the loss of balls and theatres I.O.G.T. ownership would entail. Butler approved. - Jim's Journal 17 Jan. 1877.
196. E.S. 11 May 1877.
197. E.S. 4 May 1877.
198. G.T.J. 21 March 1877.
199. G.T.J. 11 July, 20 July 1877.
200. Jim's Journal 10 Aug. 1877.
201. The Cradock Register 8 Feb. 1878.
202. James Butler and Annie Letitia Collett were married on 28 March 1882. - G.T.J. 5 April 1882.

PART III

The Diary

1. The Manuscript
2. The Contents

## 1. The Manuscript

The "budgets" that James Butler sent home to his family were bound in three green leather-covered volumes entitled in gold lettering Jim's Journal, Vol.1, Vol.2 and Vol.3. The paper is of good quality, faintly lined. The leather binding is rather worn. James Butler's handwriting is small but remarkably clear and even.

Vol.1	covers	the	period	17	Oct.	1876	-	25	Jan.	1877	-	256	pages.
Vol.2	"	"	"	25	Jan.	1877	-	13	Jan.	1878	-	503	"
Vol.3	"	"	"	14	Jan.	1878	-	15	May	1879	-	624	"

Each budget covers one week. Most are prefaced by a brief summary of that week's events. In editing the diary these summaries have usually been left out, but examples are to be found at the entries for 11 Jan.1877 (p 153 ) and 11 Oct.1877 (p 192 ).

Butler illustrated his diary with interesting items such as pressed flowers, maps, sketches, newspaper cuttings, photographs and notes of temperature and weather.<sup>1</sup> There are more photographs in Volume 1 of the diary than in the other two volumes. The Cape Town section is particularly richly illustrated because Mrs Simey had given Butler many photographs.<sup>2</sup>

Butler wrote the diary as one continuous work interrupted only by the budget convention. For easier reference the editor has divided the diary into sections as follows:

Section 1	Cape Town	11 Nov. 1876 - 5 Dec. 1876
2	Grahamstown	6 Dec. 1876 - 31 Dec. 1876
3	"	1 Jan. 1877 - 12 Oct. 1877
4	Richmond-The Ghio-Grove Hill	13 Oct. 1877 - 6 May 1877
5	Cradock	7 May 1878 - 21 Oct. 1878
6	Cradock-Grahamstown	22 Oct. 1878 - 14 April 1879

The sections correspond to the periods during which Butler was based at

one place, such as Cradock or Grahamstown, or lived with a single family, such as the Shaws.

Butler's language retains a remarkable simplicity, freshness and clarity, reflecting the unadorned plainness of his Quaker background. His straight-forward style is in marked contrast to that of some of his contemporaries. Occasionally he uses a Victorian word such as "overdone" to mean "tired",<sup>3</sup> but on the whole his language is unambiguous and his meaning immediately clear. One of the most interesting developments from a linguistic point of view is Butler's increasing familiarity with a vocabulary which is specifically South African. Such words are explained in the footnotes.

In editing the diary the text has been changed as little as possible. Butler's spelling has been retained. Some of his abbreviations such as "Jno", for "John" and "tho'" for "though" has been left, others, such as "Table Mount" have been changed to "Table Mount [ain]".<sup>4</sup> Butler's ampersand and his &c. have been written as "and" and "etc." without comment. Butler used very little punctuation: the editor has introduced only such punctuation as seemed necessary to make the text intelligible and provide consistency in such expressions as a.m. and p.m. Butler wrote initials for people's names, such as A.A. or Mr. C. These have been expanded as A[lfred] A[lexander] or Mr. C[ollett]. Butler used "Graham's Town" in the earlier section of his diary: after 11 Oct. 1877 he preferred "Grahamstown" which has been used throughout this edition. When Butler mentioned the names of ships he only sometimes used quotation marks: in this edition such names are underlined.<sup>5</sup> Dots have been used to show where words have been left out within a quoted entry. The dates at each entry show which days have been omitted. References to Biblical texts and to well known

carols have usually been left without comment. Butler's own Bible which he took with him on his travels, is lodged in the Cory Library.<sup>6</sup> Brief explanatory notes which link the diary entries are printed in italics.

In the footnotes the term mentioned in the diary has usually been used as a heading with the modern version quoted below: Umzintzani; Mzintzani.<sup>7</sup> Butler's version of the names of chiefs has been retained in the diary. In the biographical index the chiefs are listed under the modern version of their names with the contemporary names given in brackets: Sarhili (Kreli). Where sources conflict the earlier authority has been followed.<sup>8</sup> Many of the pamphlets in the Cory Library are bound in volumes entitled South African Pamphlets. Such works are cited in the footnotes under the relevant numbered volume of the collection. In general the people whom Butler met are listed in the biographical index, occasionally names mentioned briefly are footnoted.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. The Contents

Jim's Journal covers parts of the years 1876 and 1879 and the whole of the years 1877 and 1878. The main editorial problem has been what to leave out without losing the sense of continuity so essential to the diary form. The quality of the diary is uneven. For a young man in poor health whose activities were curtailed by his need to rest and by his strict religious and temperance convictions life was inevitably boring at times. The diary reflects Butler's restricted and somewhat repetitive daily existence, as well as his loneliness.

In general the diary entries for November 1876 until mid-1878 give greater detail than the entries for the final few months.

Butler himself was aware of the change<sup>10</sup> which was due to several factors:

Firstly, his health improved. From the time of his visit to Richmond and the Ghio late in 1877 he was able to swim and to ride for longer periods. Secondly, in the Cradock district he found himself in a welcoming but scattered farming community such that he was able to tour the area and stay with local farmers. Thirdly, in the Cradock district postal services were less regular. Fourthly, and most importantly, he acquired a horse called Moscow on 15 August 1878.<sup>11</sup> Physically better, happier and less lonely, Butler found himself involved in more interesting and varied activities and the diary took a back seat.

In this edition material has been chosen to illustrate typical aspects of Butler's life in South Africa. Of many possible examples one picnic,<sup>12</sup> one naturalizing expedition,<sup>13</sup> one description of a wagon journey,<sup>14</sup> and one complaint about the inadequacies of the postal service<sup>15</sup> have been chosen. Butler's interest in temperance and in religion and his sensible and balanced views on current affairs and on some colonial attitudes have been reflected in several entries.<sup>16</sup> His tours on horseback are illustrated by several examples.<sup>17</sup> The description of Butler's visit to Willie Shaw's grave has been retained to round off an important episode in Butler's life: his relationship with Shaw.<sup>18</sup>

Butler had a strong sense of justice and an uncompromising regard for the truth which were later to influence his attitude as a newspaper editor. In the diary the reader can follow the process of Butler's development: the gradual application of his own high principles to the South African situation. In Cape Town he attended a sitting of the

Resident Magistrate's Court, noted the separate railed off area "for the coloured people"<sup>19</sup> and the apparent lack of comprehension of the proceedings on the part of those on trial. When in July 1877 blacks were summonsed for jury service, Butler approved of the judges' firm stand that members of juries should be chosen regardless of colour.<sup>20</sup> According to The Journal the very idea of black jurymen was ridiculous: editorial opinion regarded blacks as unsuitable for jury service because they lacked "European moral sense".<sup>21</sup> At the Young Men's Society meeting the majority favoured the admission of black jurymen, to Butler's satisfaction.<sup>22</sup> As a convinced pacifist, Butler was prepared to "suffer ... for refusing to bear arms"<sup>23</sup> but, fortunately, he was never put to the test. His diary is at once a record of a physical journey and the story of the broadening of his spiritual horizons. In short, he grew up.

Butler himself commented that "nothing but the truth" had been written in his diary so far as he knew.<sup>24</sup> Indeed his accuracy is worthy of remark. One example among many is Butler's account of the Governor's visit to Grahamstown, which is borne out by the report in The Journal.<sup>25</sup>

Butler came to South Africa to recover from his illness. At first he was physically unable to work. After Dr. Williamson, a local doctor he consulted on several occasions, had given him permission to take a light job,<sup>26</sup> he spent a frustrating time trying to find something suitable. Eventually on 14 June 1877 he found a morning job at the office of The Journal.<sup>27</sup> The work was informal enough for him to stay away when the weather was wet<sup>28</sup> and to leave at a moment's notice when he was invited to join the Shaws at Richmond.<sup>29</sup>

Butler was fully trained in the watchmakers' craft but found no

opportunity to exercise that skill. His comments on the Cradock watchmaker were scathing, though, characteristically, it was the dishonesty of the "smouser" that he heard about which aroused his indignation.<sup>30</sup>

The question of how he lived naturally arises. Clearly his earnings at The Journal office were insufficient to support him: money must have been sent from England, though the diary is silent on the subject. It is possible that the diary was in some sense a "payment" to his family for their generosity. By sending off his budgets faithfully he kept the family informed of his progress and found at the same time an outlet for his own homesickness.

According to Asa Briggs people need from the historian both "sympathetic understanding" and "searching analysis".<sup>31</sup> One of the most personal documents of all is the diary. Within the framework of the daily record the diary offers the essence of the character, personality and interests of the diarist himself.

According to Kate O'Brien in her lively chapter on English diaries and journals in Impressions of English Literature<sup>32</sup> the English diary proper dates from the seventeenth century. She suggests that diarists would have been bores if they had not expressed themselves on paper and provided posterity with the "bright reversal of natural dullness".<sup>33</sup>

The Victorians were prolific diary writers. In the first half of the nineteenth century it was fashionable to assemble one's "papers": memoirs, reminiscences, diaries. The Queen herself kept a diary, parts of which were published.<sup>34</sup> Her Journal enjoyed a wide readership. Many of the Queen's contemporaries followed the royal example.

James Butler's diary is a unique document. It reveals his interests and preoccupations and hints at the man he was to become

in his maturity. Part of the editor's task is to build a bridge between the diarist and the reader<sup>35</sup> and to illuminate something of the diarist's personality. Butler's writing is detailed, his observation acute, his opinions readily given and yet his character remains elusive. His reticence in some areas is only partly explained by his knowledge that he was writing for a wider audience than his immediate family.<sup>36</sup> In the end the editor can identify only too readily with the words of Sir Alfred Milner about the Prime Minister of the Cape, W.P. Schreiner:

"I have wrestled with the devil for the soul of that man for, say, on the average an hour a day for twelve months. I wrestled patiently, listening to interminable sermons, gradually modifying their tone. Only three times did I quite lose my temper. But in the end I am left with only about two-thirds understanding of his soul."<sup>37</sup>

Footnotes to Introduction

PART III

1. Examples from Jim's Journal:
  - 19 Nov.1876: photographs of Greenwood Villa, the Simeys' house, Mrs Simey and two of her daughters.
  - 1 Dec.1876: pressed flowers.
  - 5 Dec.1876: map of the coastline, part of a larger map printed by Justus Perthes, Gotha, Germany, 1876.
  - 30 April 1877: sketch plan of Commemoration Church, Grahamstown.
  - 31 March 1877: sketch graph of temperatures for the month of March 1877.
2. Jim's Journal 14 Dec.1876.
3. Jim's Journal 23 Feb.1878.
4. Jim's Journal 11 Nov.1876.
5. For example Jim's Journal 11 Nov.1876.
6. B.P.; PR 3502/1.
7. See fn 2 p 399.
8. The date of Benjamin Dell's death, for example, corresponds to that given in Grocott's Daily Mail and not the one cited in Jeal. See Dell in biographical index.
9. For example, John Walker's son. Jim's Journal 19 April 1877.
10. Jim's Journal 31 Aug.1878 "Did a little writing this morning for the first time since I have been here."  
 29 March 1879 "... this is being written up on board ship some weeks after...." In fact the diary was never formally completed. The last entry, 15 May 1879, marks the end of the voyage home.
11. Jim's Journal 15 Aug.1878. Two months later on 22 Oct.1878 he reported with satisfaction that he had spent six hours in the saddle without ill effects and when he returned to Grahamstown everyone told him how much better he looked (28 Oct.1878).
12. Jim's Journal 26 Dec.1876.

13. Jim's Journal 16 Nov.1877
14. Jim's Journal 7 May 1878
15. Jim's Journal 17 May 1877
16. For example, Jim's Journal  
     1 Nov.1877 - comments on farming.  
     27 Feb.1878 - comments on local rivalries.
17. For example, Jim's Journal  
     29 Oct.1878, 21 Nov.1878.
18. See Appendix 1, and biographical index.
19. Jim's Journal 28 Nov.1876.
20. Jim's Journal 16 July 1877.
21. G.T.J. 16, 18 July 1877.
22. Jim's Journal 10 Sept.1877.
23. Jim's Journal 1 Oct.1877.
24. Jim's Journal 18 April 1878.
25. Jim's Journal 27 Aug.1877. G.T.J. 28 Aug.1877.
26. Jim's Journal 1 March 1877.
27. Jim's Journal 14 June 1877.
28. Jim's Journal 7 July 1877.
29. Jim's Journal 12 Oct.1877.
30. Jim's Journal 22 May 1878.
31. S.G. Checkland: The Rise of Industrial Society in England, 1815-1885, London, 1964, p ix.

32. W.J. Turner (ed.): Impressions of English Literature, London, 1944, p 185-226.  
Hereafter Turner: Impressions.
33. Turner: Impressions p 226.
34. Sir A. Helps (ed.): Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands from 1848 to 1861, published 1868, reprinted 1969.  
More Leaves ... 1862-1882, edited by Helps, appeared in 1884.
35. Guy Butler: Richard Gush of Salem, Cape Town 1982 p x.
36. Jim's Journal 18 April 1878.
37. Quoted by H.C. Hummel: "Charles Patrick Coghlan" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society, Vol.2, 1975 No.1 p 64.

This evening was introduced to a very interesting family of watchmakers named Salpin. Mr. S. takes a very deep scientific interest in his craft & is tired of the style of business that he has to conduct out here. His family (all sons) take great interest in Natural History & when we arrived were busy filling an aquarium for some fish caught this afternoon. Their garden is beautifully stocked with fuchsias, ferns &c. Was shown collections of ferns & grasses & together spent a very pleasant hour in the company of those who might from their looks & habits have been old Croydon boys. Also saw I suppose it would be called an Antimacassar made of linen nicely splashed showing the forms of many of their large & beautiful ferns.

17. 11. 76 Sunday 62<sup>nd</sup> day. Fine. clear

This morning attended the Wesleyan chapel called 'Commemoration Chapel' which faces down Bathurst St. here I may as well say if I have not already done so that throughout the colony the Wesleyans

JIM'S JOURNAL

THE DIARY OF JAMES BUTLER

Section I

Cape Town 11 Nov. 1876 - 5 Dec. 1876.

*On 17 Oct. 1876 James Butler embarked on the Dunrobin Castle<sup>1</sup> at Poplar Docks, London. The steamer called at Dartmouth on 19 October and at Madeira on 24th and finally reached Table Bay on 11 Nov. 1876.*

11.XI.76. Saturday 26th day. Fine, strong wind.

Last night was a good finishing experience of sea life. More than ever did the ship roll, more than ever did things slide and tumble about, more water than ever did we ship and as a consequence more than ever did I keep awake..... Getting on deck we were in sight of land but rolling to such an extent that it was impossible to keep still..... A long way off the colour of the water is anything but pleasing in contrast with what we have been used to. The outline of the land is very bold and grand, Table Mountain being a very conspicuous mark and a little to the right a conical mountain which looks as if it had once just been a part of Table Mount[ain] but had been neatly sliced off and placed close by. Robben Island a low island with a good lighthouse gradually becomes clearly visible and we see the Lunatic Asylum Buildings<sup>2</sup> on it, someone suggesting that it would be enough to send a sane person mad to be sent to such a dreary spot. Sea Point and Green Point are easily distinguished the sea breaking in grandly over the former. Houses slowly appear more distinct and we make out the breakwater. Nearly every one is on deck and all glasses are in requisition, we get into smoother water, see a few vessels lying at anchor including H.M.S. Active<sup>3</sup> and the port boat comes off to us..... Portmaster asks "All well on board?" and receiving an affirmative immediately comes on and interviews the Captain. It is nearly high water so we dock at once..... Already we have learned that "misfortunes never coming alone" the S.S. St. Lawrence<sup>4</sup>... from England to Cape Town with troops was lost two days ago not far from where the Windsor Castle was lost so shortly before.

The most prominent objects on the quay are the cabs much after the style of London cabs but heavier built and painted with mottoes such as "Welcome", "Remember me" etc. The tops are painted white and instead of drawing from collars the horses have a belt round the chest. Most of the horses strike us as being small. Of course at the earliest possible moment eager friends scramble on board and many hearty greetings take place, but the crowds are not nearly so great as those that assembled at Poplar to see us off. Numerous coloured porters are very anxious to take charge of luggage, each wears a brass badge inscribed with "Registered Coolie No. .. 1876. Take a walk round the docks, inspect the Union Company's African<sup>6</sup> and compare her with our splendid ship decidedly to the African's disadvantage. Directly after lunch (at which we are favoured with luscious oranges) we make a tour to and through the town..... The docks are a little distance from the town and the road thither is rather rough, without pavements, and a tram line runs parallel with it. The streets of the town are pretty regularly laid out but the houses very irregularly built and very few footpaths. There appears to be a good supply of hotels and Churches and Chapels, we also see a Temperance Hall, Young Men's Christian Association, British and Foreign Bible Society, etc. Some of the streets are planted with trees and the market square is surrounded with them. With little trouble I find Caledon St., and a long way up after passing a good many un-English one-storied dwellings sight a larger and more natural looking edifice with a nice garden and fountain which proves to be Greenwood Villa the residence of Mrs. Simey to whom I have a small consignment. Am soon made welcome and admire the view from the verandah which is very good extending right across the bay with Table Mountain rising majestically at the back of the house. In the garden, figs, grapes, guavas, and other fruit are growing well..... Stay tea, talk of home folks, have some music on the harmonium and set out for the docks

at dusk..... and find the ship comparatively deserted.

12 Nov.1876 - 29 Nov.1876.

*James Butler stayed with the Simey family while he waited for the next steamer to Port Elizabeth. He spent the time in walks and excursions to places of interest in and around Cape Town. A few diary entries have been chosen to illustrate this period: the sale of the wrecked St. Lawrence, a visit to the Friend's School and a visit to Stellenbosch.*

14.XI.76. Tuesday 29th day. A Cape South Easter. Cape Town.

..... At the Commercial Exchange where the sale of the St. Lawrence was to take place the dust blew across the square with very unpleasant force, insomuch that following the example of some one I turned up my coat-collar.....

The sale of the wrecked S.S. St. Lawrence<sup>7</sup> seemed to me a farce. Soon after 10 o'clock a crowd collected on the steps of the Exchange and shortly the auctioneer sounded a gong to intimate that he was ready, the crowd crowded into the building, Mr. Jones<sup>8</sup> read a letter from the Governor<sup>9</sup> announcing that no Government property could be sold and the sale commenced. First the hull was offered separately and then the stores provisionally. The highest bid for the hull was £40 and for the stores £15. Next all was put up in one lot and in a few minutes knocked down for £105..... One hundred tons of coals saved from the ship and now lying in the docks were next offered in vain, no one making a single bid. ....

15.XI.76. Wednesday, 30th day. South Easter still blowing.

Cape Town...*Visit to the Friend's School.*

.....The "Friends School"<sup>10</sup> Cape Town..was formerly superintended by Mrs Simey and is now by Miss Simey. The latter kindly took me this morning and shewed me over.

School is supposed to commence at 9 a.m but very few come before 9.30. The principal school room on the ground floor is a good sized one, .... light and airy, texts are hung on the walls and the desks though not of the latest design are very comfortable. A separate classroom to the left also contains a library of Friends books, or principally of such..... Was asked to open school and very much pleased at the good order of the children whose ages range from about 3 to 13. On entering school they all come to the table and courtesy then range themselves on a rising platform at the end of the room with the smaller ones in front. I.... expected to find all black children so was rather surprised to see them of every shade of color from pure white to real black, Malays, Mozambiques, English and Dutch. About 50 were present, 30 girls and 20 boys, the castes of countenance shewed great variety, but some of the black children really had interesting expressions. One deaf and dumb boy attends. Very nicely and softly did they sing "Safe in the arms of Jesus"<sup>11</sup> ..... I took the first class of girls in reading and without any difficulty they read a part of Matt. XXV. very well. ....

18. XI.1876. Saturday 33rd day. Fine. Cape Town - Stellenbosch.<sup>12</sup>

Started by first train 7.20 (next 11.0). Regarding the country for at least the first dozen miles I can only say "scenery none" ..... till arriving at Stellenbosch. But here we find the nicest town I have yet seen since leaving home. Good, wide roads with streams running each side and lined on each side with really good oak-trees ..... This was the second town in the colony founded by the Dutch and is mainly Dutch to this day.....

It seems as if things are dovetailed together exactly to fit into each other for my happiness. I mentioned on the voyage a minister Mr. Krige. Mrs. Simey knew a Mr. Krige at Stellenbosch and wanting me to see the place sent word that if convenient we would come over Saturday.

Arrived there it turned out that the two gentlemen were brothers, the Rev. gentleman had been visiting there the previous day and only left this morning and they had been talking about me amongst others. Of course Mr. K [rige] was very kind, took us to the church<sup>13</sup> and gained us admission to the steeple. The building will seat about 1,000 but is so arranged that every one can see the minister..... The Tower is for such a place a high one I should think about 120 ft. and from the highest part a splendid view is obtained..... Mr. Krige is a vine farmer and has acres and acres of vines which look not unlike currant bushes; his flower garden also is notable..... I should have expected to find here rather a rough house but on the contrary it might have been an old English gentlemans seat, by the size and height of the rooms, the windows and furniture. A strong contrast to many English farm-houses..... A few years back the town was to a large extent burnt<sup>14</sup> it was believed by the coloured people. The trees in this part are spoilt and the new buildings have iron roofs in place of thatch. Another calamity happened a few weeks ago, the bank failed for about £50,000 and the chairman committed suicide.<sup>15</sup> .....

28.XI.76. Tuesday 43rd day. Fine. Cape Town. ....

..... At ten o'clock judgement was to be given in the case of the wreck of the S.S. St.Lawrence<sup>16</sup> and accordingly I was there. A few minutes after time the court opened and the magistrate read the decision, which after recapitulating the evidence and finding nothing against the Captain except that he did not get up when not thoroughly awake suspended his certificate for 6 months, the Chief Officers for 12 months and the 2nd and 3rd Officers were censured and cautioned. The judgment on the Captain certainly took me and I think several others by surprise. This being the chief matter of interest nearly every one left the court as soon as it was over but I thought I might as well stay and hear some of the regular police cases. Newspaper report on other side which seems to be about the usual style of case and punishment.

RESIDENT MAGISTRATE'S COURT.<sup>17</sup>

Before J. Campbell, Esq., Resident Magistrate.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28.

*Butler's  
comments:*

A ragged Malay. *Joseph Esau*, for begging in Harrington Street on Monday, was fined 5s., or four days.

Half coloured. *Abdol Jubar* was fined 10s., or six days, for shouting and screaming on Monday night in Barrack-street. He was further charged with assaulting P.C. No.50, by striking him with his head and fist, whilst in the execution of his duty, and, pleading guilty, was sentenced to fourteen days with hard labour.

Sir, and on this the first charge was proved and judgment given.

*Joseph Ayres* (a quarryman) was charged with stealing a silver Geneva watch, the property of Abraham Valenskil, from the White Horse Hotel, and pleaded not guilty. The complainant (who is a trader) said he was in the White Horse about 5 o'clock yesterday, the prisoner and several others being there at the time. Witness had a box of jewellery, from which he offered articles for sale, and among them was a watch. Prisoner said he was a watchmaker, and asked to look at it, when witness handed it to him, and whilst his back was turned, prisoner went away with it. Witness went outside, when another man pointed out prisoner running away. Witness chased him and caught him in Bree-street, and asked him where the watch was. He denied having it, but a policeman came up and took him and found the watch in his pocket. The watch produced was the one, and was worth 35s.

[the watch:]  
value £1.15.0

Pleaded not Guilty as he only did it for a joke and was the worse for liquor. In fact he appeared so when in the dock and made himself as comfortable as possible and paid not the least attention to the evidence or judgement.

[Abraham Antonio]  
Dressed in best looked a very droll lad and appeared not to know the way into the dock, and when there faced the wrong way.

Water P.C. William Tyssen corroborated this evidence, and added that, on the prisoner's giving up the watch, he said "don't be too hard on me." Prisoner was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with hard labour.

[Abraham Antonio]

Pleaded Guilty and thereon convicted at once put on his cap and had it removed.

*Abraham Antonio* (an errand boy), for lying drunk in the public road at Altona, was fined 5s., or four days.

An interpreter was employed in most of the cases I suppose to interpret Dutch as that is the language most spoken here besides English. One part of the court was railed off for standing room for the coloured people, a good many of whom attended in high colours.

Footnotes

SECTION I

1. See fn. 1, p 26.
2. Robben Island, Lighthouse and Lunatic Asylum.

Robben Island lies in Table Bay about ten kilometres north of Green Point. Under the colonial government of the Dutch East India Company and after the British took responsibility for the Cape Colony in 1814 Robben Island was used as a penal settlement. All convicts sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour or to banishment were sent to Robben Island until 1844. Under John Montagu, Colonial Secretary to the Cape Government between 1843 and 1852, legislation for prison reform was passed and most of the convicts were removed to work on the roads or at Cape Town harbour. The penal institution became the Robben Island Leper and Mental Asylum for lepers, the elderly, the poor, the chronic sick and the mentally ill. Conditions at the Asylum were far from satisfactory as successive Commissions of the Cape Parliament between 1852 and 1871 revealed. Apart from a new wing for female lunatics which was built in 1866 no new buildings or facilities for the patients were provided until 1890. In 1909 a Select Commission condemned Robben Island as unsuitable for lepers and in 1913 the Asylum was closed. Robben Island continued to be used as a penal settlement. In 1965 the whole island became the property of the Prisons Department of the South African government and was used to confine political prisoners.

The Robben Island lighthouse was built in 1864. Since the 1840's petitions and complaints about lighthouses had been sent to the Colonial Office at the Cape but it was not until 1861 that an Act for the erection of a lighthouse on Robben Island was passed in the Cape parliament. The site chosen was Minto Hill, the highest point of the island, 47 metres above sea level. The light, visible 30 kilometres away, was housed in a stone tower, painted white, 18 metres high. A fog warning was added in the early 1900's and electricity and a radio beacon were installed in 1938.

- S.A. de Villiers: Robben Island Cape Town 1971 p 3-116.
- J.J. Breitenbach: The Development of the Secretaryship to the Government at the Cape of Good Hope under John Montagu 1843-1852, in A.Y.B. II (1959) p 223, 226-7, 238, 240.
- Brenda M. Weir: Principal Lighthouses on the South African and South West African Coasts 1824-1960, A bibliography. University of Cape Town 1970 p 34.

3. H.M.S. Active

Flag: United Kingdom  
 Type: Corvette  
 Complement: 320  
 Built: Blackwall; launched 1869; completed Portsmouth 1873.  
 Tonnage: 3078 tons.  
 Dimensions: Length 270 feet, beam 42 feet.  
 Horsepower: 4015 Speed: 15 knots.  
 Armament: 10 6 inch breech loaders.  
           2 64 pounder muzzle loaders.

From 1874 to 1879 H.M.S. Active was the flagship of the Cape of Good Hope squadron maintained by the Royal Navy from 1806 to 1914 to look after British interests in the South Atlantic and South Western Indian oceans. The Active was involved in engagements in West Africa 1874-6 and in the Zulu war 1879. Later that year (1879) she was rearmed with two 14 inch torpedo tubes and in 1885 became part of the Royal Naval Training Squadron. She was paid off into reserve in 1898 and sold in 1906.

Her captain in 1876 was Commander J.A.T. Bruce. She arrived at Simon's Bay from St. Helena on 11 November 1876 carrying the Commodore, Sir W.N.W. Hewett (appointed 1873) and the following day sailed for Paternoster Point and brought back the troops of the 3rd Buffs who had been shipwrecked there in the St. Lawrence.

- Letter A.W.H. Pearsall, Historian, National Maritime Museum, to J.M. Garner 19 April 1982 with enclosure Sheet 2 Steamships (from National Maritime Museum, Warship History).

4. S.S. St. Lawrence

Flag: United Kingdom  
 Owners: Messrs. Temperley and Carter  
 Tonnage: 1425  
 Built: 1874  
 Wrecked: 9 November 1876

On 4 October 1876 the steamer St. Lawrence left Dublin for South Africa on charter by the British government as a troop ship. She carried about 800 tons of military stores and the Second Battalion of the 3rd Buffs commanded by Colonel Charles Knight Pearson. Her passengers included about fifty women and about

seventy children, altogether about 700 people. Her captain was Arthur Hyde, R.N.R. At about 3.30 a.m. on 9 November 1876 the St. Lawrence struck the Great Paternoster Reef at Paternoster Point about 140 kms. north of Table Bay. The passengers and crew all landed safely but efforts to refloat the ship failed and she gradually sank. News of the wreck was brought overland to Cape Town by Captain Wylde, one of the passengers. H.M.S. Active and H.M.S. Spartan were hastily made ready and on 12 Nov. followed the steam tug Gnu to the wreck. The troops were brought down to Cape Town in the warships and embarked in Cape Town for East London on the Dunrobin Castle on 23 November.

On 14 November the wreck of the St. Lawrence was auctioned at the Commercial Exchange by Messrs. H. Jones and Co., auctioneers, in Cape Town and sold to Messrs. Stephan Bros. for a mere £105. The goods salvaged were sold for some £250 at a sale on 30 December.

A Court of Enquiry into the loss of the St. Lawrence sat from 21-28 November with the Resident Magistrate John Campbell in the chair and Captain Tracey of H.M.S. Spartan and Staff Commander H.H. Hannay of H.M.S. Active as assessors. Evidence showed that the ships' officers thought that the ship was about 13 miles from shore when she struck; driven onto the reef by a strong north easterly current. According to the judgement of the Court of Enquiry Captain Hyde was deemed to have neglected his duty in not coming on deck at once. His certificate was suspended for six months. The Chief Officer William Shelton had his certificate suspended for twelve months for failing to ascertain the distance from land or to stop the engines at once. The second and third officers were reprimanded.

- The Cape Town Daily News 29 Nov. 1876
- The Cape Mercantile Advertiser 11, 13, 15, 18, 25, 29 Nov. 1876, 4 and 30 Dec. 1876.
- The Cape Argus 11, 14, 23, 25, 28, 30 Nov. 1876.
- The Cape Times 13, 15, 27 Nov. 1876.
- R.F. Kennedy (compiler): Shipwrecks on and off the coasts of Southern Africa. A Catalogue and Index, Johannesburg 1955 p 106.
- G.M. Theal: History of South Africa, Struik facsimile, Cape Town 1964, Vol. 10 p 56.

5. Windsor Castle

Flag: United Kingdom  
 Line: The Colonial Mail Line (Donald Currie's)  
 Route: London - Dartmouth - Cape Town  
 Built: 1872 Govan (R. Napier, Glasgow)  
 Tonnage: 2672 tons  
 Dimensions: Length 334<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> feet, beam 37<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> feet  
 Horsepower: 270

The steamship Windsor Castle left Dartmouth on 23 September 1876 with 156 passengers and a general cargo. She struck the reef known as "The Triangles" 2 miles off Dassen Island north of Table Bay at 2.25 a.m. on Thursday 19 October 1876. There was no loss of life. Two passengers, Lieutenant Melville of the 24th Regiment and Mr. James Searle of Port Elizabeth came ashore near Darling, travelled down to Cape Town and reported the wreck to the Currie agents in Cape Town, Messrs. Anderson and Murison. The passengers, mail and some baggage were landed on the island and brought down to Cape Town in the coaster Florence. The ship was broken up by high seas on 28 October. On 4 November the wreck was auctioned at the Commercial Exchange in Cape Town and sold to Messrs. A. Ohlsson and Co. for £1,500. There were five subsequent sales of damaged goods from the ship. From 2-9 November a Court of Enquiry into the loss of the vessel sat at the Magistrates Court with Mr. John Campbell the Resident Magistrate in the chair assisted by Commander J.A.T. Bruce and Staff Commander H.H. Hannay, both of the Royal Navy, as nautical assessors. They found that the Windsor Castle had been lost because no allowance had been made for onshore currents and the available chart was too small. The Master, Captain John Hewat, had his certificate suspended for 9 months, the second officer had his certificate suspended for 3 months. The Cape Argus suggested that the wreck might have been due to the sacrifice of safety to speed in the steamship companies' attempts to reduce the voyage time. A subsequent enquiry at the Board of Trade in London found that the loss of the Windsor Castle was due to an error of judgement in estimating the distance from the land on the part of Captain Hewat, that the charts were satisfactory and the discipline on board highly creditable. The Windsor Castle had been one of the fastest ships of the Currie line, having made a record passage of 23 days 15 hours from Dartmouth on

16 May 1873. Her loss cost local insurance companies some £30,000.

- The Cape Mercantile Advertiser 21, 30 Oct. 1876; 4, 18, 20, 27 Nov. 1876; 23 Dec. 1876; 15 Jan. 1877; 14 Feb. 1877; 21 May 1877.
- The Cape Argus 21, 24 Oct. 1876; 4, 11, Nov. 1876.
- The Cape Times 3 Nov. 1876.
- Marischal Murray: Union-Castle Chronicle 1853-1953 London 1953 p 80-81.
- Marischal Murray: Ships and South Africa Oxford 1933 p 333-334.
- R.F. Kennedy (compiler): Shipwrecks on and off the Coasts of Southern Africa. A Catalogue and Index Johannesburg 1955 p 124.
- G.M. Theal: History of South Africa, Struik facsimile, Vol. 10 p 268.

## 6. African

Flag: United Kingdom  
 Line: Union Steam Ship Company  
 Route: London - Southampton - Cape Town  
 Built: 1873 Key, Kinghorn  
 Tonnage: 2019 tons

The first of the Union Line's mail steamers named African was built in 1873. During the Zulu War of 1879 she was used to carry troops from Cape Town to Durban. Her captain at the time, Captain Crutchley, embarked the soldiers on his own initiative when he heard rumours of the battle of Isandhlwana (22 Jan. 1879).

After 1881 the African was used as a coastal steamer. In 1885 she was sold to F. Stumore and Co., London. She was wrecked in the Red Sea on 15 Feb. 1887.

- Marischal Murray: Ships and South Africa p 54, 259.
- Marischal Murray: Union-Castle Chronicle p 353.

## 7. See fn. 4 p 110.

8. Henry Jones of the firm H. Jones and Co., auctioneers and appraisers, Commercial Exchange Buildings.  
- The General Directory and Guide Book to the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies, 1876. Cape Town, 1876, p xxix.
9. Sir Henry Barkly. See biographical index.
10. The Friends' School

The Friends' School in Cape Town was established by James Backhouse (1794-1869) a Quaker minister and missionary who visited South Africa in the course of a ten-year missionary journey. He and his companion George Washington Walker spent 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> years in South Africa.

In May 1840 Backhouse bought a school building in Buiten Street, Cape Town, for £1,050 to establish a school for poor children. The new school was to be supported by voluntary subscriptions from Friends in England. Backhouse appointed a Mr. Richard Jennings, a teacher from Simonstown, and his wife Mary to manage the venture. They arrived on 2 July 1840.

In the 1860's the school passed into the charge of Mrs. Matilda Simey and her daughters Mary and Matilda (junior).

According to the will of James Backhouse dated 9 Feb. 1867 the property was bequeathed to his son James and two other Trustees on condition they continued to use it as a school or for a similar purpose. In 1885 the Trustees became responsible to the Meeting for Sufferings, the executive body of the Society of Friends. On behalf of that body, Mr. Thomas James Simey, the son of Mrs. Matilda Simey, sold the property to Messrs. Donald and William McKenzie in 1888 for £600. It was sold again in 1897 for £2,200 and bought by the Cape Town Baptist Church in 1903 for £6,000. The building, which ceased to be a school when it was sold in 1888, became the Buiten Street Hall of the Baptist Church.

- The South African Friend July 1912 - cutting enclosed in Jim's Journal Vol. 1.
- James Backhouse : A Narrative of a Visit to The Mauritius and South Africa London 1844 p 627-8,633.
- D.S.A.B. Vol. 1. p 31.

11. "Safe in the Arms of Jesus"

This was one of over 2000 hymns written by Frances Jane van Alstyne, nee Crosby, 1823-1915. She was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and was born at South East, Putnam County, New York. She was blind from infancy. She was educated at the Institute for the Blind, New York, where she taught from 1847 to 1858. In 1858 she married a blind musician Alexander van Alstyne. She used several pseudonyms.

"Safe in the arms of Jesus" was written in 1868 at the request of William Howard Doane (1831-1915) who wrote the music for this and other hymns. He was a businessman in Cincinnati, Ohio, and published a number of hymn books, especially ones for Sunday schools.

"Safe in the arms of Jesus" was first published in America in Bright Jewels 1869. The words also appear in I.D. Sankey: Sacred Songs and Solos (No. 25).

- I.D. Sankey (compiler): Sacred Songs and Solos with Standard Hymns 750 pieces London n.d. There were several editions of this hymnal with variable numbers of items published in the 1870's.
- John Julian (ed.): A Dictionary of Hymnology Revised Edition London 1907 p 304, 1203-4.
- Maurice Frost (ed.): Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern London 1962 p 533-534, 582, 669.

12. Stellenbosch

The village of Stellenbosch was founded by Commander Simon van der Stel who visited the Eerste River valley in October 1679 and named an island in the river Stellenbosch. The village grew up round the church (built 1686-7), the Drostdy (built 1687) and the village green known as the Braak. By 1860 there were about 200 dwellings, many in the gracious Cape-Dutch style. Some public buildings were redesigned in Gothic revival or neo-Classical style.

The railway reached Stellenbosch in 1862. Economically the town was the centre of a wine producing area. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Stellenbosch developed as an educational centre with the foundation of several high schools, including the Stellenbosch College which developed into a university.

The beauty of the town was enhanced by its streams and trees. Oaks had been transplanted from Rondebosch as early as 1712 and

since the early nineteenth century Stellenbosch was well known as a tourist attraction. Most of the inhabitants were Dutch speaking.

- F. Smuts (ed.): Stellenbosch, Three Centuries Cape Town  
1979 p 52-55, 63, 92-94, 173, 305-310, 315, 328-329.

Stellenbosch Town Council: Stellenbosch 1679-1929  
Commemorative Volume 1929 p 72.

### 13. The Dutch Reformed Church at Stellenbosch

The first church at Stellenbosch, a simple rectangular building, was inaugurated in 1687. It was burnt down in a fire in 1710. A second church was started in 1717. The plan of that church was a Greek cross but alterations took place in 1806 and 1814 and the building was partially demolished in 1862.

The whole building was redesigned and refurbished in neo-Gothic style and opened on 1 Nov. 1863. The rebuilding programme was greatly encouraged by the Rev. Johannes Henoch Neethling, Dutch Reformed minister at Stellenbosch 1858-1904. The rebuilt church resembled a three-bay basilica with a spire and steeple surmounting the central bay. The architect responsible was Carl Otto Hager (1813-1898), a German immigrant who went to Stellenbosch in 1841. With its pointed windows and ornate pinnacles the Dutch Reformed Church remains a distinctive Stellenbosch landmark.

- F. Smuts (ed.): Stellenbosch, Three Centuries Cape Town  
1979 p 101, 244-263, 379-381.

### 14. Fires at Stellenbosch

There were destructive fires at Stellenbosch in 1710, 1803 and 1875. Arson by slaves was a suspected cause of the 1803 fire.

On 21 January 1875 a fire broke out at a cobbler's establishment and spread rapidly, fanned by a high wind. Despite the services of a volunteer fire brigade and local fire engines, new fires erupted in several different places at once, which aroused suspicions of arson. The fire was finally brought under control by three hundred soldiers summoned from Cape Town. One woman died and fifty houses were destroyed.

Two days later on 23 January fire again broke out in a house in Dorp Street. Witnesses reported acts of arson. The military were again summoned but the fires had been doused by the time they arrived.

The appearance of Stellenbosch was changed after 1875: thatch,

attractive but hazardous, was increasingly replaced by corrugated iron. On some buildings lofts were added for coolness and gables were "clipped" to accommodate the new roofing. By 1905 only about 25% of the single-storeyed pitched-roofed buildings in the town centre were still thatched.

- F. Smuts (ed.): Stellenbosch, Three Centuries p 97, 102-103, 168-170, 175.
- Stellenbosch Town Council: Stellenbosch 1679-1929 p 71, 76, 78.
- G.T.J. 22, 25 Jan.1875.

#### 15. The Stellenbosch Bank

The Stellenbosch Bank was established in 1854. By 1876 it was managed by a Board of Directors and financed by about 180 local shareholders. In November 1876 a recently elected director, a Mr. de Waal, refused to take office before the bank's books had been investigated, but before this could be done Mr. Jacobus Wege, the Chairman of the bank committed suicide with rat poison on Wednesday 8 November. Two days later the Chief Cashier Mr. William Johannes Herold was arrested and charged with embezzlement and fraud. The bank was said to have lost over £60,000. The Cape Town accountants Messrs. Jones and Cosnett were asked to examine the bank's financial affairs. Mr. John Howard Cosnett's report established the loss at £48,939.11s.10d. Mr. Wege owed the bank £16,473.9s.2d. Evidence led in the Herold case, which came before the Resident Magistrate at Stellenbosch on 16 November, showed that monies withdrawn in Cape Town in the name of the Stellenbosch Bank had been used by Herold for his own purposes and that he had defrauded the bank of £20,000 in land transactions. He appealed to the Supreme Court but was found guilty and had to forfeit his estates.

Early in December the shareholders held several meetings at Stellenbosch to decide the future of the bank. Mr. Cosnett's report showed that the reasons for the bank's failure were the unusual amount of control permitted to Herold, general mismanagement, lack of an independent audit and the directors' lack of financial expertise. The directors were strongly criticised but agreed to contribute £20,000 so that the bank could resume business if the shareholders would do the same, which they agreed to do. Nevertheless the bank went into final liquidation on the 10 January 1877.

- The Cape Times 10, 18, 23 Nov. 1876, 2, 5, 19 Dec. 1876.
- The Cape Argus 11, 14, 18 Nov.; 7, 19 Dec. 1876.
- The Cape Mercantile Advertiser 18 Nov. 1876
- F. Smuts (ed.): Stellenbosch, Three Centuries  
Cape Town 1979 p 218.

16. See fn. 4, p 110.

17. Newspaper cutting - The Capetown Daily News Wed. 29 Nov. 1876.

The cases which came before the Resident Magistrate on 28 Nov. 1876 were also reported in The Cape Times of 29 Nov. 1876 and The Cape Argus of 30 Nov. 1876.

1. Joseph Esau - described as "an old Hottentot" in The Cape Times. The penalty for begging was apparently mitigated in his case because of old age.

2. Abdol Jubar - The Cape Times says the police constable he assaulted was Donald Matheson.

3. Joseph Ayers - fewer details in the other papers. "Abraham Vlenski" was the version of the name "Abraham Valenski" given in The Cape Argus.

SECTION 2

Grahamstown 6 Dec. 1876 - 31 Dec. 1876

29 Nov. 1876 - 6 Dec. 1876.

*Butler sailed from Cape Town on 3 Dec. 1876 on a coastal steamer and reached Port Elizabeth on 5 December. The following day he travelled by train as far as Sandflats (modern Paterson); the railhead at the time. At Sandflats he transferred to a Cape cart of the transport company Cobb and and Co.<sup>1</sup> and thus reached Grahamstown.*

6.XII.1876. Wednesday 51st day. Fine, Very windy and dusty.

Sandflats to Grahamstown.

I wish I could give a graphic description of my ride between the above places, but words fail me (as they generally do) but now more than ever. The distance is 44 miles and I paid £2 for the ride; looking at the country we had to go over and the uncertainty of getting passengers it might be said the ride was "cheap at any price" - but, on the other hand, looking at the jolting, the shaking, jumping, thumping, rattling, banging and knocking about that was "given in" the ride might almost be said to be "dear at any price". Our "Cape Cart" was a two-wheeled vehicle containing three seats, each capable on a squeeze of seating three persons. Happily the seats, sides and back were well padded with leather cushions and happily again we were provided with a canvass hood and side curtains to shield us from sun and dust. Four horses were harnessed to this conveyance and subsequently six. Our driver was a half caste, possessed a very long whip with a very long handle and a trumpet to announce our coming at the various stages on the road. But he was certainly very skilful, kept his horses well together at a very steady smart pace over all sorts of road, cleverly choosing the best parts and as he thought fit leaving the track and running along at its side, again join [ing] it at a convenient opportunity. Three times only did we slacken to a walking pace, once where the road came on the bare rocks and it would have been dangerous to the vehicle not to mention the

passengers had we maintained our speed, and twice going up long hills. I say long hills because on approaching a short one the driver whipped up his horses and at a grand galop we went at and mounted them. Six hours and a half was the time including stoppages for the distance of 44 miles ..... Our road was of course a mere track, sometimes broad and sometimes narrow, sometimes on grass, sometimes on stones, but generally through several inches of dust. Fortunately the wind was at our back most of the way otherwise we should have been nearly choked. The spokes of the wheels acted like paddle wheels sending up clouds of dust with centrifugal force and the horses of course raised more, not to mention what was raised already by the wind which would have been ample for every conceivable requirement. Never at a journey's end do I remember being in such a state, clothes, hair, eyes, ears etc. being smothered whilst the rim of my hat carried a good deal more.....

Our destination not suddenly but gradually opens before us, I think I may say pleasingly. A great many trees form a delightful feature in the landscape which is very refreshing, our road is lined with tall blue gum<sup>2</sup> trees which at a distance look not unlike poplars. The town is surrounded by hills and is somewhat built on hills for most of its streets are hilly. It presents a straggling appearance, so many plots even in the best parts of the town being unbuilt upon. Our ride is at an end (we had some tea at the last half way house) but on the whole I suppose I have enjoyed it principally from its novelty and partly because it was bringing me where I hope to settle down comfortably. .... As Mr. Copeland says in his letter "every one and any one knows my house in Grahamstown" we have no difficulty in finding his store which is one of the leading ones in the place. Business not being quite over he kindly sends a boy to act as my guide and porter to his house. Arrived there I am surprised at the style of furniture not expecting to find

such up country in S. Africa. However the drawing room is furnished in right first class English style and bed room to match. The house is all on one floor, a good wide passage in the middle, drawing room, dining room and kitchen on the right and bedrooms on the left. A nice verandah is reached from the drawing and breakfast rooms and overlooks the garden which is well stocked with fruit trees and vegetables at the back but with fine flowers in the front, stables, fowl houses etc. further on. Mrs. C [opeland] soon makes me at home and though the wind howls outside to-day the wind is reported to be quite exceptional for the time of year, in fact for any year.....

10.XII.76. Sunday 55th day. Fine, very high wind. Grahamstown. Kaffir location.<sup>3</sup> Cathedral<sup>4</sup> etc.

Attended morning service at the Cathedral with Mrs. C [opeland] and family but did not find it much to my liking, the regular service occupied nearly an hour, conducted in rather high style and then Dean Williams for a short time apparently said as little in that time as could be... What he did say was very broad and good so far as it went and I should have been pleased if he had said more.... that would have been to the point. His text was from Matt. VII "Therefore he that heareth etc." the congregation was large and fashionable, the church is roomy, has a good gallery formerly used by the soldiers, a choir and a pretty picture at the end representing Christ blessing the children. After dinner and dessert, (a fruit called naartjies<sup>5</sup> very like oranges but smaller, not so juicy but with rather a nice taste) walked through the "Kaffir location" a district set apart for the Kaffirs who live in low mud huts thached with reed; a tremendous wind was blowing so hardly any were visible, some of the ground attached is bearing good crops....

Evening Service at Trinity Church,<sup>6</sup> otherwise Presbyterian Chapel - decidedly more homely than the morning. Mr. Chalmers a very good

earnest man preached one of a series of sermons from the parable of the "Prodigal Son". The Chapel is a nice comfortable plain building and the congregation apparently to match. Evening service commences at 7 and though the evening is not cold this being late spring or early summer it is observable how many gentlemen come provided with overcoats to put on after the service. A hint which I suppose I shall take though I don't notice the cold, fresh comers generally do not the first year.

11.XII.76. Monday 56th day. Showery.

Grahamstown - Wesleyan Mission Printing Press.<sup>7</sup>

By appointment called on Mr. Hunter who took me to the Wesleyan printing establishment for printing in Dutch and Kaffir. It is situated in the Kaffir Location but all the work except part of the binding is done by Englishmen. ..They have two machines, several founts of type, keep 2 compositors and in a separate room do the binding from beginning to end. I brought away a sheet I saw printed and purchased a New Testament for 2/6 which I will send home. Mr. Hunter is an authority, nearly a half of their small stock of literature being the result of his work. They have the whole bible printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in London besides the edition of the Testament of their own production and are now revising the translation of the Old Testament.<sup>8</sup> A Hymn Book,<sup>9</sup> Peep of Day,<sup>10</sup> a book on theology by Mr. Hunter<sup>11</sup> and a few others are all they have at present. Afternoon succeeded in having an interview with Dr. Williamson reputed to be about the best here..... It was by no means discouraging but the reverse and so far as Doctors opinions are worth anything in helping us to form our own we may look at matters hopefully, but of course when I see him again in a few months time he will by comparison be better able to form a sound practical judgment. I forgot to mention yesterday in my list of trees, the weeping willow<sup>12</sup> which is abundant by the streams, and the fact that from all the

trees in sunshine a perpetual bug or rather whistling or hissing is maintained by a kind of beetle specimens of which I hope to secure.

13.XII.76. Wednesday 58th day. Fine.

.... There are reported to be about 25,000 Kaffirs between here and the sea in this bush and if there should be a war these would probably be the aggressors. As probably you may have heard there are numerous war alarms given which as long as I was at Cape Town I very little heeded but here they are more definite and numerous. The volunteer movement is very popular and strong and undoubtedly is a considerable check on the natives for on the very best authority they would make a war if they thought themselves sufficiently strong, but so far as I am concerned I hardly think there is much cause for uneasiness though some very suspicious things have happened. I dont think the people here really expect it though they talk so much about it but Christmas is the favourite time for Kaffir outbreaks and if that is got over safely probably people will talk less about it and will spend their money which at present they are not doing much to the loss of shopkeepers. I should have said something about the newspapers<sup>13</sup> here. Three are regularly published, "The Eastern Star" edited chiefly by the Dean who preached on Sunday who gets himself into much disfavour with many by so doing, published Tuesday and Friday. "The Journal" published Monday, Wednesday and Friday and "Grocotts Penny Mail" Tuesdays and Friday. The last is reported to be a regular radical paper but the difference in the politics of the other two I have not yet discovered except that during the late election<sup>14</sup> they supported the opposite candidates.....

16.XII.76. Saturday. 61st day. Fine.

Grahamstown. Museum.

Spent some hours this morning in the small but interesting Museum belonging to this town, Mr. Glanville town clerk and curator kindly

shewing me the principal objects of interest and explaining their history, peculiarities etc. First of all he went to the Geological department in which department he is very deep and I very shallow, however I hope he instilled a few things into me and that I may be a little wiser for his lessons. Some very remarkable specimens of fossil giant lizards are perhaps the most notable as being peculiar to S. Africa. Certainly a lizard whose skull is about 9 inches in diameter must have been a very remarkable creature. From there I was brought down to quite recent times to fossil shells of species still found on the coast at the Kowie. By far the most prevalent strata here are sandstones and coal-beds hitherto found in the colony occur in totally different positions to the English. Specimens of the Mineral wealth were next shewn, copper, iron and gold being the leading ones except of course diamonds which are very poorly represented; in fact it would be little use exhibiting them as such articles are generally extracted from the cases. The cases of Natural History were a little though not much more in my line and were well supplied with specimens of native birds and quadrupeds. Baboons I was informed are still in force on Signal Hill, Leopards and Hyenas in the Kowie Bush. One or rather two of the most interesting specimens were the honey bird<sup>15</sup> (about the size of the Coochoo) and a quadruped I think it is called the rattan<sup>16</sup> (about the size of a retriever). These travel in pairs in search of honey, the bird periodically uttering its note, the quadruped as regularly responding until the former has led [it] to a tree containing a bees-nest when the latter attacks and devours it, leaving however a supply for its guide. These birds are followed by the Hottentots when in search of honey as they seem to possess a never failing faculty for discovering the nectar. The collection of butterflies, moths and beetles which I had not previously [seen] was very good and well arranged and named which will prove very useful to me in classifying and arranging mine if I collect many.....

This evening was introduced to a very interesting family of watchmakers named Galpin. Mr. G[alpin] takes a very deep scientific interest in his craft and is tired of the style of business that he has to conduct out here. His family (all sons) take great interest in Natural History and when we arrived were busy filling an aquarium for some fish caught this afternoon. Their garden is beautifully stocked with fuschias, ferns etc., etc. Was shewn collections of ferns and grasses and altogether spent a very pleasant hour in the company of these who might from their tastes and habits have been old Croydon boys. Also saw I suppose it would be called an Antimacassar made of linen nicely splashed shewing the forms of many of their large and beautiful ferns.

17.XII.76. Sunday 62nd day. Fine. Close.

This morning attended the Wesleyan Chapel called "Commemoration Chapel"<sup>17</sup> which faces down Bathurst St. .... This Chapel from the dull brown colour of the stone used in its construction has rather a gloomy outside appearance but inside is very nicely fitted and looks more homelike than any place of worship I have yet seen here.....

The Chapel is a large one and I should think capable of seating nearly 2,000; it has a gallery all round and this morning was tolerably full. Here as at the other places I have visited the singing seems to be almost entirely left to the choir who appear rather to aim at effect, an arrangement I dont at all like. Again attended the Congregational Chapel<sup>18</sup> in the evening and heard another very good earnest sermon from Mr. Chalmers on the prodigal son. ....

18.XII.76. Monday. 63rd. Hot.

Grahamstown. Good Templars Hall.

Called at Mr. Galpins shop which is next door to Mr. Copelands in Bathurst St. and was very much interested and pleased in looking at the stock to find it so varied and good. It is the best shop of the sort I have seen in the colony and they evidently sell as high a class of goods

as they can. In Mr. Galpins workshop he has a reflecting telescope<sup>19</sup> by Spencer Browning and 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> inch speculum, several peculiar watches and various scientific instruments. Got the exact time here which I have hitherto been unable to do so shall be able to time my watch. Received home newspapers and very glad of them, from the telegrams and leaders I see in the papers here I should often form very different opinions as to the course of events from what I do when I peruse our home papers.....

This evening went to the Good Templar Hall formerly the Albany Hall<sup>20</sup> the best in the town. The members of the Independent Order [of Good Templars] finding that the Hall was for sale at about a half of its value viz. £1,500 formed a Limited Com[pan]y and purchased it : a part of it is used as a lodge room and the Hall is let for entertainments etc. but not as formerly for balls which last condition that portion of the public that is fond of dancing much object to. After the usual preliminaries I was in due course welcomed to the lodge and now form one of its members, thus claiming as "bretheren" several of the leading men of Grahamstown, amongst others Reuben Ayliff M.L.A. etc. The Lodge room is nicely fitted up, tolerably well officered and after business there was a profitable discussion on "the good of the order". .....

20.XII.76. Wednesday 65th day. Hot.

Grahamstown - Railway works.

Had a ride this morning in "the Spider"<sup>21</sup> (a 4 wheeled cart for two passengers) toward the railway tunnel works<sup>22</sup> about 3 miles distant. They are getting on but slowly and will probably be about 18 months before they finish.....

21.XII.76. Thursday 66th day. Fair, windy, longest day.

.....I have been wondering if these weekly budgets are interesting or at all readable. I know they must be difficult to read as I never read them myself to correct or punctuate them so that the sentences must

often seem very heavy and awkward, but the truth is I don't see how I can give much more time to writing than I do so no more at present from yours truly - Please excuse everything.

*Butler's friend Alfred Alexander wrote to say that he would arrive in Grahamstown on 21 Dec. 1876. He eventually arrived on the evening of 22 Dec. after several delays.*

23.XII.76. Saturday. 68th day. Fine.

Grahamstown. Fuller's waterfall.

Another week's news from home with last week's missing budget.....

.... We received our newspapers and Xmas cards as well. This afternoon A [lfred] A [lexander] and I accompanied two of the Galpins on their Saturday afternoon ramble and had a most enjoyable time quite like our old Croydon excursions for naturalising. Altogether we walked about 10 miles over hill and kloof. It was fine having such guides for they not only knew where to find the good things but generally knew what a thing was when found which was a great help to us to whom nearly everything was new. Started soon after two along the Kowie Road..... being overtaken by holiday makers in vehicles and on foot. About 3 miles from town the Kowie road divides forming the Lower Kowie and the "High Level" the latter being the favourite, a mile beyond we left the road and descended what here is called a Kloof<sup>23</sup>..... Some 300 feet down we entered the bush with a stream running down the bottom. Here we received our first real idea of what "the bush" means..... Trees grow thickly up each side of the ravine, tremendous ferns grow profusely and many smaller ones where they can find room. "Monkey ropes" of various sizes averaging about an inch in diameter [were] stretching across the trees and up into their higher branches. Huge boulders [were] lying in the bed of the stream and in parts the rocks forming one side of the Kloof form cliffs and caves and holes for the bats, monkeys and many other animals [which] inhabit the bush, and probably there is a

good reward for any naturalist to thoroughly examine it. ....

We found two very beautifully made little birds nests and whilst examining a third found a small tree frog about 20 ft up a tree. Yellow<sup>24</sup> and sneeze woods<sup>25</sup> seem to grow here most plentifully. The latter is very tough and when used for posts or anywhere in the ground will not rot for very many years. Another tree<sup>26</sup> has its trunk covered with cones about a half an inch high, these come off with a sharp tap and look very much like little limpets. The climb up again was pretty hard work but we took our time and got back about 7 to tea.....

24.XII.76. Sunday 69th day. Fine.

Grahamstown. R.C. Cathedral.<sup>27</sup>

There was nothing in the Wesleyan Chapel this morning or in the service to denote the near approach of Christmas, no mottoes, no ever-greens which whatever may be said against them certainly look very pretty and may have a good effect. We had a good sermon from the account of the woman [who] hid the leaven in the meal until the whole was leavened. After leaving here looked in at the Catholic service which was not yet over, the bishop (I think it was he) Bishop Rickards [Ricards] whom I have seen at 57 Fenchurch St. was exhorting the people to be practical in their penance and from the tone of his remarks was going powerfully to appeal to their pockets.....

I think I thought more this evening than I have yet done since leaving home of "our absent friends". I sat in my room a long time, looked at my Christmas cards, thought of the many kind letters and wishes I received yesterday looked at my photographs and tried to picture the faces and occupations of many loved ones. ....

25.XII.76. Monday. 70th day. Very hot.

Grahamstown. Xmas day.

Breaking my rule of sleeping till day-break I woke just before three o'clock and presently was very gladly surprised by hearing some mens voices..... This was a treat I had expected to miss and so was doubly glad to hear them sing the same carols I have so often heard at home and that perhaps were then being sung. It seemed so strange an occupation for Xmas day to be seeking for lodgings but A [lfred] A [lexander] being dissatisfied with Mrs. Passmores a good deal of the morning was thus spent unsuccessfully. The heat to-day has been very great  $82^{\circ}$  in the shade.....

26.XII.76. Tuesday. 71st day. Fine, light breeze max  $83\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$

Grahamstown. Picnic to Belmont.

Met according to appointment about 6 a.m. at Mr. Galpins who had invited us to join their excursion. Regaled with coffee etc. we entered our conveyance which was not a carriage, coach, break or pleasure van but none other than a regular bullock wagon drawn by 12 very respectable bullocks : baskets of provisions, boxes of crockery, jars of water and bottles of drinks various were loaded in front with kettles and other apparatus. Dont think that they were in close proximity to us because these said wagons are 20 ft long and our sitting room or parlour or tented part of the wagon is at the back. Beds, pillows, hassocks and such like comforts are provided in plenty and though the roads be rough and there be no springs to our conveyance, the riding is quite comfortable in fact rather jolly. Our party was made up of Mr. and Mrs. Galpin and 3 of their family and their 2 servants, Mr. and Mrs. Glanville and daughter and 2 boys and we two. Our road lay past "Fort England" formerly barracks now lunatic asylum down the Kowie valley - whenever we come to a "drift" (ford) we get a good shaking up as we run down

and into it. A farmer here has done what few do, viz fence in his ground. About 8 miles from town is Mr. Clarke's farm<sup>28</sup> On whose ground by permission we outspanned and camped about 8.30. The ladies proceeded to lay the cloth and the gentlemen to make a fire both of which operations were soon done, sticks and logs were soon procured, a fire kindled and presently with flames roaring all round the large kettle was boiling and coffee made - the best coffee I have tasted in the colony - for good coffee seems to be a rarity although or perhaps because, it is grown in Natal. Our friends seem to be wise in pic-nicing for they have provided everything down to a stone for sharpening knives. We needed no sauce for our appetites and the provisions were good and good justice was done to them. Mr. Glanville came well provided with botanical tins, butterfly nets, killing bottles etc. so after breakfast we started in search of anything curious or beautiful worth preserving.....

Saw a Kaffir in a more primitive state than any I have yet come across, with a blanket for an only garment. Some I have seen in town are very fond of jewellery and some have rings on their arms nearly up to their elbows. ....

We came to a nice stream of fresh water and had a good drink, found some fresh ferns in its kloof and returned to discover our drinkables had been exposed in the sun so were quite hot so we buried them awhile in the stream. Our water supply ran short and some of the boys went to fetch some from a reservoir. [They] were gone a long time and then said it was not far, I pity them for it was far enough for our afternoon walk. Vast quantities of cold fowl, veal, beef and mutton were consumed and many tarts shared a similar fate whilst the quantity of ginger beer, raspberry vinegar etc. that vanished was surprising. It being the hottest part of the day we did not hurry off for our afternoon walk but when we did start A [lfred] A [lexander] caught a fine lizard basking

in the sunshine up a tree which was killed with nicotine<sup>29</sup> which Mr. Glanville says will kill any kind of snake. .... The boys set up a swing which was well patronised and about 6.30 p.m. after a good tea we "inspanned".<sup>30</sup> .....

So we spent our boxing day, such a contrast to our regular mode that we were constantly making comparisons and coming to the conclusion that after all it was jollier to be crowding together over a fire than to be sitting or "sprawling" as far from each other as possible. Not that we did not enjoy ourselves because we did very much, the novelty of the place and style adding an extra charm to the already enjoyable excursion, and also the company of our friends the Galpins and our learned friend Mr. Glanville.

30.XII.76. Saturday 75th day. Fine.

Grahamstown.

More calls and an attempt at business this morning. Another afternoon ramble with the Galpins..... Saw the trap of an "Ant Lion"<sup>31</sup> a very interesting little creature in reality only the larva of a kind of dragon-fly but his mode of life is so peculiar especially in the way of getting his food that I am almost inclined to try to make a sketch of his trap. He first hollows out a hole in the sand by making repeated jerks with his body thus throwing the sand out side, he then buries himself with the exception of his two claws and any poor ant or other insect that looks over the edge of the hole soon finds himself in his grave for the treacherous sand gives way and he slips to the bottom and is soon in the claws of the "Lion". It is almost impossible to escape for his efforts to climb only bring down the sand upon him. ....

Footnotes

SECTION 2

1. Cobb and Co.

Cobb and Co. was a transport company started by Freeman Cobb (1832-1878) who came from the United States of America during the diamond rush of the early 1870's. In 1871 he and two fellow Americans C.C. Cole and George Hall, together with a group of Port Elizabeth businessmen formed the company called Cobb and Co. with a capital of £10,000. The first coach started on 28 Sept. 1871 for the diamond fields. Cobb and Co. provided a bi-weekly transport service to the diamond fields, taking five days to cover the 430 miles. The company also ran a daily service by Cape cart to Grahamstown. It connected with the railway.

By the mid-1870's Cobb and Co. was running at a loss due to horse sickness and the high cost of forage. The company went into liquidation on 4 Feb. 1875. Other firms, such as Wheeldon's Cart Co. which started operations in mid-December 1876, were able to offer a cheaper service, though Cobb's fares were down to 20s. by 18 Dec. 1876.

Freeman Cobb died on 24 May 1878. The contract for carrying the mails which had been held by Cobb and Co. was bought by James Wood, the proprietor of Wood's Hotel, Grahamstown.

- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 458
- E. Rosenthal: "Mail Coach on the Veld: the History of Mail Coaches in South Africa" in Africana Notes and News Vol. X No. 3 June 1953 p 76-112.
- E.C. Tabler: "Some Pioneers of Southern Africa" in Africana Notes and News Vol.15 No.4 December 1962 p 159.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 28 May 1878.  
G.T.J. 13 Dec., 18 Dec. 1876.

2. Bluegum

The bluegum, gum or gumtree is the common name for many species of the genus Eucalyptus of the family Myrtaceae. The genus is a large and complex one. Over 600 named species are endemic in Australia and Tasmania.

Eucalyptus species include tall forest trees and many-stemmed shrubs. They are found from sea level to an altitude of over 6000 feet (1830 metres); from tropical forest to the edge of the snowline; in moist and in arid regions.

About 170 species have been introduced into South Africa. They grow rapidly and produce timber for telephone poles and a variety of industrial purposes.

- Branford: Dictionary p 23.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.4 p 395-397.

### 3. Kaffir Location

Black people had probably settled round Grahamstown from the time of the town's foundation in 1812. A "Hottentot Village" for the "Coloured" community was established near the Burying Ground during Sir Lowry Cole's governorship 1828-1833. After the frontier war of 1834 increasing numbers of Mfengu congregated near the town.

In 1848 an area of the town land was set aside by the Grahamstown Municipal Board for the establishment of a township for the local Mfengu, many of whom worked in Grahamstown. Later oral tradition connected grants of land with rewards for military service but it seems probable that a desire for the promotion of civilization by the establishment of a controlled and orderly settlement was the municipal motive. As a result of a survey ordered by the Governor in 1855 title deeds to land in the new location, known as the Fingo Village, were issued on payment of £1 per erf. By 1858 318 such deeds had been paid for.

By the 1870's many of the allotments in the Fingo Village were owned by white landlords. Responsibility for the locations was shared between the Town Council and the government, which resulted in much confusion and neglect. The Native Locations Acts No.6 of 1876, No.8 of 1878 and No.40 of 1879 were designed to regularise the administrative muddle, provide more effective control and enable new locations to be established. Matters were complicated by an influx of refugees after the war of 1877-8.

In 1879 a new municipal location was established. Control was still the joint responsibility of government and civic authorities through an Inspector of Locations. Despite better organisation on paper the locations remained conspicuous for their poverty.

- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 238-290

- Hunt: Municipal Government p 154, fn 59, p 205-215.

- Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope Sessions 1874-1878  
Vol.5 Cape Town 1882 p 151-155, 349-351.
- Cape of Good Hope Statutes Sixth Parliament 1879-1883  
Cape Town n.d. p 132-133.
- M. Nuttall: "Historical Sketch of Fingo Village" in  
South African Outlook Vol.102 No.1215 August 1972 p 136.
- C.L.;MS 14312,W.A. Maxwell: The Fingo Village,Grahamstown.  
Unpublished typescript.

#### 4. Grahamstown Cathedral

An Anglican church dedicated to St. George, on the site of the present cathedral in Church Square, was opened in 1830. It was a simple Georgian church with a squat square tower. In 1849 the site of St. George's church was granted to the Diocese of Cape Town and the church was consecrated on 21 Sept. 1850. Three years later St. George's became a cathedral when the Rev. John Armstrong became first Bishop of Grahamstown.

Ownership of the cathedral was in dispute during the 1870's, the years of the bitter quarrel between Dean Williams and Bishop Merriman (see fn.155p85), but in 1885 the cathedral was finally recognised as the property of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

In November 1874 the tower was found to be unsafe. A new tower 150 feet high and surmounted by an eight-sided broached spire designed by Sir Gilbert Scott was completed in 1878 at a cost of £5,171. The Dean and the cathedral vestry were especially active in collecting funds for the public clock tower. The tower housed the city clock and a peal of eight bells.

A new chancel designed by John Oldrid Scott was built in 1893, the year that the cathedral was given a new dedication to St.Michael and St. George. The Lady Chapel was completed in 1952, the gallery was removed and the south aisle reroofed in 1973.

- P. Hinchliff: The Anglican Church in South Africa  
London 1963 p 111-129.
- C. Gould: Grahamstown Cathedral:A Guide and Short History  
Grahamstown 1924 p 20-38.
- C.L.; MS 14803,J.M. Berning: Notes on the replacement of the old tower of St. George's Church (Cathedral), Grahamstown and the construction of the present tower and spire.

- Anon: Guide to the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. George, Grahamstown n.d. Publicity pamphlet in C.L.
- Personal information from the Cory Librarian to the editor, July 1983.

#### 5. Naartjie or nartjie

The fruit of the Citrus nobilis a soft loose-skinned tangerine-like fruit with a distinctive flavour. Used in Van der Hum liqueur and nartjie konfyet, a mandarin orange preserve. The word is probably derived from the Tamil nartei and perhaps related to the Arab naranj and the Spanish naranja.

- Branford: Dictionary p 159-160.

#### 6. Trinity Church

On 8 Aug. 1827 a local Presbyterian Assembly was formed in Grahamstown under a covenant signed by the L.M.S. missionary the Rev. John Monro and twelve members. They worshipped in the Union Chapel, Bathurst Street which they shared with a black congregation also under Monro's charge. Presbyterian church affairs were in the hands of the Kirk Session which first met in January 1828.

About ten years later the congregation bought land in Hill Street for a new church. The church, called Trinity Church, was opened in 1842. The building was rectangular, with a gallery opposite the pulpit and a separate choir. In 1858 a hall was built for the use of the Sunday School. During the incumbency of the Rev. Robert Johnstone (1859-1875) links were formed with the L.M.S. mission at Theopolis and renovations and improvements (including a new gallery and a pipe organ) were made to the church building.

On 19 April 1876 the Trinity congregation officially joined the United Presbytery of Kaffraria. They adopted the use of the Presbyterian Hymnal and the Shorter Catechism. In 1888 the Trinity congregation withdrew from Presbytery and did not become officially affiliated to the Presbyterian Church in South Africa until 1918. Even then the church property remained vested in local trustees under a Trust Deed of 1 Sept. 1841.

In 1889 a new pulpit, vestry and choir arch were built and new pews installed in 1905. In recent years links between Trinity Church and Rhodes University have been strengthened.

- Anon: The Story of a Century. An Account of Trinity Presbyterian Church August 1827 - August 1927. Grahamstown n.d. in South African Pamphlets Vol.29.
- M. McDowall: "Trinity Church, Grahamstown" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society 1973 Vol.1 No.3 p 16.

#### 7. The Wesleyan Mission Printing Press

The first printing press for the use of the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in Grahamstown in 1831 but owing to the lack of the correct type for printing in Xhosa it could not be used until 1833. The first Superintendent of the Mission Press was the Rev. R. Haddy.

In 1840 the press was moved to D'Urban, a mission station near Peddie. The Superintendent was the Rev. W.B. Boyce assisted by J. Harvey, a printer and lay preacher. The same year (1840) the Rev. John Whittle Appleyard arrived at D'Urban and a long association between Appleyard and the press began which was to continue until Appleyard's death in 1874.

Between 1840 and 1853 the press was moved to the places where Appleyard was posted except in wartime when it was taken to Grahamstown for safety. Between 1853 and 1876 it was kept at Mount Coke. In 1875 the Rev. William Holford succeeded Appleyard as Superintendent. Holford supervised the introduction of new machinery in February 1875 and undertook the removal of the press to Grahamstown in 1876. Preparations were made for the removal of the press to Clarkebury in August 1880 but by then printing could be done more efficiently and cheaply in England. The press was sold in 1889.

- P.J. Schutte: Sendingdrukperse in Suid-Afrika 1800-1875 Ph.D. thesis Potchefstroom University 1969 p 15, 19, 175-176, 190-203, 242-246.
- C.L., Studies of Missionaries and Missionary Institutions Typescript notes by students of Dr. L.A. Hewson Series II n.d. p 111-112.
- C.L.; MS 15023, 15024; M.A., Reports of the District of Albany and Kaffraria 1848-1871; MS 15025; M.A., Reports of the Grahamstown District 1871-1884 which include the reports of the printing establishment. See especially the reports for 1875 and 1880.

#### 8. Bible translation

Translation of the Bible into Xhosa had been carried on since the late 1820's by Wesleyan, Scottish and German missionaries. A

Wesleyan version of eleven New Testament books was printed piece-meal between 1836 and 1838. An improved translation was printed at Newtondale in 1846 and revised for the 1854 edition printed at Mount Coke. From 1844 the British and Foreign Bible Society gave generous donations of funds and material.

By September 1859 work on the Old Testament was finished and thus a complete Wesleyan translation of the whole Bible became available, known as the Appleyard Version. Appleyard himself was a scholar of note and had contributed significantly to the translation work. The Appleyard Version was critically received by other (non-Wesleyan) missionaries.

In 1869 a committee of missionaries known as the Bible Revision Board was formed to revise the Xhosa Bible. Appleyard was a member. The committee's plan was to revise two books of the Bible per year and publish them for comment. The revised New Testament was published at Mount Coke in 1875 using materials provided by the British and Foreign Bible Society. By 1887 the whole Bible had been revised by the Board, though the Appleyard Version, popular with the Mfengu, was reprinted in 1878, 1884 and in the early 1900's. The revised Old Testament was published in 1889-9 and reprinted three times in the 1890's.

- A.P. Smit: God made it Grow: History of the Bible Society Movement in Southern Africa 1820-1970. Cape Town 1970 p 208.
- P.J. Schutte: Sendendrukperse in Suid-Afrika 1800-1875 Ph.D. thesis Potchefstroom University 1969 p 179-203, 240-243.
- C.L.; MS 15025; M.A., Reports of the Grahamstown District 1871-1884 which include the report of the printing establishment, 1875.

#### 9. A Hymn Book

One of the earliest Wesleyan hymn collections in Xhosa was the translation by Theophilus Shepstone in 1832 of six of Wesley's hymns. A book of forty-eight hymns, some translations and some original compositions by the Wesleyan missionaries, was published in 1835. The annual reports of the Wesleyan mission press record that increasing numbers of the Kaffir Hymn Book were published, sometimes bound with prayers in Xhosa or "Selections". A revised edition of 156 pages appeared in 1869. It was reprinted in 1870 and published in 1871 as a New Kaffir Hymn Book.

In the mid-1880's a Kafir Hymn Book Committee convened by the Rev. William Hacker met to revise the existing hymn book, collect original material and select suitable hymns from the Xhosa hymn books in use by Anglican, Lutheran and Presbyterian missionaries. The Hymn Book Committee was modelled on the Bible Revision Board (see fn. 8 p 138).

- P.J. Schutte: Sendingdrukperse in Suid-Afrika 1800-1875 Ph.D. thesis, Potchefstroom University 1969 p 174.
- C.L.; MS 15023, 15024; M.A., Reports of the District of Albany and Kaffraria 1848-1871; MS 15025; M.A., Reports of the Grahamstown District 1871-1884 which include the reports of the printing establishment and lists of its publications. See especially reports for the years 1869, 1870, 1871.
- C.L.; MS 15709; M.A., Collection of correspondence and material concerned with Xhosa translation work. 3 folders. See especially printed circular letter from the Rev. William J. Hacker dated Oct. 1886 in folder 1 (letters).

10. Peep of Day

Mrs. Favell Lee Mortimer, nee Bevan (1802-1878): The Peep of Day, or a series of the earliest religious instruction the infant mind is capable of receiving.

The first edition of The Peep of Day is not recorded in the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books, though the Dictionary of National Biography mentions a 6th edition of 1840. The British Museum Catalogue notes an edition of 1870 which included illustrative verses, illustrations and Bible stories, but in earlier works by Mrs. Mortimer she is quoted as "the author of The Peep of Day". The Library of Congress Catalog mentions an 1848 edition taken from the 7th London edition.

The Peep of Day was translated into French in 1877 and Swahili in 1893 as well as other languages. Ukusa Kwemini the Xhosa translation of The Peep of Day was first published by the Wesleyan mission press in 1870; a revised edition appeared in 1875. The British Museum Catalogue quotes the author of an 1896 edition of The Peep of Day in Xhosa as the Rev. W. Hunter.

- C.L.; MS 15025; M.A., Reports of the Grahamstown District 1871-1884 which include the reports of the printing establishment and lists of its publications. See reports for the years 1870-1875.
- Sidney Lee (ed): Dictionary of National Biography Vol. XXXIX London 1894 p 125.

- British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books to 1955 Compact Edition Vol.2 New York 1967 p 1207.
- A Catalog of Books represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards Vol.103 Ann Arbor, Michigan 1944 p 445.

11. A Book on theology

Hunter, William: The preacher's friend; a manual of Christian theology in Kafir was first published in 1870. The report of the Wesleyan mission press for 1870 lists a Manual of Theology among its Kafir publications. A second edition appeared in 1872. A revised edition of The preachers' friend appeared in 1875 and a third enlarged edition was published in Grahamstown in 1877.

- C.L.; MS 15025; M.A., Reports of the Grahamstown District 1871-1884 which include the reports of the printing establishment and lists of its publications. See reports for the years 1870, 1872, 1875.
- A South African Bibliography to the year 1925 Vol. 2 London 1979 p 624.

12. Weeping Willow

The weeping willow Salix babylonica belongs to the tree family Salicaceae. It is not indigenous to South Africa but is the most commonly cultivated variety. It has characteristic long pendulous branches and narrow leaves.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.11 p 444.

13. Newspapers

1. The Graham's Town Journal "Conservative yet Progressive".  
Published Monday, Wednesday, Friday.

The first issue of The Graham's Town Journal appeared on 30 Dec. 1831. It was printed by Louis Henri Meurant. In July 1834 Robert Godlonton became Editor, a position he retained until 1866. His editorial policy favoured Wesleyan and settler interests and supported Eastern Province separatism. After 1866 the business, which included the printing establishment, was managed by a partnership which consisted of Godlonton's son and stepson and T.B. Glanville. Until 1876 Glanville was also editor. He was succeeded by Josiah Slater. In 1920 the G.T.J. was incorporated into Grocott's Daily Mail.

2. Grocott's Penny Mail. Published Tuesday and Friday.

On 11 May 1870 Thomas Henry Grocott published the first

issue of Grocott's Free Paper. Grocott, who had had journalistic experience with the Liverpool Mail, had joined the Grahamstown paper The Great Eastern which ceased publication in 1868. From January 1872 Grocott's newspaper, printed on his own press, became Grocott's Penny Mail. In 1892 the partnership W.E. Grocott (the son of Thomas Henry Grocott) and R.H. Sherry, a senior manager, was formed. After 1898 Grocott's Penny Mail was published as Grocott's Daily Mail. In May 1920 Grocott's Daily Mail took over the G.T.J.

### 3. The Eastern Star "Not conservative but progressive".

Published Tuesday and Friday.

On 6 Jan. 1871 the first issue of The Eastern Star appeared. The paper had formerly (1869-1870) been published as The Grahamstown Advertiser. In 1873 the Dean of Grahamstown, the Very Rev. F.H. Williams, gained control of The Eastern Star which became the vehicle of his quarrel with Bishop the Right Rev. N.J. Merriman (see fn.155p85). In October 1887 the paper was moved to Johannesburg where in April 1889 it became The Star.

- A. Gordon-Brown: The Settlers' Press. Cape Town 1979 p 9-13, 47, 126.
- Union List of South African Newspapers Cape Town 1950 p 43-44, 51.

## 14. The Election

On 4 Sept. 1876 George Carver Clough, M.L.A. for Grahamstown, died. Two candidates were nominated to take his place: Richard Southey, 1820 settler, a former Colonial Secretary, and Lieutenant Governor of Griqualand West 1873-1875; and Advocate Andries Stockenstrom who belonged to an old Eastern Province family of Swedish extraction and had served as Judge of the Griqualand West Land Court in 1875.

The election campaign was conducted by two committees chosen from the supporters of each candidate. The G.T.J. favoured Stockenstrom whose party became known as "Young Grahamstown"; The Eastern Star favoured Southey and "Old Grahamstown". Grocott's Penny Mail supported Stockenstrom.

The contest split the political and commercial leadership of Grahamstown along new lines. Southey was opposed by the G.T.J. which had in the past voiced settler and separatist views like his.

Robert Godlonton, long associated with the G.T.J., favoured Southey. The "Young Grahamstown" party was led by Frederick Barr, a prominent Town Councillor.

Excitement mounted until polling day 24 Nov. 1876. The election resulted in a victory for Southey: 479 votes to Stockenstrom's 432, later officially amended to 477:434.

The G.T.J. (29 Nov. 1876) published a comment of The Cape Argus that the election had little political significance for the views of the candidates were similar. They both favoured federation, the appointment of a third judge for the Eastern Districts Court and protection of local interests. Southey advocated strong measures for frontier defence and a "civilizing native policy".

Southey entered the Assembly on 28 May 1877 as an Opposition member. He retired in August 1878. The "vigorous native policy" of the Sprigg Ministry which replaced Molteno's early in 1878 resembled Southey's schemes.

- G.T.J. 4, 22, 25, 29 Sept. 1876; 13, 20, 23 Oct. 1876; 6-29 Nov. 1876.
- The Eastern Star 19, 22, 26 Sept. 1876; 6, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, 31 Oct. 1876; 3-30 Nov. 1876; 1 Dec. 1876.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 5, 12, 15, 22, 26, 29 Sept. 1876; 3, 17, 20, 24, 27, 31 Oct. 1876; 3-28 Nov. 1876; 1, 5 Dec. 1876.
- A. Wilmot: The Life and Times of Sir Richard Southey London 1904 p 290-299.

#### 15. Honey bird

Three species of birds called honey-guides (Indicatoridae) are found in Southern Africa. Some have the habit of leading animals to the nests of wild bees. Honey-guides feed on insects and bees-wax. H. Friedmann in his monograph on honey-guides mentions (p 42-43) a notebook of Dr.W.G. Atherstone's dated 1853 in which the symbiotic relationship between honey-guide and ratel was noted. See fn. 16 below.

- Branford: Dictionary p 91
- H. Friedmann: The Honey-Guides; Bulletin 208 of U.S. National Museum, Washington 1955.
- S.E.S.A. Vol.5 p 579-580.

16. Rattan = Ratel

The Cape Badger Mellivora Capensis is called "honey badger" because it likes to rob wild hives and will climb trees to do so. It is found in Africa south of the Sahara. It has a black face, limbs and underparts, and grey upper parts separated by a white line running from forehead to tail. The body is about 900 mm. long including the tail; the legs 100-125 mm. It feeds on insects and wild honey. "Ratel" comes from Afrikaans ratel and Dutch ratelmuis. See fn. 15 above.

- Branford: Dictionary p 196.
- S.E.S.A. Vol.5 p 579-580.

17. Commemoration Chapel (Commem.)

Commemoration Chapel was the third chapel to be built by the Wesleyans in Grahamstown. It commemorated God's blessings on the 1820 Settlers. Mrs. Ann Shaw, wife of the Rev. William Shaw, laid the foundation stone in 1845 and the Chapel was opened on 24 November 1850. It was built according to the design of the Rev. Thornley Smith with a wide gallery inside and a Gothic façade. Due to delays and the pressures of the war of 1846 the building was very expensive: it cost over £9,000. Despite vigorous fund raising schemes and an appeal to the Legislative Council the debt on the building persisted into the 1860's, a time of serious economic depression. Commemoration Chapel was used by the English speaking Wesleyan congregation and was the chief Wesleyan chapel of the Grahamstown district.

- L.A. Hewson: They Seek a City: Methodism in Grahamstown. Grahamstown 1981 p 36-37, 63-77.

18. The Congregational Church

Ministry to members of the Congregational community in Grahamstown was until the 1860's in the hands of the L.M.S. A Congregational Chapel in Bathurst Street called the Union Chapel was opened on 1 July 1827. Union Chapel was a simple austere building in which a multi-racial congregation worshipped. Their pastor was the Rev. J. Monro, L.M.S. The Union Chapel became self-supporting in 1870 during the pastorate of the Rev. N.H. Smit

(1847-1881). In 1877 the congregation of the Union Chapel formally joined the Congregational Union of South Africa which was formed that year. The Union Chapel was sold when a new and larger church was built in Frere Street in 1902.

Butler's visit to the Union Chapel on 17 Dec.1876 was his first, though he had already heard the Rev. J.A. Chalmers preach on 10 Dec.1876.

- F.G. van der Riet: Grahamstown in Early Photographs. Cape Town, 1974, p 70-71.
- G.P. Ferguson: CUSA, The Story of the Congregational Union of South Africa. Paarl, n.d., p 31, 38-39, 41, 44, 143-144.
- C.L.; MIC/F87/2, Box 3, No.136, (Council for World Mission Archives): letter from Rev. J. Monro dated 3 July 1827.
- Hunt: Municipal Government p 149-151, 154-155.

#### 19. Reflecting telescope

Nineteenth century telescopes were basically of two kinds: refracting telescopes which used lenses, and reflecting telescopes which used mirrors. Some models used a combination of lenses and mirrors. The earliest reflecting telescope was made by Isaac Newton c.1668 which had a mirror diameter of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches. Much larger reflectors were built subsequently: the Earl of Rosse's built in 1845 measured 72 inches. Until about 1850 mirrors were made of speculum metal, a shiny alloy of tin and copper which required frequent polishing. In 1853 the silver-on-glass coating process was discovered, which with other refinements enabled increasingly accurate astronomical data to be gathered. By the end of the nineteenth century small telescopes such as the Galpins' were of use only to amateurs.

- Colliers Encyclopaedia U.S.A. 1966 Vol.3 p 121-5.
- A. Weigert and H. Zimmermann: ABC of Astronomy London 1967 p 331.
- P. Moore: The Guinness Book of Astronomy. Facts and Feats. Middlesex, 1979 p 267-274.

20. Albany Hall

The Albany Hall, Hill Street, was built in 1866 by the building contractor J.W. Abbott. It consisted of a main hall with a stage and several smaller rooms including a kitchen. The hall was under the management of a board of directors and was hired out for balls, theatres and meetings. The Albany Hall was the venue for the Settler Jubilee celebrations of 1870.

In 1876 the hall was taken over by a limited company formed by the Independent Order of Good Templars. On 31 Oct.1876 a dedication ceremony took place according to the ritual of the I.O.G.T. After that date dancing and theatrical entertainments were forbidden at the hall.

By the end of the century the hall was regularly used by the 1st City Regiment and in 1912 was bought by the Department of Defence of the South African government.

- F.G. van der Riet: Grahamstown in Early Photographs.  
Cape Town 1974 p 84-85.
- G.T.J. 28 Sept.1866, 1 Nov.1876.
- E.S., 3 Nov.1876.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 3 Nov.1876.

21. Spider

An American buggy, a light four-wheeled vehicle with slender large wheels, its body supported on thin steel springs. It could carry two to six passengers.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.10 p 571.

22. See fn. 10, p 198.

23. Kloof

A deep gorge or valley, usually wooded. From Dutch kloof, ravine.

- Branford: Dictionary p 121.

24. Yellow-wood

Four species of yellow-woods are found in Southern Africa. They belong to the genus Podocarpus of the order Coniferales. P. falcatus, the Outeniqua yellow-wood is the tallest forest tree in Southern Africa. With P. milanjanus it was much utilised for furniture and railway sleepers and large specimens are now extremely rare.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.11 p 563-565.

25. Sneezewood

The Sneezewood Ptaeroxylon obliquum has been classified either with the Ptaeroxylaceae or with the Meliaceae. It is a tree of forest and scrub which may reach a height of 15 metres. It is found from the Eastern Cape up through Natal, Swaziland, Mozambique to Zimbabwe. Now scarce, the sneezewood timber is hard, heavy and durable and was formerly much used for fences and telegraph poles.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.10 p 27-28.

26. Possibly Knobwood

Known by other names such as Knoppiesdoring, Fever-tree or Perdepram the knobwood is a small tree belonging to the Rutaceae family. It has round swellings on the stem - hence the name perdepram (mare's tit). The wood is used for handles, fishing rods and walking sticks.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.6 p 422.

27. St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Pro-Cathedral

On 28 October 1838, two months after the arrival of the first resident Roman Catholic priest Father Burke, land was granted for the erection of a Catholic church, clergy house and school in Grahamstown. The following year on 30 July 1839 Bishop Patrick Raymond Griffith, first Vicar Apostolic of the Roman Catholic church in the Cape Colony, laid the foundation stone of St. Patrick's church. The building was completed and dedicated in 1844 according to the designs of Mr. Teeling, a clerk in the Royal Engineers Department, possibly with the advice of Major Selwyn.

The church was used as a refuge in the wars of 1846 and 1851. In 1857 a porch and new wing were added to provide a schoolroom. A bell tower was built in 1869 and a choir gallery in 1871.

In 1847 the Rev. Aidan Devereux became the first Bishop of the newly created Vicariate of the Eastern Province and St. Patrick's became his Pro-Cathedral. It remained the seat of the Bishop until 1896 when the Bishop moved to Port Elizabeth.

- K.S. Hunt: "History of St. Patrick's Church" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society 1979 Vol.3 No.1 p 7-10.
- Anon. The Story of St. Patrick's Church, Grahamstown, 1844-1944, in S.A. Pamphlets Vol.58.

#### 28. Mr. Clarke's farm

The farm Belmont lies about seven kms. south of Grahamstown in the Belmont Valley. The house at Belmont Farm was built by John Carlisle, 1820 settler, in 1826. Carlisle came from Belmont in Staffordshire. The farm was offered for sale in the insolvent estate of John Carlisle's brother, Frederick William Carlisle, in 1866. George Frederick Clark bought it. His descendants have owned Belmont Farm for three generations and still live there.

George Frederick Clark married on 24 July 1867 Elizabeth Sarah Jane Futter at Commemoration Church. In the 1890's the management of the farm was taken over by two of the sons of George Clark, Clement Frederick and William.

- E. Morse Jones: Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa. Cape Town 1971 p 99.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No.575, Commemoration Church marriage register.
- C.L.; MS 16548, Newspaper cutting about Belmont Farm from The Eastern Province Herald, 23 Dec.1976.
- G.T.J. 28 Sept.1866.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs. Enid Clark of Belmont Farm on 15 Nov.1982.

29. Nicotine 1-methyl-2-pyrid-3'-ylpyrrolidine,  $C_{10}H_{14}N_2 = 162.2$ .

Nicotine is a liquid alkaloid which is formed from the dried leaves of the tobacco plant, Nicotiana tabacum. Nicotine is highly toxic to man and may cause death from respiratory failure.

Small doses taken in excessive smoking may cause chronic poisoning. Nicotine is used as a horticultural insecticide.

- Ainley Wade (ed.): Martindale: The Extra Pharmacopoeia Incorporating Squire's Companion 27th edition, London, 1977 p 1786.

30. "Inspanned"

To inspan means to harness draught animals or to prepare for a journey. The word is from Dutch spannen, to fasten.

- Branford: Dictionary p 116-117.

31. Ant-Lion

The Ant-lions are insects belonging to the family Myrmelionidae of the order Neuroptera. They look like dragonflies. The ant-lion larva makes a conical pit about one inch across and one inch deep. Unsuspecting insects fall into the pit, are captured in the ant-lion larva's sharp curved jaws, buried beneath the sand and sucked dry.

When fully grown the larva makes a cocoon and changes into a pupa. Two to three weeks later the adult emerges.

Ant-lions vary in body length from about one inch to about three inches. Wing sizes, shapes and colours vary according to the different species.

Worm-lions may be confused with ant-lions because they make similar pits. Worm-lions belong to a different order: the Diptera.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.1 p 466-468.

SECTION 3

Grahamstown 1 Jan. 1877 - 12 Oct. 1877

1.1.1877. Monday 77th day. Morning fine. Aft[ernoon] wet.

Grahamstown... New Years day.

*On 1 Jan. 1877 Butler was invited to join the Galpins on another picnic. On the way to the picnic spot the following discussion took place:*

... En route we got into a discussion on the native question and slavery. The general opinion seems to be that as the natives are not fond of work they ought to be made to work and that this would tend very much to their elevation as well as to the prosperity of the Colony. I have heard some very strong opinions and some very hard things said about the "Exeter Hall party"<sup>1</sup> who have such a power in controlling and regulating the Government "Native policy" I suppose the Aborigines Protection Society<sup>2</sup> is the moving spirit in this "party" and though they are no doubt very well up on the question I think they can be hardly aware of the opinions of the colonists on the subject. They almost universally say that they would sooner employ a native who has no knowledge of Christianity than one from a Mission station, because at the latter they learn the Europeans vices and not his virtues (of course this can only apply to those who have not truly become Christians) but they make no distinction. As regards slavery they say the slaves were better off before than after their liberation but having with our wagon one who had been a slave we asked him if he would like to be again, to which he replied Oh no - But every one agrees that the government treat the natives very fairly, most say far too kindly. ....

3.1.77. Wednesday 79th day. Wet morning.

Did very little to-day except move into new quarters<sup>3</sup> which though for several reasons I dont like must put up with until something more comfortable offers - one good thing about the place, the bedroom is large though furniture is scanty, but so it is everywhere. A[lfred] A[lexander]

went out in afternoon with two of the Galpins and brought in three more birds and now has all his work to do stuffing them. ....

10.1.77. Wednesday. 86th day. Fine.

Called on Copelands. Mr. C [opeland] gone to King Williams Town for a week. ....

Watched the mail carts off: that for King Williams Town was very heavily loaded with mail bags and could only take two out of three intending passengers leaving the portmanteau of one behind them. One passenger was mounted on top of the bags a somewhat similar seat to the top of the luggage on an English coach. Having his gun he looked like a mounty guard how he would feel after a ride of 80 miles I cant well imagine. The Diamond Fields cart<sup>4</sup> went off with only 3 passengers - that cant pay for expenses as they require at least 6 horses and must have a great number of changes for their 5 or 6 days ride. Reports of trade at the fields continue to be very bad. Labour is scarce, landslips have taken place at parts and the price of diamonds being low the poorer workers cant make it pay and the tendency at present seems to be for the "claims" all to get into the hands of a few companies. Nearly everyone here seems to have been up to the fields when the great rush was [on] about 3 years ago but since then the trade there and consequently here has got into a very low state indeed and everyone here owing to that and the fear of war complains very much .....

Had a talk this afternoon with our "boy" Tom. These native servants are generally called "boys" whatever their age. Tom I suppose is about 20 dresses very tidily and has good address, carries out instructions very well and is for a Kaffir very active. He was born near Elands Berg but his family moved when he was quite young to Middle Drift because his father wanted his children to learn English, and Dutch was spoken where

they were located. He was educated at a Mission school, speaks Dutch, speaks, writes and reads Kaffir and English. He seemed much amused at some of our questions and relapsed from his usual composed expression into a hearty laugh, shewing up of course a splendid set of teeth. Like most Kaffirs (male and female) he smokes. He has been here 13 months but must shortly return for a fortnight, why he could not say. ....

From 11.1.77) Grahamstown

To 18.1.77) Amongst the Wesleyans.

11.1.77. Thursday. 87th day. Fine. 127<sup>0</sup> in sun 10.15 a.m.

Whilst finishing for post this afternoon were called off to bottle a small snake ..... This was only a small one about 9 inches long yet quite capable of doing mischief. .... We wanted to preserve him in spirits in a glass tube but could not obtain such a thing in town. At a Chemists for "methylated spirit" we were given gin, the duty we were told on the former almost precluded its importation. ....

This evening we were invited to take a "quiet cup of tea" at Mr. Henry Woods and were rather surprised to find four young ladies there whom he said were all ministers daughters, two Miss Impeys, daughters of the Wesleyan superintendent of the district and sisters of Mrs. Wood, Miss Chapman and Miss Shaw. It was rather nice to get into some company where there are other amusements than dancing and card playing : we had some nice music, two good games at bagatelle etc. At tea we were introduced to two S. African specialities viz. Mealies and powdered meat. The former are mearly Indian corn prepared I think first by being boiled and then baked. Though the mode of eating at first strikes one as rather inelegant their taste is not at all bad. They are served up in about half lengths of the heads and are eaten with butter and salt. Powdered meat is not cooked at all but is simply the flesh of the buck (the springbok is the best) dried untill thoroughly .... hard then

grated like ginger, first taste not at all unpalatable. As Mr. Wood's lies at the opposite extremity of the town to us our walk home was rather amusing as street lamps are very few and very far between.

13.1.77. Saturday. 89th day. Fair.

Mr. Jno Woods garden. ....

We had a treat this morning in being shown round one of the nicest gardens in the Colony and of course in its way beating every English garden. Many curious and rare plants are grown in the garden, including the india-rubber tree<sup>5</sup> from which we made a small portion of rubber by rubbing the sap in our hands, beef wood,<sup>6</sup> black wood,<sup>7</sup> various pines etc. In one hot house was a magnificent collection of tropical plants with variegated foliage, some from India, Jamaica, S. America, Australia, Mauritius etc., the colours of many were splendid, rich and rare. Also an insectivorous plant, and a glorious yellow creeper from the Amazon. A very fine fernery has been built under cover of another greenhouse, a fountain plays in the middle to about the height of 7 or 8 ft. and towards each end streams of water running down over massive rock work under which there are passages and seats. ....

To see a real live Quaker seems rather a rarity out here and when people find the peculiar dress and language not considered essential they want to know what is the difference between Friends and others. How sad that the great importance attached by some to these minor points should have eclipsed the real spirit and principle of true Quakerism. ....

14.1.77. Sunday. 90th day. Fine.

Kaffir Chapel.

....Tea at 5 p.m. at Rev. W. Impeys who lives directly opposite Mr. Copelands. .... Mr. Impey has family reading and prayer after tea the servants attending. The event of the day however was to attend

the Kaffir "Wesley" Chapel<sup>8</sup> to the ordination of four native ministers. The Chapel is a large but rather poor room with 2 aisles, seats without backs lit by lamps and candles, a small raised platform at one end. A good many whites were at the service and occupied the top seats on either side, the ministers occupied the platform, the 4 candidates sat on chairs immediately in front. The first row in the body of the chapel was occupied by native local preachers; most of these wear white ties which look very well in contrast with their black faces. Men seemed to fill all the middle seats, the women sitting on either side and the congregation certainly looked very interesting with such a mass of black in the middle (for they all seem to wear black coats) and the variety and quantity of colour on either side, for the women seem to like highly coloured handkerchiefs for their head ornaments. The Kaffirs came in rather late as they regulate their movements principally by the sun thus coming late in summer and early in winter. About a quarter past 7 the service which lasted 2 hours commenced by singing a hymn (of course in Kaffir). The time was very badly kept the mens voices generally being somewhat in advance of the womens but the singing was certainly powerful and I was much pleased with it; some, a good proportion of the voices, are ..... rich and full and it strikes me a trained choir would produce a fine effect. Most of the natives learn to sing from the sol-fa system.....

They have their own native tunes which they learn by ear and this notation appears to be very extensively used in the colony. Then one of the natives prayed and that very fluently and earnestly though not excitedly. We could not catch much beyond that name which is above every name here spelt Yesu Kristu. Every word seems to end in a vowel and the most prominent consonants [seem] to be k and z. There are also certain sounds unknown so far as I can tell to any European language called

clicks which are very difficult to acquire and impossible for me to put on paper. The first part of the meeting was slightly disturbed by babies proving that Kaffir babies can cry. Rev. W. Impey briefly explained the nature of the service and the various tests the candidates had gone through before being admitted to the ministry and then called on two of them to give some account of their experiences; one spoke for some time and at one part of his narration was moved to tears. The other kept calmer but seemed to speak with much feeling. Two of the candidates must have been over 6 ft high, stood erect and looked fine fellows but when they used spectacles to read certainly looked rather odd. The ordination service was next read in Kaffir, more prayer including a time of silence, and "the charge" was delivered by Rev. Lamplough. This last was really a good sermon to all Christians though specially addressed to these four. He spoke in English and one of the natives interpreted with great rapidity and fluency - "It is required in stewards that a man be found faithful" 1 Cor. IV:2. We were told that the conversion of one of these men was the result of hearing, during service, the prayer for the Queen, as he was so impressed with the reality and thoroughness of a religion which prompted prayer for those in authority. The room became very warm towards the close, but as we sat in the best part of it we did not feel it so much and having provided ourselves with wraps were not affected by it.

16.1.77. Tuesday. 92nd day. Fine.

To-day I have been three months from home - one sixth part of my proposed banishment. It is therefore cause for much thankfulness that so far I have had no bad news to send home nor have I received any. This morning paid my second visit to Dr. Williamson who first said I looked better and on examination reported that I was improving; by itself I should not take much notice of this as so many times I have been told

the same thing, but as I am gaining slightly in weight and other things are rather re-assuring I am inclined to think I may be making slight progress the right way. ....

17.1.77. Wednesday 93rd day. Fine.

Opening of Shaw Memorial Hall.<sup>9</sup>

.... Evening went to the opening of the Shaw Memorial Hall. Mr. H. Wood had kindly secured us tickets and by going with the Impeys we were happy in securing seats in the front row. First as to the history of the hall, I believe it was once used as a native chapel. Subsequently it was known as Shaw College but a desire being expressed to raise some memorial to the late Rev. Wm. Shaw somebody sensibly suggested that it should take this useful and sensible form. The hall has therefore been quite renovated and has had a new front, really making a very nice hall capable of seating about 800 persons. At the platform end of the room was suspended red bunting with the following on it in white:

'In memory of the late Wm. Shaw "To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die!" Some nice ferns and other plants decorated the platform and being well lit and a good company of the aristocracy of the town being present the hall looked very pretty. Punctually at 8 o'clock the Rev. Wm. Impey (son in law of W. Shaw) took the chair, briefly but feelingly spoke of the virtues of the man whom the building was named after and declared it opened. Then of course there were resolutions and votes of thanks but the main business of the evening was soon very evident: to raise money. Notwithstanding the goodly amount collected before the work was commenced and some good contributions afterwards to provide extras not in the original design, £406 was still owing.

Mr. Jno Wood was called upon to move a resolution pledging the meeting to remove the debt as soon as possible but he wished to amend it: "to extinguish it at once" and promised £25 towards it. Another £25 was at

once added by a gentleman on the platform, £10 and £5 were announced as promised and another speaker promised 20 guineas. Things were looking up and I estimated they might raise 200 to 250 during the evening. Presently R. King (secretary of the committee) went round the meeting getting additional promises, H. Wood, R. and W. Ayliff did the same, people writing "good for ..." on slips and handing them in. When the list was read out £260 odd had been promised; more pressure was put on some. Hon. S. Cawood promised on behalf of Hon. G. Wood and himself another £100 and only £30 wanting was announced. R. King said he would wipe off 10 of that and then followed other bids much like an auction, Advocate Stockenstrom closing the account with a 6 pounder. This certainly looks well for Grahamstown to raise £406 in one evening and that when most people had already subscribed to it. Of course the method struck us "as friends" as being very objectionable but I think it is better than as Mr. Wood said "a system of begging for the next twelve months". A choir sang several glees very nicely during the evening and all the speakers were called on at short notice and all spoke very highly of the Rev. W. Shaw who came out with the first settlers in 1820 and was very earnest in mission work. I thought too much was said about the dead and too little about the living and the prospect of the hall being a very blessed means of good by using it for Sunday School, religious and other meetings. The hall will not be let for balls and so the two best halls in the town will be kept closed against dancing. A splendid evening, no moon but stars very clear and bright. ....

20.1.77. Saturday. 96th day. Fine. Hot.

..... Market.

By some strange freak of nature I was thoroughly awake at 6.30 a.m. got up and went out to Market Square. Found the market progressing as quickly as it could under the system adopted here. Wood, forage,

vegetables, fruit etc. seemed to be the leading articles for sale this morning but I am told it varies somewhat according to the day of the week. I counted 17 wagons loded principally with wood or hay. Everything that comes to market here must go through the hands of the market master who sells everything by auction; every wagon pays 6 pence for coming on the market, regular sellers rent benches and every one pays 2 per cent market dues on the amount his produce fetches, producing an average revenue of £1,000 which goes to the town funds. This morning butter ranged from 2/- to 4/- per lb., different lots fetching different prices. ....

27.1.77. Saturday 103rd. Fine, Hot, Thunder.

We borrowed Mr. Copelands horses and rode over to the railway-tunnel works.<sup>10</sup> Very little progress has been made up to the present only 47 feet from the actual face of the tunnel. The rock is very hard quartzite in beds of about 2 ft thickness interlain with thin beds of clay about 1/4 in[ch] between, rendering blasting more difficult; they are at present driving a heading 6 ft by 6 ft about 9 in[ches] per day but hope to get on much faster when they get their McKean's drill at work. The total length of the tunnel is to be 250 yds. A good many natives are employed on various parts of the line. ....

29.1.77. Monday. 105th day. Fine. Hot.

.... Evening was present at the anniversary tea-meeting of our "Ark of Safety Lodge" of the I.O.G.T. Probably about 200 sat down to tea in the large hall but though there was nothing to complain of I cannot say that they surpass the Bedford in arranging tea-meetings. After tea R. King was voted to the chair and addresses given, a few glees sung by a small choir, a few selections on the piano etc. The chairman alluding to the progress of the order stated that when it was introduced

here, there were about 12 members of the old Temperance Society but now [there are] between 4 and 500 Good Templars. They possessed the best hall in the town and a good lodge room and there had been a very decidedly marked decrease in drunkenness. He also spoke of the beauty of the ritual. The secretary reported 107 members in good standing as against 111 last year. Reuben Ayliff gave some account of his trip to the States to represent the Grand Lodge of S. Africa..... Gowie reported on progress at the Diamond Fields the number of canteens being reduced from 300 to 130, and they had bought a hall for £1450. "March and Sing" reminded me very forcibly of our Bands of Hope at the Bedford. Eight Wesleyan ministers in this district were stated to belong to the order and a Benefit society was in connection with it. Meeting on the whole satisfactory but not enthusiastic, speeches not stirring. Tickets for the tea-meeting were 1/6 each. Several people provided tables and others gave subscriptions towards it. Profits expected to amount to £10 or £12.

6.II.77. Tuesday. 115th day. Cloudy.

.... Afternoon usual nap and to Mr. Impeys to tea. Our invitation here was extended from "come any night" to "come every night you dont go anywhere else". Went with them to the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society<sup>11</sup> which proved to be the best public meeting we have yet attended at Grahamstown. The speakers did not waste their time in apologies etc. and the interest was maintained. There are 19 branch societies in connection here. They keep a depôt in Bathurst St. Total income about £350. The chief point of interest appeared to be the Kaffir Bible.<sup>12</sup> The Parent society several years ago published an edition of 5,000 Bibles and 6,000 Testaments. These have all been sold; the Wesleyans have printed 5,000 Testaments and are now selling them as fast as they can bind them. But the parent society

dont want to publish a new edition of the whole Bible until it is revised, this is now being done and the revisers, (one from each society working amongst the natives) have completed their work as far as Samuel but at the present rate cannot finish in less than 5 years, hence the question what is to be done for Bibles during that time. Amongst the speakers were Revs. Bishop Merriman, Impey, Norton, Chalmers, Tyson, Holford and Messrs Hon. S. Cawood, Godlonton, Slater etc.....

7.II.77. Wednesday 116th day. Shower in morn.

.... Evening were privileged to attend Mr. Impeys class meeting. There were 6 present besides ourselves and the meeting was mainly an experience meeting, Mr. Impey first relating his own and then the others, he making comments and giving advice according to the need of different individuals. We were both very much pleased with the meeting which was a very profitable one and if such classes are general amongst the Weslyans I think they must be one of the chief elements of their power. Still no rain.

8.II.77. Thursday. 117th day. Fine.

If ever these weekly reports possessed any interest I fear they are now getting very dry and that their chief interest will be to me personally as an account of my wanderings as I preserve no other. Not keeping a copy I am sometimes at a loss to know what I have previously said and very likely frequently repeat myself. I never get time to read through what I have written and so expect my journal often contains ludicrous mistakes, words mis-spelt, stops omitted, and may be sentences unfinished or in some respect incomplete. However I will endeavour to continue and if no one is interested I presume they will not read, but I shall be glad if I am favoured to return to re-read them myself and be reminded of my course of life in and first impressions of a strange land and people. ....

21.II.77. Wednesday. 128th day. Morn. fine. Aft. thunderstorm.

*Butler collected his letters in the afternoon.*

....And so it happens that the news that has come the fastest is what most would call "bad news" or "sad news". I hope I shant be misunderstood but I dont see why the happy release of an aged pilgrim from a life whose chief joys are over but whose cares and troubles seem to multiply, to enter a state of pure joy should be called "sad". I own I dont like the idea so often presented of "death" coming in the ugly form and piercing with his dart his victims. To me there seems nothing "cruel" in the death of a Christian, the Christians Saviour knows all about it, orders it for the best and then we poor mortals complain and murmur no matter how old or young "the victim" may be and wish that it had only happened at some other time or in some other way. Do we not thus dishonour our God who maketh "all things to work together for our good". "The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken away".

The foregoing remarks are not at all prompted by the tone of the letters I have received to-day telling of the peaceful death of my dear aged Grandmother. When my Grandmother Butler died I was away in Devonshire and now I am further away at the death of my Grandmother Watts. Of course I was not surprised at the news especially as I heard she was ill again when last mail left. ....

8.III.77. Thursday. 143rd day. Fine.

In my last Journal I said that there was something to be recorded that must be left till this week so now the post is gone I at once will satisfy any curiosity that may have been excited. Probably readers of my weekly notes will have noticed that we have pretty often been visiting at the Rev. W. Impeys and last Saturday A[lfred] A[lexander] informed me that he was engaged to Miss Impey. I must say that I was surprised

to hear that matters had been arranged so soon tho' I was not surprised to hear the news itself. However I certainly do congratulate him as he has without doubt made a very good choice. I never dreamt that my coming to town would lead to any such results (because A[lfred] A[lexander] would not have come here had it not been for me) but trust that this may prove a very happy little episode in my visit to this country. This evening we took tea at Mr. R. Ayliffs (tho' he is away from town) and spent a pleasant evening, music, singing etc. concluding with reading and prayer by Rev. W. Impey. ....

17.III.77. Saturday 152nd day. Very hot.

St. Patricks day! The Irish portion of the community appear to make this a gala day here as elsewhere. I hear that the drum and fife band paraded the streets a portion of the night or rather morning.

Going down town about 10 o'clock met the procession on its way to the R.C. Cathedral with a good banner, but the procession was small yet made the most of; the men almost exclusively dressed in black with green sashes and white gloves walked in 2 single files about 10 feet apart, each man walking about 5 feet behind his predecessor. We left them at the cathedral but they spent the afternoon at Oatlands having various sports. ....

20.III.77. Tuesday 155th day. Dull damp.

.... This afternoon we ventured out as far as the Hospital<sup>13</sup> and were shewn round by the superintendent Mr. Davies. The hospital stands in a good position on high ground and is well arranged and nicely kept. At a push 50 could be accomodated, medicines are dispensed on the spot. A good many of the cases at present under treatment are from accidents. Mr. Davies intends going home by the Edinburg Castle<sup>14</sup> to have an operation performed on his eye. Have just heard of the arrival of the

steamer and obtained a very meagre "telegram" which must satiate our thirst for news I suppose till Saturday. ....

21.III.77 Wednesday. 156th day. Fine. Hot.

The sun shining out very powerfully after last nights rain produces a "steaming" hot day, the atmosphere somewhat resembles a vapour bath. I had a ride this morning and it seemed to invigorate me for the rest of the day. Returning thro' the town I looked in at the court house to be present at the granting of [liquor] licenses. I have before said that the Good Templar Lodges prepared a petition against new licenses and also drew attention to some badly conducted houses. When the question of renewing the license for Savage's Canteen<sup>15</sup> [came up] complaints were made by the police and others. Mr. Savage had apparently expected this and had engaged a lawyer to plead his cause. This able gentleman of course clearly proved that the house was properly conducted and that the drunkenness complained of was no fault of the proprietors, that black people got drunk at other places and then for some reason (not clearly explained) came and sat outside his canteen thus bringing disgrace upon it. After all the evidence the court refused to renew the license. Whilst all this was going on a man was brought into court charged with killing a navvie in New St. (I did hear at this particular canteen) both men were reported to be the worse for drink. Took tea at Rev. Impey's and spent the evening there except an hour at class meeting. I consider this class meeting my week night service as I think I derive more benefit from it than from a regular service. Mr. I[mpey] always commences with silent prayer. ....

22.III.77 Thursday 157th day. Fine.

Enjoyed my walk this morning very much, was pretty successful in catching and very interested in watching insects. Being attracted to

a bush of a kind of white heath, by the number of butterflies of one particular kind (*Leptoneura clytus*)<sup>16</sup> settled on it, [I watched it]. After most had flown away some remained apparently unconcerned by my close proximity. I watched these rather closely and found they constantly moved, but presently saw that these movements were not voluntary but that they were moved by an insect that had captured them and was devouring them. This insect about an inch long was a kind of Mantis<sup>17</sup> but the appearance of its body so closely approximated to that of the plant it rested on that without close inspection it would not be observed. Here then these green and white insects lay in wait (they have no occasion to hide themselves) until the innocent butterfly settles close by them when with wonderful alacrity they seize it and holding it in their front paws proceed to devour it. I also watched some large grasshoppers eating flowers and can now form some idea of what the ravages of a swarm of locusts must be. ....

1.IV.77 Sunday. 167th day. Dull.

Easter Sunday - Sunday School in Shaw Hall. At last the Sunday School meets in Shaw Hall and I don't see why it could not have done so two months ago for the new seats are not yet provided. Four minutes before 9.30 a.m. found a few boys and myself at the doors which were shut, presently Mr. Knight (I.O.G.T.) one of the teachers arrived..... Some boys were sent to the chapel keeper for the key but he had not got it, about 10 minutes late the superintendent<sup>18</sup> arrived with the key. When school had been opened in the regular way the lesson for the day was announced..... I did little more than just read it through and then commenced Matthews account of the resurrection very soon to be stopped by the bell ringing and school being closed. I think others took another lesson besides myself - only two boys were under my charge Mr. Hill their teacher being away. Rev. Impey preached a sermon on the

resurrection at Commemoration Chapel, I still sit in Mr. Walkers pew as he rarely has been able to attend and says there is always room.

Sacrament after service - of course I do not stay. Afternoon school commences at 2.30 p.m. and this time opened punctually. I was favored with 5 boys, the lesson was announced Acts XXVII Pauls shipwreck. I was just nicely getting into this when the bell rung, the boys understood, shut their books and sat down but I could not make it out.

Presently however two questions in the catechism were announced for them to learn and after this a hymn. I cant say that I took kindly to this arrangement as I dont like children learning a lot of things by rote that they dont understand but would not have minded so much if I had been prepared for it. A system of tickets is in vogue here, one for saying the catechism, one for learning the hymn and one for the top boy - in fact Mr. Walker seems to manage everything systematically and all things are done decently and in order (I hope too much attention is not devoted to this but fear [so?]). School lasted more than two hours which however was on account of making arrangements which took up a lot of time. Shaw Hall is just 10 minutes walk from here. Evening service Rev. Tyson preached. "As in Adam all die even so in Christ shall all be made alive". Easter Sunday last year was the first that I missed with my own class at home by doctor's orders and Easter Sunday this year I resume work tho' in a very distant field. I feel that my time here is limited and therefore that I must work diligently in my class with the hope that the time may be long enough for me to see the seed taking root in some hearts. ....

10.IV.77 Tuesday 176th day. Morn wet - cool.

.... This evening was present at the Degree Temple as several were going to take their second degree and I had forgotten all about that advanced stage in the order as I with a few others took our second one remarkable

foggy night in London and remember far more about the evening than what I heard and should have learnt. Mr. Webber the Degree Templar gave me the signs etc. and then the business was very properly gone through, all the officers taking their parts well. I think about 10 members took the degree. Met Rev. Wilkin who is now staying at Mr. Weddeburns. He rarely preaches in town but is specially engaged in preaching at farms, hotels and such like out of the way places where there is no regular service. ....

12.IV.77 Thursday 178th day. Fine.

A fine bright cheerful morning. Did a little writing for this afternoons mail and on going to town was almost surprised to find no notice up at the P.O. English Mail not arrived. Received a very good budget of letters, some papers and a sponge by sample post to replace the one I lost. Went to Mrs. Copelands, delivered my messages there and read my letters which occupied some time. Our black boy "Hans" left last Saturday and also the cook named "Sonny". A sovereign was reported to be missing from where it had been left and of course the boy was immediately charged with the theft. However as nothing could be proved against him or the girl they have both been dismissed. I think it very foolish for people to leave money about in the kitchen when according to their theory every black is pretty sure to be a thief. How much honesty can they expect from a native at one pound per month. .... Looked in at the reading room and on way back met Mr. Copeland who said he had fixed to go home about the end of next month, Mr. Birch managing the business meanwhile. ....

15.IV.77 Sunday 180th day. Fine.

Commemoration Sunday. Morning school commenced late and closed early leaving very little time for the lesson on Solomons prayer for wisdom.

The Sunday after 10th April is generally set aside at Commemoration Chapel for special sermons to commemorate the goodness of God to the British Settlers who landed at Algoa Bay on that day 1820. Indeed the chapel itself thence takes its name and that all important part of a Wesleyan service, the collection, was to be devoted to the building fund. Rev. Impey preached in the morning from some of the lessons of the Exodus. Afternoon school was well attended (anniversary in prospect). Mr. Walker has been unable to attend school to-day on account of the illness of his son. Mr. Hill took his place and I took Mr. Hills class but hope soon to have one of my own. Part of the time was spent in practising hymns for the anniversary services this day fortnight.

Took a little walk after school with Mr. Knight. There seems to be very little social intercourse amongst the teachers, very few even exchanging ordinary salutations which strikes me as rather strange and cold and dead. Evening Rev. Tyson preached a very appropriate sermon from Heb XI.16. After chapel walked back to the Impeys and sung hymns etc. ....

18.IV.77 Wednesday 183rd day. Fine.

...Mr. Jno. Walker has lost his eldest son and the funeral took place this afternoon. I do not like the way they manage funerals here. According to the above notice<sup>19</sup> any one or every one is supposed to meet at the residence. If you enter the house of course you take off your hat and the undertaker in the interval whilst prayers are being read or said, puts a band on your hat, then a procession is formed headed of course by the hearse (very English looking) there are mutes. No mourning coaches, no ladies present, the ministers lead and the procession marches to chapel - here I joined the party. The coffin was taken into the chapel and the procession followed uncovering their heads as

they passed the hearse. Part of the Burial service was read by Revs. Tyson, Impey and Price, the coffin was borne again to the hearse, the procession re-formed and marched at a regular funeral pace to the cemetery; here the rest of the service was gone through some wreaths etc. placed on the coffin, it was lowered into the grave, the earth sprinkled on it and the ceremony was closed with the benediction. The party dispersed every one turning to his own way. A number of boys from the school were there and a large number of the leading business men in town. Every one wore black clothes, some gloves [and] hats were not necessarily black though many wore silk hats and certainly looked very peculiar in them. Some also wore black sashes. After the service I saw one of the undertakers men collecting the hat bands I suppose to be kept for the next funeral he has to manage. I met Rev. Price afterwards and was glad to find he does not altogether agree with this mode of conducting a funeral, being bound to a set service and nothing more. He said what a splendid opportunity was lost of saying a few words to the boys who were present. .... News arrived yesterday that the Transvaal had actually been annexed by Sir T. Shepstone. I hope it may prove true as it will be a benefit to everybody, English, Dutch and the natives and will probably have a good effect on business. ....

28.IV.77 Saturday. 194th day. Fine.

This afternoon the volunteers had a grand time of it practising for a review on the Queens birthday and as I have never taken the trouble to see them drilling I was on the ground this afternoon. First the cavalry and artillery mustered in the Drostdy grounds the latter got ready their one and only gun, the horses were harnessed, the officers mounted and they fired three rounds to see that all was in order. The cavalry mustered and formed in line and went through various movements,

one cavalier ... was thrown from his horse but though at first he appeared to be seriously hurt, soon recovered and took his place in the ranks again. Cavalry, Artillery and Infantry (1st City Volunteers) then adjourned to West Hill and were put through various movements. The gun fired 21 rounds without any serious irregularity, nearly every one seemed pleased or at any rate amused and there was a march of the entire force to Church Square to conclude the performance. Of course not being a military man I cannot give an opinion as to the proficiency of these volunteers, but as the volunteer movement has become so general in this part of the colony I think it must have an effect on the native mind and deter them from any thoughts of making war for the present. Whether on the other hand it will stimulate them to organise their offensive powers I cannot say, but I rather hope that the last Kaffir war will be the last and that the many influences at work in different ways will successfully combine to prevent any future outbreak of such savage hostility as many colonists here remember too well. ....

A towns meeting <sup>20</sup> had been hastily summoned for this evening to consider a welcome to Sir Bartle Frere. This being held in Albany Hall I adjourned thence from our [I.O.G.T.] committee room and was much amused at the conduct of the meeting. I found a gentleman (afterwards discovered to be Jas. Wood proprietor of principal hotel here) urging his opinions very forcibly and eliciting a good deal of apparently indiscriminate applause: he took his seat and there was a long pause, the chairman kept his seat and from various parts of the meeting there were repeated calls for "Hann" but Mr. Hann would not make a speech. Then there were calls for the "Dean" and also for "King". At last the latter assayed to speak from his place but loud cries of "platform" induced him to speak from thence. He simply endorsed as briefly as possible what the previous speaker had said and took his seat.

Another lull succeeded. Calls for Hann were repeated but after a while the Dean stepped forward and though he had not prepared a word to say succeeded in making a very long and to me rather a dry speech. He evidently differed from Messrs Wood and (T.) King and in strong clerical tones advocated a different kind of policy and concluded by reading extracts from Sir. T. Shepstones instructions relating to the Transvaal. This brought Mr. Wood up again and thinking he had been misunderstood or misrepresented warmly defended himself, this time he held a substantial walking stick and by its use several times appeared to be in danger of smashing the lamp on the chairmans table. At the conclusion of his second say a Mr. [R.W.] Nelson felt bound to step forward from his seat on the platform and protest against the last speakers remarks - another pause and the question (I am not quite sure what it was) was put to the meeting when Messrs Wood and King appeared to be the only holders of their own opinions. Of course the chairman then received the usual and I thought it time to leave. ....

30.IV.77 Monday [196th] day. Fine. Hot.

Sunday School Picnic and Annual Meeting.

Yesterday was a grand day for the schools altogether but this is the day at any rate for the children. As requested by announcement I made my appearance at Shaw Hall a few minutes after 9 a.m. Found the doors closed, went to the chapel found that closed. A good number of children had already gathered and a small crowd of natives were at their chapel door. About 9.30 another teacher having arrived he managed to get the chapel opened and in rushed the eager children. No superintendent was there or any one in authority to keep order; of course the the children took advantage of this in their own way, to me a new way - their were what our children call "ladies tormentors" (in the shape of scent syringes) and until the stock was exhausted these were very freely

used, but this was not all. As our school sat on one side and the other English schools in the opposite gallery they kept up a constant fire of peppermints from side to side, a good number falling into the pews below. The quantity of sweets in the chapel at this time was amazing and they were falling in all directions. As on similar days at home I heard boys asking each other how much they had "to spend" and some appeared already to have spent a good deal much to the benefit of a certain few shops. By these innocent amusements the tedium of waiting for the other schools or the congregation or the conductors of the service, was relieved and somewhere after 10 a.m. hurried whispers of "Walker's coming" stopped the more riotous proceedings and when Mr. Walker did come he soon restored some kind of order. The next sign that we were going to hold a service (advertised as a "short" service) was the bringing in of an harmonium by four natives. A congregation was gradually forming and a few were seated on the choir. I suppose it must have been about 10.30 a.m. when the Dutch school came and took their seats in the upper pews in the body of the chapel. The Dutch school is principally composed of Hottentots and half castes. A little later and the Kaffir school came in and the full chapel presented a sight not often seen or soon forgotten. ....

Looking from the front seat in the gallery I saw [people] in the body of the chapel below, each side occupied by people come to see and hear the united schools, the middle part of the chapel and part of the aisles were occupied by the native schools. It was not merely the large number of scholars present, or their difference in colour that produced an impression but the costumes; as might be expected the prevailing colour in the English schools was white with the girls and black with the boys; but with the native it would be difficult to discover any colour largely preponderating excepting perhaps red in the head ornaments of the Kaffirs. I fancy too it would have been difficult to

detect any colour that was not represented. .... In the Dutch schools, hats and bonnets were worn by the females and a good many ostrich feathers were displayed - here as in the dresses was ample room for choice of colours and many striking contrasts might be seen. Some little boys were in some front pews with very curly little wigs but some of them hardly otherwise distinguishable from well-browned white boys. Sun bonnets of plain design and tame colour were mostly worn by the little girls. The Kaffir school showed some very interesting costumes. It must be understood that a great many of the servants in town attend the school and these receiving good wages and having few other wants indulge themselves in the matter of dress for this occasion saving up for months previously; many receive cast off dresses from their mistresses and many pay good prices to the best dressmakers for making in the latest styles. (These and some other particulars have been told me by those who know.)

The Kaffir head dress (I dont know any other name for it than "kopdooks")<sup>21</sup> affords ample scope for the display of colour. It is made in some mysterious manner from a very large sized coloured or patterned handkerchief fitting close round the forehead and gently inclining backward at about the facial angle. I have before said that red was a favourite colour for these, black also abounded but many other colours besides various patterns some rather intricate but many simply spotted or striped. Amongst the dresses I will simply remark that many wore long trains and three figured very conspicuously in black velvet with long white satin sashes. Jewellery (?) was also in profusion in many cases. Such is the congregation that may once a year be seen in Commemoration Chapel and rarely I should imagine any where else. After singing one or two hymns the regular service commenced about 10.45. The service consisted principally of song, first the English singing,

then the Dutch and last and best the Kaffir. Rev. Tyson offered a short prayer and said a few words, called on A[lfred] A[lexander] who gave a nice short address. Hon. Godlonton said a few words which I fear were unheard by most and after more singing and the benediction the service was over. We sang "God save the queen" altogether but could hear the Kaffir voices above all the others singing our National anthem beautifully. A procession was formed outside the chapel in the following order, Commemoration school, West Hill, Fort England, Dutch, Kaffir walking two and two. The procession was quite an imposing one extending quite a long distance. We left the chapel about noon and marched to the cricket field. The natives remained outside the enclosure and only the English schools were allowed within. The latter formed three sides of a square, sat down on the grass, regaled themselves with ginger beer and when the apparatus had arrived, sandwiches and cake were distributed. The party broke up and amused themselves as best they could, some tried football others cricket etc. but all these were soon given up on account of the heat, to-day being the hottest day we have had lately. I was glad to see Messrs. Knight and Weddeburn provided themselves with toys etc. and so organised races for these [children]. Some elder ones played "tersey"<sup>22</sup> under the name of "twos and threes", some little ones innocently amused themselves with "kiss in the ring"<sup>23</sup> and I think I saw some playing oranges and lemons. How I wished I could run about like I used to and so help to amuse them. [As] for the teachers many of them seemed to enjoy themselves amongst themselves. Naturally I visited the native ground and watched their amusements. A circle of Kaffirs several deep were very intent for several hours watching dancing: two or three females would enter the ring and go through a number of very peculiar paces, putting themselves in remarkable postures and apparently sought to show off their dresses to the best possible advantage. Meanwhile those forming the circle kept up a

monotonous kind of sing song and clapped their hands I suppose to keep time. When any strikingly dressed entered the ring the entertainment seemed to give greater satisfaction. This was the principal amusement, though other ordinary sports were in progress in different parts. Of this dance they never seemed to tire, not even when Mr. Richmond (one of their teachers) scrambled a lot of sweets in the ring, for they only removed a few steps and resumed. I heard several take exception to this being allowed as it is only continuing one of their heathen customs, though in their primitive state they dance in a state of nudity. Though there was nothing elevating in the performance I dont see that there was much in itself more objectionable than in many highly respectable amusements practised everywhere. Several ladies and gentlemen rode or drove up to the ground during the afternoon to enjoy the sight. The grand finale for the children was the scrambling of a great quantity of sweets, very skilfully performed by Mr. Weddeburn. This took place about 5 p.m. and as the sun was getting low and it would soon be dark, every one went their own way. ....

N.B.

3.V.77

.... I must just say how rejoiced I was to hear of R. Wilkies intended visit to this part and hope we may spend much enjoyable time together. Truly I am well cared for. As soon as one friend is likely shortly to leave me I hear of another coming to take his place.

4.V.77 Friday 200th day. Fine - cool.

Met Mr. Copeland according to appointment and walked over Dossy Krantz to Howisons Poort intending to go over the wooll-washing establishment there. .... Mr. C[opeland] happens to know the proprietor Mr. Harmer<sup>24</sup> and so arranged for our visit. We were very much interested

in watching the wooll pass through various processes in order to remove the dust, grease and other extraneous matter which depreciates the value. Some ingenious contrivances are at work and the wooll comes out very much cleaner and consequently lighter than it went in. After being washed it is dried by exposure to the sun and wind. We walked back over a slightly different route to the one we came by and got back to Mr. C[opeland]'s to lunch about 12.30 having very much enjoyed our walk. Afternoon I called on Rev. Wilkin to have some chess and much enjoyed 3 games the first I have played since landing. ....

8.V.77 Tuesday 204th day. Fine. *Butler attended the Degree Temple.*

.... As soon as this ceremony was over I was told a gentleman from England wanted to see me down stairs and sure enough there I found my old friend... R. Wilkie. To meet an old school fellow so far away from the old school and so long after we met there and under such circumstances is an event of no ordinary interest to one thus banished from home and friends. He came into our meeting (note the advantage of belonging to our order) and afterwards we had a little walk. Of course I had many questions to put and to have these answered personally instead of by a letter in two months time was a treat. ....

15.V.77 Tuesday 211th day. Fine.

.... After tea called on the Copelands and spent the evening there. The girls are busy working for a bazaar to be held next week in aid of the Cathedral fund. Mr. C[opeland] and R[obert]W[ilkie] had an interesting chat about Ackworth School. There is to be a concert shortly in aid of the cathedral tower fund and there appears to be some rivalry or want of harmony between the two funds, everyone being willing to contribute to the tower fund as that is to support the town clock

which of course is a public institution. The funds for the tower are about exhausted and the work almost at a standstill. ....

17.V.77 Thursday 213th day. Fine.

Not long since I think I exercised my privilege of grumbling at the irregularity of our mail service but this weeks experience has been specially aggravating. The Dunrobin Castle<sup>25</sup> arrived as I expected last Saturday and as the mail regularly leaves Cape Town Saturday evening we ought to have had our letters yesterday morning; I was not surprised to see a notice up that it was due here at 6.30 a.m. to-day and consequently with some degree of expectancy went down town soon after ten this morning. Happening to call on a friend found he had just come from post and "English mail not arrived" was the latest intelligence. Presently I was informed by another friend that it was due at 8 p.m. and on going to the office found the announcement "due at 8.30 p.m." I dare say some will be surprised and amused at my making such a trouble about my letters but really I do think this worries me more than anything else and unless people have experienced the annoyance they certainly well may be. But to-day I was eagerly looking out for some promised epistles and of more than ordinary interest in my regular budget. Then again to-day is mail day and no matter of what importance enquiries cannot be answered for another week. Here where we only get glimpses of our home world once a week (more or less) an interest attaches to our letters more than people accustomed to penny post and hourly deliveries can well imagine. Having thus releived my mind I wonder whoever can be the better for it except perhaps myself. ....

18.V.77 Friday 214th day. Fine - Dusty.

Devoted the morning to business in town and a wretched morning it proved, the wind was high and the dust blew across the square and along

the streets in blinding clouds. Called to wish Mr. Jno. Walker "good-bye" prior to his going home on a visit. Had tea at the Impeys but did not stay the evening as we had been very much pressed to attend a discussion at the Wesleyan Young Mens Society on the annexation of the Transvaal. I had anticipated a very interesting discussion especially as the resolution was framed in rather strong language viz. "That the forcible annexation of the Transvaal republic by the British government is unjustifiable". But the introducer (Mr. Hann) spoilt the whole affair by taking up over an hour in proposing his resolution, reading very copious extracts from the History of Natal whose bearing on the subject was very remote. J. Slater B.A. led the opposition but the whole affair seemed badly managed and gave great dissatisfaction. The constitution of this society divides the members into ministry and opposition and the ministry being in a majority carried their proposition I should imagine against the sense of the meeting and their own convictions. Walking away with R. King he expressed his conviction that the Orange Free State would soon follow in the same way as many of its citizens would welcome the change and its affairs are not in the most satisfactory condition. ....

20.V.77 Sunday 216th day. Fine.

Breakfast Vley to Peddie<sup>26</sup> - Whit Sunday.

*Butler met the Rev. John Priestley at the Price's house on Wednesday 2 May 1877 and was invited to spend a week with the Priestleys at Peddie at the time of the Sunday School anniversary celebrations. He accepted the invitation. Accordingly he set off by post cart on the evening of 19 May and reached Breakfast Vley very early the next morning. There he was met by Mr. Priestley and driven to the Wesleyan mission station at Peddie.*

About 6 a.m. we were seated in a very comfortable, easy, covered

cart and for two hours steadily maintained a good pace at the expiration of which time we stopped at the Wesleyan Mission house about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the town of Peddie. Let it be understood that this town of Peddie is the chief town in the district of Peddie, that the Divisional Council holds its meetings here, that the Frontier Mounted Police have barracks here and a Resident magistrate holds a court here. There is a Church belonging to the Episcopalians another to the Dutch Reformed and a Wesleyan School and Mission besides their chapel and yet the whole place would hardly rank as a village in England. Refreshed by breakfast I went to bed but first I should say I was welcomed by Mrs. Priestly and soon made to feel quite at home. ....

28.V.77 Monday 224th day. Fine.

Peddie. Cisira<sup>27</sup> native school, native kraals. ....

To make the most of a fine day we left the house in good time and rode over to see the native school at Cisira. This is only a small school, about 25 were present this morning, some of the elder girls who had charge of babies adopted the convenient mode of carrying them on their backs. The younger children were learning the multiplication table under the direction of one of the girls who seemed to be a sort of pupil teacher and either to assist the memories of her scholars or for her own amusement and theirs kept tapping their woolly heads in turn with her stick of authority. I should think "two times" table ought to be indelibly impressed on their minds from their constant repetition of it in a sing-song after their instructor. The reading of the elder girls was very fair. The school was managed by one female teacher. Each school has to keep a set of registers in books supplied by the government and to report quarterly.

Remounted our horses and rode up to the nearest "kraal"<sup>28</sup> where I took the opportunity of seeing the interior of one of the native huts.

I had to stoop to enter and when in could not at first see anything on account of the smoke but when my eyes got a little accustomed to it I could discern a great innovation of civilisation in the shape of a small bedstead, I was going to say in one corner of the hut but the hut being round has no corners. Four posts to help support the roof, a small fire and a kettle in the middle of the mud floor, two children, a calabash<sup>29</sup> and a heap of Kaffir corn were the other items distinguishable. Rode on again past several "kraals". These are built without any attempt at regularity but the huts just built in irregular groups with a cattle "kraal" attached. The latter is an enclosure made of the branches of trees placed closely together wherein the cattle are kept during the night. Saw a hut in course of construction. The natives here are in a more primitive state than nearer town, rarely wearing more than a blanket and the children being free from even that encumbrance. ....

*Butler returned to Grahamstown on 29 May 1877. He and Alfred Alexander spent nearly all day on 11 June 1877 making arrangements for Alexander's wedding.*

12.VI.77 Tuesday 239th day. Fine morn. Wet aft[ernoon].

A. Alexander married.<sup>30</sup>

The day arrived, the morning was dull threatening for rain but improved as it grew. We were ready and had our morning reading before the time appointed. At 10.15 a.m. the carriage was announced and we drove to Commemoration Chapel. A good congregation assembled, Miss Impey being well known and much esteemed. Feeling quite incapable of doing justice in describing the ceremony I give the following extract from a special correspondent retained for the purpose. At 10.40 a.m. the bride "walked in leaning on the arm of Henry Wood Esq, looking

somewhat sad but very quiet... Her dress was a robe of white merino trimmed beautifully with plush and fringe and the usual veil and flowers. Her tall graceful figure carried well her long flowing robe. They walked up the aisle followed by six bridesmaids (two were only little girls) who were dressed in white alpacca, trimmed with blue silk, white felt hats with long white ostrich feathers and veil carelessly drawn together with a blue spray of convolvulus - they were pronounced by all as most charming. The groomsmen it is needless to state also looked most charming (!). They were with the bridegroom waiting at the altar. The ceremony was performed by the brides father, assisted by the Rev. Robert Lamplough; the responses and marriage hymn being sweetly sung by the choir which added much to the impressive service. The service over the happy bridegroom led away to the carriage his fair smiling bride followed by the bridal train in succession. The wedding guests than all met at the residence of the brides father where a most sumptuous repast was laid out. There were no toasts or speech-making but at the close the happy couple were committed to God in a solemn prayer offered by the Rev. R. Lamplough. The cart then drove up, the parting took place and notwithstanding all the happiness there was a tinge of sadness in the long separation with the bride. They drove off mid the shouts and good wishes of the company and numbers of old slippers and plenty of rice. The company then dispersed and so it ended".

The above report leaves only a few details to be added. The company assembled at the house was a large one. Tables were not laid out for the majority. Groomsmen of course waited on the party paying special attention to the bridesmaids. There was no wine but plenty of lemonade etc. besides tea and coffee. .... Everybody says it was a very "pretty" wedding....The happy couple were to.... proceed to the bay via Sand Flats to-morrow leaving Port Elizabeth in the S.S. Danube<sup>31</sup>

on Friday and leaving Cape Town on Tuesday next the 19th. [They] should reach England about 13th of July.

14.VI.77 Thursday 241st day. Fine.

... Now about 8 months of my 18 are gone, A[lfred] A[lexander] has been with me most of that time and now R[obert] W[ilkie] has come to take his place - I certainly do feel thankful that I am thus provided with companions a pleasure I did not anticipate when I decided to come here. Thus and in many other ways I am constantly receiving good things. ....

15.VI.77 Friday 242nd day. Fine.

Having arranged with Mr. Slater to spend two or three hours every morning at his office went there and did a little book work. In the afternoon had a splendid game at Chess with Rev Wilkin and evening took tea at Mrs. Gilfillan's. Here met Mrs. Shaw wife of a missionary, who after a residence of thirty years in the colony still longs to return to the old country.

*Butler and Wilkie were invited to stay with the Shaws at their farm on the Bushman's River. Wilkie went there on 22 Sept. 1877.*

20.VI.77 Wednesday 247th day. Fine.

... It is eight years to-day since our sister Mary died and as that event was the means used by God for my conversion I have been looking back over the past and have been amazed at the unmerited goodness and mercy I have received; as I should never have dreamt eight years ago of such "wondrous love". ....

16.VII.77 Monday 273rd day. Fine.

Some interest was excited in town this morning on account of some natives being summonsed to serve on the jury, this being the first occasion that such an event has happened in the Colony. Of course many very strongly object to this and some were reported to have said that they would sooner go to the "trunk"<sup>32</sup> than sit on a jury with a native. However the judge (Smith) was firm and they thought it best to submit. ....

10.VIII.77 Friday 298th day. Fine.

.... Heard that at the Grand Lodge I.O.G.T. at King Williams Town, Reuben Ayliff has been elected G.W.C.T. so that we have both the G. and P.G.W.C.T.<sup>33</sup> in our Lodge. Enjoyed a stroll round by the reservoirs. At the Young Mens Society there was a discussion as to the admission of natives to the Jury list. Very varying opinions were expressed from the representatives of the "Exeter Hall party"<sup>34</sup> to those of the selfish colonist who would make the natives if not slaves at any rate something pretty near it. It was the best discussion I have attended here and the philanthropic party won the day. ....

14.VIII.77 Tuesday 302nd day. Fine.

Took tea at Mrs. Galpins and had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. and Master Gush. Friends who have read Backhouses Narrative<sup>35</sup> may remember reading of Joseph Gush of Salem who carried out his peace principles during war time. He risked his life by exposing himself to the natives unarmed and succeeded in persuading them to retire without doing further damage. Though no members of the family are "friends" yet Master Gush was named (out of respect to his late grandfather) Joseph John Gurney Gush and is familiarly called "Gurney". Had some good games at bagatelle which we all enjoyed and had a supper off Australian beef - fancy importing meat into a country like this. ....

20.VIII.77 Monday 307th day. Fine.

Strolled up by the Grey Reservoir<sup>36</sup> and was interested in watching the work proceeding there; availing themselves of the low level of the water they are clearing out the banks and deepening one end of this their best reservoir. Some hundreds of tons must have been removed and they are doing the work well. They raise 4 buckets full of earth at a time running them along a wire rope on an incline, the empty buckets lowering themselves. At the present time two of the reservoirs are quite dry, this one has only about eighteen inches of water in it and the Douglass,<sup>37</sup> though holding water is of little use owing to some defects in the pipes and is not high enough to reach all parts of town. Had an interesting Lodge meeting, no initiations but good time to hear detailed reports of the Grand Lodge meeting at King Williams Town which seems to have been very successful. ....

24.VIII.77 Friday 311th day. Fine - very close.

.... The discussion at the Young Mens Society was on the last War Scare<sup>38</sup> and a very interesting discussion it proved. Sufficient evidence was produced to show that a large number of natives were in an unsettled state even if they had not planned a regular war; that they were now better armed than ever they had been before, 100,000 guns being the number estimated that were in their possession. But after all I could not see that there was much danger of any serious war. Rev. W. Impey gave interesting evidence of the effect of Christianity on truly converted natives and asserted that not a single member of the Wesleyan Missionary churches had ever been proved to have taken part in a war on Europeans: he also repudiated the idea that the natives cherish an inherent desire for revenge but stated that whilst they fought fiercely and bravely when ordered by their chiefs, as soon as the word of peace had been declared they always settled down quickly and continued to live peaceably.....

27.VIII.77 Monday 314th day. Fine.

The arrival of the Governor.

I have seen Grahamstown in summer, autumn, winter and I may almost add spring, I have seen it on business days and holidays but have never before to-day seen the city in a state of excitement. To look at the streets on any ordinary day you would wonder where the people were and wonder what the few people you did see, did; you would wonder where the business part of the city was, whatever shops were opened for, who there was to buy anything, if ever any news reached the place and if so whether anybody cared about it. You would also be led to wonder if anybody in the place ever was in a hurry over anything and whether anything happened regularly by any pre-arrangement. A stranger dropped here to-day might still more be lost in wonder. Glad of a holiday everybody shut up shop at noon, many had left business before that hour in order to be ready to see the Governor when he came, the time appointed being 3 p.m. When I left the office, the streets presented an extraordinary appearance; more than a dozen flags of various patchwork patterns were flying in Church Square. Seven were on the Cathedral tower scaffolding (monstrous waste of bunting) and Bathurst St boasted about half a dozen more the chief of which advertised the name of "Howse, Reynolds & Co."<sup>39</sup> Volunteers were hurrying from all points as if preparing for a Kaffir war (what a day for the volunteers!) people dressed in their best were putting themselves in a perspiration by hastening towards the Drostdy and Prince Alfreds Road.

Everybody had left this house before me so I locked up, hid the key and the house was in charge of the dog. Met according to appointment Mr. Knight at 2 p.m. and strolled down High St. Walkers<sup>40</sup> displayed a few decent flags and Wood Bros<sup>41</sup> had a "Welcome" done in wooll on a pink ground with oranges nailed round for a border. Of course we made for the grand arch to design and erect which the talent of Grahamstown and

£50 had been requisitioned. We had heard of a beautiful design but however it looked on paper, or might have looked in reality had it been properly completed, it was a very wretched attempt as it stood, a mere skeleton of poles not quite covered with green. This is inexcusable as the materials for a number of good arches are at hand, abundance of ferns, beautiful aloes and any quantity of evergreens can be obtained close by and could be worked into very effective designs. Of course the great congregation was here, as here the address of welcome was to be presented but it must be remembered that if every man, woman and child in town were assembled here they would not form a real good crowd: at this time the people lined this part of the road nearly one deep. The 1st City and Volunteer Rifles<sup>42</sup> were stationed here and the whole police force (who ought to have been looking after the deserted property). Sundry vehicles and horsemen were going and returning and for about an hour and a half there was nothing doing. The first intimation of the Governors being within a few miles was a signal by blasting at the tunnel, next numerous boys on horseback came along the road riding hard, from which we inferred that all the boys in town who had horses, or whose fathers had horses, or had been able to borrow horses for the occasion had ridden out a few miles on the road and having caught a distant glimpse of some conveyance approaching started off at once to reach town first. I suppose we saw nearly 200 of these, then a great cloud of dust round a bend of the hill, then white helmets, then swords then horses, and as they came nearer we discovered that the Volunteer Cavalry were escorting the Governor and a large number of the Salem Cavalry<sup>43</sup> in a less pretending uniform followed. So he came in a carriage drawn by four Artillery horses and of course I and we all, like good loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty, cheered her representative as loudly as we could. A royal salute was fired, a halt was made at the arch and the address presented and then the Governor proceeded down

High St, Bathurst St, Beaufort St and Hill St. In order to give him as hearty a welcome as possible I managed to greet him three times. A levee was to be held at 7.30 p.m and a concert at 8 p.m but not feeling called to either I attended Lodge and after discharging my arduous duties there for about an hour returned to spend a quiet evening. At the Albany Hall the available police force of 9 men assisted by a company of Volunteers kept the entrance and the Governor arrived about half an hour late. I never saw so many policemen together here before. The Hall was well filled at 4/- and 2/6 per seat. ....

28.VIII.77 Tuesday 315th day. Fine.

Laying the Foundation stone of the New Town Hall.

If Grahamstown was alive yesterday it is much more so to-day. To form a creditable procession everything was tried. All the Friendly Societies were invited, the Good Templars and Freemasons. The Sunday Schools met at their respective rooms and marched to Church Sq. The Good Templars met at the Hall, made necessary arrangements and then marched to the Drosdty where we found a good number of men in various kinds of regalia assembled in groups in various parts of the grounds. The Templars had three very fine banners, the Foresters, Orangemen etc. had their banners. I think about ten altogether. I had thought the Good Templars extravagant in their regalia but certainly they appeared very modest in contrast with all the rest. Two orders wore ostrich plumes in their hats, the Odd Fellows and others had their mystic signs and emblems to carry and taken as a whole the procession was a very good one. The Natives were represented and most of them wearing white waistcoats and gloves looked very well. The only unfortunate part of it was that we were kept waiting a great while for the Governor, (not his fault however, but he was detained at the Telegraph Office sending long and urgent despatches over the Colony in reference to a Native

outbreak up-country<sup>44</sup> which threatens to prove serious). The procession opened and formed two lines between which the Governor was driven and of course was well cheered. Owing to some misunderstanding the procession got in a muddle so I left it and went to the Sunday school children. After laying the foundation stone, the assembled company sang "God save the Queen" and the Governor was driven off to the Albany Hall to open a Bazaar in aid of the Clock Tower. Most of the "Orders" paraded the streets a little longer but our children marched to Shaw Hall and were treated to Ginger Beer and buns. About a hundred or two ladies witnessed the ceremony from a specially erected stand and the tops of the houses on the opposite side of the square were availed of by a good number. Of course the Volunteers were busy, escorting and guarding the Governor, in fact they were in the way for the Cavalry stood right in front of the children thus totally eclipsing them. His Excellency was everywhere heartily cheered and is getting very popular here.

1.IX.77 Saturday 320th day. Fine.

The Natives in the Location for some not very clear reason have been fighting amongst themselves Kaffirs v. Fingoes. The row commenced Monday, was continued Tuesday night, carried on Wednesday night and ended Thursday morning when over 60 of the leaders were captured and brought into town by the police. I saw them coming into town in two parties and wondered how so many men had been secured by so few. Many women appeared to have been in the fight and quite a small forest of knob-kerries<sup>45</sup> were taken to the magistrates office. After a good lecture from the magistrate they were fined £1 each all round or 14 days imprisonment. ....

21.IX.77 Friday 340th day. Fine.

R[obert] W[ilkie] having been advised by his home doctors to remain out here three or five years wished to have Dr. Williamsons opinion on

the question: accordingly we called this morning and consulted with Dr. W[illiamson] who says he must not stay at the Ghio as that is too near the sea but strongly recommends him to go further up country. He advises a wagon trip right up to the Diamond Fields as that is a very healthy mode of travelling and might by itself do a great deal of good. As R[obert] W[ilkie] came here on my account I only think it right that I should go so far on his especially as Dr. W[illiamson] considers I might be better at a higher altitude. Of course we have not had time to go into the question and study all the pros and cons but going a journey like this we should pass through a number of towns and be able to form an opinion as to their healthiness and business prospects. Took tea and spent a very lively and pleasant evening at Dr. Knowles. One thing seems certain that if we do undertake a wagon journey our trip will be made as pleasant as possible for friends here will give us introductions to good people in every town we pass through and our friends the Shaws would advise us as to whose wagon to travel in. ....

27.IX.77 Thursday 346th day. Fine.

Some letters from home this morn, it is an improvement getting them on Thursday in time for reply by same days post. More telegrams from the frontier. Fighting between the Gaelekas and Fingoes has actually commenced and some have been killed; unless this is at once stopped there is no knowing where it may end. ....

29.IX.77 Saturday 348th day. Showery.

Mrs. Shaw came into town yesterday and wants me to go out with her on Monday but I cant get a horse. The war news to-day is no worse tho' people are getting very excited. All sorts of rumours are about and a very general feeling of fear that a general Kaffir war will ensue [prevails] which latter possibility is spoken of with awful dread by

those who have been in former wars. To-days news is to the effect that the Gaelekas attacked the Fingoes and Police and were repulsed.<sup>46</sup> The various Volunteer corps had a meeting this evening and a number volunteered to go to the front. Several civilians who hitherto have kept aloof from the movement have enrolled including three of the Galpins. The heavy showers of the last few days have done much good tho' it is doubtful now whether farmers are not to[o] unsettled to sow fearing they may not be able to reap. ....

1.X.77 Monday 350th day. Fine.

Business except that dependant on the war seems at a standstill. A large meeting was held in the Albany Hall at noon to consider the question of equipping a body of volunteers for the front. The meeting was of course enthusiastic as Grahamstown is really excited. Resolutions were moved by leading men and a subscription list opened, Mr. Birch led off with £100 Mr. Slater £30 and about £1,000 was at once raised besides several horses being given. During the afternoon a number of horses were bought of course at high prices and it is decided to send off a body of artillery men with their one gun and a body of cavalry on Wednesday. It is reported that all the hotel keepers on the road to K[ing] W[illiams] T[own] except Mr. Watson at Breakfast Vley<sup>47</sup> have trekked, thus showing how secure they think the state of the country is. .... Of course if affairs become very serious and martial law is proclaimed I shall have to suffer as others have done elsewhere for refusing to bear arms. I see in the list of subscribers to the "Patriotic Fund" Rev W. Impey £25, J.A. Chalmers £5 and J.[G.W.] Cross £1 thus showing what ministers and former missionaries think about it. ....

2.X.77 Tuesday 351st day. Close - Showers.

To-days war news is to the effect that the Gaelekas are retreating to and congregating at "Kreli's great place" and will now act only on the defensive. No doubt as soon as the government think themselves in a position to do so they will strike a decisive blow and try to catch Kreli but I am told they are not likely to accomplish the latter. Meanwhile there is some reason to believe that the Gaikas a tribe nearer here are contemplating mischief as numbers have left town and are moving up. There is as yet no news of the troops having been landed from C[ape] T[own]. The excitement to-day has hardly been so great or perhaps I should say so manifest. One determination seems universal and that is to crush Kreli's power and make a recurrence of such a calamity as the present impossible. I am expecting to hear of barbarous work on both sides. ....

4.X.77 Thursday 353rd day. Misty.

..... The prospect of a Kaffir war.

.... When the people best informed on and most interested in native affairs hardly venture an opinion on the present look out, no very decided opinion can be expected from me. This Native Question is an exceedingly complicated one, as you have to do with a vast extent of country, many distinct tribes, and chiefs, all sorts of jealousies and interests and, with the whites, a vast diversity of opinion, men of different natures, training, principles and prejudices.

The telegrams are certainly alarming yet I do not think they are "got up" to create a sensation. The old jealousies and bitterness between the Kaffirs and Fingoes has been revived and the question is whether now that these two tribes are once excited they can be quieted down again quickly - if not the British are pledged to support the

Fingoes and so punish the Kaffirs.

Should the Gaelakas (the tribe at present in arms) be successful it is possible that the Kaffirs even down to here might rise en masse and a general Kaffir war ensue.

I have spoken to many well informed men on the question, those who have lived with the natives and know their character, and their unanimous opinion seems to be that Kreli (the moving spirit in this disturbance) is a very cunning and dangerous character and that what is wanted speedily to suppress this conflagration and prevent its spreading is an effective show of authority and force and that nothing but fear will keep the other tribes from joining.

Should a war unhappily break out, farmers and travellers would be murdered, homesteads burnt, stock stolen and the colony in consequence be thrown several years back.

My own opinion is that at present there is not much fear of what is universally spoken of with horror and terror, a "Kaffir war". Only those who have passed through these fiery ordeals know how terrible they are and should the present crisis result in one I very much fear that with the memories of former losses of property and friends the revenge of many Europeans would be very severe and the fight a very bitter one. ...

From 11.X.77) Grahamstown. War news etc.

To 13.X.77) G[rahamstown] T[own] to Salem, The Ghio, Richmond.

11.X.77 Thursday 360th day. Fine.

The foregoing telegram<sup>48</sup> was published just too late to send with to-days budget but will of course be telegraphed home by this steamer and give rise to considerable discussion in many quarters especially amongst what the colonists stigmatise as the "Exeter Hall party".<sup>49</sup> This

"party" unknown as such at home is I imagine the "Aborigines protection society"<sup>50</sup> and is considered by most colonists to be a very sentimental body, very ignorant of the condition and capabilities of the natives and very mischievous by its meddling in these affairs at all. Yet these people who talk so "big" about Exeter Hall are generally very ignorant of the question themselves except in so far as that the natives make very bad servants which is undoubtedly true. I am frequently surprised at the ignorance I hear displayed in conversation in good society on this "Native question" which is as I have said before a very intricate one - yet people born and bred here might reasonably be expected to know the names of the different tribes, their chiefs and localities but very often they dont. This is a bold step of the Governors but I dont see what else could well be done. Kreli had long been a dangerous neighbour and had caused the frontier colonists anxiety for a long time past. He is an old man and probably he spoke the truth (for once) when he said he could not control his people. My greatest fear is that this may cause uneasiness to some of the other chiefs and lead them to fight for fear the same fate may befall them. Supposing Kreli's country is ceded to the Colony it seems to me only a question of time before a similar trouble arises with the next tribe unless the trade in drink and guns is suppressed. ....

Footnotes

SECTION 3

1. "Exeter Hall party"

Exeter Hall, London, was the venue for the annual meetings of evangelical and missionary societies. Exeter Hall symbolised the humanitarian and philanthropic activities of these societies which were frequently unpopular with the colonists.

- J.C.S. Lancaster: A Reappraisal of the Governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban at the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-1838. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University 1980 p 356.

2. Aborigines Protection Society

The Aborigines Protection Society was founded in 1836 by a group of Quaker philanthropists. Like the contemporary parliamentary Select Committee on Aborigines the Society's purpose was to investigate the treatment of aboriginal peoples throughout the British Empire, to try to secure the rights of such peoples and to promote the spread of Christianity and civilisation.

In March 1847 the Aborigines Protection Society published the first issue of a monthly journal The Colonial Intelligencer which scrutinised the conduct of colonial officials towards their aboriginal subjects. The influence of the Aborigines Protection Society was one reason for the recall of the Governor of Ceylon, for in 1849 The Colonial Intelligencer had exposed details of brutal treatment of local people which the Governor had permitted. The Aborigines Protection Society helped to promote humanitarian views on the just treatment of all imperial subjects.

- S. Maccoby: English Radicalism, 1832-1852. London, 1935, p 363-364. I am indebted to Miss M. Goedhals for this reference.

3. At Mrs. Passmore's boarding house, Lawrance St. See map p 379. and biographical index.

4. See fn.1 p 134.

5. India Rubber Tree

Rubber is produced from a variety of tropical plants including several species of the order Euphorbiales and of the genera Mabea, Manihot and Sapium. The highest grade rubber comes from Hevea braziliensis of the family Euphorbiaceae, a tall softwood tree

native to Brazil. A milky liquid called latex is gathered from the inner bark of the tree by tapping. Natural rubber is used in the manufacture of tyres.

Some trees such as Daphniphyllum macropodum are cultivated for their large and attractive leaves.

- Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia 15th edition, Chicago 1979 Vol. VIII p 704.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia 15th edition, Chicago 1979 Vol.6 p 1028.

## 6. Beefwood

The beefwood, Casuarina cunninghamiana, is a robust evergreen tree which grows to a height of 20-38 metres. It has a rough, straight bole and tiny leaves borne on flexible branchlets which look like pine needles. Beefwoods are found along the coast and in cooler drier regions of the interior. They provide shelter from wind. The timber is reddish-brown and strong. Imported beefwood panelling is found in some pre-1800 houses. The wood splits in seasoning but makes useful fuel.

The coastal beefwood Casuarina equisetifolia is a tropical species found in India, Malaysia and the Pacific islands. In South Africa it is used to anchor drifting sands. The wood is used for poles and fuel.

- W.F.E. Immelman, C.L. Wicht, D.P. Ackerman (eds.):  
Our Green Heritage Cape Town 1973 p 53, 120-121,278.

## 7. Blackwood

The blackwood, Acacia melanoxylon is an Australian tree which belongs to the family Leguminosae, subfamily Mimosoideae. It is grown for its timber which resembles stinkwood and is used in furniture making. The blackwood has become naturalised in the coastal areas of the Cape.

Maytenus peduncularis is a tree indigenous to South Africa sometimes erroneously called a blackwood. This tree belongs to the family Celastraceae. It produces a heavy, hard close-grained timber almost black when fully matured, a timber which was utilised in the construction of wagons.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.2 p 354.
- W.F.E. Immelman, C.L. Wicht, D.P. Ackerman (eds.): Our Green Heritage Cape Town 1973 p 94-95.

#### 8. Kaffir Wesley Chapel

The first two chapels built by the Wesleyans in Grahamstown were used both for worship and as school rooms. When Wesley Chapel was opened in 1832 the first chapel of 1822 was handed over to the black Wesleyan congregation. When Wesley Chapel was reopened on 1 Aug. 1852 the black Xhosa-speaking congregation worshipped there. After Wesley Chapel had been taken over first for the Shaw College and then as the Shaw Memorial Hall (see fn.9 below) it seems probable that the black Dutch-speaking congregation used the school house next to the Shaw Hall known later as the 'Native Chapel'. Hewson suggests that the front portion of the school house which dates from 1838 became the chapel for the Xhosa-speaking congregation and the larger room behind built in 1843 was used by Dutch-speaking Wesleyans. The school building was renovated in 1922 and reopened on 6 Dec. 1922. It is now called the Sole Memorial Church in memory of a benefactor.

The G.T.J. published a report of the ordination ceremony which took place on 15 Jan.1877 in the issue of 19 Jan.1877.

- L.A. Hewson: They Seek a City: Methodism in Grahamstown, Grahamstown 1981 p 16-19, 26-36.
- G.T.J. 15, 19 Jan. 1877.

#### 9. Shaw Memorial Hall

The first building on the site of the present Shaw Hall in High Street, Grahamstown was the Wesley Chapel, a plain classical building opened 16 Dec. 1832. That chapel was partially destroyed by fire on 22 Nov. 1833. In July 1851 Wesley Chapel was offered for sale to the Municipal Commissioners as a town hall. A year later the Supreme Court ruled the sale illegal. On 1 Aug. 1852 Wesley Chapel was reopened for use by the black Wesleyan congregation.

From 1862 to the beginning of 1869 Wesley Chapel was used by the Shaw College, a Wesleyan high school. The principal was Mr. Peter MacOwan, later a Professor of Botany at the South African College,

Cape Town. Shaw College had ceased to exist by 1 Jan. 1869.

On 28 April 1864 the Shaw College hall was used for the opening of the Cape Parliament on the only occasion that the Parliament met outside Cape Town.

On 12 February 1873 the senior clergy of the Wesleyan community decided that a fitting memorial to the Rev. William Shaw (who had died in London on 4 Dec. 1872) would be a Shaw Memorial Hall. Accordingly, rather than build a new hall, they renovated the Shaw College hall. A new façade was added in 1876.

Renamed the Shaw Memorial Hall, the building was opened on 17 Jan. 1877.

- L.A. Hewson: They Seek a City: Methodism in Grahamstown. Grahamstown 1981 p 21-31, 49-54.
- G.T.J. 17, 19 Jan. 1877.

#### 10. Railway Tunnel Works

The first railway line in the Cape Colony ran between Cape Town and Eerste River and was opened 13 Feb. 1862. The discovery of diamonds in the late 1860's provided the impetus and resources for a great spurt in railway building to connect the diamond fields with the ports.

From the mid-1850's Grahamstown had tried to get a rail link and in 1862 a line to Port Elizabeth was approved subject to surveys. But when building actually started late in 1873 the main line northwards from Port Elizabeth by-passed Grahamstown. A branch line from Alicedale via Highlands to Grahamstown was approved by Act No.5 of 1876. The line from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown was completed in stages:

10 April 1876	railway opened	Port Elizabeth	to	Sandflats
May 1877	"	"	"	"
27 Aug. 1877	"	"	"	"
3 March 1879	"	"	"	"
3 Sept. 1879	"	"	"	"

Work on the Highlands - Grahamstown section, including the Waainek Tunnel, was started in 1876. The tunnel construction was under the supervision of the contractor George Pauling. The rock through which the tunnel passed was thought to be hard Devonian

sandstone: in fact the rock was soft shale in parts so that the tunnel cost less than estimated. Pauling made a handsome profit.

Butler visited the railway works at intervals between 27 Jan. 1877 and 26 Oct. 1878 by which time the tunnel was virtually complete.

- G.D.R. Dods: Nineteenth Century Communications in the Zuurveld. Unpublished M.Sc. thesis Rhodes University 1960 p 171, 181-189, 199-203, 212-214.
- K.S. Hunt: "When the Railway came to Town" in Contree No. 6 July 1979.
- G. Pauling: The Chronicles of a Contractor Facsimile reproduction of the first edition 1926. Edited by David Buchan, Bulawayo 1969 p 27-29.
- S.E.S.A. Vol.9 p 218-221.
- G.T.J. 6 July 1877, 3 March 1879.

#### 11. British and Foreign Bible Society

The British and Foreign Bible Society was established in London on 7 March 1804, one of several missionary and tract societies formed at the turn of the century as a result of the evangelical revival. The Bible Society aimed to make the Scriptures available to everyone. Local societies grew up outside London and then abroad. They were known as "auxiliaries" and from these, small branch societies developed. An auxiliary was established at Cape Town in 1820 and one at Salem in 1833. The Grahamstown auxiliary, opened on 1 December 1834 was formed to commemorate the emancipation of the slaves. The work of the Bible Society languished in the late 1830's but was re-established in 1846. By 1896 the Bible Society had dépôts as far north as the Zambezi and comprised 7,496 auxiliaries world-wide.

The Bible Society gave generous donations for translation work including funds for the Kaffir (Xhosa) Bible (see fn.8 p138).

Translation and distribution work continued to be the main concern of the Bible Society in the twentieth century. In 1965 the South African Bible Society became independent of the parent Society in London.

At the annual meeting of the Society which took place on 6 Feb. 1877 Bible revision and a dearth of New Testaments was discussed. The income of the Society for the past year was stated in the

G.T.J. to be £222,320.8s.11d.

- A.P. Smit: God made it grow: A History of the Bible Society Movement in Southern Africa, 1820-1970 Cape Town 1970 p 1-4, 11, 19, 34, 48, 84.
- G.T.J. 9 Feb. 1877.

12. See fn. 8 p 138.

13. Albany Hospital

Though the need for a hospital in Grahamstown had first been expressed as early as 1829 nothing effective was done until 1854 when the governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Cathcart granted land at the top of Lawrance Street as a site for a new hospital. A Managing Committee of the General Hospital of Grahamstown was appointed. The building was financed by a £2,200 grant from the government as well as funds collected locally.

The Albany General Hospital was opened on 25 Sept. 1858. The building was a double-storeyed one with shady verandahs and held 12 beds. New wards were added in 1878 and 1881, an operating theatre in 1880 and a mortuary in 1887. The management of the hospital was until 1891 in the hands of a Superintendent who was not a doctor. Hospital finances were under the control of the Albany Hospital Board. The Superintendent in 1877 was Mr. John E. Davies who held that post for 23 years until 1891.

By the early years of the twentieth century the fabric of the building was in poor condition and standards of hygiene were low, as outbreaks of typhoid fever indicated. A new hospital, the Settlers Hospital was built in the early 1920's. On 26 Oct. 1922 all the staff, patients and equipment were moved into the new hospital. Six months later on 14 April 1923 the Albany Hospital was burnt to the ground.

- E.G. Dru Drury: Grahamstown's Hospitals; East London, n.d., in South African Pamphlets Vol.60.
- L.G. Crouch: A Short Medical History of Grahamstown Grahamstown 1976 p 24-35.
- F.G.van der Riet: Grahamstown in Early Photographs Cape Town 1974 p 90-93.

14. Edinburg Castle

Flag: United Kingdom  
 Line: The Colonial Mail Line (Donald Currie's)  
 Route: London - Dartmouth - Cape Town  
 Built: 1872 (R. Napier, Glasgow)  
 Tonnage: 2678 tons

The first of Donald Currie's mail steamers named the Edinburgh Castle was a sister ship to the Windsor Castle (see fn. 5 p 112). For several months before she joined the Cape mail service she sailed under charter in the South American trade. In 1880 she was sold to a Spanish ship-owner, the Marquis de Campo. She was renamed España. In 1898 she was scrapped.

- Marischal Murray: Ships and South Africa Oxford 1933 p 286.
- Marischal Murray: Union-Castle Chronicle 1853-1953 London 1953 p 360.

15. Savage's Canteen

The word canteen referred to any drinking shop or public house, probably from military usage. The canteens kept by George Savage and Archibald Lappan in New Street and Mr. Kemp's White Horse Canteen were mentioned in the Memorial prepared by three local I.O.G.T. lodges and signed by 276 members. The memorial aimed at the abolition of all wine and spirit licences and requested better surveillance of local canteens. It was presented in the form of a petition by the Hon. George Wood to the Annual Meeting of the Albany Licensing Board held on 21 March 1877. Local hotel keepers energetically opposed the memorial.

When George Savage's application for renewal of his licence was discussed a Mr. Stone produced evidence in favour, but the application was lost, subject to three months' notice.

- Branford: Dictionary p 42.
- G.T.J. 21 March 1877.

16. Leptoneura clytus

Leptoneura clytus is a species of butterfly which belongs to the family Satyridae. It is found all over Southern Africa to Natal. The

colour is brown with creamy-yellow macular transverse stripes on the forewing. Near the tip of the forewing is a black spot or ocellus with two blue centres or pupils. Trimen describes a variety found in the Grahamstown area larger than the common form.

- R. Trimen: South-African Butterflies: A Monograph of the Extra-Tropical Species. London 1887 Vol.1 p 92-94.
- H.L. Lewis: Butterflies of the World. London 1973 p 116 (colour plate), 258.

#### 17. Mantis

The Mantidae or Mantids belong to the order Orthoptera and are related to grasshoppers and cockroaches. They feed on other insects. The name 'praying mantis' is suggested by the way the insect sits with its forelegs held up. These forelegs are armed with spines and are used to clasp the prey like a pair of pliers. Many species are effectively camouflaged. They lie in wait for other insects, catch them, eat the soft parts and discard the hard wings and legs.

The common green species in South Africa is Sphodromantis gastrica.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.7 p 180-181.

#### 18. The Superintendent

The Superintendent of Commemoration Sunday School was Mr. John Walker. He was elected at a meeting of the Wesleyan Sunday School Union Committee held on 4 May 1876, and re-elected 3 May 1877. He left Grahamstown on a visit to England on 23 May 1877 and was away until early February 1878. During his absence Mr. John Roberts took over as Acting Superintendent.

- C.L.; PR 3572/1; M.A., Minute book of the Sunday School Union Committee; minutes of the meetings of 4 May 1876, 3 May 1877, 22 May 1877.
- G.T.J. 25 May 1877, 27 Feb. 1878.

#### 19. Death of John Walker's son

Joseph John Walker, the eldest son of John Walker died on 16 April 1877 at the age of twelve years and four months. A

newspaper cutting from Grocott's Penny Mail of the death notice is glued into Butler's diary as part of the entry for 18 April 1877.

- G.T.J. 18 April 1877.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 17 April 1877.

20. Towns Meeting

A lively public meeting was held on 28 April 1877 in the Albany Hall. The purpose was to enlist public support for an address of welcome to be sent to the new Governor, Sir Bartle Frere. The address was read. Various prominent Grahamstown personalities made speeches which tended to reflect their personal differences. Eventually the resolution to adopt the address was passed. The meeting ended at about 9.30 p.m.

- G.T.J. 30 April 1877.

21. "Kopdoeks"

A doek or kopdoek is a head-scarf or cloth arranged and tied round the head in various ways. From Afrikaans kop head and doek scarf or cloth.

- Branford: Dictionary p 56-57.

22. 'Tersey'

The children's game 'Twos and Threes' is played in a circle with the players standing in pairs facing the centre. One player is the fugitive, his partner the chaser. The fugitive is safe if he stands in front of one of the pairs and the player at the back of the pair becomes the new fugitive. If the fugitive is caught he becomes the new chaser.

The game was known in the nineteenth century as 'Tierce' or 'Tersy', a north country form. It may have originated in France in mediaeval times as le tiers, a popular sport.

- I. and P. Opie: Children's Games in Street and Playground Oxford 1969 p 82-84.

23. 'Kiss in the Ring'

'Kiss in the Ring' is a version of the children's game 'Drop Handkerchief' in which a handkerchief is dropped behind one of

several players sitting in a circle facing the centre. The player must pick up the handkerchief and race round the circle in the opposite direction to get to his place before the dropper does. The player who arrives last becomes the dropper in the next round. From 1801 when the name 'Kiss in the Ring' is first mentioned, the game by that name was frequently played at Christmas, on bank holidays, at country weddings and fairs. Not only children but also 'grown lads and lassies' played it. When a boy caught a girl he took her to the middle of the ring and kissed her.

- I. and P. Opie: Children's Games in Street and Playground Oxford 1969 p 198-202.

24. T.H. Harmer and Co.

The woolwashing establishment which was situated in Howison's Poort was managed by two partners: T.H. Harmer and John Locke. The partnership was dissolved by mutual consent on 1 July 1881.

A description of the woolwashing process is given in the Official Handbook of the Cape of Good Hope, 1886.

- John Noble (ed.): Official Handbook. History, Productions and Resources of the Cape of Good Hope. Cape Town 1886 p 248.
- G.T.J. 1 July 1881.

25. See fn.1 p 26

26. Peddie

Peddie is a village about thirty miles north-east of Grahamstown. As Fort Peddie, a military post for frontier defence, it was established after the war of 1834 and named after Lieutenant Colonel John Peddie of the 72nd Regiment (Seaforth Highlanders). The original star-shaped fort contained a magazine, guardroom and commissariat stores. In 1841 the Watch Tower for observation and signalling, the military hospital and barracks were built.

The military importance of Fort Peddie declined as the frontier moved eastwards. In 1848 Fort Peddie became a civilian magisterial district and the village was established and surveyed, though the "Fort" of Fort Peddie was not dropped until 1858. In 1862 with the departure of the military the barracks became the Court House and

and residence of the magistrate, and the old fort and other buildings were handed over to the Anglican Church.

The Wesleyan mission station D'Urban at Peddie was founded in 1837, on land given by Richard Tainton, 1820 settler, farmer and sometime Wesleyan lay assistant.

In 1877 Peddie was the centre of a farming area which produced mainly wheat, maize and wool. The majority of the population (some 15,559 blacks and 1,327 whites) were Mfengu, who had been located near Peddie after the war of 1834. In 1877 the F.A.M.P. detachment was led by Sub-Inspector H. Jenner. The magistrate was J.C. Hunt.

- J.B. Bullock (ed.): Peddie - Settlers' Outpost Grahamstown 1960 p 14-16, 23-28, 43.
- The General Directory and Guide Book to the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies, 1878. Cape Town, 1878, p 300-302.

#### 27. Cisira School

Cisira (Cesira, Ecisira) School was one of the fourteen day schools for black children which fell under the supervision of the Superintendent of the Wesleyan church circuit at Peddie. The teacher in 1877 was E. Kuberana (? MS not clear). The following year Dorcas Vundla was the teacher but the date of her appointment is not given. The Cisira school-teacher's salary was £40 p.a. Her helper was probably one of the extra assistants described in the Grahamstown District Report for Peddie for the year 1877. The chief function of such assistants was to teach sewing three times a week.

Schools such as Cisira were partly subsidised by the Cape government which contributed £30 p.a. towards the teacher's salary, gave grants for furniture and materials and retained the right to inspect the schools annually.

- C.L.; MS 15025; M.A., Reports of the Grahamstown District 1871-1884, report of the Native Department, Peddie, for 1877.
- C.L.; MS 15018; M.A., Minutes of the meetings of the Grahamstown District which include the Day School Schedules 1877, 1878 and the Lists of Subordinate Paid Agents 1877, 1878.

28. Kraal

The word kraal comes from old Dutch koraal a fold or pen.

Branford lists eight meanings for the term of which two appear in this passage:

- (a) A village or settlement occupied by a black tribe.
- (b) An enclosure or pen for farm animals.

- Branford: Dictionary p 125-126.

29. Calabash

The word calabash probably comes from the Arabic qa'rah yabisah, a dry gourd. Calabash may refer to a vegetable or, perhaps more usually, the bottle gourd much used as a receptacle by blacks.

- Branford: Dictionary p41.

30. Alexander - Impey Marriage

A report of the marriage of Alfred Alexander and Frances Impey on 12 June 1877 appeared in the G.T.J. 13 June 1877. Neither the E.S. nor Grocott's Penny Mail mentioned the marriage. The report quoted by Butler is much longer and more detailed than that published in the G.T.J.

- G.T.J. 13 June 1877.

31. S.S. Danube

Flag: United Kingdom  
 Line: The Union Steam Ship Company  
 Route: London - Southampton - Cape Town  
 Built: 1866, converted 1872 Millwall Ironworks  
 Company, London  
 Tonnage: 2039 tons

The S.S. Danube was built as a paddle steamer in 1866, sold to the Union Steam Ship Company in 1871 and converted into a screw steamer. She made a record passage of 25<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> days in March 1873. The Prince Imperial of France was a passenger in her in March 1879,

a few weeks before he was killed in an ambush in Zululand. In 1888 the Danube was sold. She was broken up soon afterwards.

- Marischal Murray: Ships and South Africa  
Oxford 1933 p 55, 278.
- Marischal Murray: Union-Castle Chronicle  
1853-1953 London 1953 p 357.

### 32. Trunk

Trunk or tronk is a colloquial term for a gaol, prison or lock-up. Trunk is probably derived from the Malay trukku, to imprison or the related Portuguese word tronco, a box or trunk. The gaol in Grahamstown was in Somerset Street. (See map p 380).

- Branford: Dictionary p 263.

### 33. Officials of the I.O.G.T.

- G.W.C.T. Grand Worthy Chief Templar
- P.G.W.C.T. Past Grand Worthy Chief Templar

The published constitution of the Grand Lodge of Central South Africa omits "Worthy". Newspaper reports of I.O.G.T. events frequently printed initials only.

- C.L.; Pamphlet Box 6: I.O.G.T. Grand Lodge of Central South Africa. Constitution and By-Laws of the Grand Lodge and Subordinate Lodges. Kimberley 1913 p 5, 37.
- G.T.J. 7 May 1877.

### 34. See fn. 1 p 195.

### 35. Backhouse's Narrative

The story of how Richard Gush dissuaded the Xhosa warriors from attacking Salem in the war of 1834-1835 appears in James Backhouse: A Narrative of a Visit to The Mauritius and South Africa, London 1844 p 298-300.

### 36. The Grey Reservoir

By the late 1850's the need for an efficient water supply in Grahamstown had reached the point of urgency since two earlier attempts to construct reservoirs had failed. Funds were raised by the sale of land granted by the governor, Sir George Grey, in 1859.

The Municipal Commissioners even pledged their personal credit to guarantee a loan for the building of a new reservoir. Sir George Grey himself opened the new Grey Reservoir on 25 Jan. 1861. The new reservoir was capable of holding over 15 million gallons and cost over £5000.

After some fifteen years the Grey Reservoir needed repairs. Work on those and on excavations to enlarge the reservoir was started in September 1877 during a period of drought, and continued into the 1880's.

By 1884 the town needed more water than could be provided by the three existing reservoirs the Grey, the Hamilton and the Douglas. Two new water schemes, the Slaai Kraal and the Howison's Poort schemes, were proposed in 1884. Three new reservoirs were eventually built: in 1898, 1906 and 1930 and the most recent dam, Settlers, was opened on 5 Sept. 1962.

- Hunt: Municipal Government p 194-198.
- M.Gibbens: Two Decades p 136-137, 145.
- K.S. Hunt: "The Story of Grahamstown's Water Supply" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society 1976 Vol.2 p 8-21.

### 37. The Douglas Reservoir

The Douglas Reservoir was a small dam built in 1867 with military assistance. In December 1865 the military authorities had offered to help the Grahamstown Town Council to build a new reservoir under an implied threat of the removal of the troops from Grahamstown unless the offer were accepted. In mid-1866 Colonel R.G. Hamilton of the Royal Engineers was called in to complete the construction of the dam which was named after Sir Percy Douglas, the Lieutenant Governor and Commander of the Forces. The capacity of the Douglas Reservoir was about half that of the Grey Reservoir (See fn. 36 p 207). The Douglas Reservoir cost about £1,038, less than might have been expected because of the military aid.

In 1874 silting problems were experienced at the Douglas Reservoir. Repairs and improvements were completed in 1876 with the aid of advice from a professional engineer, James Newey.

In the twentieth century several larger dams were built to supply

Grahamstown's ever-increasing water needs.

- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 138-144.
- K.S. Hunt: "The Story of Grahamstown's Water Supply" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society 1976 Vol.2 p 8-21.

### 38. The War Scare

Beginning in July 1876 rumours of a combined uprising of the black tribes began to circulate in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony. A conspiracy to invade the Colony was postulated, a conspiracy which was supposed to include the Zulus in Natal, the Basothos in Basutoland and even the Pedi in the Transvaal. The frontier newspapers used the scare to campaign for a Defence Commission. The E.S. in particular gained a reputation for sensational reporting. The Governor responded to the scare with a request for more troops. Two divisions of the 3rd Buffs were sent from England and arrived at East London in November 1876. (See fn. 4 p 110).

By February 1877 the crisis seemed to have passed with the coming of rain and the settlement of an intertribal boundary dispute, but the outbreak of the frontier war of 1877-1878 was merely delayed for a few months.

- M.W. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi, 1877-1878  
Unpublished M.A. thesis Rhodes University 1978  
p 42-48, 59-60, 106.

### 39. Howse, Reynolds and Co.

The Directory of 1881 lists Howse, Reynolds and Co. as merchants, Bathurst Street, Grahamstown.

- The Commercial Directory and Guide to the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1881. Grahamstown 1881, p 449.

### 40. Walker's

The Directory of 1881 lists Walker and Co. as merchants and shipping agents, High Street, Grahamstown.

- The Commercial Directory and Guide to the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1881. Grahamstown 1881, p 468.

41. Wood Bros.

The Directory of 1881 lists Wood Brothers as merchants, High Street, Grahamstown.

- The Commercial Directory and Guide to the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1881. Grahamstown 1881, p 470.

42. First City and Volunteer Rifles

The First City Volunteer Corps was established in Grahamstown after a public meeting held on 7 Oct. 1875. Griffiths suggests that the Grahamstown Volunteer Rifles and the City of Grahamstown Volunteers were the same unit, but the two are listed separately in the G.T.J.

Volunteers from Grahamstown fought in the campaigns against the Gcaleka and Ngqika in the war of 1877-1878 and were involved in patrols to protect frontier farms. Though the Grahamstown volunteers were highly esteemed in their home town, professional soldiers took a different view. Frere himself had a low opinion of their effectiveness and issued regulations to restrict the number of cattle they were allowed to take as booty.

The Volunteer system was reorganised under the Yeomanry Act, No. 10 of 1878. The Grahamstown Volunteer Rifles was one of the corps which were disbanded in March 1879 as a result of the new legislation, but the First City Volunteers Corps continued in service until 1913 when it became part of the First Eastern Rifles.

- G.T.J. 1 Dec. 1876, 30 Nov. 1877, 5, 7 Feb. 1879.
- E.S. 11 March 1879.
- Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 115-117.
- R. Griffiths: First City: A Saga of Service Cape Town 1970 p 34-36, 38-45, 136-137.

43. Salem Cavalry

The Salem Volunteer Corps was formed late in 1876 in response to a war scare (see fn. 38 p 209). About 70 men enrolled at the first muster when John Gardner, a local farmer, was elected Captain. The Salem Volunteers joined other Eastern Cape contingents in the troop known as the Albany Mounted Volunteers, or the Albany Rangers. They fought in the war of 1877-1878 and were particularly successful

in capturing cattle, perhaps because many were farmers. Butler's friend William Shaw who was accidentally killed on 16 March 1878, belonged to the Salem Volunteer Corps. See fn.4 p 398.

- E.S. 19 March 1878, 9, 16 April 1878.
- G.T.J. 22 March 1878.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 9, 16, 23 April 1878.

#### 44. Native Outbreak

On 24 Aug. 1877 there was a skirmish between armed parties of Gcaleka and Mfengu tribesmen near Butterworth in the Transkei. War was narrowly averted and the two sides agreed to submit the matter to an official enquiry to be held at Butterworth. The enquiry began on 27 August but had only heard Mfengu evidence by the time the war broke out at the end of September. The incident of 24 August was a symptom of intertribal tension exacerbated by white reactions.

- Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 77-79, 91.

#### 45. Knobkerrie, Knobkierie, kierie

A fighting stick or club usually with a knobbed end. The word was originally a Hottentot term kirri or keeri, stick.

- Branford: Dictionary p 117, 121.

#### 46. Gcaleka Attack

On 29 Sept. 1877 the Gcaleka army attacked the colonial forces at the shop and outbuildings of the trader John Barnett at Ibeka, near Butterworth. This trading post had been fortified by the F.A.M.P. a few days before. About 8000 Gcaleka warriors attacked in close formation. They were repulsed by Police artillery and rifle fire and counter-charges by Mfengu troops, without whom the whites would have been overcome. The Gcaleka army withdrew, leaving several hundred dead. One policeman was wounded and six Mfengu soldiers died.

The battle of Ibeka was the prelude to the colonial occupation of Gcalekaland and sporadic Gcaleka resistance to the invading forces. The superior fire power of the colonial forces shown at

the battle of Ibeka was a major reason for the ultimate collapse of black resistance in the war of 1877-1878.

- Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 104-108,122, 245, 248.

47. Mr. Watson at Breakfast Vley

Mr. James Robert Watson was the proprietor of an inn at Breakfast Vlei. The Watsons were a family of Welsh extraction who had settled at Breakfast Vlei in the 1860's. The newspaper obituary of James Watson mentions that the Watsons' inn, managed in the late 1870's by James Watson's mother, "Granny Watson", remained open when all the other country hotels in the district were abandoned.

- G.T.J. 2 Nov. 1897.

48. The Telegram

In a Gazette Extraordinary published 5 Oct. 1877 the Governor deposed Sarhili as Paramount Chief of the Gcaleka and ordered Commandant Griffiths of the F.A.M.P. to occupy Sarhili's lands and arrange for their administration after annexation. This action was regarded as the punishment of the Gcaleka for their attack on the Mfengu and F.A.M.P. at the battle of Ibeka on 29 Sept. 1877 (see fn. 46 p 211). Butler included a cutting from the Gazette Extraordinary as part of his diary entry for 11 Oct. 1877.

- Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 114.

49. See fn. 1 p 195.

50. See fn. 2 p 195.

SECTION 4

Richmond - The Ghio - Grove Hill

13 October 1877 - 6 May 1878

13.X.77 Saturday 362nd day. Fine. ....

*On 12 Oct. 1877 Butler, with John Shaw and his friend Benjamin Dell, travelled via Salem to the Shaws' farm Richmond near Alexandria. They arrived on 13 Oct. Robert Wilkie was already there, having left Grahamstown on 22 Sept. 1877.*

.... This farm [Richmond] stretches for about five miles along the coast and in many ways reminded me of North Devon. Most of the land is grass-land but hundreds of acres are now under cultivation, there is comparatively little bush and near the sea the soil becomes more sandy. On reaching Richmond farm-house we were welcomed by Mrs. Shaw all the others being away. Mr. Shaw and R[obert] W[ilkie] were bathing, the two girls Dora and Lilly were at the beach gathering shells and brought home some beauties and all the sons were out on the farm. I was made to feel at home directly, settled into new quarters in a few minutes and so commenced a very enjoyable visit if nothing unforeseen happens to cut it short. Mr. Shaw soon arrived and we strolled out together and interested each other in conversation on many topics. Towards evening the other members of the family arrived and it was certainly a case of "the more the merrier". I gave R[obert] W[ilkie] his budget of letters for which he was very eager having been nearly a month without news. Here I must acknowledge a splendid feast of letters that came to hand yesterday, two mails together. ... I had been fifteen days without news, my last budget was a small one so now I had a glorious time reading a lot of splendid letters. The Shaw family with whom I am now sojourning is descended from the Rev. Barnabas Shaw, the first Wesleyan Missionary in South Africa. The present Rev. B. Shaw was born in the colony but was educated at home. Mrs. Shaw is the most motherly and homely body I have met with since leaving home and is exceedingly kind and thoughtful for our comfort, enjoyment and health. The seven sons Barnabas (at

present in town) John, William, James, George, Charles, Ambrose are all good brothers and all grown up except the last two. The eldest sister Barbara is staying in town the other two are the youngest of the family. Here then we are for the present enjoying ourselves and are all known as "cousins".

16.X.77 Tuesday 365th day! Windy.

The wind to-day being very high and laden with sand we have not been out much. Ben [Dell] is making a limekiln to burn lime,<sup>1</sup> not so much for manure as for sale. Most of the ploughing is done and oats etc. sown in. They dont seem to go in for any root crops, nor yet for wheat as the market for the latter is uncertain and the crops are frequently afflicted with rust. A farmers life here appears to be comparatively an easy one, not but what at times the farmers themselves work hard at ploughing etc but so many things that an English farmer considers necessary to be done are dispensed with here that the farmer has much more time at his own disposal: consequently I have had several good games at chess with Ben and enjoyed them very much.

17.X.77 Wednesday (53rd week.) Misty.

.... This day last year I left home - then I was launching out into a vast unknown but as day by day passed by, each revealing fresh wonders and fresh beauties in nature and increasing my reverence for Natures God, each day has also brought fresh tokens of a Fathers love and watchful care, and made me marvel at His goodness, and desire more implicitly and simply to confide my body, soul and spirit to Him who has so far condescended to be my Guard and Guide, my Saviour, Teacher and Friend. ....

1.XI.77 Thursday 381st day.

Have been having long arguments with the Shaws principally about farming; we are always debating the respective merits of England versus

the Colony, that seems to be a fatality wherever we go - we boldly asserting the superiority of England - the colonists as boldly maintaining the claims of this country. We claim the advantage of being acquainted with both, and so [are] in a better position to judge than those who have no personal acquaintance with any other country than this and their knowledge of it - very limited. If you suggest such works as fencing, irrigating, manuring, talk of a rotation of crops, paying more attention to the cattle, using more machinery etc. etc. you are met with a flood of excuses and if you can show the fallacy of these another set are brought forward. To me the greatest obstacle to any great improvement in the system of colonial farming (and consequent increase of colonial produce and developement of the country's resources) is the want of steady, intelligent, persevering application on the part of the farmers. If the farmers were up to the times and grasping the fact that every other colony is advancing (probably at a greater rate than themselves) [if they] would by a diligent study of the results of various systems, persevere in practising the best, there would soon be an improved state of public opinion amongst the farmers; but the most discouraging point is that they are satisfied to go on as they are, that they dont study to improve and are hardly open to convincement. One great evil is the credit system. Few farmers are in reality proprietors, many are only tenants for the season and there is a difficulty in getting long leases. People all "make haste to get rich" they take a farm much larger than they can manage by themselves, find the labourers wont attend to anyone but "the baas",<sup>2</sup> get a large area ploughed (after a fashion), mortgage their crops to pay the interest on the mortgage of their farm, live from hand to mouth in that style and if any calamity comes such as a drought, cattle disease, etc. many go bankrupt at once and soon start again and repeat the performance. Another hindrance to permanent prosperity is the lack of perseverance, taking one year with another

and striking an average. If the Diamond Fields did the Colony good in many ways they have not been an unmixed good. The rapid making of fortunes unsettled numbers of the colonists. They left their farms to make a fortune by some "lucky find", if they did not do this they tried "transport riding" encouraged by the high rates of carriage to the fields. Several hundred pounds were made on a single journey and when the goose that laid the golden eggs was killed people did not like to settle down to steady going farming again and have not done so yet: hence the rage for ostrich farming which I strongly suspect will soon be overdone. But there are some things which are real difficulties. The natives are without doubt very bad servants, the constant fear of a Kafir war is certainly a deterrent against investing in farm buildings etc., the uncertainty of the market for farm produce is another difficulty but all these and others might be improved by good government. Hear again the Eastern Districts persistently grumble. The Colony was not ready for responsible government and its present legislators are incapable of directing affairs for the general good, but are all looking after the particular interests real or supposed of their own little district or are having an eye to their own personal gain. Then the home government comes in for a good share of blame and abuse for being the cause of many S. African troubles by its vacillating policy towards the Natives which changes (they say) with every Governor. ....

16.XI.77 Friday. Fine.

This morning went bird-nesting; I hope we shant be considered as unjustifiably cruel as such a judgement on us would be incorrect. We having the opportunity of observing many of the wonders of Nature are delighted with them and wishing that many of our friends may have something of the same pleasure, and hoping possibly in some small way to cultivate a love of Nature which has done so much to make our banishment

tolerable we do as we do, not for "sport" or for the fun of the thing but for the sake of gaining knowledge for ourselves and imparting some of it to others. After this long explanation let me proceed to describe our mornings search. Having observed a large number of nests on the reeds in the river about half a mile from the house we repaired thither and considered how we could best get at them. Wading to them was not inviting as we did not know the depth of the water, the bed of the river was of soft mud and we were ignorant of the character of the inhabitants of the water besides fish, crabs and iguanas.<sup>3</sup> One of the latter we surprised on our path. The best way seemed to be by running a pier out into the river, so breaking off branches of trees and collecting logs of wood we constructed a pier twelve or fifteen feet long and by this means were able to get some of the nests and eggs belonging to "yellow finks".<sup>4</sup> These nests are neatly made from long flat grasses and are about the size of an ostrich egg but have the entrance from underneath; they are attached to one, two or three reeds about three feet above the water and sometimes there are two nests on the same reeds one above another. The eggs from one nest were of a light green and from another of a very pale drab but spotted alike. Two were found in one nest and three in another. Afternoon - walked into another bush and accidentally started a buck. All except R[obert] W[ilkie] and I have gone over to the Ghio for a buck hunt to-morrow. Rain came on about 9 p.m.

17.XI.77 Saturday. Wet.

A little child of one of the Hottentot labourers died this morning and ever since Mrs. Shaw has been besieged first to give a shroud then wood for a coffin, then coffee and meal etc. etc. The amount of impudence the people on this farm have in begging is something amazing. If they were willing to work the case would be different, but this

morning Mrs. S[haw] wanting to send for some butter asked several to go just four miles to fetch some offering to pay them - but they would not, though they were doing nothing, nor were going to do anything and after that had the cheek to come and ask her to give them various articles. Matters took an aggravating but yet amusing turn this evening when one of the "boys" who had just before had a candle given him brought a little benzoline lamp to be filled with parafin. Mrs. S[haw] at first refused but because of his importunity ultimately yielded but R[obert] W[ilkie] justly indignant at Mrs. S[haw] being thus "done" undertook to fill the lamp and so just put in as much as the sponge would absorb and draining off the surplus then gave the lamp to the boy. Presently the boy returns saying there is no oil in the lamp which makes R obert W ilkie more indignant at having his word disputed and to prove his being right proved by ocular demonstration that the lamp would burn; but this would not satisfy the boy who stood coolly at the door arguing his case. He was told of the danger of the lamp bursting if filled but at once replied that it had often been filled before. At last he succeeded in gaining his request and went away I expect, more emboldened by his difficulty being conquered, to ask again. The argumentation being carried on partly in English and partly in Dutch and by several parties with considerable ability was very amusing and kept us all in a roar of laughter. The miller is one of the most inveterate beggars frequently making half a dozen requests in a day but every body on the place applies for medicine and food on the slightest pretence or without any at all. ....

18.XI.77 Sunday. Fine.

Fathers birthday and we wished him "many happy returns of the day". The little child who died yesterday was buried this afternoon, about twenty natives being present including children: there is no regular

place for burials on the farm so a grave had been dug by a little bush and the father carried the coffin under his arm. Mr. S[haw] was the only white man present and of course conducted a service. After the funeral the party returned to the hut for a grand coffee drinking (happily they had no brandy).

19.XI.77 Monday 399th day. Fine.

Rode over the country westward on to the next farm chiefly with the idea of seeing the houses of the proprietors, which from all accounts were worth seeing as showing the low state to which even white men may degrade themselves; three brothers here are the bona fide owners of two farms of considerable extent and value but notwithstanding their wealth choose to live with black women in wretched shanties little better than native huts - what the inside of the house was like we could not tell as the "baas"<sup>5</sup> was out; but when white men needlessly come to this what influence for evil must they have and how much good influence they must by their lives nullify. ....

23.XI.77 Friday 402nd day. Fine.

Arrived at the Ghio from Richmond.

What a thing it is to be tumbling about the world as we are - nothing seems certain save uncertainty - we are getting to look for nothing but surprises. .... To-day we arrived here [the Ghio] from Richmond having stayed there during the progress of the Galeaka war on account of its being a more open and consequently safer place than this: the war being reported to be virtually over it was thought safe to return but before the goods were off-loaded from the wagon Willie and James [Shaw] returned from town and brought alarming reports of fresh disturbances with the Gaikas. These telegrams being published in the "Star" I should not pay much attention to them were it not that evidence of

something wrong has appeared here. One of the servants employed on the farm (a Galeaka) has received a message and left forthwith: another older servant (a Gaika) asks for three months leave. .... The general idea seems to be that unless the government act very wisely a general war will break out about Xmas time. .... Stock stealing is very rife and other preliminary indications of a Kafir war are visible. At these times we enjoy our family prayer when we unitedly offer our prayers for peace and still hope they may be answered. ....

24.XI.77 Saturday. Fine.

A lovely morning in a lovely spot. This place is decidedly superior to Richmond as far as situation is concerned. The house is situated on a gentle rise facing nearly South. Behind a bush-clad hill rises. Below in front and to right and left extends a large flat, mostly under cultivation, through which the Bushmans River winds its way. .... In this river we enjoyed a splendid bathe this morning the best I have had in the Colony - the tide rises some miles above here tho' this is about eight miles from the mouth. Before breakfast three bucks were seen close to the house, several went out to hunt them but lost the run of them. ....

26.XI.77 Monday. Fine.

.... R[obert] W[ilkie] and self have determined to learn a little Dutch every day and so are taking lessons under Mr. S[haw] every morning. The worst part of it is to me that the Dutch spoken here is a very low patois which will probably be of little use any where else unless it will facilitate the future study of German. ....

1.XII.77 Saturday. Fine, windy.

.... Watched the process of dam-making or rather cleaning or deepening for there has been a small vley<sup>6</sup> there previously; the apparatus used is a big scoop made of cast iron nearly two feet square and one foot high at the back; this is drawn through the "vley" by four oxen and then "tipped" to form a bank outside: it saves a great deal of time and gets through a good deal of work though some improvement is needed in the method of "tipping" and by a little manual labour in previously sloping the sides of the vley a deal of labour might be saved to the oxen. One of these ultimately fell down and refused to rise though every means was used to induce it so to do and to my mind they were cruel to the poor brute though they did not seem to think so; first the whip and various kicks were plentifully applied but not availing one bit a further expedient was attempted viz. stopping the animals breath. A noose was slipped round its mouth and its nostrils stopped until he made a violent exertion to get some breath but would not rise. Before and after this they tried to move it bodily into a better position and having given it up leaving it in a tolerable position, the animal presently rose and moved off - they said - still fit to work though I thought not. But they say that this is an old trick and in such cases the best mode of treatment is to light a fire under the animals neck when it is excited to bestir itself. To use the long powerful whips so that they make the animals bleed is not considered anything out of the way. ....

6.XII.77 Thursday. Fine.

Lay awake some while last night with faceache but woke up tolerably free from it. Much enjoyed our bathe and then had about four hours in the saddle most of the while looking after oxen. Went over some distant parts of the farm that I had not before seen. ....

....Willie [Shaw] had gone to Alexandria from Richmond and finding bad news from the frontier in the town papers, had come sharp off here to alarm us and the result is that to-morrow we are to "trek"<sup>7</sup> into town. A good many things have been packed up and I am now sitting at a small folding table in the parlour from which most moveables have been cleared. The news is the worst that has arrived, the returning volunteers were attacked on Sunday, two killed and several wounded and a loss of horses and oxen. Mr. Hornabrook our fellow boarder in town is wounded but not seriously. In addition to this sharp engagement which though it is reported to be a victorious one has been the heaviest in losses, the news from Sandilli's people is not reassuring, Mackinnon appears to be playing with the government and has sent two old flint guns and seventeen oxen as his arms and cattle. This is not all but reports have been received in town from farmers who have been informed by old and trusted servants (who are very few) that the fifteenth will probably see something, and last though not least the wife of the Gaika servant, referred to last week in my Journal, dropped a hint whilst reaping to-day that eight days would show something. So to-morrow we are off [to Grahamstown] and whatever happens shall remain there some time. ....

*The Shaws started from the Ghio for Grahamstown on 8 Dec. 1877 by wagon. They reached Salem that day and spent two nights there.*

8.XII.77 Saturday. Thundery.

The Ghio to Salem by wagon.

.... Leaving home under these circumstances means a good deal and must have been a severe trial to Mr. and Mrs. S[haw] for they are of those homely people who dont like leaving home at all, much less to be compelled to leave home. Then they are not merely leaving home but their property, true the farm will be there after any length of war but the cattle may

all be stolen and swept off, the crops now approaching maturity may be burnt, the house itself with the furniture still left may be burnt, the fences may be burnt, the boats for crossing the river may be destroyed, the outhouses may be burnt and by all these deprivations and destructions, not only the labour of many years but a large amount of capital may be lost and almost a new beginning have to be made. Then Mr. Shaws books, the accumulation of his life time which are now his old companions and present friends have to be left. (I moved these and packed them as close together as possible hoping that if his room were set on fire some at any rate might be saved). The garden has to be left with its store of vegetables for the bucks or other animals to eat, its flowers "to waste their fragrance on the desert air"<sup>8</sup> the grapes, figs, apricots and other fruit to be eaten by birds and worms or rot on the trees. The proper oversight of the farm has in degree to be neglected and thus an unprofitable season follow another caused by the drought. And last the pleasant walks and rides and present enjoyment, as well as the scene of former pleasures, has to be left - left to their fate - no - that sounds badly - rather and more hopefully left in the care of an Over-ruling Loving Heavenly Father. ....

9.XII.77 Sunday. Wet morn. (Salem)<sup>9</sup>

Rev. Longden preached to a small congregation that "we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ." The boarders from Mr. S. Shaws (brother of Rev. B. Shaw) school<sup>10</sup> formed a good portion of the congregation the rain keeping many of the farmers away. The chapel is decidedly neat and rather pretty commodious and lofty for the size of the village. Some swallows flying about took the attention of some of the children. After chapel we spent and enjoyed the rest of the day with the Longdens and again attended the chapel in the evening when someone spoke from the text "Have faith in God". The singing of hymns

both during the afternoon and after chapel reminded one of home and was very enjoyable. Mr. Longden rode over to the Mission station at Farmerfield<sup>11</sup> in the afternoon. Some idea of the state of feeling amongst the lady portion of the community regarding the volunteers, may be imagined when we hear of one lady saying "I wish my brother had been wounded" - "of course only slightly you know". Those unfortunate or on this idea, fortunate individuals who have been wounded will be in rather an enviable position on their recovery! Who would not be a volunteer? We see in the papers that our friend Mr. Hornabrook is seriously but not dangerously wounded.

10.XII.77 Monday. Fine.

Salem to Grahamstown.

Were aroused at 4 a.m. and more than that got up and were off by 5 a.m. .... At the top of the [Howison's] Poort at a spot called "Waainek", the wind is generally so strong that the place takes its name from it. Passing the railway works we noticed that some progress had been made but nothing very remarkable, the embankments appear to have been raised and continued a little but there is a vast amount of work as yet untouched that must be done before there can be any early prospect of the line being opened. At length we catch a glimpse of the city and the first object that strikes the eye is the now completed cathedral tower with which I am disappointed tho' it will rank for some time to come as the finest thing of the kind in the colony. The spire appears to be out of proportion to the base and both out of proportion to the cathedral, the vane is so light as hardly to be visible and so the top looks rather stunted. The clock is not yet inserted nor the scaffolding removed from the base. In other respects the "city of the saints" looks much the same as it did on a similarly dusty day last December when I first set eyes upon it. The wagon was driven to Mrs. Gilfillans in

Beaufort St and unloaded or as they say here "off-loaded".<sup>12</sup> .....

25.XII.77 Tuesday - Xmas day - Fine. (63rd week)

.... Found ourselves at chapel at 11 a.m. and Rev. Wilkin preached an appropriate sermon, then coming out of chapel we heard reports of more war troubles just as if the prophecies of those who have been foretelling a general breaking out at Xmas were literally to be fulfilled. .... However the news was not so decisively bad as to make us quite gloomy so we determined to enjoy ourselves as much as possible and certainly Mr. and Mrs. Price had done everything they could to make us have as merry an Xmas away from home as was possible. Messrs. Wilkin, Wilkie, Barrit and myself were the guests that sat down to do justice to turkey, ducks, green peas, potatoes the plum pudding, mince pies custards etc., oranges, plums, bananas, apricots, figs etc., and to the best of our ability we one and all did justice to this excellent repast. Afterwards sat out on the stoop<sup>13</sup> and one read extracts from "Giles trip to London"<sup>14</sup> whilst some enjoyed their cigars. Then a walk to the Botanic gardens was organised and the air being somewhat cooler and a light breeze having sprung up we enjoyed our stroll there very much, of course meeting plenty of friends there. Wished Mr. and Mrs. Copeland a merry Christmas and returned to Mr. Prices to tea, several guests arrived and we spent the evening very merrily, music, snap, county cards<sup>15</sup> etc. forming the chief amusements. So passed our Christmas and as we went home both Robert Wilkie and myself agreed that it had been one of the happiest days we had spent in S. Africa. ....

26.XII.77 Wednesday. 436th day. Fine.

Walked out in the afternoon with the Shaws past the Hamilton reservoir<sup>16</sup> that is now supplying most of the town: if Thames water is bad, this must be bad indeed for it was quite green and the sight of it

made us feel glad that we have lately had all our water filtered: notices have been issued to every householder forbidding the use of the water for gardens or horses or washing clothes. The drought some people say is causing more loss to the country than the war having continued so long a period, but now the war seems to be getting more serious and we seem to be drifting into a war with the Gaikas. This has been prophesied by some for a long while past but now seems to be believed by almost everyone. ....

16.1.78 Wednesday. Wretchedly sultry.

... Ben Dell happening to be in town had dinner with us and reports the state of the country as something awful, says we should hardly know Richmond now and he has not heart to go and look at what condition his oxen are in. They have finished reaping what there was to reap and when they have done threshing in about a week will all be idle. They were compelled to reap, themselves, one Sunday as their Fingoe reapers all left in a body having received a message to return to Peddie to avenge the murder of some Fingoes who had been killed by Kafirs. The Prices being engaged this evening I went to Mr. Slaters and spent the evening. We have feasted on water melons for dinner and supper - they are very refreshing and cooling [on] such a day as this and as people say there is no fear of taking too much we did full justice to them, in fact I should have hardly thought it possible to put away so much. Rev. Impey has received instructions from the Wesleyan Missionary Committee to go home so will leave in a few weeks with his wife and daughter. Rev. Chapman Mrs. Shaws brother in law takes his place as General Superintendent of missions in S. Africa. Rev. Lamplough of P[ort] E[lizabeth] has leave of absence and is also taking a trip home. Miss Shaw was to have gone with him but has been disappointed. The war news reports an advance of the troops with some success in capturing a few thousand

head of cattle, but the danger seems to be that the Gaikas may elude pursuit in the bush and turn up and do mischief in some unexpected and consequently unprotected place.

17.1.78 Thursday. Damp.

Called on Dr. Williamson this morning and received an encouraging report that I may entertain hopes of returning home in the spring. Having been himself on a health trip up country he has learnt a good deal and is not now so strong in recommending people to go up. He says the climate is a fine dry one, though hot, but the comforts of life are very few, houses poorly built and living expensive; this is of course an exceptionally bad season so if the drought soon breaks up living may be better and cheaper. He was charged at Bloemfontein 3/6 for a bottle of stout.

30.1.78 Wednesday. Fine.

Day of prayer for rain and peace.

The various denominations in town resolved last week to hold a series of special prayer meetings to-day. When I heard the announcement that the first would be held at half past five this morning I thought there was little prospect of my being there and if many people were there it would be a tolerable proof that they really were in earnest. .... A few minutes after the time appointed I was at the Baptist Chapel<sup>17</sup> and found a large congregation already there. Rev. Cross presided, read selections from the Psalms, gave out the hymns and called on various gentlemen to lead in prayer. The meeting was a good one both as regards numbers and spirit. The morning was a beautiful one and by seven o'clock the sun had driven nearly all clouds away. I went on the market and saw lots of water melons and bananas etc. sold and 6 poor creatures described as "fat slaughter oxen" were withdrawn,

the highest bid being £5.10 each. Afterwards walked up Beaufort St. in hopes of seeing Mr. Impey on his way down to Woods Hotel, whence he was to start for the Bay [ Port Elizabeth ] en route to England but just missed him. Got back at 8 a.m to breakfast with a good appetite. The noon prayer meeting was held at Trinity Church and Mr. Chalmers presided. The body of the chapel was well filled but ladies formed by far the greater part of the congregation. The selection of hymns was particularly beautiful and appropriate and there seemed to me to be less formalism and more spirit in the prayers that were offered. ....

2.II.78 Saturday. Fine.

At breakfast time we casually heard that Wm. Ayliff M.L.A. was going up to the Diamond Fields with his wagons and R[obert] W[ilkie] and myself tho' we said nothing were both suddenly and strongly possessed with the idea that we should very much like if it were possible to go with him. After breakfast we simultaneously commenced to discuss the possibilities of such an undertaking and soon decided to call on the said gentleman and see if he were open to take passengers - this done we left the question open till the afternoon whilst we made enquiries as to the advisability of going from the health, business and other points of view. Mr. and Mrs. S[haw] agreed that we could not possibly do better for our health than avail ourselves of such a splendid opportunity and as such an opportunity is not likely to offer again we decided this afternoon to go and promised to be ready by 2 p.m. Monday afternoon. Then there was excitement, then we had to set to, get our things together and pack up, taking with us only such things as we needed for the journey leaving all the rest here till our return, or to be forwarded if necessary. Then we had to acquaint our friends with our intentions and begin to say good bye to those who have been so kind to us in town. Called on Mrs. Price and Mrs. Gilfillan took tea at Mrs. Copelands and then called on

the Shaws. So Saturday was spent.

4.II.78 Monday. Fine. Hot.

Did the hardest days work that I have done since I came to the Colony. Got up before 6 a.m and did a lot of packing. Went to the Shaws to breakfast, called on Mrs. Chapman and Mrs. Ayliff to wish them good bye, then on Mrs. Gilfillan. Went down town and called on Messrs. Slater, Copeland, Galpin, Knight, Richmond, King etc., got a number of signatures in my text book<sup>18</sup> and back to Mrs. Passmores to dinner. Finished packing which proved a much longer job than I had anticipated, one great difficulty being in deciding what to pack and what to leave, and then said farewell to Roseneath [ Mrs. Passmore's ] for a time, perhaps for ever. Posted boxes of insects, newspapers and all letters that we had written not knowing when we should have another opportunity and were by appointment at Mr. Ayliffs about 4 p.m. Of course the oxen weren't in so we went to have a last cup of tea at Mrs. Prices which we much enjoyed. Returned to Ayliffs and the oxen not yet being in had some more tea there. I went to the P.O. to arrange about our letters, got this evenings paper, got a butterfly net ring mended at Galpins, said good bye to the Tysons and were off.

The town has been much excited to-day by the news that the Ministry has resigned, and of course speculations are rife as to who will form the new Ministry. It is just possible that our friend Wm. Ayliff with whom we have decided to go this journey will be offered a seat as Secretary for Native affairs. There seems to be a total absence of news from the frontier, not a reliable line since Friday last tho' the "Star" has published alarming reports which the public have learned to place very little dependance upon.

And now this old Journal will have to tell of new scenes and people unless anything occurs to upset our plans, now we have actually

started, for I am writing this in the wagon about 6 miles from town at our first outspan. ....

*On 5 Feb. 1878 Butler and Wilkie spent the day resting at the outspan. William Ayliff was called back to Grahamstown that evening to discuss the formation of Sprigg's new ministry.*

6.II.78 Wednesday. Dull. Damp evening.

Notwithstanding our early going to bed we did not wake very early but on rising found a mist hanging on the hills and a light breeze blowing. Spent the morning much as yesterday and at dinner time were rather surprised to see W. Ayliff approaching. His first question was "are you prepared for a great disappointment"? Of course we have been living in this country long enough to expect very little else so were not very much surprised when he told us that we had to turn back. He had been asked to take a seat in the new ministry, had at first declined, but being strongly urged by Mr. Sprigg, was going to King Williams Town to consult further with him, consequently he could not go to the Fields but should have to return the wagons and produce to town. We were greatly disappointed; for months we have been living in a state of great uncertainty not knowing any week where we might be the next and now after fixing our movements for 6 weeks at any rate, to have them upset in this manner is certainly trying. However these things being quite beyond our own control we cannot blame any one, not even ourselves, but hope that in future we will never count on anything for a certainty in this country save uncertainty.

W[illiam] A[y]liff got on the King W[illia]ms T[ow]n post cart and was off with our best wishes and hopes that he may be able to govern the natives wisely and well. We were again left in charge of the wagons to return to town to-morrow. .... A good many natives passed by during

the day, some from and some towards town. How many times to-day have I wished that I could sketch when these parties came by. The men take off their boots (if they have any) and carry them slung on their backs over their knob kerries,<sup>19</sup> they turn up their trowsers over their knees and walk along very nimbly. The women carry immense loads on their heads for long distances, more than we should carry at all; they generally smoke, wear necklaces of beads or teeth and carry their babies on their backs. We got possession of a couple of "kerries" for a "tickey"<sup>20</sup> and some tobacco. Another man was very eager in begging a "tickey for a soupey"<sup>21</sup> which at first we professed not to understand but when his gesticulations left no room for doubt as to what he wanted (a threpençe for some brandy) of course we declined his request. It came on misty towards evening and we sat in our wagon, read and chatted. One of the boys who had asked leave to go to the shop on the hill this afternoon returned this evening drunk and wanted to sleep in W[illiam] A[ylyff]'s wagon but of course we did not allow that so R[obert] W[ilkie] slept there and I had this one to myself. A girl came by this afternoon quite drunk and singing fragments of "little cock robin".<sup>22</sup> She spoke good English very fluently so we supposed she had been to a superior school or [had been] a servant in a good family. One of the boys belonging to one of the other wagons who was drunk made a considerable disturbance this evening.

7.II.78 Thursday. Fine.

.... Every day the boys make bread after the following manner. The meal is placed in a galvanised iron pail and wetted up, then a sack is spread on the ground and one of the boys kneads the dough thereon. This being sufficiently done it is flattened out into a cake about fifteen inches in diameter and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in[ches] thick, placed on some hot ashes and covered with more. Here it remains and bakes for a while

when it is turned, fresh ashes [are] placed underneath, [it is] again covered and baked hard. Another interesting performance was the boys washing and mending their trowsers and hanging them up to dry. Tobacco is in high demand with them and if it is not given them they soon get sulky but for it they will do almost anything. The boy was sent at daybreak to fetch the oxen but did not return till about eleven o'clock when they were inspanned. We had some more coffee and were off on our return journey to town. .... Our boy who is an intelligent one and has been to the Fields several times became very communicative and gave us a good deal of information about things in general and his love affairs in particular - for sad or strange to relate these black boys do fall in love, or if there is not much love lost getting married is one of the most important events in their lives, involving as it does a gift of cattle and consequently an amount of labour or - stealing. Our boy had been a "school"<sup>23</sup> boy and called himself a fool for not remaining one because "school" boys dont pay cattle for their wives but only buy the wedding outfit. However John [the "boy"] had hoped that at the end of this journey he would have been able to get married for he had paid six out of the eight cattle required and was going to earn £5 for the trip up and something for a return trip. Now he will have to get with some more wagons or go to the Bay [Port Elizabeth] and get some work there but of course he "should go and see the girl first";he "didn't know if we should call her pretty but he did"! He and another of our boys were Fingoes and the other two Hottentots. They all seemed to understand some English but our boy could talk well. So we returned to town. ....

7.II.78 Thursday 479th day. Fine.

Arrived at our old lodgings found another English mail awaiting us which of course we devoured before attempting anything else. ....

Over 1,200 head of captured cattle were sold on the market yesterday

and this morning and fetched good prices I think altogether over £6,000. As to-day was appointed a day for humiliation and prayer for peace and rain, some objected to the cattle being sold to-day. All Government offices were closed and stores in town mostly closed soon after 10 a.m. Services were held at all the places of worship in the morning. After tea we called on the Shaws who were expecting us back and then went to Commemoration Chapel where there was a very large congregation and a good service conducted by Rev. Price.....

15.II.78 Friday. Wet afternoon and eve.

The drought which has prevailed so generally and so long has not yet broken up. Its effect on the country is enormous, very depressing to everybody and if it continues a little longer will not only cause starvation and famine but pestilence. The water we now get to drink is of a reddish colour, sometimes I am told it smells unpleasantly, at any rate it is not fit to drink till filtered and even then it ought to be boiled. Butter if we were not relying on imported rubbish we should rarely see; it is not at all an uncommon thing when out to tea to see no butter on the table - a month ago someone applied this as a test of how we were living down here. "Do you get butter? Because if you do you dont fare badly". Imported butter in 2 lb tins is sold at 7/- or 3/9 per lb. Yesterday I was told of a gentleman who a year ago invested all his savings in 100 cows and last week sent in to market 2 lbs of butter which fetched 4/9 per lb. There is no grass, has not been for a long time oxen are dying, sheep are dying, farmers are going bankrupt or almost starving crops have failed, vegetables are rarely seen, the reservoirs are almost all empty and the springs are failing.

There is grand food now for Grahamstowns chief delights viz gossip and scandal, I dont know if I have before referred to it but the facts

proved are as follows. A Mr. Leman who came out for his health a few months back and is now boarding here had a cousin at home who was married to Rev. Digby Campbell (some time assistant at St. Andrews College, now incumbent at Southwell a village between here and the Kowie). On arriving here Mr. L[eman] heard that the Rev. D[igby] C[ampbell] had married a young lady of this town and consequently action was taken against him for bigamy.<sup>24</sup> The Rev. has after some prevarication admitted his crime and to-day was committed for trial. It should be added that he voluntarily gave himself up to the magistrate. Further details I need not give.

16.II.78 Saturday. Wet.

In all day. A glorious gentle rain. Splendid opportunity for letter writing - witness the batch for post this week.

18.II.78 Monday. Fine.

How beautifully fresh the air feels this morning! On Market Square thousands of blades of grass have sprung up an inch above the ground, they are rather yellow as yet but the sun will soon colour them. Saw the sun after being without that sight for three days. The rain has well soaked into the earth in most parts of the garden here 8 to 12 inches and under the orange trees where it has rested it has found its way about 2 feet down: one orange tree that we had given up for dead has quite recovered though some others are probably quite dead. The rainfall of these three days has been about an inch and a half or one twelfth as much as the total rainfall of all last year. .... I see I omitted to mention that last Thursday Willie Shaw left here for the front with about 20 more men from this district, we saw him off about mid-day: two more of Mr. S[haw]'s sons talk of going. ....

21.II.78 Thursday. Fine.

Were packing up our traps again to-day to go out to the Shaws farm again; not the Ghio, as they are letting that and taking another farm between P[ort] Alfred<sup>25</sup> and Bathurst<sup>26</sup> which has many advantages over the Ghio. Two more of Mr. Shaws sons Barnabas and James left for the front this afternoon with another party from this district under command of Jos. Gush son of Mr. Gush of Salem of whose conduct in the last Kafir war I have before written. Mr. S[haw] has now 3 sons and 1 son-in-law at the front. Spent the evening at Mrs. Gilfillans and slept at Mrs. Shaws.

23.II.78 Saturday. Fine.

After having everything packed up and ready to start Mrs. S[haw] was overdone and so we could not start. Spent the afternoon at Mrs. M.B. Shaw's playing croquet and evening at Mrs. Knowles. Mrs. M.B. Shaw came down from Shawbury in the Transkei in June intending to return in September but has been detained in town ever since on account of the war. The war news the last few days has in one respect been more alarming as it tells of the natives making for the Keiskama Bush which is nearer here than they have yet ventured, and some people suppose they are intending to come through the Fish River and Kowie Bushes into Lower Albany destroying farms and inducing other natives to rise on their way; but I think this rather unlikely even if they were able to carry out their designs which with their forces already at the front ought to be impossible.

25.II.78 Monday. Fine.

*The Shaw party left Grahamstown for Bathurst by wagon on 25 Feb. 1878. They outspanned at a farm about twelve miles from Grahamstown for the night.*

.... R[obert] W[ilkie] went to the farm to seek for butter and milk and was successful in procuring the latter. As things will happen he here found that the man and wife in charge of the house came out in the Walmer Castle<sup>27</sup> with him last May and so enjoyed a chat over old associations. There was something in these peoples style of address that betrayed their recent arrival from home and perhaps of their position at home. The word "sir" strikes quite strange on the ear here, for here "Jack is as good as his master" and rarely addresses him so politely while the natives generally use the word "baas"<sup>28</sup> which is not very euphonious. However these people were quite reconciled to the country and had no wish to return but admitted that it was their brighter prospects here that so satisfied them. A fire was soon kindled and with hot coffee and chops etc. etc. we made a very good supper. Then came the question of sleeping accomodation and I had wondered however this could be arranged but relied on Mrs. Shaws wonderful powers of managing. Besides Mr. and Mrs. S[haw] and 2 daughters and 1 son and a little boy (Walter Lamplough) and the young lady visitor<sup>29</sup> there were R[obert] W[ilkie] and myself. When we were on our way to the Fields we had a wagon to ourselves and so were alright but now the case was different. First the "sail"<sup>30</sup> or covering of the wagon was lowered to the ground closing in one side of the wagon, mats were spread on the ground for bedding, sheets were pinned up to the hinder axle thus dividing off the space under the wagon into two compartments making with the tent three rooms, and so we rolled ourselves up in overcoats, counterpanes etc. and retired to rest under to me quite novel conditions.

26.II.78 Tuesday (72.nd week). Damp.....

Though we were exposed on two sides to the open air and were lying on the ground instead of being on bedsteads in a regular bedroom, it was not this that disturbed my rest last night for I was very sleepy

and could have slept thro' almost anything. The something or rather things that kept me awake were - fleas!<sup>31</sup> I have a lively recollection of a certain night spent some years ago in a horrid little hotel in a village in Normandy - the plague of insects there I thought could never be surpassed but I think it was last night. I found them crawling into my ears and eyes, over my lips, and just wherever they could torment me most. I wiped them off my face in large numbers but could not get at them up my sleeves, in my socks etc. and so had to grin and bear them or rather bear them without grinning for it was no grinning matter. (Please excuse a diversion on such a subject, the reality was no pleasing diversion to me). .....

*Butler continued the description of the wagon journey under the entry for 26 February. The party reached Grove Hill that night.*

.... Over a flat and a little ridge and we caught sight of the house, the first time any of us had seen it. My impressions from this first sight of Grove Hill were certainly far from favorable. Compared to the Ghio it is a strange contrast; instead of being surrounded with Bush, there is hardly a bush to be seen; instead of a number of out-houses, there is but a solitary wattle stable; instead of a large clean looking house, there is a shabby ugly building which instead of being placed in a large well wooded garden has not a hedge or fence or wall on any side of it. The house is built on a little spur facing due magnetic South and the sea and some of the houses at Port Alfred can be seen from it. In front is a somewhat broken flat, running into kloofs that fall into the Kowie to the right. One solitary stunted tree is at the back of the house, but the most striking object is the central and only chimney which from an immense base narrows by steps to a moderate size, presenting a peculiar if not a pleasing effect. Running in a line directly

East and West is an outcropping strata of some hard stone which extends as far as we can see along the hill and is called Stony Ridge. Someone suggested calling the place "Bleak House"<sup>32</sup> as it is so open and exposed to the wind. The house itself consists of 6 rooms viz., kitchen, pantry, dining room and 3 bed rooms. There are no passages but the rooms open into each other and three have outside doors. The roof is of galvanised iron and consequently hot in warm weather and the ceilings are of calico tacked on to the rafters, a very common plan out here. The wagon had to be off loaded tho' the things will not be unpacked until we know more clearly about future movements: of course some things had to be opened, beds made, tea provided etc. after which we settled down tolerably comfortably, had family prayer and soon got to bed.

27.II.78 Wednesday. Wet aft [ernoon].

.... After dinner a wagon was leaving here for Port Alfred to get a load of goods for transport to Grahamstown - being so handy to Port Alfred this is likely to be an important feature in the business of this farm. The idea was started for us to go with the wagon and either [come] back with it or sleep there the night and walk back to-morrow. Having so often been disappointed in seeing places I thought it best to seize this opportunity, which likely enough might be the last, of visiting this place of which we have heard so much, commonly known by the name of "the Kowie".

For some people in the Eastern Province, especially in Albany, and more particularly in Grahamstown, and most particularly the descendants of the British Settlers of 1820, (who by the way seem almost incapable of taking a large view of anything except such things as are connected with themselves) have very great ideas of the capabilities of Port Alfred<sup>33</sup> as a port, the port of the Eastern Province, by its situation

and natural advantages, eclipsing every port between Simons Bay and Natal. These people naturally have similar ideas of the suitability of Grahamstown as the capital of the Eastern Province and the seat of government for the whole Colony if not of the coming S. African Confederation. The great thing in Colonial politics that strikes me as a stranger is first the lack of any united party bent on the advancement of the Colony as a whole and 2nd or jointly a universal jealousy between districts and towns whose interests would naturally appear the same or closely allied. This shows itself in the bitter hatred between the East and West, the antagonism between Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth the stern opposition of the latter to Port Alfred and so [on] ad infinitum. It cant even stop between different places but I am told that even between the two sides of the river at Port Alfred there has long been undue rivalry which has considerably hindered the progress of the port. These jealousies lead to political intrigue and jobbery and from all accounts the late government always carried its own way by buying over some one or other of these Eastern votes as occasion required, by promising some improvement or public work in that district. Some people say that the new Ministry will be bound to carry on the same tactics if they wish to obtain a majority in the house, but it is to be hoped that this change of Ministry (the first since the Colony had responsible government) will develop organised parties in the House of Assembly and Legislative Council that will put the government in better working order for the future. ....

... We emerged into the Kowie valley and ran alongside the river which certainly did ones eyes good, especially when we saw a little steam tug and further on a small schooner. The river is not broad but plenty broad enough for navigation and I believe deep enough save for the bar which is the great obstacle. The river banks are high, rather steep

and covered with bush, the right bank, bordering on the sea, [is] entirely of sand. On the hills on both sides some houses have been built and if the town ever becomes of any size it may be made a very pretty and I should think healthy and enjoyable place of residence. The few stores as yet built are of course on the river side where there is ample space for any distance of quays and wharves. The river just at its mouth is trained out between piers instead [of] as of old covering a large swamp, the E[ast] pier is just carried out to the beach, the Western [one] some distance beyond. The steamers and large sailing vessels anchor outside and discharge into lighters. Small sailing vessels come right in over the bar on which I believe there is generally about 10 ft of water, but of course it is hoped that the works now in progress will do a good deal to[wards] removing this bar and so allow the steamers to come right up to the river. ....

7.III.78 Thursday. Fine.

Grove Hill to Bathurst.

*The Grove Hill farm house needed repairs and renovations. The Shaw party therefore rented a house in Bathurst. They moved into it on 7 March 1878.*

.... Bathurst<sup>34</sup> is another village established by the British Settlers of 1820 by whom it was designed to be the capital of the district of Albany. These designs however were never carried out as Grahamstown being the military post soon gathered a town round it and eclipsed the prospects of Bathurst as a town. It now consists of about twenty houses, a church and a chapel, it is not even the capital of the division of Bathurst as the magistrate sits and resides at Port Alfred.<sup>35</sup> There is not a store of any size or anything at all to give one the idea of its importance. .... The house we have is about the first in the village and consists of two stories each of two rooms and a kitchen

adjoining. There is a nice piece of grass land attached and originally all the allotments had about 20 acres of land but many of the original houses have been deserted and are in ruins. We are getting expert at moving and though we left Stony Ridge about 1 p.m and arrived here about 3 p.m at 5 o'clock we had nicely settled in and were comfortably enjoying our tea. There seems to be a fatality attaching to our movements, for now again as soon as we arrive here, we are told of 30 head of cattle being stolen last night from an adjoining farm and of a mounted and armed troop going in search. Then of course all sorts of alarming reports are attached to this and it is made the base on which to build all kinds of impending troubles. I am sick of rumours of wars and long to be right away out of it. ....

18.III.78 Monday. *Death of Willie Shaw.*

For the present I must leave writing of the intervening days and try to tell the stirring sad news of to-day. After dinner as I lay on the sofa reading the newspaper that came Saturday evening and learning the progress of the war, I heard someone say "Here is a cart with Uncle Chapman and Barbara [Shaw] ". Of course I rose at once and Mr. Chapman was at the door and without stopping to speak to anyone was asking eagerly for Mr. Shaw. I at once saw there was something wrong and while Mr. C[hapman] took Mr. Shaw on one side I went to the cart and heard from R[obert] W[ilkie] who was already there that "Willie is dead". A chill ran through me - I stood dumbfounded. Mrs. S[haw] got the scent of something being wrong and was repeating "What is the matter" each time in a higher key. I dont know who told her, but I could not, so kept out of the way. Then of course there was a sad scene, Mrs. S[haw] fondly embracing each member of her family as they came in. At first she could not cry but went about saying "Oh that I could shed a tear". R[obert] W[ilkie] rode off to the farm [ Grove Hill] to tell the others the sad

news. I walked a little with George [Shaw] and then with Mr. S[haw]. Presently Mr. and Mrs. Wilson drove up and I was glad to get away alone and hid myself awhile in the bush. When I came back to the house R[obert] W[ilkie] had got back from the farm but had only seen Amby [Ambrose Shaw] the others being at the Kowie, so George rode over to the farm to stay with Amby till the others came. Then ... John [Shaw] came from the Kowie and Mrs. S[haw] greets each with a fresh flood of tears which no doubt relieves her. Nor is this all the bad news - in Fridays paper we read that Mr. Gilfillans brother George had been killed by lightning whilst at the front and now we hear that Bob Bruce (who we met at their farm on the way from the Ghio) died from typhoid fever at the front. Oh this wretched war, our friend Hornabrook was wounded before we trekked from the Ghio and now some of our own friends are killed. Willie was a splendid fellow, the third son, aged 28, a truly manly man, a thorough going, hearty, lively good natured and [good] tempered fellow, who made friends wherever he went and never made an enemy. After tea we read Jno. XIV and then Mr. Chapman very impressively, feelingly and appropriately led us in prayer; all seemed touched and I trust were comforted - such seasons are not often experienced. May this prove a blessing to many. Of course a telegram gives few particulars but it seems that Willie [Shaw] was shot by a comrade; as it says was "accidentally" shot, we expect between mid-night and 4 a.m yesterday morning. ....

20.III.78 Wednesday 520th day. Fine.

I have had all my arrangements so upset and have so little cared to do anything that I am not sure whether I have not already written that to-day we walked over to the farm and spent some time there; the house has been already much improved in appearance, ceilings whitewashed, walls plastered etc. The garden also looks nice and there will soon be

a good stock of vegetables in it. We saw a beautiful long tailed blue (Loxura alcides)<sup>36</sup> on a shrub by the house. I almost succeeded in capturing it between my fingers whilst it was settled. Last season I only caught two specimens and one of these was damaged. This evening's post brought several letters of sympathy to Mrs. Shaw but few further particulars of the accident. ....

23.III.78 Saturday. Fair.

.... At dinner time Ben Dell drove up with his sister<sup>37</sup> to whom Willie had been engaged. John [Shaw] came out from town and brought our English letters, to me a budget that has been eagerly looked for as they contained information as to the possibility of my going home and after all left me in the same state of uncertainty about even my immediate future.....

25.III.78 Monday. Fine.

Called at Jos. Woods farm which proved an interesting visit. Mr. W[ood] was at the outbreak of the rebellion somewhat alarmed and consequently went as they say into "laager".<sup>38</sup> Another family have come to live in the house for the sake of mutual protection, the windows are blocked up for the greater part of their height giving the place a very gloomy appearance. The cattle kraal has been made right by the house, indeed to get into the house you have to pass thro' the kraal. It is constructed of sneeze-wood poles driven in close to each other all round and bound together with iron rods. It would certainly be a difficult matter to break thro' the kraal especially as it can be guarded and clean swept from the windows of the house. There is a very extensive fruit garden here, oranges of various kinds, lemons, bananas, Natal num-nums<sup>39</sup> and many other tropical fruits. They are grown along the sides of a kloof running close to the house. During the drought Mr. W[ood] dug for water and after going about eight or nine feet came

on a good supply. ....

Attended the Good Templar Lodge this evening. There were but five members present but an interesting lodge. For six months they only numbered ten members now they are about thirty and have got hold of some of the drunkards of the place. Coffee and buns are passed around in the recess. ....

31.III.78 Sunday. Fine. Hot.

.... Mr. Shaw preached at the chapel [in Bathurst] this morning, I read the chapters for him to save his voice which is still very weak. I have never heard him preach before but he gave us a beautiful little sermon from "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness"<sup>40</sup> etc. He brought out some very beautiful thoughts and connected them together very nicely and though his manner was very quiet he spoke very earnestly and impressively. After regular service he asked any who would like to remain to a class meeting to stay. Several besides regular attenders stayed and several briefly told what the Lord had done for them. It did one good to hear ladies taking part in any religious meeting, a thing we rarely hear here, but after several had spoken and the meeting was left open one of our party quite broke down, other young ladies said a few words to each of which Mr. S[haw] gave a little good counsel and the meeting was closed with prayer. I attended the S[unday] S[chool] in the afternoon and gave them a short address; about thirty children were present who were very well behaved. ....

4.IV.78 Thursday. Fine.

....I dont remember if I alluded whilst at Richmond to some noxious little insects called "ticks"<sup>41</sup> but they have been such a great plague during our sojourn here that unpleasant as the subject is I must mention them. They are little reddish brown creatures varying in size from as

small as a small pins head to  $\frac{3}{16}$  of an inch long, their movements are very slow and their two antennae act all the while as feelers; their mandibles are very strong and tenacious and when once they have secured a hold in a victims skin nothing but a drop of oil will induce them to relax their hold without bringing away a portion with them. Not only is their bite poisonous and exceedingly irritable, but they have a knack of burying themselves in ones flesh and gradually festering out. I believe Mr. S[haw] is the only one in the party they have not plagued; for myself I may say that each of my nether limbs is marked by something like two hundred spots large and small, some almost well others more recently formed with little heads of matter. These little creatures are secreted in the grass and attach themselves to ones clothes whilst walking about. But it is at night time I and most others suffer most, for the skin is then rendered exceedingly irritable, causing us to tumble and toss about in bed and frequently to find ourselves awake busily engaged in scratching. Our arms and upper parts of the body are not tormented to the same extent tho' they come in for a share. This plague which we did not experience in Grahamstown is generally well known near the sea but is said to be exceptionally bad now. Cattle and stock of all sorts suffer from ticks of a larger growth but there is this difference that no one looks after them to keep them clean, even horses being frequently left and used when in a disgraceful condition with these creatures.

9.IV.78 Tuesday (78th week) 540th day. Fine.

The Mansfield. If the view of the river [Mansfield] was so cheering what a pleasure it was to get into it. We had a splendid bathe, a plunge from a board five feet above the level into seventeen feet of clear salt water of an agreeable temperature! We did enjoy a good swim, notwithstanding that it was difficult work afterwards reaching our

clothes over sharp edged stones and that our sore limbs sorely smarted from the effect of the salt water. The steam mill<sup>42</sup> is the most substantially built structure that I have seen this side of Grahamstown, a three floored building of ten years standing. Within there is not much superfluous machinery but all of this is not at work and Tangyes engine<sup>43</sup> seems to make very light work of what there is to be done. It is running very smoothly, but from some hitch the governors have been disconnected. At present the mill is only working two days a week but 800 bags of wheat are expected from the Kowie and, strange to say, it is found cheaper to bring this overland than up the river on whose bank the mill is built. The charge for grinding and cleaning wheat is 4/6 per bag. ....

10.IV.78 Wednesday. Fine. Wet night.

In the garden this morning caught the most splendid butterfly we have yet secured, a large black bordered, cream coloured white, with long swallow tails, (I think papilio merope)<sup>44</sup> and the capture was so much the more satisfactory in that the specimen was perfect. ....

17.IV.78 Wednesday. 18 mo[nth]s from home.

.... It is eighteen months to-day since I left home, my allotted time of banishment is up and here I am not even on the way home or very likely to be for another year. The temptation to go home was very strong. Dr. Williamson said I might go and "try" the English climate again, war was still raging rendering travelling in some parts out of the question, business was bad and prospects very gloomy. The country had not recovered from the effects of the long continued drought and many other things not to mention my strong longings to return to home and friends all urged me to leave this part of the world to enjoy at any rate for a time the pleasures of the family circle, a London life, English comforts

and all my former blessings which my absence has taught me to value more highly than ever.

On the other hand strong reasons (they must have been strong to outweigh the others) forced me to resolve on extending my term of banishment. I had been eagerly looking out for my home letters which would comment and give opinions on Dr. W[illiamson]'s report and the advisability of returning. Happily friends at home did not arrive at a hasty conclusion, or in fact at any decision, but left me entirely at liberty to decide on the course I thought best - so I was saved any sudden excitement of either great joy or depression and gradually came to the conclusion that I would remain.

I may here mention some of the reasons that induced me to decide thus. First I was not so well as when Dr. W[illiamson] gave his opinion. The shock of hearing of Willie [Shaw]'s death I believe threw me back, and when I weighed shortly after, I was lighter than at any time since I came to the Colony. The drought was broken up and so we could try the effect of some up country district; our living too would improve and so we should be more favourably situated. Then the D[octo]r at home warned me that most likely I should have to leave home again for next winter and that was not at all a bright prospect. Having been so long with R[obert] W[ilkie] I did not like to leave him in this unsettled state with no immediate prospect of settling anywhere. These were some of the reasons that decided me to stay and now here I am with the prospect of living in lodgings instead of enjoying the comforts of "such a home"; companionship with new acquaintances in place of old and tried friends, being always subject to some plague of "ticks" or flies, drought or caterpillars, or war.

But then there is Hope - Hope that after all this I may be able to live at home for good - and Faith - believing that this is the right

course, that the rough places will be made plain and the crooked places straight and that "all things will work together for good".

18.IV.78 Thursday 549th day. Hot wind.

.... And now what will this old Journal have to record for the coming year, of what places and people? Of what sights and experiences, joys and sorrows? I suppose my weekly budgets have already formed two volumes - frequently very slow reading at times I fear. They have served several purposes: they have served as a diary of my proceedings and so have kept my family circle well-informed on my movements, besides preserving a record for my own reference. But somehow these sheets have gone further and into more peoples hands than I ever anticipated and of course such people must take them as they find them, believing that these notes are the honest impressions of a new comer to the Colony. I have always endeavoured to understate rather than overstate everything; to tell "the truth, the whole truth" it would not always be advisable to state; but "nothing but the truth" has knowingly found its way here. Frequently there has been a sameness, nothing of fresh interest having occurred to me. Generally there has been inability to properly describe what has occurred. Frequently the writing has been done under extreme difficulty, in all kinds of places, from my own lodgings, farmhouses, friends' houses and in the bullock wagon. [ The writing has been done in ] all sorts of surroundings, in company with noisy natives talking or singing all around, sometimes when feeling very disinclined to write and when the impressions of the events to be described have lost their freshness. ....

20.IV.78 Saturday. Fine. The Kowie.

Having an opportunity of going down to the Kowie by wagon and returning in the same way [we] gladly availed ourselves of it. ....

.... One wretched sight we saw which is a disgrace to the place and should be considered a disgrace to the whole Colony, but I suppose it is not uncommon. A horrid little store has a canteen<sup>45</sup> attached to it and here natives were congregated; if this is the "civilising" we are giving the natives it is a scandal on the country. Here "raw" native women who could not speak half a dozen words of English were arrantly plaguing us begging for money to buy brandy saying "inkosisana"<sup>46</sup> or something like that signifying "chief" and uttering the few words they could get out (where they learnt them is a mystery) "God bless". Large populations are generally supposed to have a bad effect on each other, but when these natives who are already notoriously bad, assemble and drink that which will make good people bad, what right have we to complain of bad servants, thieving and other evils the colonists rejoice to complain of when the government licences and profits by this liquor trade.

.....

29.IV.78 Monday. Fine.

*The Shaw party returned to Grove Hill on 4 April 1878. Butler and Wilkie walked to Bathurst on 29 April, spent the night, and returned to Grove Hill the next day.*

Bathurst - establishing a Band of Hope.<sup>47</sup>

.... The Band of Hope which has been talked of here for some time was established this afternoon. A number of children and some adults met in the Lodge room and as no one else knew much about Bands of Hope I was asked to preside. We opened by singing one of Sankeys [hymns], reading part of Matt. XVII and prayer. After a little discussion as to a suitable name the "Daisy" was unanimously decided on. The main principles were decided on, one of these being that the pledge includes abstinence from smoking and every member of the committee is to be thus pledged. A committee was appointed and twenty names signed in a pledge

book headed by Rev. J. Wilson and Mrs. Wilson: contrary to the general rule more boys signed than girls. R[obert] W[ilkie] gave a very nice earnest address and Rev. Wilson concluded the meeting with prayer. If the Bathurst Daisy Band of Hope goes on as nicely as it has begun it will have a bright, happy and useful future before it. Attended Lodge in the evening.

30.IV.78 Tuesday (week 81st). Fine.

Bathurst to Grove Hill - R[obert] W[ilkie]'s birthday.

We dont keep up birthdays in these parts, we remember them, wonder if our friends at home remember them, and let them pass. .... Strange to say I have three names in my S. African text-book<sup>48</sup> for to-day and stranger still all three were born the same year, they are R[obert] Wilkie, Rev. W.H. Price and Alfred Galpin. We slept at Bathurst last night and this morning at family prayer Rev. Wilson prayed for R[obert] W[ilkie] very beautifully. ....

1.V.78 Wednesday. Fine.

May-day. Rode down to the Kowie on a horse that is offered me for £20 but it does not seem to me worth that although horses are now very dear on account of the war. Twelve months ago a good little horse might be had for £10 to £15. At the Kowie a nice little locomotive was at work on the pier for the first time. I weighed and found myself 7 lbs heavier than a few weeks ago when I was lighter than I had been since I came to the Colony.

3.V.78 Friday. Fine.

\*\*\*\* Got all ready to go into town by wagon but the wagons waited till the morning. Our intention is to get [to] and try some up country district and see if that will benefit us more than this has done.

4.V.78 Saturday. Fine. Damp eve.

The wagons got away at 9 o'clock with R[obert] W[ilkie] and I following soon after on horseback. We said "good bye" to the Shaws, with whom we have lived so long, with regret. We have lived together amicably and enjoyably and now only leave because we feel that we ought to try some higher level. We have rejoiced together, and wept together. There will always be very much to look back upon with pleasure and very little from any preventible cause [to look back on] with regret. Willie's death was a sore trial to us all but as we mourned together over the loss of one loved by all, our friendship was deepened and this event will always be remembered in connection with the Rev. Barnabas and Mrs. Shaw and family. ....

6.V.78 Monday. 567th day. Fine.

*Butler and Wilkie left Grove Hill on horseback on 4 May 1878. They must have left the horses at Bathurst for they travelled most of the way to Grahamstown by ox-wagon. They actually walked the last six miles into Grahamstown early on the morning of 6 May 1878.*

.... Arrived once again in Grahamstown we took breakfast at Mrs. Gilfillans then called at our old lodgings at Mrs. Passmores, got some letters from the P.O. and called at Wedderburns the wagon agent to see if there was any prospect of getting to Cradock. He said some wagons were going this afternoon and he would be able to let us know particulars presently so we went about town executing a few commissions and calling on a few friends but could not get to see our kurveyor<sup>49</sup> till after dinner when we fixed to go to Cradock for the fare of £2 each including luggage, providing our own food for the road. He wanted to start the same afternoon but Mrs. and Miss Tyson when they heard of such an opportunity wanted to go as well [so] he consented to stay till 9 am.

So we hurriedly got our luggage together and said good bye to many of our friends. Took tea at the Knowles' and subsequently called on the Prices, Chapmans and Tysons and slept at Mrs. Galpins. We have only been away from Grahamstown a little over two months but now two of the houses we used most frequently to visit have been turned into houses of mourning. Mr. and Mrs. Price have lost their only child, dear little Gibson, nearly the one object that they truly dearly loved in the Colony, the life and light of the house. Mr. and Mrs. Knowles have lost their eldest daughter, who though being a chronic sufferer was always bright, happy and lively. Her deathbed is described by those who were present as a most gloriously triumphant one, Mrs. Slater said even aged and experienced Christians felt their faith strengthened by it. ....

Footnotes

SECTION 4

## 1. Lime

Lime is the product of the complete calcination of limestone, which is a kind of rock composed chiefly of calcium carbonate together with other minerals in varying quantities. Lime is used today in cement making, as an industrial chemical, as a soil conditioner and in road making.

In the nineteenth century lime was used as a plaster and also as mortar or as an ingredient in concrete. The Castle in Cape Town was built with lime. In the later half of the century lime was replaced by modern cement which was first manufactured in South Africa at Daspoort near Pretoria in 1892. The need for a local factory had become apparent as early as April 1863 when correspondence in the Eastern Province Herald by G.W. Onions, a Port Elizabeth architect, noted that imported cement deteriorated on the long sea voyage.

Lime had to be burnt in a kiln before it could be used. Lime kilns existed in the eighteenth century: Kalk Bay was known in 1720 as Kalkoven (lime kiln) Baai.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.6 p 643-644.
- R.Fredman:Structural Concrete in South Africa Johannesburg 1964 p 23, 29-31.

## 2. Baas

A mode of address which means Master or Sir, used usually by black workers to their employers, or, as here, a mode of reference to the master or employer. Baas was originally a Dutch word meaning master or captain.

- Branford: Dictionary p 11.

## 3. Iguanas

The family Varanidae, the large lizards, are represented in South Africa by two species: the water leguan V. niloticus and the rock or tree leguan V. exanthematicus albigularis. The water leguan is a slender animal, an expert swimmer and may reach two metres in length. It eats mainly mussels or crabs. The female lays 40-60 eggs in a termite-hill and the young feed on the termites after hatching. Large specimens of V. niloticus are prized for their

skins and fat.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.6 p 574-575.

4. Yellow finks

Fink or vink may refer to any of several weaver birds, members of the family Ploceidae. The species referred to here may be the Cape weaver, Ploceus capensis, or, more probably the yellow weaver, Ploceus subaureus. The eggs of the Cape weaver are greenish-blue but not spotted. Those of the yellow weaver are white or pale blue sometimes speckled in brown, black or violet.

- Branford: Dictionary p 70, 278.

- G.R. McLachlan and R. Liversidge (revisers):  
Roberts Birds of South Africa 4th edition Cape  
Town 1978 p 554-555, 569-570, Plate p 544.

5. See fn. 2 p 255.

6. Vley = vlei

A vlei is a lake or a swamp which may be large or merely a depression in the ground where rain collects. The context here suggests the latter meaning. The word comes from the Dutch vallei, cognate with valley.

- Branford: Dictionary p 279

7. Trek

The word trek comes from the Dutch trekken, to migrate. Among several other meanings Branford lists trek, to make an arduous journey often involving the abandonment of home and property.

- Branford: Dictionary p 260.

8. "Waste their fragrance ... "

Thomas Gray: Elegy in a Country Churchyard, stanza 14. The lines should read:

Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,  
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

Gray was born in London in 1716 and was educated at Eton and

Cambridge. He spent much of his life in Cambridge. As a poet his style reflected his interest in Greek and Latin literature. He died in 1771 and was buried at Stoke Poges. The churchyard there was the site of the famous Elegy.

- S.J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft (eds.): British Authors before 1800 New York 1952 p 232-234.
- John Bartlett: Familiar Quotations 15th edition London 1980 p 362.

#### 9. Salem

The village of Salem was founded in 1820 by the settlers of Hezekiah Sephton's party. The early years were not easy. The first two wheat crops failed, there were floods in 1823 and the 100-acre allotments proved too small to support a family, with the result that many people moved away.

On 31 December 1822 a chapel was opened by the Rev. William Shaw, the official chaplain to the predominantly Wesleyan Salem settlers. William Henry Matthews' school, the Salem Academy (see fn.10 below) was founded in 1820. Both buildings were used as refuges in the frontier wars. In the 1850's a new chapel was built and the original one was taken over by the local black Wesleyan congregation. In recent years it has been used as a school.

Village affairs were originally in the hands of a committee elected by the allotment owners. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century members of the committee were substantial landowners. In 1903 the committee was replaced by a Village Board of Management.

- L.A. Hewson: They seek a City: Methodism in Grahamstown Grahamstown 1981 p 49.
- A.E. Makin: The 1820 Settlers of Salem Wynberg 1971 p 11, 36, 41-49, 62.
- S.E.S.A. Vol.9 p 473.

#### 10. Mr. Shaw's School

The Salem Academy was founded in 1820 by William Henry Matthews one of the settlers of Sephton's party which was located at Salem. By 1829 over 100 children boarded at the school which offered a sound general education. The children of many missionaries were educated there including the Shepstones, the Ayliffs and the

Brownlees.

In the late 1840's George Impey, the brother of the Rev. William Impey, became principal. He was succeeded by Samuel Best Shaw the brother of the Rev. Barnabas James Shaw, who arrived in 1859. Shaw had a distinguished career at the school which enjoyed a reputation for high academic standards.

- L.A. Hewson: They seek a City: Methodism in Grahamstown Grahamstown 1981 p 49.
- A.E. Makin: The 1820 Settlers of Salem Wynberg 1971 p 40.
- C.L., PR 3563/1 Autobiographical MS of Henry James Halse p 8.
- C.L., MS 865-873 Collection of letters George Impey to his sister Mary Ann Impey August 1844 - December 1851.

#### 11. Farmerfield

The 6000-acre farm Klipheuvel near Salem was bought by the Rev. William Shaw in 1838. It was renamed Farmerfield after Thomas Farmer, one of the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. It became the property of the W.M.M.S. in 1850.

Shaw's design for Farmerfield covered several purposes. He wanted to provide land for Christian converts and emancipated slaves. He established there the Watson Institution for the training of black teachers. The whole settlement of some 500 people was under the care of Daniel Roberts, the head of the Watson Institution.

By 1884 Farmerfield was in decline. Reforms were recommended by a Committee of the South African (Wesleyan) Conference which reported in 1886. A white Overseer was appointed in 1919 but resigned after a few months. Much of the estate was sold in 1925. In 1962 the last few tenants of Farmerfield were resettled at Mount Coke by government order.

- C.L., MS 15467, M.A., Report of the Committee of the South African Conference on the Farmerfield Estate.
- C.L., MS 15880, M.A., Records of Farmerfield Estate which include a report of the Committee appointed by the Conference of 1884 and the Farmerfield Reports for 1920 and 1925.
- L.J. Webster: "The Story of Farmerfield" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society 1977 Vol.2 No.3 p 14-18.

12. Off-load

The word off-load is the transliteration of the Afrikaans word aflaai, to unload. It is now widely used outside South Africa.

- Branford: Dictionary p 168.

13. Stoop = stoep

A verandah or raised platform in front or all round a house. The word is Afrikaans from the Dutch stoep, steps or a paved elevation in front of a house.

- Branford: Dictionary p 240.

14. Giles trip to London

James Spilling: Giles's trip to London: a farm laborer's first peep at the world.

A 28th edition was published in London in 1872.

- British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books Compact Edition New York 1967 Vol.23 p 1173.

15. County cards

No information has been found. County cards may have been a children's card game like Happy Families.

- J.H. Evans (reviser): Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable London 1981 p 529.

16. The Hamilton Reservoir

The Hamilton Reservoir was a small dam completed in October 1868. Like the Douglas Reservoir it was built with military assistance, which was the reason for its comparatively low cost: an estimated £1,863. The Hamilton Reservoir was named after Col. R.G. Hamilton of the Royal Engineers in gratitude for his work in the construction of the Douglas Reservoir. The Hamilton Reservoir held about 7 million gallons. By the end of the nineteenth century Grahamstown's three existing reservoirs no longer provided an adequate water supply and major new water schemes were planned and built in the twentieth century.

- K.S. Hunt: "The Story of Grahamstown's Water Supply" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society 1976 Vol.2 No.2 p 8-21.

- M.Gibbens: Two Decades p 140-141

17. The Baptist Chapel

The first Baptist Chapel was built in Bartholomew Street, Grahamstown in 1823 but fell into disuse after 1838.

A new Baptist Chapel was opened in Bathurst Street on 12 March 1843, a simple neo-Classical building with a pedimented façade.

In 1849 the Baptist congregation split into two groups over doctrinal differences. One group continued to worship at the Bathurst Street Chapel, the other worshipped at the Ebenezer Baptist Chapel (built 1851) in Hill Street. The two congregations were reunited under the Rev. Henry Martyn Foot at the Bathurst Street Chapel in 1872. The Baptist Union of South Africa, an association of local churches, was formed there in 1877.

In 1882 a lecture hall was built by the Grahamstown congregation. Ten years later the chapel was altered and a porch added in 1913. In recent years new seating and new panelling have been installed.

- V. Smit: One and a half centuries of Grahamstown Baptist Witness 1820-1970 n.d., no publisher or page numbers given.
- S. Hudson-Reed (ed.): Together for a Century. The History of the Baptist Union of South Africa 1877-1977 Pietermaritzburg 1977 p 38, 48, 63-76.
- H.J. Batts: The History of the Baptist Church in South Africa Cape Town 1920 p 13, 19, 23, 25.

18. My text book

The Birthday Scripture Text Book published by W. Mack, 38 Park Street, Bristol, n.d. The entry for each date includes a text from the Bible and a verse from a hymn. Butler's friends wrote their names and, sometimes their years of birth opposite the appropriate date.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1.

19. Knobkerrie

See fn. 45 p 211.

20. "Tickey"

A small silver coin, value 3d., now obsolete. The word possibly derives from the Malay tiga, three.

- Branford: Dictionary p 253-254.

21. "Soupey" = sopie from Dutch zoopje, a little glass.

A drink or tot, usually spirits.

- Branford: Dictionary p 229.

22. "Little cock robin"

Several rhymes about robins are listed in the Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes including "Cock Robin got up early ...", first published 1806, "Little Robin Redbreast sat upon a tree ...", first published c. 1800, and "Who killed Cock Robin?" first recorded c. 1744. The last was possibly a comment on the intrigues surrounding the downfall of Robert Walpole's ministry in 1742 but may be much older. Many versions were available before 1870.

- I. and P. Opie (eds.): The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes London 1951 p 129-133, 372.

23. "School" boy

Xhosa society is divided into two cultural groups: the Red and the School groups. Those in the Red group wear tribal dress and remain loyal to tribal religion and traditional customs. The School Xhosa wear western clothing, send children to school and are mainly practising Christians. Reds tend to regard School people, especially the Mfengu, as traitors to Xhosa national independence.

Marriage customs in both groups preserve many traditional usages. In Red society marriages are arranged between families. The husband's family pays lobola or bridewealth to the wife's family as a guarantee of her status and proper treatment in her husband's family. Young School men are still expected to pay lobola but payment in money is more usual. The lobola is used to buy household goods for the newly married couple. The Red-School distinction was more marked in the nineteenth century than in recent years.

- P. Mayer: Townsmen or Tribesmen 2nd edition Cape Town 1971 p 20-41, 91-92, 216-217, 264-265.

- C.L., PR 1268, Newspaper cutting The Cape Times 27 July 1921, a report on a lecture on Xhosa marriage customs.

- Branford: Dictionary p 137.

24. The Bigamy Case

Alexander Digby Reade Campbell, a schoolteacher from Kent, arrived in Grahamstown in mid-1875. He taught at St. Andrew's College. In January 1877 he married Alice Maria Ogilvie, a daughter of Alfred Ogilvie of Port Elizabeth. Shortly afterwards he was ordained by Bishop Merriman and sent to Southwell as Rector in October 1877.

Three months later a Mr. Ernest Leman arrived in Grahamstown to make enquiries. Mr. Leman was a cousin of Mary Ellen Stevens of South Heigham, Norwich, who had been married to Campbell on 29 April 1875. Campbell was exposed as a bigamist.

His case came before the Resident Magistrate in Grahamstown on 28 Jan. 1878 and 15 Feb. 1878. Proof of his earlier marriage was shown in court together with his letters to his wife in England. Campbell's written confession of guilt was read. On 27 Feb. 1878 he was found guilty of bigamy and sentenced to two years imprisonment with hard labour.

Campbell's physical condition was poor. He collapsed on the way to Port Alfred and became seriously ill, possibly due to emotional stress or even mental illness.

- G.T.J. 22 March 1878.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 29 Jan. 1878, 15 Feb. 1878,  
1 March 1878.
- E.S., 29 Jan. 1878, 15 Feb. 1878,  
1, 19 March 1878.

25. Port Alfred

See fn.33, p 264.

26. Bathurst

The village of Bathurst, 34 miles from Grahamstown, was founded in May 1820 and named after Lord Bathurst the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Bathurst was chosen as the administrative centre for the new district of Albany but the seat of the magistracy was moved to Grahamstown at the end of 1821.

There are several old buildings in Bathurst including a hotel which dates from 1821, the Wesleyan Chapel which was opened on

8 May 1832 and St. John's Anglican Church which was opened on 1 Jan. 1838. St. John's Church was used as a refuge in the frontier war of 1834 although the building was incomplete. By 1831 there were two day schools in operation.

Bathurst never developed beyond the village stage. Bathurst is the centre of a large agricultural district in which cattle-farming and pineapple-growing are the main activities. A Settlers Memorial Hall was opened in April 1920 and was used subsequently as a Town Hall and library.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.2 p 206.
- C.E. Hillegan: Historic and Descriptive Review of Bathurst Grahamstown 1951 in S.A. Pamphlets Vol.30.
- H.E. Hockly: The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa 2nd edition Wynberg 1966 p 104, 148-149, 192.

#### 27. Walmer Castle

Flag: United Kingdom  
 Line: The Colonial Mail Line (Donald Currie's)  
 Route: London - Dartmouth - Cape Town  
 Built: 1872 Barclay Curle, Glasgow  
 Tonnage: 2446 tons

The first of the Currie steamers named Walmer Castle was built for the service to Calcutta. She was soon transferred to the Cape service in which she ran regularly until 1880. Distinguished passengers who sailed in her were President T.F. Burgers of the Transvaal (in 1875) and President Brand of the Orange Free State (in 1876). After a few years as an 'extra' steamer she was sold to a Spanish owner and was renamed Valencia. In 1888 she was sold again for use in the China trade. She sank in a collision off the Belgian coast on 16 Dec. 1889.

- Marischal Murray: Ships and South Africa, Oxford 1933, p 331.
- Marischal Murray: Union-Castle Chronicle, London 1953, p 76, 88,90,372.

#### 28. Baas

See fn.2, p 255.

29. Walter Lamplough

Walter Lamplough was the younger son of the Rev. Robert Lamplough, The young lady mentioned was Annie Shaw, daughter of Matthew Ben Shaw and granddaughter of the Rev. William Shaw. See biographical index.

30. Sail

A tarpaulin or canvas sheet used to cover a wagon or any load. The word is from Afrikaans seil, canvas or tarpaulin.

- Branford: Dictionary p 209.

31. Fleas

The flea is a small wingless insect which belongs to the genus Pulex. The common flea is P. irritans, well known for its biting habits and its ability to leap. It feeds on the blood of man and of some other animals.

- The Compact Edition of The Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1971 Vol.1 p 1021.

32. "Bleak House"

Bleak House is the title of a novel by Charles Dickens, first published in 1853. Dickens (1812-1870) was the son of a clerk in the Navy Pay Office who rose to fame through his writing. He was an authentic inventive genius whose works are still widely read.

- S.J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft (eds.): British Authors of the Nineteenth Century 6th edition New York 1964 p 182-184.

33. Port Alfred

Port Alfred is a village situated at the mouth of the Kowie River about 44 miles from Grahamstown. The settlement was founded in 1825 and named Port Frances after the wife of Col. Henry Somerset. In 1860 Port Frances was renamed Port Alfred after Queen Victoria's second son who visited South Africa that year.

Attempts to develop the Kowie harbour began in the late 1830's and coastal schooners regularly used it in the 1840's. In January 1852 the Kowie Harbour Improvement Company was formed with

capital subscribed by the Cape government and several Eastern Cape politicians. They were anxious to develop the port to promote Eastern Cape claims to a separate government. The Kowie Harbour Improvement Company was dissolved in 1870. Harbour works were continued by the Cape government until 1886 but the harbour was too small and shallow for the large steamers in use in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Port Alfred became a municipality in 1894 and has since developed as a holiday resort.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.9 p 12.
- E.W. Turpin: Basket Work Harbour Cape Town 1964 p 11, 42-46, 66, 79, 108.

34. See fn. 26 p 262.

35. See fn. 33 above.

36. Loxura alcides

Loxura alcides is an older name for the Myrina silenus a species of butterfly which belongs to the Lycaenidae family. The Myrina silenus is black in colour with a large space of metallic ultra-marine blue on both wings. On the apex of the forewing is a red-brown patch. The East and South African race Myrina silenus ficedula is paler than the Ethiopian one. The larvae feed on figs, hence the popular name of Figtree Blue.

- J.G. Williams: A Field Guide to the Butterflies of Africa London 1969 p 207, 208 (colour plate).
- H.L. Lewis: Butterflies of the World London 1974 p 125 (colour plate No. 33).
- R. Trimen: South-African Butterflies: A Monograph of the Extra-Tropical Species London 1887 Vol.II p 141-144.

37. Ben Dell's sister

Benjamin Dell (see biographical index) had two sisters. No information on which of them was engaged to Willie Shaw has been found. They were Hannah Weymouth Dell (1853-1939) and Martha Ann Dell (1855-1929). Neither of them married. They lived at Barville Park, the Dell family farm near Port Alfred, and later at

Port Alfred. Both were buried in the cemetery at Barville Park.

- M.E. Jeal: The Dell Chronicles 1750-1979 Johannesburg 1979 p 214, 221, 225-227, 232.

38. Laager

The Afrikaans word laager usually means an encampment of wagons lashed together to form a protective barricade, but can mean any refuge against attack by hostile tribes.

- Branford: Dictionary p 131.

39. Num-num

The num-num, noem-noem-bessie (berry) or Natal plum is the tart red fruit of either Carissa macrocarpa or C. bispinosa. The fruit is used for jam.

- Branford: Dictionary p 7, 165.

40. "As Moses lifted up the serpent ... "

The text comes from John 3:14, part of the conversation between Christ and Nicodemus. The reference is to Numbers 21:9.

- S.J. Hartdegen (ed.): Nelson's Complete Concordance of the New American Bible New York 1977 p 1004.
- The Holy Bible Revised Standard Version London 1952, p 89 fn. to 3:14.

41. Ticks

Ticks belong to the order Acarina of the class Arachnida. They are parasites which attach themselves to the skin of the host and feed on the host's blood. The female swells to an enormous size before she drops to the ground to lay eggs.

Of the family Ixodidae, the cattle ticks, three species cause disease in cattle: the blue tick (Boöphilus decoloratus) the 'bont' or variegated tick (Amblyomma hebraeum) and the brown tick (Rhipicephalus appendiculatus). Tick-borne diseases can be controlled by dipping cattle in various chemical mixtures.

Ticks may harbour parasites called Rickettsiae some of which cause disease in man. The best known human tick-borne disease is

tick-bite fever, a form of typhus.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.10 p 499-503; Vol.9 p 346-347.

#### 42. Steam-mill

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries simple water or windmills were in use at the Cape to grind wheat for domestic consumption. The first steam mill engine was imported in 1831 and steam-powered mills existed in Grahamstown and Port Alfred in the 1850's.

The steam mill on the Mansfield River was probably originally a water-mill which had been converted to steam power. Like many other small mills it ceased to be profitable once the roller milling process began to supersede the older system of rotating millstones.

- J. Walton: Water-mills, Windmills and Horse-mills in South Africa Cape Town 1974 p 27-38, 133-143.
- E. Gledhill: "Where waters once passed by" in South African Panorama, September 1972, p 30-33.

#### 43. Tangye's engine

The firm of Tangye Brothers, Hydraulic and General Engineers, Birmingham, advertised its machinery in the G.T.J. in May 1877. Butler was particularly interested in Tangye's because it was a Quaker firm, because his brothers worked in its London office and because his friend Alfred Alexander was its special representative.

The governors on the engine regulate the passage of steam, gas or water to the machinery to ensure that the engine works evenly and smoothly.

- G.T.J. 18, 25 May 1877.
- B.P.; PR 3481/1, Pamphlet by Joseph Butler on James Butler's early life, p 10.
- The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1971 Vol.1 p 1182.

#### 44. Papilio merope

Trimen describes the butterfly Papilio merope as a West African species which is represented in South Africa by P. cenea. The male of P. cenea is pale yellow with a broad black border on the fore-wings and a long process or 'tail' on each hind-wing. The

female of P. cenea imitates other species of the family Danainae. The Danainae are unpalatable to birds. Modern classification differs slightly from Trimen's.

- R. Trimen: South-African Butterflies: A Monograph of the Extra-Tropical Species London 1887 Vol.1 p 38-39.
- H. Lewis: Butterflies of the World London 1973 p 90 (colour plate showing three variations of P. dardanus, Nos. 1-3) p 110 (colour plate showing Amauris Niavius, No. 20).

45. See fn.15 p 201.

46. Inkosisana

Nkosana is the diminutive form of the Xhosa word nkosi, master chief, lord; used as a mode of address to a male superior.

- Branford: Dictionary p 165.

47. Band of Hope

The Band of Hope was the juvenile branch of the temperance movement. See introduction p 17-19.

48. See fn. 18 p 260.

49. Kurveyor

A transport rider or carrier who conveyed goods by ox-wagon usually over long distances. The word comes from Afrikaans karwei, to cart goods.

- Branford: Dictionary p 129-130.

SECTION 5

Cradock 7 May 1878 - 21 Oct. 1878

7.V.78 Tuesday (82nd week) Fine.

The first thing was to buy provisions for the road. These consisted of coffee, sugar, sardines, jam, cocoa and milk, bread, rusks etc. Of course we took care not to under-estimate our requirements and provided for a week. ....

We are going with a Dutch kurveyor<sup>1</sup> who has brought down oxen from Middleburg and is taking up new wagons with small loads though each wagon has another in tow making 4 in all and one is towing the cart Mr. Von Blerk rode down in. The loads consist of grain, tinware, 4 carts, iron, wire etc. We have the tent of one wagon to ourselves and here have spread our mattress and have all our things handy. The journey is about 110 miles and we shall probably be four or six days on the road. Our driver is a yellow man, that is to say he is rather more than a half caste, you might call him a three quarter caste as he is more white than black and speaks English. Our two leaders are more or less of Hottentots. ....

We were disappointed this morning to hear that Mrs. Tyson was unwell and so could not come the journey with us. Consequently we had to travel by ourselves, our only associates being our Dutch kurveyor, Mr. Von Blerk, his driver and 2 leaders. Tired out with running about town arranging business matters and saying our good-byes we were glad to be able to lie down on our mattress as soon as the wagon started which it did exactly at 2 p.m. It was warm but not hot and the oxen having come down from Middleburg without doing any work were fresh and trekked along merrily - too merrily for us. Whether it was that the wagons were new, or the loads too light, or the road too stony, or our pace too fast or the combination of all these conditions I cannot say, but notwithstanding that we were in the most comfortable tent we had yet inhabited, we never knew such a shaking as we had going along that

road. The sensation was something like this - bump, bump - bump - bump, bump, bump - - bump - bump, bump, bump, bump, bump, and so on mile after mile, hour after hour. We were tired, the exertion and manouvering requisite to gain even a sitting posture were after experiment and calculation deemed too great for us to attempt in our present condition. So up on to the flats we rode, across the flats and down hill into the unknown regions beyond. Even the inducement of viewing fresh scenery did not made us change our recumbent position. After five hours of this at last we stopped. R[obert] W[ilkie] did not feel equal to getting out of the wagon. I got up, found our provisions, gave the kettle to the boys who had already lit a fire got out a good supply of coffee and sugar and made a good meal of coffee and bread. Then to make the most of the time while the wagaon was at rest, wrapped up and went to sleep. We were twelve miles from town and 2 from Hell Poort.<sup>2</sup> By a strange coincidence R[obert] W[ilkie] is now leaving Grahamstown exactly twelve months to the day since he first entered it.

8.V.78 Wednesday. Fine.

At what time last night we were again on the move I cannot say, but I remember waking up with the too familiar - bump, bump, dosing off again, only to be again aroused by an extra heavy bump or a prolonged series of bumps. How I longed for daylight. Now and again we would have a word or two, have our brief conversation rudely interrupted by some violent bumping, or shaking, or shifting of our positions and then again relapse into a sort of dreamy state which in its turn was doomed to be suddenly disturbed. By dint of considerable fumbling about in my pockets I found some matches, and then by skilful scheming got at my watch and found the time was only 1.40 am. Oh, dear! time dragged on and so did we. I never knew oxen travel as these did; occasionally [they would] trot down hill [and] walk briskly up hill without stopping

for breath, never requiring the whip, on, on they went. At length I struck another match and found it was 4.20 a.m. We seemed no nearer stopping than ever; but we got more variety. We saw the morning star through the end of our tent which was open and by and by, the light of the other stars became dimmer, our horizon was more clearly defined, then the light clouds were lit up with bright tints and we were rejoiced to welcome sunrise. Presently we discovered we were crossing a bridge, I mustered or manufactured some Dutch and called out to our driver "John, vaan will ye outspaan", "Dunno Sir". This was too much and we began to despair, but only a few yards further we really did stop, .... and then outspanned. We had been lying down for the space of seventeen hours and for the greater part of that time had been subjected to such a violent shaking, bumping and general rolling and knocking about that we were truly thankful to be at rest. All our view even during the light was the top and sides of our tent and beyond thro' its end the wagon in tow with its carts on board, occasionally catching side glimpses of something beyond.

I was not long in getting out of the wagon and setting to work to light the fire, for in addition to our other troubles we were very hungry. We had no regular dinner yesterday and our coffee and bread at 7 o'clock was not very sustaining. So while the boys were outspanning I tried my hand at lighting a camp fire and very soon was gratified by seeing a few sticks alight which in turn lighted others and we soon had a good blazing fire and the kettles were warming up. How we did enjoy that meal. We said grace for after meat before tasting it and then commenced the attack. Was it the new little kettle, or some peculiarity about the fire, or the brown color of the water when it first went into the kettle, or the boiling the coffee and sugar and condensed milk altogether in the kettle that made that coffee so enjoyable? Then the

sardines and bread - there was such a relish with them! It was not in the serving up for we had no plates, pocket knives were our "tools", basins had we for cups, sticks for spoons and a kettle for a coffee pot and a piece of paper for a table-cloth. This pleasure being over we had time to look round. We were outspanned close to Carlisle Bridge Hotel which is close by the Bridge.<sup>3</sup> The Bridge is a fine one I should think 200 ft long and 50 ft above the present level of the river. I suppose it would be called a lattice girder bridge and has one substantially built pier in the middle and a good strong buttress each side. I wanted a wash, so made my way down to the water - a little stream that I could almost jump over and this is the "Great Fish River". If you venture to laugh at the Colonial rivers in [ the ] presence of a colonist, you are soon met with a wish that you might be there "when the river comes down". No doubt this is a "great" river when it does come down but what is the use of it? It is no good for navigation and little for irrigation. When it comes down it carries away thousands of tons of soil to the sea, washes away bridges etc., floods houses and generally destroys many lives of stock and human beings. I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing one of these rivers come down, which without joking must be a grand sight for they say that without warning the water comes down like a heap carrying everything before it, on it, or in it. But the "Great" river that I saw this morning was a little stream running along the botom of a very wide bed. .... And this bed bore evidence of the power of the river at times, for half buried in the sand were large trees, the smaller boughs broken off but otherwise intact, roots and all. ....

*They set off again at 11.20 am.*

At 12.40 we passed a mile stone, a thing seldom seen in this part of the country, which told us we were 30 miles from Grahamstown and 77

from Cradock. Thus we had come more than [a] quarter of our journey in less than a day. At 1.30p.m we outspanned in a dreary broad kloof. I could see no grass for the oxen, all that my eyes could rest upon was stones and little bushes and thorn trees.<sup>4</sup> One ox had a sore foot and so required shoeing. It was laid on its side, one boy held a reim<sup>5</sup> which was tied round the two fore feet and the disselboom<sup>6</sup> or pole, another pulled at a reim slipped over the horns and through the front wheel, a third maintained a strong hold of the tail meanwhile resting his full weight on the animals body, while the baas performed the operation. His tools were a small hammer with a broken handle and a few nails, the shoe itself was a very rough piece of iron with a few holes in it. The holes in the hoof were first made by driving in a nail which being extracted the proper nail was inserted, protruded through the side of the hoof and there clenched. .... The sunset at 5.30 and the growing moon supplied us with a fair light, we inspanned and trekked till 10.45, performed the usual operations of fire lighting, coffee drinking, and then retired to rest at 11.45 p.m.

9.V.78 Thursday 575th day. Fine.

*The wagons stopped soon after sunrise. The journey was resumed at 3 pm.*

... Not far on the road our driver drew our attention to what looked like little clouds of dust moving about and informed us they were springboks.<sup>7</sup> With the aid of my glasses I could clearly make them out and as they came nearer we were treated to a very pretty sight. There were many herds of from ten to thirty more in each and these must have been what I mistook for sheep this morning as I then noticed they had no "herd"<sup>8</sup> with them. Andries [one of the "boys"] siezed his gun, jumped down, ran to an ant heap, lay down, let one herd pass. Another came up, sometimes tearing along, stopping again as if to eat, staring round them and then

off again like playing leapfrog over the antheps. Our boy took aim and fired, the herd scattered and flew in different directions away over the flat. Almost directly another herd came up. Andries had now corrected his sight and had it up for 200 yards, fired, and one rolled over, and the rest flew. The deer in Windsor park are a pretty sight but it is prettier to see a herd of or herds of these bucks in their native wilds. [Springbuck's] bodies are gracefully formed and their color brown and white, their horns are pointed and twisted. Whilst walking after the "baas"; who then took the gun, I came across a beautiful head, a skull with a fine pair of horns which of course we keep. After thus replenishing our meat supply we trekked on till 4.35 p.m. and outspanned by a large dam to which the oxen were eager to go for a drink. Here we saw a piece of work nicely finished the object of which at first puzzled us but on enquiring we were informed it was a place for dipping sheep. ....

11.V.78 Saturday. Fine. Hot wind.

.... We stopped at an hotel, toll-bar and store all together at a spot with the pleasing name of Dagga Boer Nek: there is also a post office, telegraph office and blacksmiths shop here but that is all and all is under the management of one man<sup>9</sup> who has just failed for about £30,000, the great mystery being however a man in a place like this could have contracted liabilities to that amount, but probably he has speculated a good deal. ....

I saw a house and on enquiry found it belonged to a Mr. Jno. Trollip to whom we had some goods to deliver and to whom we had a letter of introduction from Mrs. Chapman. We hastily brushed off the worst of our dust and made our way to the house where we were very kindly received, had a real good wash which was a real luxury and then a good breakfast:

eggs and butter! such as we have not tasted for a long time. But Mrs. Trollip apologised for having no milk as the grass being scarce the cows had been sent to the top of the mountain for food and did not come down every day. This was the first time she had been out of milk but the caterpillars were the cause of it. ....

This house is a nicely arranged one and as a farm house should be, very clean. It is well furnished and has some well furnished book shelves whilst the Illustrated London News, Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown papers show that the proprietor is ahead of many of his brethren in endeavouring to keep abreast of the times. I have said this of the inside of the house but outside I cannot say much. There is a nice little garden with some pretty flowers in front... some well built out-houses, stone kraals etc. and beyond - a waste howling wilderness. .... Not another house is in sight but here, sheltered by a fine mountain rising immediately behind, stands this house a truly welcome resting place in this wilderness. ....

11.V.78 Saturday 572nd day. Fine. Hot wind.

... Mr. Trollip is more intelligent than the majority of farmers we have met and not only so but more energetic, persevering and enterprising, and he appears to have been substantially rewarded for the exercise of these good qualities. We saw a troop of about 50 horses of all ages, for Mr. T[rollip] has done a good deal in horse breeding and showed us one animal for which he paid £400. These horses are decidedly superior to the general run of horses we have met with hitherto but that may be attributed partly to the difference in the veldt, good horses do not thrive on the zuurveldt<sup>10</sup> or sour grass near the sea. Most of the kraals here are very well built of loose stone, a material ready to hand in abundance; but Mr. T[rollip] says that stone kraals are not so warm

or rather do not afford as good shelter as those made of thorns. This seems strange but I take his opinion as worth something, especially as his buck kraals are made in a very superior style, of thorn trees: another thing Mr. T[rollip] told us, the truth of which he had proved after discovering it many years ago, viz. that a kraal or a house built with a Northern aspect is decidedly warmer and healthier than any other. S. African farms are generally very self-contained but here was something we have not seen elsewhere. We had observed an enclosure very neatly walled in with a few trees growing in it; some of these were dead through the drought. Some cypress<sup>11</sup> trees made us suspect what the enclosure contained and our surmise was correct: this wall surrounded 6 tombs. It was a perfect miniature cemetery. One stone read thus:

"Death the last end of all is fixed, is sure,  
 But manifold the means that end procure;  
 Be ready reader for the solemn call,  
 No matter what the means by which you fall".

Another was in memory of two brothers<sup>12</sup> who during the last Kafir war were waylaid on returning home and both killed - with the quotation "They were lovely and pleasant in their lives and in their death they were not divided" 2 Sam. I:25. ....

Our rest here, our breakfast, dinner and tea, our pleasant and interesting conversation, greatly refreshed us. When at 6p.m. we had to leave we were sent on our way rejoicing with an open invitation to return and spend a week or two as soon as we are tired of Cradock which we were told to expect to be very soon. I slept well to-night. With sunset came a more breathable air much to our enjoyment.

13.V.78 Monday. Fine.

It is light longer before sunrise than it is after sunset so knowing we were to go into Cradock early we were up betimes, had our coffee, made ourselves as tidy as could be considering the dust that had got

into our clothes, turned our collars inside out etc., then packed up our surplus clothes etc. rolling them all up inside our mattress and we were ready. There was no attempt to make the wagon look trim as there is [for] a ship entering port, the dust lay unmoved, the oxen uncleaned and our boys and kurveyor in exactly the same clothes. Then we started and a very short skoff<sup>13</sup> brought us into Cradock. ....

13.V.78 Monday. 574th day. Fine.

Cradock.

I have endeavoured to give some idea of how I reached here, now I must try to describe what we found here and what we thought of it. We had spent six days and about £2.10.0 in travelling some 108 miles to reach this place; we had been cautioned against expecting great things but had been led to expect a very healthy climate which would make amends for what was lacking in other respects. As we rather suddenly obtained our first close view of the town we were dis-appointed, our broad dusty road was indefinitely bounded by a stony dusty waste. There seemed an incompleteness, a neglected unfinished appearance about the place as if some designer had intended the town to cover this cleared waste and his plans had been stopped when only partially carried out. One side of a street faced this open [space?] the other side of the street had never been commenced. The houses in this street were low, whitewashed, one-storied buildings without front gardens or anything to break their sudden outstep on to the surrounding wilderness. We left the wagons, to search for lodgings. Mrs. Trollip had referred us to a Mrs. Saunders who had recently opened a boarding house, so thither we repaired, noting on our way a respectable-looking hotel, Market Square with its handsome Church,<sup>14</sup> an official-looking red brick building, a very modest "Public Library", good broad streets, plenty of trees of a smallish growth and - what rejoiced our eyes most of all - running water in channels at the sides of

the streets. Our bargain was soon struck with Mrs. S[aunder], and we again enjoyed the luxury of a good wash, in our new quarters.

Our new quarters, I wonder how long we are to inhabit them, they are very nice but we are warned not to expect to keep them after the end of the month. It really is too good to last, a good large room 14 ft. high with two windows that open (at the bottom) with broad window sills as good as tables, and such furniture! a swell table, a sofa, two easy chairs and six other cushioned chairs; true we have no chest of drawers or wardrobe or cupboard of any description, neither have we since we landed in the Colony. Never have we had such a comfortable room all to ourselves and, save the washing, it is to be at the same rate we paid in Grahamstown. So far so good but how about the table - that was the question we next proceeded to discuss and [it] was answered to our satisfaction. We went into breakfast. Two other gentlemen were at the table, one quite a young man ready to give his opinions on anything and whose manner more than his appearance or conversation led me to surmise that he was a German: (this surmise afterwards proved true). The other, some years his senior tho' still a young man, seemed very reserved, said very little yet gave a favourable first impression. Our first business after breakfast was the getting at some clean clothes and there was a real pleasure in unpacking our boxes which had not been opened for 3 months, turning out our little treasures, again setting eyes on our books and again looking thro' our albums which we had packed up before going to Bathurst, which I had packed up with the hope of not unpacking till I reached home. Spent a good deal of time writing for the English mail which leaves here Wednesday morning nearly a week before it leaves Capetown. Called at the Library which we found was free to strangers and where [there] is a fair stock of papers in the Reading Room.

14.V.78 Tuesday (83rd week). Fine.

Notwithstanding that we enjoyed "roughing it" on our wagon journey it was nice to get between sheets again last night. Took a ramble about town after breakfast and brought back a glowing opinion of the air, [ which has] a light, free freshness such as we have not hitherto known in the Colony: such a morning as we occasionally have at home in the early spring or again at the beginning of autumn when the sun shines out warmly and brightly after a cold night. On enquiring for a barber found there was no such trade practised professionally in Cradock - but there is a photographer.<sup>15</sup> Called on Mrs. Grey, a sister of Mrs. Slater. The post came in with an English mail but no letters for me. I must own to having felt a little bit dull to-day, it seemed so strange to be in an entirely new place, knowing nobody, and then getting no English letters as if we had left all our Colonial friends behind and our home friends had temporarily neglected us.

15.V.78 Wednesday. Fine.

Having despatched our English mail felt more at liberty to look about, but the town did not improve on [closer] acquaintance. Our second impressions had been more favourable than our first but then we had kept in the town. The streets are wide and clean the footways much nicer for walking on than in Grahamstown, the water running in the furrows had a particularly pleasing effect notwithstanding its coffee color, the trees in the streets and gardens appeared more shapely than the bluegums<sup>16</sup> which prevail so largely in Grahamstown. Here weeping willow,<sup>17</sup> cypress<sup>18</sup> and pines<sup>19</sup> are the favorites in the streets, while orange<sup>20</sup> and other fruit trees abound in the gardens and allow their laden branches to overhang the foot walks. I send with this weeks journal a photograph of the Dutch Reformed Church<sup>21</sup> here which is almost

the finest building I have seen in the Colony and cost £30,000. The Dutch seem to have an idea of well looking after their churches and ministers and I expect make themselves feel very comfortable by so doing. ....

So much for the town; we wanted a walk, so following along the principal street we found ourselves on a rather sandy road leading among a lot of thorn trees. Thorn trees are not to my eye very ornamental and though these are taller than the generality they fail to make this a beautiful road, just now they are white with young thorns from one to five inches long. Grass does not seem to grow here but beetles abound running all about the path. Mules are used very much here in carts and wagons, fourteen inspanned in a wagon form a rather curious sight. Two men sit on the box, one holding the reins attached I think to the two leaders and the last pair, and the other man attends to the whip. The horses too are very superior to those seen on the zuurveld, much nicer looking, cleaner kept, well shaped and freely moving. Races are periodically held here. One horse named Tarka<sup>22</sup> is said to be worth £800 and other racers are bred and trained here.

16.V.78 Thursday. Thunderstorm.

Called on Mr. Roberts to whom we had an introduction. He gives a very poor account of business, men who have been in situations for years are now out and cannot get in again, some have been out for months. ....  
 .... The more we see of the town and its surroundings the more do we wonder however a town came to be built here at all and then however a town has existed here for so many years without improving its environs. I dont know of any place I have ever seen that is so compact, having no outskirts, no suburbs or even any nice walks outside itself. The town consists of about three long streets running parallel to the river with

a few cross streets. There is a bridge here called "Gilfillan Bridge"<sup>23</sup>. If that had been here fifty years ago I could understand a small town gradually accumulating around it but the reverse is the order here, the town grew here and the Bridge was brought to the town. Most towns are more or less straggling but I have not seen an open space in this town or one house outside it; it is all on one side of the river not a house across the Bridge. We are told it is increasing but have not seen one house in course of construction. A good proportion of the population is Dutch, a great many of the houses belong to Dutch farmers who only come into town occasionally and at other times leave their houses uninhabited. The surrounding hills are bare and desolate, no trees are there to relieve the eye, no bush-clad kloofs, the forenamed thorn-trees are the only ones to be seen outside the town and they only seem to thrive adjoining the water furrow. The sense of this desolation seems to grow on us, even butterflies are rarely seen. .... So little do the inhabitants seem to appreciate the country that Mr. Roberts told us that he had been her [e] fourteen years and did not know any nice walks. Called on Rev. Lones the Wesleyan Minister and found him a very genial interesting gentleman, still a young man. Took tea at Mrs. Greys and spent a pleasant evening. Had a letter from home which has been unduly delayed. The post office officials here seem to have a greater faculty for muddling than any we have had to do with, were it not for the post-masters sharp little daughter I dont know what we should do - twice after being told there was nothing, has she brought down something to our lodgings. ....

22.V.78 Wednesday. Fine.

Finding there was a watchmaker<sup>24</sup> in the town, called on him. I pity him! Of course correctly speaking he is not a watch maker scarcely can he be called a watch seller but he has the drudgery of watch jobbing

and oh! such watches, the greater part of them had they been handed to me in former days I should have politely handed back and declined to have anything to do with them. "Smousers"<sup>25</sup> sell the watches and these practical men have to mend them. I was shown one, a wretched Geneva watch in a metal gilt case that some Dutchman had been induced to give £25 for. Of course in buying it he asked "Is it gold" [and] the smouser blandly replies "you can see what it is yourself" and the stupid [man] probably thinking he is getting a good watch pays £25 for what is not worth as many shillings. Others were old worn out verge watches<sup>26</sup> put into new metal silver-plated cases and sold to equally stupid men. Nor is this all the poor watchmaker has to put up with, and he seemed a respectable man too, but to add insult to injury the winding and care of the church clock is placed in the hands of a gunsmith although the watchmaker had offered to wind it and keep it going for five years for nothing!

About noon the town was alive, the band playing to welcome in the Diamond Fields Light Horse<sup>27</sup> who after serving five months in the field here are now re-called to Griqua-land West to fight there, where a totally distinct lot of Natives have broken out. We watched them pass through the town to about the number of 120. ....

.... Spent the evening at Mrs. Cawoods, where we met besides a large family some others. A Mr. Kidger proved very interesting company. He has been out here for about twenty years and has a good deal of the Englishman about him still, his opinions about Colonial farmers largely coincided with the views I had formed of them, but you must not express them to a farmer. We also got talking about diamonds, etc., and Mr. K[idger] shewed me a large crystal which had a cavity in it about three sixteenths of an inch long. This cavity was filled with a fluid which Mr. K[idger] said somewhat resembled parafin in smell etc., and a bubble could be seen in the cavity. ....

23.V.78 Thursday. Fine.

Walking up past the thorns and standing looking at the camp of the Diamond Fields Horse I was surprised at one of them coming up and addressing me by name. I remembered the face but could not recollect the name. I was more surprised when I found it was one of our Sunday school boys; dressed in his cord suit, with his "smasher" hat, and spurs, and pipe in mouth, he looked a bigger lad than when dressed in his Sunday black but still looked hardly more than a boy. It seems he with some twenty more joined the troop in Grahamstown and when all the fighting is over intends to stay at the Fields. He said he was seventeen, I should hardly have thought it, but even at that he is young to be a regular volunteer on active service. He speaks well of his officers, says he is saving his wages, is seeing the country etc. How little did I ever think of any of our Sunday school boys being so soon outside the school and its influence but let us hope that its influence over him may still be great. He asked me to remember him to his friends when I saw them but not knowing when that may be I have written.

.... A little farther on is the warm mineral water bath; this was closed, but looking over the wall we could see a well shaped and cemented basin with the water bubbling up in it. As the water overflows from here it runs in a furrow into a pool where a lot of women were washing, as it came from the bath it could not be said to be warm but certainly had the chill off: as to its mineral qualities of course we cannot speak but can testify to its smell which struck me strongly as of hydrogen and sulphur the water was quite clear. At another place there was another large congregation of women washing, there must have been about fifty, who, standing up to their knees in water, rubbed and banged the clothes about on the stone wall at the side of the pool. At a distance this banging about might be taken for beating carpets, but on a near approach you see

garments being thus treated. O, our poor clothes! what wonder if we find rents and holes, and buttons missing? It is the same old tale; a washing machine requires the oversight of the mistress and the servants dont like them, whereas by giving the clothes to a woman there is no more trouble with them till they are brought back washed. But ladies can hardly be blamed for they cannot leave their other work to their servants as English ladies can.

24.V.78 Friday (585th day) Fine.

The Queens Birthday. Volunteer sports.

Last night the thermometer in our room got down to 47° which is I think lower than I saw it all last winter. The Queens birthday is generally observed in the Colony as a holiday and Cradock is not behind Grahamstown in keeping holiday. About noon the volunteers went through some exercises, the mounted men to the number of about twenty covering as much ground as possible. The infantry were more numerous and active, attacking an imaginary enemy, advancing in skirmishing order and blazing away blank cartridge. A drunken Hottentot caused much amusement by going about the ground giving out his orders in very officious style, sometimes he was in dangerous proximity to the horsemen.

Mrs. Kidger had invited us to luncheon so under a thorn tree we sat down to a very substantial spread and then proceeded to the cricket ground close by to watch the sports. This cricket ground so-called is a sandy grassless flat, however they play cricket on it is a mystery. However it does not make a bad place for racing etc. as the ground is hard enough to run on, yet not too hard. There were several races: 100, 200 and 400 yds which were all very well and evenly contested by some six or eight runners; the jumping was not so good and there was too much of it; the three-legged races were very good, some of the couples evidently being in training and consequently having it pretty

much their own way; but the sack race was the most amusing not to say ludicrous: there were also prizes for throwing the cricket ball and a weight. The programme concluded with blind mans buff<sup>28</sup> - a number of lads were blindfolded and set to catch one who told his whereabouts by ringing a bell. This was the greatest fun of all and a good finish. The sun set at a quarter before five, we had a cup of tea and walked back to our lodgings thankful that some amusement had been found for one day.

26.V.78 Sunday. Fine.

Rev. Lones contrary to the regular Wesleyan plan preaches here regularly Sunday morning and evening. Mrs. Grey had kindly invited us to dinner so there we repaired after service and met Mr. Wm. Collet a large sheep farmer with whom Willie Shaw was for several years. Spent the afternoon here in profitable reading and conversation and attended chapel after tea. In a letter from Grahamstown by to-days post we hear of the death of the Willie Shaw, son of M.B. Shaw of Shawbury whom we also knew intimately. His sister was staying at Grove Hill most of the time we were there and he was down for a week about the end of March: that is the third whose name I have in my text-book<sup>29</sup> who has recently been called away.

27.V.78 Monday. Fine.

Bought a newspaper which I have sent home. "The Cradock Register",<sup>30</sup> .... containing very little news and that little of a very local and trifling character, is published weekly and for a single copy we had to pay sixpence. We tried to get a copy last week but as only about three are printed over the number of regular subscribers, and these were not clean copies, we waited till to-day. This paper should have been published Friday but the publisher had exhausted his stock of

paper and the fresh supply was not to hand till this morning! The editor is rather a comical customer but rather more enterprising than most Africanders. He rides a bicycle which is much too high for him (34 in[ches]). It is the only one we have seen here and can only be used about the town as outside the roads are altogether too rough and heavy.

31.V.78 Friday. Fine.

.... I generally go on the Market and this morning saw a lot of ostrich feathers disposed of: these are tied up in assorted bundles and sold by auction not at so much the lot, but at [so much] per lb. weight. There are a great variety of feathers, primes, bloods (those that are pulled not cut from the bird), blacks, drabs, tipped, tails and female feathers. They vary in value according to their length, breadth, color, and condition, the larger feathers especially are very often damaged by the birds themselves, the tips being frequently torn. Some feathers were sold at only a few shillings per lb. but others run up to over £30. Sheep and goatskins are frequently brought on the market in lots of dozens and scores, these are generally sold at so much each; mohair and wool is sold by the pound weight but the latter is generally bought up before it has a chance of getting on the market. ....

1.VI.78 Saturday. Fine.

Bought two stuffed bucks heads on the market for a shilling each. Walked on to a fresh desolate hill and amused ourselves with aiming stones at a prickly pear<sup>31</sup> - what we are driven to!

*On 11 June 1878 Butler and Wilkie met John Trollip in Cradock. He pressed them to come and stay at Daggaboer. Accordingly they left Cradock the next morning by post cart, and reached the Trollips' farm that evening.*

12.VI.78 Wednesday (604th day) Fine.

Cradock to Dagga Boer Nek.

A lovely day and pleasant companions made a seat in the post cart behind a good span of four horses very enjoyable. ....  
We reached Dagga Boer safely and comfortably, the journey was not too long, or the road too rough or the wind too high, or the sun too strong so we may add that we enjoyed our trip. The road runs pretty close by the house so we got off the cart and walked up... a good wash, a nice tea and subsequently substantial supper, some interesting conversation from which we could learn a good deal filled up our first evening at Dagga Boer.

13.VI.78 Thursday. Fine.

Exactly at seven o'clock this morning we were awake by the little girl with the coffee. This little maid is under a kind of apprenticeship or some such contract for seven years. She is a yellow girl, very young, but already very useful and bidding fair by the end of her time to be a really valuable servant. She waits at table very nicely, understands English and seems to have a good capacity for learning. Mr. and Mrs. Trollip have never been blessed (or troubled) with any children of their own and so are able to order their house very methodically. The meals are at the undermentioned hours: breakfast 7.45 a.m. dinner, noon, tea, a light meal, 3 p.m. and supper, a substantial meal, about 6.30 p.m. A very good table is kept and there is more style and taste displayed in laying the table, and serving up the meals than we have been accustomed to see on Colonial farms. I said there were no children but two nieces and Mrs. T[rollip]'s mother are living here. Mine host is truly a great man, well over six feet high (6 ft.3 in [ches]), and broad and stout. I thought I was weighing pretty well the other day when I scaled 148 lbs but Mr. T[rollip] weighs 250 lbs or, as we

should say at home, 18 stone all but two pounds. He has not only a large body but a large head with a fine forehead and I have reason to believe a large heart also. He is a great man in other ways for he is a substantial man, one who owns this farm and others besides and one whose influence in the district is no doubt great. Mrs. T[rollip] is very kind and hospitable and reminds me of Mrs. Impey. Both Mr. and Mrs. T[rollip] took a trip home about three years ago, both enjoyed it very much and learned a good deal. The family of Trollips is very extensive in this district numbering in all 280 by the last accounts.

The sun does not rise on this house very early as the homestead is built close under the shelter of the mountain; to-day it was half past eight before the sun rose. We went out in the garden, a very large garden, and the frost in places was still visible, the first frost we have seen for over two years, quite a treat which we much enjoyed.

... Beyond a large vegetable garden where a large stock of vegetables of many kinds are growing, acres of potatoes, and scores of fruit trees besides blue-gum,<sup>32</sup> cypress,<sup>33</sup> black wood<sup>34</sup> and other trees, there are many acres of forage and presently we came on to a very large field of grain which was just sprouting up. The laden orange trees<sup>35</sup> have a very pretty appearance their bright evergreen leaves showing up the yellow fruit. Other fruit trees have lost their leaves but the gums etc. keep green all the year round. Water is led on to this garden from a little dam which is fed by a small permanent spring from high up on the mountain. The labour of subduing the wilderness and making it thus blossom and bear such a large harvest of varied fruit, must have been great and sustained; hundreds of wagon loads of stones large and small must have been removed, some of these have been utilized in building a substantial wall around; the tree-planting, ploughing, sowing and watering must have been the work of many years. The soil must be

very productive for none has been added to these lands and only a little manure. But Mr. T[rollip] is in advance of his day and generation, that is the Afrikander generation, which is a long way behind the times. He is feeding cows on green barley, the second cutting from one sowing in the garden; his horses are well fed every day with forage and have a paddock for their especial benefit which obviates the bother of having to send after a horse when one is wanted, which proceeding often wastes valuable time. His stables are the best we have seen out here and the horses that are in use are regularly groomed and properly attended. ....

Mr. T[rollip] asked us to accompany him for a ride this afternoon; we, nothing loth, were soon mounted on the smartest horses we have ridden in the Colony. We rode past the hotel on the neck and down hill the other side on the Grahamstown road for some few miles to another farm house. To show the amount of traffic on this road I may mention that the man who has the looking after the outspan<sup>36</sup> here reports about 400 wagons having outspanned here during the last five or six weeks; this of course is but a proportion of the entire traffic only a small portion of which would outspan at this particular spot.

Whilst talking here a party of Kafirs came up, mostly women and children but comprising some men. This troop numbering perhaps a hundred are reputed to be "loyal" but most of the men have probably been fighting and many of the women may have lost their husbands. They are now in charge of a few native policemen and coming into these districts in search of employment. Opinions differ as to the effects of this general Kaffir immigration, some who have had some of these people declaring that they were never better off for servants and that prior to this the conduct of native servants was becoming intolerable. On the other hand Mr. T[rollip] says that each of these men that are employed as herds will entail a loss of £100 per ann[um] for the first

two or three years in loss and thefts of stock. But to return to this party, they were a motley crowd; men, women, and children dressed in every kind of costume and carrying loads of various household articles. The men were few in proportion to the women and on enquiry declared that they were Oba's people - this we knew at once was a lie for Obas tribe was distributed in various districts some two months ago. They would have found more favor in Mr. T[rollip]'s eyes if they had made a clean breast of it and said they were Sandillis people at once. It is interesting to observe how these natives are treated by Europeans who consider them the curse of the country: so long as the natives are in the position of servants it seems to me they are generally well treated and cases of overbearing harshness, or constant petty tyranny are rare. Here for instance was a party who there is little doubt only a very short time ago were in open rebellion. Finding that game did not pay but resulted in loss instead of gain with attendant risk of life, [they] have made up their minds to come and earn their living by work, of course never meaning to work hard, and probably entertaining ideas of prospective stealing: surely we might expect to find them treated sternly and meet with nothing but hard words and actions as opportunity offered. [When] Mr. T[rollip] asked the little man who looked like a Bushman, who was one of the policemen in charge and was evidently proud of his position. .... a few questions, a few of the party came round and joined in the conversation, frequently bursting out into fits of laughter at something which was said which of course we could not understand, and more than one receiving tobacco out of Mr. T[rollip]'s pouch. They were to camp here for the night so some of them were very soon busy breaking off dead branches of thorn trees for their fires, etc. There were all kinds of clothing to be seen, most of the women had only blankets, some of the men were similarly destitute of European clothing, some had some old garments, some military overcoats. One old man had a

black silk hat with a white pugaree,<sup>37</sup> some of the children had pieces of blanket, some had skins. The loads they were carrying were also interesting, bundles probably containing mealies etc., rolls of matting, iron cooking pots such as in Devonshire are called "croks",<sup>38</sup> calabashes,<sup>39</sup> and the men and boys the indispensable fighting sticks, nearly everything including tin cans etc. was carried on the head except the babies which of course were carried on the back. The[y] did not excite our pity from their miserable physical condition for they mostly looked strong and healthy their bodies looking anything but skin and bone or skin and grief. Neither were they destitute of food for Government is rationing them until they are appropriated to employers, and they had their luxuries for most of them were smoking and the brandy was probably amongst their baggage.

15.VI.78 Saturday. Fine.

Rode up to the post: the party of natives that we saw Thursday have not got much further yet, we met them this morning by the Hotel many of them indulging in "soupes":<sup>40</sup> in addition to their goods mentioned on Thursday we saw they were possessed of several head of cattle and some goats, they made the cattle carry some of their goods, tying weighty bundles just behind their horns.

25.VI.[78] Tuesday. Fine (89th week).

"Preaching". That is the event of to-day an event that recurs about every six weeks and is looked forward to with pleasure. The "preaching" as it is called is held alternately at the houses of Mr. Thos. Trollip and here. Mr. T[homas] T[rollip] and other members of other branches of the family came on horseback and some from Blau Krantz in a cart; the congregation was said to be smaller than usual, yet the parlour was comfortably filled and we had a very nice service. Of

course the congregation having come from some distance were ready after service for dinner and we were a very large party comfortably filling a good long table which was again well filled with dishes etc. etc. After dinner and plenty of smoking (Afrikanders do smoke) some began to move. ....

30.VI.78 Sunday. Fine.

I should have liked some of the weather we are now having here in Grahamstown last winter. We feel it is bracing us up and that besides gaining in weight we are stronger and better for it: thus we hope we shall be able to stand next summer better and not melt away quite so much (tho' there will be more of us to melt). ....

(My Journal has been getting rather behind and as generally happens when this is the case I have forgotten some things. [ On ] June 21, the shortest day, I hope the shortest I shall have for eighteen months, the sun rose on the house about half past eight and set over the hills about five o'clock). ....

1.VII.78 Monday. Fine.

On going out this morning we saw snow on the mountains to the West, the air was quite cold but not too cold. I went a good walk in the morning and soon got warm, in the afternoon rode up to post. By mid-day the sun had melted the snow off all but the highest point which was still quite white. ....

3.VII.78 Wednesday. Fine.

Not satisfied with snow this morning we have seen ice - the dam was covered with a very thin layer of ice but thick enough to catch hold of. The weather continues fine and we enjoy the cold.

For lack of time I have said very little about farming as carried

on here: we are out most of the day and in the evening generally spend [the time] in conversation. Wood fires are very agreeable this weather and we often sit round them. Farming is much more worthy of the name here than in Albany tho' probably there are many in this district as lazy as most there. Mr. T[rollip] is not satisfied with things as they are but is always improving his farm which is a thing rarely thought of below. If Mr. T[rollip] raises his crops on this soil with so little rainfall the Albany farmers ought never to grumble about droughts with the constant springs they have on most farms. Since we have been here a stone wall has been built about fifty yards long simply for shelter for the bucks in the cold rains shortly expected. ....

3.VII.78 Wednesday. Fine.

Went to an adjoining farm belonging to Mr. L. Trollip [River View] to spend a few days. This farm has experienced many drawbacks. Twice the homestead was burnt during Kafir wars and once was washed away in the flood of 1874. The house formerly stood on the other side of the river but has now been rebuilt on this side of the Great Fish River on higher ground where it is not likely to be again washed away. It is not a long walk from Sunnyside [Mr. J. Trollip's farm] especially as it is all down hill, so after posting our English letters at the hotel we walked down. The new house is nicely built of red brick on a good stone foundation, has very large windows and an iron roof. Some trees have been planted in front and when these have grown and the stoep is added this will be a very superior modern farm house. Mr. L. T[rollip] had been out all day seeking some oxen that had gone astray and returned without having found any trace of them. Mrs. L. T[rollip] had been tending some sick turkeys amongst which there had been many deaths lately. Three little children and a baby enliven this household and a bachelor brother also lives here. The children are well behaved and

interesting, a thing worth noting, the baby rarely cries which is also worthy of note. This being a musical family we were treated to a good deal of good music and singing.

4.VII.78 Thursday. Fine.

Those floods of Xmas 74 besides washing away the bridges, washed away a great deal of stock. From this farm alone 950 head of sheep and goats were carried away, the house was overthrown, the furniture (piano and all) went on a voyage and never came back, the fruit trees in the garden were uprooted, iron tanks half full of water went floating about and to make matters worse, for some days no one could swim or get across the river in any way, so great was the rush of water. No wonder if such calamities put the damper on farming enterprise. Since then there have been two droughts, a Kafir war, and a plague of caterpillars!

This afternoon we went [on] a buck hunt, the bucks (rheboks)<sup>41</sup> were sighted grazing on a hill side a good distance off and allowed us leisurely to approach them thro' the bush, then having found a good position and waited for the buck to do likewise several shots were fired in quick succession from the Martini Henry rifles,<sup>42</sup> the animals scampered hither and thither, not seeing where the shots came from or where to run for safety. Charley [Trollip]<sup>43</sup> soon dropped one dead and another appeared to be wounded. The dead one was cleaned, the wounded one traced and killed then both were hung in a bush to be sent for to-morrow.

8.VII.78 Monday (630th day) Fine. Windy.

Returned from River View in the morning. Afternoon rode up for the post. Evening teaching Mr. T[rollip] to play chess.

9.VII.78 Tuesday (91st week) Fine.

Quite a still day, a great contrast to yesterday for when there is any wind about we generally catch it up here. The prevailing winds now are N[orth] W[est]. More English letters. Rode with Mr. T[rollip] to another farm down by the Fish River called Elands Drift tho' there are no Elands<sup>44</sup> near there now. Saw some monkeys<sup>45</sup> Guinea fowl,<sup>46</sup> dassies<sup>47</sup> and some wonderful birds nests. These latter are the largest nests I have ever seen, over a yard in diameter. They are built by a kind of water fowl called hammerkops;<sup>48</sup> are built on a krantz above the bed of the stream and only accessible by a ladder from below or a rope from above. They are neatly worked, covered all over and have the appearance of huge bee-hives with only a small hole near the base. At the farm we saw a pair of breeding ostriches, the male bird with its black and white feathers looks very fine. Weighed this afternoon 151 $\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.

11.VII.78 Thursday. Fine. Windy.

Hair-cutting extraordinary!

If there was no barber in Cradock we have seen plenty of hair dressing and hair cutting out here. Last week we saw hair and wooll dressing [sheep dipping] down at the River and to-day we have witnessed hair cutting by wholesale. I will endeavour to give some idea of the process. A pen encloses about a hundred Angora Goats. Into this pen a door opens, within the door is a long shed. At the farther end of this shed stand two square boxes without lids and standing about four feet high, in front of these boxes, with standing room between, stands a long table on trestles. Along the side of the shed stand some half dozen black boys shearing. As soon as a goat is finished the boy goes to the door, into the pen, selects his next goat, catches it by a horn or a hind leg and drags it into the shed, the goat entertains a great objection to this,

would rather be driven than led this fashion, and tries to dig all four legs (or three if one is held) into the wooden floor; of course its resistance is useless and it is soon brought to its place. Next it has to be placed in position, the most approved position to commence with is to have the animal seated on its tail, the operator then commences from a point between the two fore legs and makes a parting up the under side of the neck, from this parting he works up one side of the neck, then the fore leg and the side of the body and the hind leg; then the other side is done. As soon as all the hair is off, the goat is driven out at the door, his fleece rolled up and put on the table where it is sorted into firsts, seconds and thirds and put in the corresponding boxes. Inside the boxes the bags exactly fit and the hair is tramped down tight by the boys. The "firsts" consist of the long clean hair, "seconds" of shorter or slightly coloured and "thirds" of soiled or stained. Most from these flocks is "firsts" and a good deal as long and some longer than this paper.<sup>49</sup> It is interesting to watch the shearing: the goats are almost invariably silent thro' it, after their resistance in entering the shed they are very passive, but will struggle and sometimes cry out if hurt. Some shearers are of course much quicker than others, the better hands generally took from seven to ten minutes doing one full grown animal, the learners generally tackled the smaller ones. We watched for a long time, there was mostly a quietness only broken by the clip,clip, snip, snip of the shears, or occasionally a few words in Kafir amongst the boys. But the most comical part was to watch the newly shorn goats make their first appearance in their new characters. They come to the door, look at their comrades, then run in amongst them and try to lose themselves in the crowd. But it is of no use, the others press round him, look at him, sniff at him and but him, as if he had been guilty of some great crime. Poor fellow! there was one goat that was a little lame, and had evidently been sent to Coventry<sup>50</sup> by all the

rest, he stood apart all by himself, was more afraid of his own kindred than even of the boys when they came to catch another; if in the scurry that ensued at these times he could not keep out of his companions way, they would run at him like a battering ram or poke him with their horns. I am told they always treat invalids this way and if they cant help them perhaps it is better that they should keep separate and so avoid infection. When all the lot were shorn they presented a striking contrast to what they had looked before: their pretty coats of long hair which almost hung to the ground, were all gone, their silky curls which used to glisten in the sun were gone and their little beards and tails was all the hair they had left. Their bodies were all marked in ridges where the shears had passed along and those who had been shorn by inexperienced hands bore evidences of it by the irregularity of these marks. Rode up to post in the afternoon.

22.VII.78 Monday. Fine.

My birthday. Recieved the good wishes of the good people here - some from home arrived last week. Mrs. T[rollip] made a special pudding. ....

I should have said something ere this about the war being over but my news is necessar[il]y stale. Though officially stated to be over there was another fight last week in which some Fingoes were killed. The Kafirs are not likely to combine in any great mischief again but we may here for some time to come of "little" engagements with small losses. ... The progress of the war has been different to all old colonists expectations. The Europeans have lost less and the Kafirs more lives than in any former wars. The Europeans have captured more cattle and the Kafirs destroyed fewer homesteads than in any former war. More chiefs and men of influence have been either captured, killed or have surrendered than

ever previously and all this has been done in less time. Now it is expected that there will be an extensive campaign against the Zulus and it is generally believed that the Governor will soon go to the Transvaal. The troops are moving that way, more are reported to be coming out. General Thesiger is said to be going and everything indicates that an important step is about to be made. ....

24.VII.78 Wednesday. Fine.

After posting our English letters walked over to Mr. Thos. Trollips "Mount Prospect", the position of which we had so admired on our way up in the wagon. Mr. T[rollip] came from Cradock to-day and by foolishly attempting to mount the post cart whilst it was going let it run over and hurt his foot tho' no bones were broken. One of the girls here is reported to have seen a leopard <sup>51</sup> close by the house this morning and to make quite sure that it was a leopard went up to within fifteen yards of it. Before the sons were out with their guns, he had made off.

25.VII.78 Thursday. Fine.

Walked over to post. English papers. There is a good garden here but the labour in making it must have been immense, for it is on a stony hill side as can well be imagined. Shooting and billiards and dancing are the principal enjoyments at this farm and receive more attention than an English farmer would feel justified in giving them.

*Butler and Wilkie returned to Sunnyside on 27 July 1878.*

29.VII.78 Monday. Fine.

Yesterdays papers brought news of more trials of the rebels. Gongabella is sentenced to death and Umfanta to imprisonment for life. Tini Macomo has also been sentenced to death. [Though] the war is supposed to be over and the amnesty has been proclaimed still there has

been more fighting and a number of rebels seem disinclined to surrender. For this reason a good many people urge the postponement of the day of thanksgiving which has been appointed for Thursday Aug. 1st. Two more trials have excited a good deal of interest and indignation. The first is that of Umhala who was interpreter at the King Williams Town Court. At the beginning of the war he was in communication with the rebels and being suspected by the Government was offered another situation in Capetown which he accepted but subsequently made off and sent in his resignation. He was well educated and kept a diary which was brought in evidence. Nothing very definite could be proved against him, tho' there can be little doubt that he aided the rebels if he did not actually join them. The other case is of a Corporal Jackson<sup>52</sup> (a coloured man) who has been sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment for shooting an armed Kafir. He was sent to surprise natives by night at their fires and, coming to a fire where were two natives, fired and one man was killed. I dont see why he is guilty of anything more than most volunteers and think he is likely to be discharged as public meetings are being held etc. ....

1.VIII.78 Thursday. Fine.

Thanksgiving Day. It seems a pity that this day was fixed for so early a date. Not that there is not plenty to be thankful for, but the war is not absolutely over. Kreli and some leading rebels have not yet been caught, many rebels refuse to come in and give themselves up under the amnesty and another war is going on [on] the Northern Frontier, or rather in and beyond Griqualand West, whilst another still larger campaign seems looming in view in the Transvaal and Zululand. ....

8.VIII.78 Thursday. Fine.

Dagga Boer to Cradock.

It was eight weeks yesterday since we came to this farm, during which time we have much [enjoyed?] ourselves, have been made quite at home and very kindly looked after by Mr. Trollip, have the advantages of good farm diet, riding etc. etc. the result of all which has been that I have gained about five pounds in weight and feel stronger and better than I have hitherto done in the Colony. Mrs. T[rollip] having no children of her own and a large heart, seems to take a pleasure in thus looking after invalids who go to Cradock for their health and we are by no means the first who have been thus kindly cared for her[e] by her. R[obert] W[ilkie] having a desire to turn to farming but uncertain whether he is strong enough for the work, Mr. T[rollip] has offered him a home for the present where he can have a further insight into the work without being compelled to do any. He certainly could not have a better offer so has decided to stay for the present. I, availing myself of the opportunity of returning to Cradock with Mr. Lones in preference to travelling by postcart, bade friends here farewell for the present, receiving at the same time an open invitation to come again at any time. .... Arrived in Cradock about sundown and had tea at Mr. L[one]'s then sought our former lodgings and found Mrs. Saunders had taken another house close by but rather more comfortable than the former. Here I met two Miss Collets (nieces of Mrs. T[rollip]'s) who are staying in town for a few days.

11.VIII.78 Sunday. Fine.

In the afternoon attended the Dutch Church,<sup>53</sup> the interior of which I had not seen before. It is rigidly plain inside, the contrast being rather disappointing when compared with the exterior. The service was conducted entirely in Dutch including a half hours sermon. During the

singing, which was led by a very indifferent organ and no choir, some kept their seats. During prayer more kept their seats but the rest stood as in a Friends meeting. There was the inevitable collection but I think this is the only place I have seen anything but plated plates used for this purpose and also the only time we have observed coppers on the plate. The Dutch spoken by the minister, Rev. Du Plessis, "high" Dutch, is altogether different to what we are accustomed to hear used in common. Mr. Du Plessis has an easy flow of language and it does not grate on the ear as the deep gutturals used in conversation always do. But we learnt more than this for we saw the method of christening Dutch babies. Some of them had been crying lustily, giving good promise of what their throats may one day be capable of, but during the ceremony they behaved on the whole very well. Before the actual christening the parents were called up and standing in a semi-circle received a short address, then the five babies took their turns and the fathers handing the minister a paper with the chosen name written on Mr. Du Plessis touched each little forehead with his wetted finger and thus these babies were baptized. I said there were some coppers in the collection but it must not be inferred from this that the Dutch Ministers fare badly, on the contrary they are better rewarded for their services than the clergymen of any other denomination. Here the minister has the largest garden in the town, which some of his farming congregation will plough and sow for him and in other ways they are constantly making their ministers presents. I was told tho' I can hardly credit it that Mr. Du P[lessis] gets £5 for each baby he christens and some people say that the Dutch are a priest ridden people.

15.VIII.78 Thursday. Fine.

After dinner was much surprised to see R[obert] W[ilkie] who had come in with my horse. I dont know whether I have mentioned that I

bought the horse I rode so often at Dagga Boer from Mr. Trollip for £16. He is a good strong horse and not likely to knock up. He is not a bad animal to look at, is perfectly quiet, comfortable to ride and altogether I have no reason to complain of my bargain. Now I hope to have some riding so long as I stay in Cradock and also be able to go out into the country if opportunity offers.

*Butler met John Collett's daughters at Mrs. Saunders' on 8 Aug. 1878 and again at a Wesleyan fundraising function on 23 August. Three days later he mentioned his plan to visit John Collett's farm Grass Ridge. Butler arrived there on the evening of 26 August in the company of the Rev. Ezekiel Lones who had come to take services.*

27.VIII.78 Tuesday, (98th week) Wet.

Grass Ridge. Once upon a time I suppose there was grass here but now very little is to be seen, there are plenty of bushes but no "bush" as we use the term below [near the coast]. The bushes are short and scrubby and very good for sheep. There is hardly a tree to be seen outside the garden. This is on the whole a level country but intersected with rocky ridges whose tops are covered with large round pitted stones like those at Dagga Boer: with this exception the country is not nearly so burdened with stones as [some] we have seen. The house is a very large one with very large and high rooms. At the back is a broad stoep, beyond, a flower garden which leads into one of the lands beyond which lies the orchard and vineyard, and then the Great Brak River about six miles above its junction with the Great Fish River. After breakfast a welcome rain began to fall which however kept people from coming to "preaching" and so the congregation consisted of only this household. Still this household is a large one, the children number thirteen two of whom are at school in Cradock, one is leading a

bachelors life on an adjoining farm and the rest are at home. Almost due North of this is a mountain known as "Aas Vogels kop" which from this point of view looks exactly like the Lions Hill at Capetown. A little to the West of N. is Doornberg a long table mountain. About West is Tafelberg another smaller table mountain. Mr. Collet's property, consisting of several farms, stretches about an hours ride each side of this, or about sixteen miles in all, and perhaps some four miles wide.

28.VIII.78 Wednesday. Fine.

.... This evening the youngest baby about two months old was christned and named Dudley Templeton. Mr. Lones performed the ceremony, which I had not seen before, after the manner of the Wesleyans. He did not cry during the ceremony but then his thoughtful sisters had warmed the water beforehand.

31.VIII.78 Saturday. Fine.

Did a little writing this morning for the first time since I have been here. All the mornings I seem to be out, after dinner play chess, after tea (3 p.m.) take a walk and read botany with [the] Misses Collet. After supper and reading play chess or have music etc. But the evenings are getting short now as we dont have supper till dark.

1.IX.78 Sunday. Fine.

News was brought down from Dornberg that old Mrs. Whitehead Mrs. Collet's grandmother died this morning. She was very aged and came out with the Settlers in 1820. Had family service this morning and reading as usual in the evening.

17.IX.78 Tuesday. Fine.

Out all day for a long drive round amongst the neighbours with Mr. C[ollett]. First over the flats, .... passed three troops of ostriches, over fifty birds in one troop. Then on to an old Dutchmans generally known as Ni Klass (I presume Nicolas) but who calls himself old Skense<sup>54</sup> his real name being Finnera. He has a nice farm and a splendid lot of fruit trees but his house is a wretched tumble down affair. It has consisted of four rooms but the roof having given way in one half he lives in two rooms. The one into which we were shown had a hole each side with a wooden shutter but no glass, the furniture was scanty and shaky, the floor mud (but that is common). Old Skanse asked us to be seated, tried hard to get me to talk to him in Dutch, offered me his tobacco bag. Presently he took off his hat which he had till now kept on, fumbled a pocket comb out of his pocket and commenced combing his hair; his scalp seemed very loose and he had a horrid way of drawing it down over his forehead, a performance which he thought very amusing.

We had outspanned here and without any ceremony soon left the old gentleman and went to his sons house close by. There are two sons and 1 son in law living on the place and waiting for the old man to die when the property will be divided. Without any introduction I shook hands with this Dutchman and his wife who were having dinner and soon we were asked to sit up to table where plates were put before us. Of course I waited to be served but being exhorted by Mr. C[ollett] to help myself took some mutton and pumpkin. The first was tolerable, the second not more to my taste than pumpkins generally are, but with some nice bread and some milk we fared fairly. Then there was the returning of thanks which took me by surprise and if "much speaking" is of any avail we had it. After dinner there was a (to me) tedious conversation intermixed with copious supplies of loud laughter all in Dutch - then an

inspection of some rams, and coffee - coffee first at the son in laws house which I had supposed from its external appearance was a Hottentots, or an outside kitchen belonging to the modest house wherein we had partaken of dinner. This could hardly be called even a cottage; it was a hut of an oblong shape to enter which we were obliged to stoop. We ... shook hands with the lady of the house and with the little girls who came up and presented their hands seriatim. This routine performance of shaking hands Dutch fashion is not in any way a hearty affair indicative of the slightest warmth of feeling but a mere conventional ceremony. The interior of this hut was partly partitioned by a mat to make bedroom and dining room and everything else. The coffee here was better than I had expected and as soon as we had taken it we adjourned to the other house and had some more which was not quite as good. Then we inspanned and I was glad to get away for apart from the study of human nature there was little pleasure for me in such company. ....

26.IX.78 Thursday. Fine.

A smouse,<sup>55</sup> that is to say a pedlar, drove up here last night and had to be accomodated, this morning he showed his goods: those that I was a judge of he was asking twice the value for. Mr. C[ollett] brought out Owen and Emma C[ollett] from school for the Michlemas holidays, also two of Mr. Wm. Colletts and one of Mrs. Greys children. Being a largish party had a very lively and jolly evening.

27.IX.78 Friday. Fine.

Got up at sunrise to have a good game of croquet before breakfast. At last I was to leave Grass Ridge. After a very much enjoyed months visit there was the reluctant parting. But the best of friends must part and I must be very thankful for the privilege of having such a spell at such a nice place with such nice company and other pleasures.

*Butler set off from Grass Ridge on his horse on 27 Oct. 1878. On 30 October he arrived at Riet Vlei, the farm belonging to William Collett, where he spent three days.*

3.X.78 Thursday. Fine. Tafelberg .....

Said goodbye to Mr. Wm. C[ollett] and family after a very pleasant sojourn of three days. Mr. C[ollett] accompaniaed me to the celebrated farm Tavelberg and introduced me to Mr. Distin. Tavelberg signifies Table mountain and this mountain from its shape can be recognised from a long distance. I am getting quite expert at knowing my road by the configuration of the hills and have now more confidence in myself for keeping myself in the right way. This may truly be called a model farm and on a very extensive scale. There is no ground for complaining that nothing has been done here in the work of subduing the wilderness and reclaiming it from its native wildness. Mr. D[istin] has spent thousands of pounds in various works on his property, but I fear the money has not all been judiciously spent and consequently does not yield such a large return as it might have done. Still one cannot but admire the enterprise of the man, for enterprise is a commodity that is sadly lacking in this country. .... On nearing the farm which is at the foot of the mountain we are first struck with the number of straight well-built walls joining each other and forming ostrich camps. Mr. D[istin] has about 500 ostriches and at a late sale some of his birds fetched about £300 per pair. He has a good water mill and extensive lands but the latter are not now worked for want of water. His stable is about the best I have seen in the Colony and of course his horses are well groomed. He has a Syrian jackass<sup>56</sup> that does a lot of work in drawing food etc. to the ostrich camps. But the piece of work that surprised and pleased me most was the dam. The dam wall is 600 feet long and is stretched between two kopjes<sup>57</sup> so that an

immense amount of water is held and the overflow is allowed to find its way out between two more kopjes a long way back. By this means so long as the dam wall is strong enough to resist the dead pressure of the water it is safe, for there is no fear of the flood water washing it away. The wall is well built or rather made and is in places forty feet high. In making this embankment the earth was carried in carts drawn by oxen and the tramping of these made the bank much firmer than it otherwise could have been. The inside of the wall is lined with stone and cement and the outside with loose stone. There is now only a little water in store but when full it must be like a small lake and quite large enough for good boating. No Kafir huts are to be seen on this farm for all the servants, black as well as white, are provided with little square-built rooms which are furnished with table, chair, box etc. The appearance of the number of these little white houses is more like a small hamlet in the distance than anything I have seen. Mr. D[istin] claims for this plan that he has more control of his servants. "It is to my interest" he says, and because his servants feel more attached to the place, a very important consideration, there is not the waste of time with every family engaged in building huts, and he says his servants are also healthier and better able to do their work. I have not heard of any one else trying this civilising process so it would be hard to say how beneficial the effect might be if the plan were more generally adopted. The farm house, Tavelberg Hall, is a large one, and stretched the length of the long dining room is a large punkah.<sup>58</sup> I could well have spent a longer time at this interesting place where in contrast to the generality there was so much to see, but I was eager to get on. .... So, reluctantly declining my hosts invitation to stay a few days, I started off at half past four towards Cradock. ....

Footnotes

SECTION 5

1. See fn. 49 p 268.

2. Hell Poort

Hell Poort was the name of a pass between Grahamstown and Carlisle Bridge. A sharp engagement between colonial and Xhosa forces happened there during the frontier war of 1846.

- K.S. Hunt: 'Skirmish at Hell Poort'; in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society 1975  
Vol.2 No.1 p 62.

3. Carlisle Bridge

The Carlisle bridge was built at the site of a drift on the Fish River named Espach's Drift, after the farmer whose land bordered on the river there. The bridge itself was named after Frederick Carlisle, Deputy Sheriff of Albany, who had died on 13 June 1863, a month before the new bridge was completed in July 1863.

The bridge was built under the direction of the Chief Officer of Roads of the Cape government. Situated as it was on the main road to the interior the Carlisle bridge carried much traffic including agricultural produce and machinery for the diamond mines.

In the floods of December 1874 the superstructures of several bridges, including the Carlisle, were washed away. The stone piers remained. Carlisle bridge was rebuilt and repairs were completed in 1876. The bridge was washed away again in 1932. In recent years a new bridge has been built.

- K.S. Hunt: "Carlisle Bridge" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society 1975 Vol.2 No.1  
p 58-61.

4. Thorn tree

"Thorn tree" is one of the common names given to several indigenous species of the genus Acacia, family Leguminosae, sub-family Mimosoideae. "Thorn" may be combined with a qualifying word, as in sweet-thorn (Acacia karroo) or camel-thorn (A. giraffae). The name acacia comes from a Greek word meaning spiny or sharp. All the indigenous acacias, about forty species, have sharp thorns. The genus includes over 700 species which occur mainly in Africa

and Australia.

Some species produce gum which is used commercially for sweet-making and in adhesives. The bark is used in tanning and the timber for fencing. Some Australian species, notably the Port Jackson Willow (*A. cyanophylla*) which was introduced into South Africa c.1845 as a sand binder, have become noxious weeds.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.1 p 10-11.

5. Riem

A leather thong used for a variety of purposes in place of rope. The word was originally Dutch: riem, strap.

- Branford: Dictionary p 200-201

6. Disselboom

The shaft of an ox-wagon to which the trektou or drawing rope is attached. The disselboom and trektou together carry the yokes for the oxen which pull the wagon.

- Branford: Dictionary p 56, 262-263.

7. Springboks

The springbuck *Antidorcas marsupialis* is a medium sized gazelle which is bright rufous fawn in colour with a broad band of dark brown along the flanks. The underparts and head are white. When the animal is excited it raises a crest of long white hairs along its back.

The springbuck is the only gazelle found south of the Zambezi. It is the national and sporting emblem of South Africa. Very large herds used to live on the dry open plains but numbers have been much reduced by the development of farming and by overshooting.

- J. Dorst and P. Dandelot; A Field Guide to the Larger Mammals of Africa London 1970 p 240 (colour plate) p 248-249.

8. "Herd" = herdboy

Traditionally the task of young black boys is to look after the cattle belonging to their family.

- Branford: Dictionary p 87-88

9. One man ...

The man mentioned by Butler was Johan Godfried Schlemmer, a German who had arrived in the Bedford district in September 1874 and had hired a farm from William Trollip of Daggaboersnek (see biographical index). Less than two years later Schlemmer became owner of the Daggaboersnek hotel and store.

On 16 March 1878 he swore before a J.P. in Bedford that he owned a capital sum of £1000. On investigation this turned out to be false and his debts were uncovered. A special trustee, John Edward Green of Cradock, was appointed by Judge Smith (see biographical index) on 18 March. Schlemmer left Daggaboersnek.

He was accused of perjury, fraudulent insolvency and culpable insolvency. His case came before the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in Cradock on several occasions between April and September 1878. His liabilities amounted to over £20,000, largely due to land speculation. Schlemmer was found guilty. His estate, including farms, movable property and stock were advertised for sale by auction on various dates between August and October 1878.

- The Cradock Register 16 June 1876, 26 April 1878, 9, 13, 16, 30 Aug. 1878, 4, 25 Oct. 1878.

10. Zuurveldt

The area between the Sundays and the Fish Rivers was known as the Zuurveld. This frontier zone was the place where the British Settlers of 1820 were located and was the scene of six of the nine frontier wars. Botanically zuur veld, a particular kind of pasture, extends westwards to Uitenhage and Humansdorp.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.11 p 609.

11. Cypress

There are three tree species indigenous to South Africa which belong to the genus Widdringtonia which is part of the cypress family (Cupressaceae):

- (a) Clanwilliam cedar, W. cedarbergensis
- (b) Willowmore cedar, W. schwarzii
- (c) Mountain cypress, W. cupressoides

They are all found only in certain specific mountainous areas. The Churchyard or Pencil cypress Cupressus sempervirens, the variety called stricta, is a Mediterranean tree with a tall columnar crown, flattened branchlets and scale-like leaves. Pencil cypresses are grown for shelter and ornament and are extensively planted in cemeteries throughout South Africa. Probably this was the kind that Butler saw.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.3 p 538; Vol.11 p 432-433.
- W.F.E. Immelman, C.L. Wicht and D.P. Ackerman:  
Our Green Heritage Cape Town 1973 p 131-132.

12. Two brothers

Henry and Edward Trollip, the sons of William Trollip of Daggaboersnek were killed in an ambush on 31 Dec. 1851. Edward, aged 19, was unmarried; Henry, aged 27, left a wife and three children. The young men were buried in the cemetery at Daggaboersnek.

- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa Pietermaritzburg, 1971, p 58-62.

13. Skoff

A skof is a stage or lap of a journey. The term is Afrikaans, from the Dutch schoft, three hours work.

- Branford: Dictionary p 221

14. See fn. 21 p 314.

15. Photographer

Several photographers practised in Cradock in the 1860's and 1870's. One of the earliest studios was that of James Hensley who advertised in The Cradock and Tarkastad Register on 20 Oct. 1863. Hensley's establishment was taken over by J.M. Munro in 1866 who sold it to Arthur E. Austen in 1868. Austen also practised as a chemist and druggist. In 1875 the photographer G.M. Kemp advertised his studio next to Garrett Brown's stores.

- M. Bull and J. Denfield: Secure the Shadow Cape Town 1970 p 79, 223-224, 233-234, 241.
- The Cradock Register 7 July 1876, 1 Dec. 1876.

16. See fn. 2 p 134.
17. See fn. 12 p 141.
18. See fn. 11 p 312.
19. Pines

The genus Pinus is the largest of the 35 genera of the family Pinaceae. The genus is divided into two main groups the Haploxy-  
lon or soft pines and the Diploxy-  
lon or hard pines, the latter being economically more important. Hard pine timber has a variety of industrial uses from building construction to paper pulp. Some species of pine are used in the making of turpentine, pitch, charcoal and lampblack.

There are no indigenous pines in South Africa but several species are easily grown and some have become naturalised, e.g. P. pinaster, which with P. radiata is the commonest species in plantations in the Eastern Cape.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.8 p 577-578.

20. Orange

Several species of orange trees are grown in South Africa. The fruit of the sour orange tree, Citrus aurantium, is used for making marmalade while the sweet orange, Citrus sinensis, provides the familiar fruit and juice. The orange tree seems to have originated on the northern frontier of India where wild oranges are still found.

- S.E.S.A. Vol. 8 p 342

- The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1971 Vol.1 p 2001.

21. Cradock Dutch Reformed Church

The first Dutch Reformed Church in Cradock was built in the early 1820's on the site of the present church. In 1826 the future President Paul Kruger of the Transvaal was baptised there.

By 1862 the congregation had increased so much that a larger church was needed. A Building Committee was formed under the chairmanship of the minister, the Rev. Jan Hendrik Jacobus du Plessis

(see biographical index). A prize for the best plan was offered by the Church Council and won by the Cape Town architects Welchman and Read.

The new church was opened on 10 Sept. 1868. It was a large stone building, neo-classical in style, with yellow-wood floors and olive-tinted windows. The cost exceeded £24,500. A clock made by H.C. Galpin of Grahamstown was installed in the tower in 1870. The church is still a landmark of the town.

- G.T.J. 18 Sept. 1868

## 22. Tarka

Tarka was a black race horse sired by Bismarck out of Effie. He was bought as a yearling by Mr. G. Bekker, a Cradock horse-owner, from Mr. Alexander van der Byl of "Nachtwacht" near Cape Town from whose stables he came. He was a strong, solidly built animal of about 15.3 hands. He won the Cape Town Metropolitan Cup in 1877 but lost the Cradock Gold Cup to Donnybrook at the Cradock race meeting in 1877. However he won the Cradock Gold Cup at the Cradock race meeting on 19 June 1878 by an easy four lengths from Hantam Belle (second) and Donnybrook (third). At the time he was four years old. He won over £300 for his owner.

- The Cradock Register 31 May 1878, 21 June 1878,  
2 July 1878.

## 23. Gilfillan Bridge

The need for a bridge across the Fish River at Cradock in place of the ford there had been expressed in the 1840's. Twenty years later in August 1868 an iron lattice girder bridge was completed, financed partly by the Municipal Commissioners and citizens of Cradock, and partly by the Divisional Council.

The floods of December 1874 washed the bridge away and further damage to its supports occurred in April 1875. Reconstruction and repairs were carried out by the contractors Messrs. Hallyburton and Drysdale and the bridge was reopened to traffic in December 1876.

Gilfillan bridge was named after William Gilfillan, the first Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Cradock, who was appointed in June 1836.

- D. Smith (ed.): Cradock 1814-1964, 150th Anniversary Brochure, Cradock, 1964, p 67, 73, 81-83.
- H.C. Hopkins: Die Ned. Geref. Kerk, Cradock, 1818-1968, Cape Town, 1968, p 49.
- G.T.J. 31 Aug. 1868
- The Cradock Register 23 June 1876, 29 Sept. 1876, 6, 17 Nov. 1876, 15 Dec. 1876.

#### 24. Watchmaker

Possibly Mr. H. Timmler, watchmaker and jeweller of Stockenström Street, Cradock, who advertised in The Cradock Register in 1876.

- The Cradock Register 3 March 1876.

#### 25. Smouser = smous

A smous was an itinerant pedlar, often Jewish, who travelled round farms hawking various goods. The word was originally Dutch, a term of abuse applied to Jews.

- Branford: Dictionary p 226.

#### 26. Verge watches

Clocks and timepieces in the late middle ages were driven by falling weights, the rate of the fall regulated by a mechanism called a verge escapement. The verge escapement mechanism was adapted for use in the first portable timepieces which appeared about 1500. Early verge watches were large, about 4-5 inches in diameter and about 3 inches deep but smaller ones were made once technical improvements became available. By the mid-nineteenth century the verge escapement was obsolete.

- Encyclopaedia Britannica; Micropaedia, 15th edition Chicago 1979 Vol.II p 1003.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica; Macropaedia, 15th edition Chicago 1979 Vol.4 p 743-750, including a diagram p 744.

27. Diamond Fields Light Horse

The Diamond Fields Horse was a volunteer unit formed in Kimberley in 1878. The corps was sent to the Transvaal to fight against the Bapedi, but returned without firing a shot. A contingent of the Diamond Fields Horse, about 50 men, led by Colonel Warren, fought in the campaign in the Amatolas during the frontier war of 1877-1878. Two of their officers were killed there.

After their return to Kimberley the Diamond Fields Horse fought against the Griqualand West rebels in 1878-1879.

- J.T. McNish: The Glittering Road Cape Town 1970 p 91.
- G.T.J. 18, 22 March 1878.
- E.S. 4 March 1879.
- A.N. White: The Stockenstrom Judgement, the Warren Report and the Griqualand West Rebellion, 1876-1878 Unpublished M.A. thesis Rhodes University 1977 p 103-123.

28. Blind Man's Buff

One player is blindfolded and has to catch the other players or guess by touch who they are. A version of the game called "The Brazen Fly" was played in classical times and "Hoodman Blind" is illustrated in mediaeval manuscripts. In the nineteenth century adults played blind man's buff. Modern versions lack the rough buffeting of the mediaeval game.

- I. and P. Opie: Children's Games in Street and Playground Oxford 1969 p 117-120.

## 29. See fn. 18 p 260.

30. The Cradock Register

The local newspaper in Cradock was published under various names from 1858 to 1899. The first issue of The Cradock News appeared on 5 Jan. 1858. As The Cradock Register it was published weekly except for two periods (1859-1862 and 1881-1899) when two issues a week were produced. The Cradock Register ceased publication on 29 Dec. 1899.

- State Library: A List of South African Newspapers 1800-1982 Pretoria 1983 p 29.

31. Prickly Pear

Several species of the genus Opuntia of the Cactaceae family, the prickly pears, have become naturalised in South Africa. Prickly pears come from America. They have large fleshy jointed stems, often called leaves, on which are scattered cavities containing brown bristles or spines. Flowers and succulent fruit are borne on the margins of these 'leaves'. Common species are O. megacantha and O. ficus indica the 'boere-turksvy'. Prickly pears are regarded as noxious weeds. They may be controlled by the introduction of the cochineal insect, a prickly pear parasite.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.9 p 123.

32. See fn.2 p 134.

33. See fn. 11 p 312.

34. See fn. 7 p 196.

35. See fn. 20 p 314.

36. Outspan

An outspan was an area where travellers by ox-wagon and the oxen of the wagon team could rest. Grazing and usually water were available for the animals.

- Branford: Dictionary p 175-176.

37. Pugaree = puggree, puggaree

A puggree is a light turban worn by Indians or a thin muslin or silk scarf wound round the crown of a hat or helmet and falling down at the back as a shade.

- The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1971 Vol.II p 2353

38. "Croks" = crocks

In south western England a crock is a pot of iron or other metal. The West Somerset Word-book of 1888 describes a crock as a "cast-iron cooking-pot" with "a loose bow-handle ... and three little legs". Cf. kaffir pot, a round lidded iron pot on

three legs used for cooking on an open fire.

- Branford: Dictionary p 108-109.
- The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1971 Vol.I p 606.

39. See fn. 29 p 206.

40. See fn. 21 p 261.

41. Rheboks

The Vaal or Grey Rhebuck Pelea capreolus is a small antelope which is also known as the Reebok, Rhebuck or Ribbok. It may be confused with the mountain Reebuck Redunca fulvorufula or the Southern Reebuck Redunca arundinum, both of which look similar.

The Vaal Rhebuck is brownish grey in colour with a short bushy tail, straight horns and a shiny black snout. It lives on grassy hills south of the Tropic of Capricorn in family parties of about twelve animals. Rams may be aggressive.

- J. Dorst and P. Dandelot: A Field Guide to the Larger Mammals of Africa London 1970 p 217-218 p 193 (colour plate).
- S.E.S.A. Vol.9 p 267-268, 340.

42. Martini-Henry

The Martini-Henry rifle was a breech-loaded firearm, which was produced for the British army in 1871. The Martini-Henry combined the bolt action device invented by the Austrian Friedrich von Martini with the seven-grooved rifle barrel, bore diameter .45, designed by the Scottish gunsmith Alexander Henry. It was safer than earlier rifles and used metal-clad bullets.

The military weapon was large: 4 ft. (1,22 m.) long, and weighed 8 lbs. 10 oz. (nearly 4 kgs.) Several adaptations of the Martini-Henry were produced as hunting weapons in the 1870's and 1880's. They were popular for hunting elephant. The Martini-Henry marked the first stage in the development of the modern hunting rifle.

- Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia, 15th edition, Chicago 1979 Vol.VIII p 583.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia, 15th edition, Chicago 1979 Vol.16 p 702-704.

- F.V. Lategan: Die Boer se Roer Cape Town 1974  
p 57-58, 95, 159-160.
- J. Quick: Dictionary of Weapons and Military Terms  
New York 1973 p 295.

43- Charley

Charley was Charles Percy Trollip the brother of Louis Henry Trollip (see biographical index).

44- Elands

The Cape or Livingstone's Eland, Taurotragus oryx, is the largest South African antelope which may weigh as much as 900 kgs. It is tawny or fawn in colour with a white chevron on the forehead. The ears are narrow and pointed, the tail long and tufted. It has a heavy dewlap on the throat, a brown mane and massive horns, the basal half of which are partly spiralled.

The eland is a gregarious, unaggressive, ox-like animal. It can live without water for long periods. Elands used to be common, but, due to excessive hunting, are now restricted to parts of Natal, the Transvaal and South West Africa.

- J. Dorst and P. Dandelot: A Field Guide to the Larger Mammals of Africa London 1970  
p 187, p 177 (colour plate).
- S.E.S.A. Vol.4 p 262.

45. Monkeys

The commonest South African monkey is the Vervet, Cercopithecus aethiops, which lives in woodlands and savannas. The vervet has a grey body, black face and white brow band, white underparts and a long tail. Vervets are diurnal and gregarious. They eat fruit, seeds and insects. They can be very destructive to crops.

The Samango monkey, Cercopithecus mitis labiatus, is a rarer forest species which was hunted for its skin and is now protected.

- J. Dorst and P. Dandelot: A Field Guide to the Larger Mammals of Africa London 1970  
p 66, 71-73.
- S.E.S.A. Vol.7 p 515-517.

46. Guinea fowl

The Crowned Guinea-fowl or Tarentaal, Numida meleagris, is a common species of thorny scrub and grass land. The crowned guinea fowl is a large speckled brown bird with a casque on its head. It feeds on seeds, bulbs and insects. Flocks of several hundred have been recorded.

- G.R. McLachlan and R. Liversidge (revisers):  
Roberts Birds of South Africa Cape Town 1978,  
4th edition, p 135, p 129 (colour plate)

47. Dassies

Dassies or rock-rabbits form an order of their own, the Hyra-coidea. They are small robust animals which look like large guinea pigs. They have no tail. Their legs are short, their feet have padded soles which help them to climb the rocks where they live. Colonies of up to 60 individuals are not uncommon. The rock dassie, Procavia capensis, has a coat of yellowish or greyish brown fur with a black patch on its back. Dassies eat grass, berries and leaves and like to sun themselves on rocks.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.9 p 387-388.
- J. Dorst and P. Dandelot: A Field Guide to the Larger Mammals of Africa London 1970 p 152-153, 224 (colour plate).

48. Hammerkop

The Hamerkop, Scopus umbretta, is a large brown bird with a crest, which together with its bill gives the illusion of a hammer shape. The Hamerkop is widely distributed throughout southern Africa. It eats insects, fish, worms and small creatures that it disturbs in the mud of rivers and vleis.

The nest, which takes about six months to build, is a hollow dome made of sticks and debris with a concealed entrance from below. Nests may be taken over by barn owls or bees. 3-6 white eggs are laid.

- G.R. McLachlan and R. Liversidge (revisers):  
Roberts Birds of South Africa Cape Town 1978,  
4th edition, p 45, 49 (colour plate).

49. Longer than this paper ...

The length of the paper Butler wrote on was 20,4 cms.

50. Sent to Coventry

To send someone to Coventry means to take no notice of him and thus make him feel he is in disgrace. Brewer suggests that in the seventeenth century soldiers were so much disliked by the citizens of Coventry that anyone who spoke to a soldier was tabooed or cut off from social intercourse. Brewer quotes Clarendon's assertion that in the Civil War Royalist prisoners were sent to Coventry, which was a Parliamentary stronghold.

- J.H. Evans (reviser): Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable 2nd (revised) edition London 1981 p 282.

51. Leopard

The Leopard, Panthera pardus, is a large and elegantly shaped cat with a tawny coat marked with black spots in the form of "rosettes", and a long, spotted tail. Leopards are solitary except during the mating season. They hunt at night and sleep, often in trees, during the day. They prey on both wild and domestic animals and help to control those which damage crops, such as baboons.

- J. Dorst and P. Dandelot: A Field Guide to the Larger Mammals of Africa, London, 1970, p 140 (colour plate), p 144-145.

52. Corporal Jackson

Corporal Charlie Jackson was a Volunteer who had been sentenced by Judge Dwyer in July 1878 to 15 years imprisonment for shooting a black man called Mpsmovani. The incident happened during the war of 1877-1878. Jackson was on patrol at the time. The Judge condemned Jackson for shooting a sleeping man instead of capturing him.

In Cradock an "indignation meeting" was held on 26 July 1878 to protest against the sentence passed on Jackson. The judgement in the Jackson case seemed to question the legitimacy of all deaths inflicted by volunteers in the course of the campaigns of 1877-1878.

- The Cradock Register 26 July 1878, 2 Aug.1878.

53. See fn 21, p 314.

54. Old Skense

Possibly Finnera had in mind the Afrikaans word skans from the Dutch schans, breastwork or redoubt. A skans meant a defensive barricade of stones, earth or bushes.

A search was made for biographical information on Finnera without result.

- Branford: Dictionary p 212, 219.

55. See fn 25 p 316.

56. Syrian jackass

The Syrian Wild Ass, Equus hemionus hemippus is a dun coloured animal which stands about 4 ft. high at the withers. It is now rare and possibly extinct.

In 1876 The Cradock Register announced that John Distin intended to breed mules. Two years later Distin offered for sale an imported "Spanish Jackass" described as blue grey in colour. This animal may have been a Tarpan, Equus caballus, a wild horse of the Russian steppes which became extinct in the 1890's.

- Léon Bertin et al.: Larousse Encyclopaedia of Animal Life London 1967 p 585.

- The Cradock Register 6 May 1876, 7 June 1878.

- F.H. van den Brink: A Field Guide to the Mammals of Britain and Europe 4th edition London 1976 p 151,141 (colour plate).

57. Kopjes

A kopje is a small hill. The word is Dutch; the Afrikaans form is koppie.

- Branford: Dictionary p 124-125.

58. Punkah

A punkah is a large swinging fan on a rectangular frame hung from the ceiling and worked by pulling a cord.

- The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1971 Vol.II p 2360.

SECTION 6

Cradock - Grahamstown

22 Oct. 1878 - 14 April 1879

*Butler left Cradock for Grahamstown early on the morning of 15 October 1878 on horseback. He spent a few days with the Trollips at Daggaboer on the way and rode into Grahamstown on the afternoon of the 22 October 1878.*

22.X.78 Tuesday. Fine.

.... Across the Grahamstown Flats and down the old Cradock road that I had often been over before I was soon in the city. From the top of the flat Grahamstown appears an immense place after my experience of up country towns. Near the town there is something fresh in the way of railway works and it does one good to see progress in this direction tho' there is not much likelihood of its being completed for six or nine months to come. Arrived in town the first thing to be looked after was the post but found it closed, then rode up to Mrs. Passmores, saw to feeding my horse and went down and spent the evening at Mr. Galpins.

I have enjoyed my ride very much and got on better than I had expected. I have been over six hours in the saddle both yesterday and to-day and feel none the worse for it. I have not lost myself or met with any accident by the way. So far so good. The awkward part of travelling in this way is the difficulty of luggage. My valise which is affixed to my saddle weighs when packed about seven pounds and contains macintosh, leggings, change of linen (or rather of flannel), writing paper, camphor pillules,<sup>1</sup> bible, text book,<sup>2</sup> tooth brush and I think that is about all.

23.X.78 Wednesday. Fine.

I had hoped to have seen something green in Grahamstown and that the hills around would have refreshed my eyes but it is not so. Everything looks dried up and scorched; the trees in the town are still holding out wonderfully but the gardens are suffering sadly. Meat is poor

and tough, butter is scarce, expensive and not nice. Vegetables are few and dear. Potatoes are being imported from England and potted peas etc. are regularly used. The drought is still very severe on the land and what makes it worse, it is very general. The Queenstown district is said to be in a terrible state, I have seen the country up to Middle-berg, and there, here and everywhere, the country seems to be getting into a deplorable condition. On meeting anyone, one of the first questions asked is "How does the country look up where you have been" and next about the latest rage - ostriches. These birds are doing a great deal to save the country from bankruptcy which would become very general were it not that so many have been able to make some money in this way. About a hundred birds were to be sold to-day so I went to the sale. The highest price realised for a pair of breeding birds was £154, not at all a good price. Made a number of calls and met a good many people about town whose unanimous testimony was that I was looking wonderfully better, in fact altogether different to when in town before. Called on Mr. Impey in the afternoon, both he and Mrs. Impey look very poorly and seem to feel their position or loss of their former position in the Wesleyan Church and the town very deeply. Took tea and spent the evening at the Knowles'.

25.X.78 Friday. Fine.

The intellectual taste of Grahamstown may be gauged by the books they read or don't read. I wanted a book on botany for some friends up country so tried every store in town but without success - neither could I get a book on butterflies, sketching, astronomy, or anything of a sort. There was no lack of books of a sort but the larger portions of most stocks consisted of novels, then school books, then hymn books etc. and then a few poetry and other books. Got a good batch of home news by the English mail due here this morning. Postal arrangements must

be improving for the English mail is now kept open till five o'clock Thursday afternoons. Made more calls including on A[lfred] Alexander who has just returned from a trip round Queenstown and King Williams Town. He does not seem very well. I expect his knocking about in the post cart is not as healthy exercise as mine on horseback. Still he seems to be doing some business and getting a few fair orders. At present he has not decided whether to settle here or at Queenstown. At the latter there seem to be better prospects of business. Spent the evening at the Copelands.

26.X.78 Saturday. Fine.

.... Afternoon rode out with Mr. Barrit to have a look at the railway works. The Cradock road has been diverted and where the line crosses a little valley the embankment is being made specially to serve as a reservoir wall<sup>3</sup> so that Grahamstown will be rather better off for its water supply. At Waai Nek the tunnelling is progressing, a good part of it is cleared out to its full size and part of it is already bricked in and the work appears to be well done. Beyond the tunnelling the work is also getting forward but the earliest that the line is now expected to be open into Grahamstown is August next. It may be opened to about twelve miles from town in March or April. Out here the country seems languidly trying to look a little greener but it is a very sorry attempt. Spent the evening with the Galpins and was much interested in testing the performance of the telephone<sup>4</sup> and microphone,<sup>5</sup> neither of which I had seen before - they are indeed wonderful inventions.

29.X.78 Tuesday. Fine. (107th week).

Grahamstown to Fish River Randt. *Butler's ride back to Cradock.*

I had intended leaving Grahamstown early but the high wind and clouds kept me back. However it cleared up after breakfast, the wind

dropped and I got ready to start. Made one or two calls and got fairly off by about a quarter to eleven. Kept on my solitary way for about two hours when a cart with [friends from] Grahamstown came up with me and we rode into Hell Poort<sup>6</sup> in company about one o'clock. A poor excuse for a dinner, a bundle of forage for the horse and we were off again in little over an hour, our friends in the cart having a start. Nearly two hours more brought us to Carlisle Bridge<sup>7</sup> where I joined my friends at another meal of a more substantial kind. Off again just about five for another fourteen miles up the Fish River Randt which we accomplished in just over two hours, having put forty-one miles between Grahamstown and us. ....

30.X.78 Wednesday. Fine.

Up at five, but did not leave the hotel till quarter past six. Some others who were going the same road tried a number of shots at springboks<sup>8</sup> but killed none. These pretty bucks were not in the same numbers as we saw on our way up in the wagon over the same flat.....

*Butler continued his ride via Cookhouse Bridge and Somerset East. He tried a short cut through the mountains above Somerset East.*

31.X.78 Thursday. Fine.

.... Including rests for the horse and "admiring the scenery" the ascent took altogether about an hour and a half and then our view was a very extensive one, tho' alas over very dreary country. Whatever the country may look like after plenty of rain it now looks just like a desert; from the town itself [Somerset East] right away to the mountains of the Zuurberg range there is not a green spot to be seen but a vast expanse of a reddish brown, with about two roads distinctly traceable by their whiter colour, these are the Bay [Port Elizabeth] and

Graaf Reinet roads .....

.... By coming this short cut I missed a little stream where I had intended to off-saddle and eat the tiffin<sup>9</sup> I had happily been thoughtful enough to bring with me from the hotel. But missing this I kept on and on down hoping to reach some more [water?]. The path if path it might be called was very rough and stony, in many places it was like going down high steps. I [had] dismounted because of the [rough?] way two or three times on the ascent but here had to lead my horse a considerable distance and even then found it slow and difficult work. I was now descending into a beautiful valley called Glenavon, a deep kloof with thick bush on my left, a stony ridge on my immediate right, further to the left the valley ran up as is called here a hoek.<sup>10</sup> Below there was a large dam full of water, some houses, extensive lands beautifully green and surrounded by trees and beyond more hills and a road climbing up and over one, over which road I had been told I should have to go. The way down to the water seemed long and rough so, much as Moscow<sup>11</sup> and I wanted it we decided to off-saddle and have a rest. So we off saddled and [I] knee-haltered<sup>12</sup> Moscow, hung up my saddle in a shrivelled up old thorn tree<sup>13</sup> to have a little shade for my head and "sprawled". I could have gone asleep and had a nap but being yet rather green at travelling thought perhaps Moscow might stray and so kept myself awake.

.... After an hours rest saddled up again and again descended, about half an hour brought us to the water we had been able to see and long for so long. I jumped off, the horse seemed eager to drink and I laid down at full length and drank copiously of the water which was very good.

.... Mistaking my instructions I followed a pretty and good road until I fully satisfied myself that I must be wrong and then retraced my steps having wasted a valuable half hour. Tried another road which I was

soon assured to be the right one and after a good canter over a flat had to do another long climb over another bad road, over a nek<sup>14</sup> and then down another beautiful glen which narrowed as it went. Geologists sometimes get eloquent in describing what must have happened to produce certain conformations of the land but I could readily imagine what may have happened here for I have not often seen a valley that has every appearance of being formed by a sudden rift of the rocks. A fine white krantz<sup>15</sup> extended along one side of the glen for an immense distance and there must have been another [krantz] underneath me on my side for I was looking down right on to the bed of a stream right underneath. ....

.... It was now something past six and the sun just down, so, having another good drink where we crossed the stream at a drift, we pushed on over a poor path which I once lost but was not long in finding again; then we found a road of some sort which Moscow saw and followed better than I could have done and he cantered along as if he had just come out of the stable instead of having done the hardest days work I have yet given him. The moon was a few days old and gave us a little welcome light and in about an hour we came to a Dutchmans farm where I had the satisfaction of discovering that I was not far from the railway camp that I was making for. Near as I was however, I might yet have gone wrong had I adhered to my last instructions "keep the right path and you wont go wrong", for I might have had to camp out if my bump of locality<sup>16</sup> or something else had not told me to take a road to the left. Then following along a road cut round a krantz I knew I must be right for a wall had been built on the river side and no one but the railway people would have taken the trouble to do that. ....

*Butler left the railway camp on 1 Nov. 1878 and reached Louis Trollip's farm River View late that morning.*

2.XI.78 Saturday. Fine. Hot.

Went up to Mr. Jno. Trollips Sunnyside, Dagga Boer, early, about an hour and a half's ride. Here was at once at home and had to answer lots of questions about Grahamstown, the state of the veldt etc. ....

13.XI.78 Wednesday. Fine. Hot.

Dagga Boer to Cradock. Again bid adieu to kind friends here and had the pleasure of riding in company with Mr. Lones. Found Cradock about as uninteresting and uninviting as ever.

14.XI.78 Thursday. Storm.

.... There is a wagon outspanned just outside Cradock containing a collection of live birds and other curiosities brought down from the interior by a Dr. Holub who has been travelling beyond the Zambezi. He has a vulture, flamingo, cranes, parrots, waterfowl<sup>17</sup> and others both rare and curious. .... Was invited this evening to meet Dr. Holub and spent a very interesting time. Dr. H[olub] is a native of Prague and his great ambition from a youth has been to travel in Africa. As soon as he had obtained his degrees he came out to South Africa, went to the Diamond Fields, practised there, made money, invested in wagon and oxen and other necessaries for travelling and made a trip into the interior. Spent his all, collected natural history objects and geological specimens and returned to the Fields. Made more money and started off on another journey. He has sent home quite a museum of skins and other interesting objects and has made a fine collection of sketches. He is now on his way home to see his parents once again and then intends coming out again to make an effort to accomplish his set

task of going from Port Elizabeth to Alexandria. He hopes to be assisted by some of the societies at home but if not, will work at his profession until he has made sufficient to start on his enterprise. He gave us a kind of drawing-room lecture on elephant hunting which was very interesting. Tho' he cannot speak English fluently he pictures the different scenes very vividly and is evidently a careful observer and noter of what he does observe.

20.XI.78 Wednesday. Fine. Thunderstorm.

.... This week in Cradock has not charmed me with the place any more than before. My room has been changed, I have not much cared for my food probably from the way it is cooked and having nothing particular to do all day I have felt the want of nice walks etc. I suppose if I were regularly engaged I should not feel so badly but as it is I shant be sorry to leave Cradock again.

Kreli,<sup>18</sup> formerly chief of the Gaelekas living on the E[ast] of the Kei river along the coast, was the originator of this last Kafir war. His armies were soon broken up, his cattle captured to the number of some 30,000 (so reported) and his people scattered. Probably when he commenced hostilities he did not anticipate such a thorough beating. He is more than once reported to have sued for peace but the Government insisting on an unconditional surrender, he will not give himself up. For more than twelve months (now Nov. 78) he has been hunted but has managed so far to elude his pursuers. Meanwhile his country has been allotted partly to the Gaikas who have been moved from this side of the Kei and part will be let to Europeans.

Veldtman is a headman of the Fingoes bordering on Gaelekaland. I believe he is a Wesleyan Local preacher but all thro' the war has been fighting for the government.

Sandilli, formerly chief of the Gaikas, if he did not actually want war himself, was unable to keep his tribe from it and consequently rebelled about Xmas last. As his people were located in the Colony much more danger was anticipated from the Gaikas than from the Gaelekas who had already been beaten. Sandilli had been in former wars and thro' his folly in joining this one lost his life. He had been dead for some days before it was actually known that he had been killed and his body was found. He was formerly a drunken sot. His sons have most of them been captured.

Oba. A sub-chief amongst the Gaikas who remained professedly loyal during the war.

21.XI.78. Thursday. Fine.

Cradock to Salt Pans Drift. Up betimes if not off betimes. Left Cradock without a sigh at 6.15 a.m., stopped at Dr. Holubs wagon and had a quarter of an hour with him, (he was already up and writing), then rode on again to Poels River which I reached in an hour and a half. The water was just running in the river but has been very high, all along the veldt is looking green compared with what it has done tho' as yet it is a sorry green still. At the river we off-saddled<sup>19</sup> for an hour, Moscow had a roll and water, I had some sandwiches that I brought with me. Then at nine o'clock we started off again and reached Mr. Ulyates at Salt Pans Drift in another hour and a half - twenty two miles in three hours, good travelling for this country. At Mr. Ulyates spent most of the day; had lentils as a vegetable for dinner; they are not as nice as green peas but are a welcome change from rice, mealies, corn etc. Saw the Dam in the river, that is the Fish River, for this is at the junction of the Brak and Fish Rivers. This dam is built on the rocky bed of the river and catches a good deal of water every time the river

comes down. The river has been down twice with the recent storms but now is standing. ....

*From Saltpans Drift Butler rode via Honey Krantz to Grass Ridge.*

26.XI.78. Tuesday. Fine (111st week).

Honey Krantz to Grass Ridge. Found my way across to Grass Ridge before breakfast where I received a very cordial welcome from old and young. I don't exactly know how I became so liked here but Mr. Collett said that if it had been their own brother the young people were expecting they could not have looked forward to my visit more. Certainly I believe I have enjoyed myself in this house more than in almost any other in the Colony, there is such a large, intelligent and happy family and they make me feel quite at home that it is a real pleasure for me to be here and I should not have thought of passing them by but that I had a little English nervousness left about imposing on their good nature. We found the post had not been fetched this week and as the horses happened to be in the kraal, it was soon arranged that the Misses C[ollett] and I should ride down to Willoughby<sup>20</sup> for it. We had a nice ride got a good post (but nothing for me) and back to the farm for dinner. Played croquet in the afternoon and read about aquaria etc. a style of reading few young people here have a taste for.

27.XI.78 Wednesday. Fine. Showers.

.... We could see that fine storms were working up country for we can see a very long way up the flat valley of the Great Brak River, and they prophesied that the river would come down in the night. We stood and watched for it this afternoon: the water was only just running from pool to pool in the river but we thought we could detect it just rising a very little. Then a scud came on and we had to go in doors. Seated

at the door about an hour afterwards Jessie [Collett] said she believed she heard the river coming down but thinking she was joking (for these rivers are a standing joke) I took no notice. Presently she repeated her opinion and as it was confirmed by others I ran down thro' the garden and lands to see. There was no mistake about it, the noise of many waters grew stronger and by the time we reached the bank there was a real river to be seen. I suppose had I been two minutes earlier I might have actually seen it coming down as a heap but just missed that sight. Still it was a sight where but an hour before there was no water to be seen where almost anywhere we could have crossed dry shod or by stepping on two or three stones there was a rushing mighty torrent some fifty yards wide and several feet deep. And still it was rising. We reckoned that the half hour we watched it, it rose a foot and was still rising. Logs of wood now and then came hastening down but not in large quantities. It was a sight worth seeing, a sight that was very welcome and yet it seemed a pity to see the water that had been wanted so long, running off the land so quickly and rushing away towards the sea at the rate of five or six miles an hour, carrying with it thousands of tons of soil to help form a bar at the mouth of the river.

*Butler continued his journey via Riet Vlei (William Collett's farm), Middleburg, Richmond, and Murraysburg to Graaff-Reinet.*

12.XII.78 Thursday. Shower in morn.

.... There is great discussion in Colonial papers at the present time on railway extension.<sup>21</sup> Four lines are in course of construction, to have the [i]r terminii respectively at Beaufort West, Graaf Reinet, Cradock and Queenstown. It is proposed to carry one or more of these on to the Free State and Diamond Fields and each of these towns is trying to prove that their railway ought to be extended. Cradock urges that their line

will be the cheapest, Beaufort West that theirs will open up the country for the best port, Graaf Reinet that they already do most of the trade and so ought to be considered whilst I think Queenstown claims its proximity to the coalfields etc. The general election which is shortly to take place will be greatly affected by this question and probably instead of the best politicians and statesmen being elected it will be more a question of sending promoters of local interests, especially of railways, to make the laws of the land. My ride yesterday and this morning shows me one thing, that if the Graaf Reinet line is to be extended by way of Richmond or Murraysberg it will only be done at a very great expense for the rise over this mountain range is very steep. The Cradock line would meet with no formidable obstacle for a long way up the Great Brak River.

Arrived in Graaf Reinet<sup>22</sup> the first thing was breakfast, the second post. I was expecting two or three English mails to be awaiting me here and was sadly disappointed to find that by some muddle there was nothing for me. .... The town of Graaf Reinet is one of the largest in the Colony: it is situated on the Sundays River which passes almost round the town in the form of a horse shoe. Mountains to right of it, mountains to left of it, a poort<sup>23</sup> or pass between the mountains at the back of it and a flat in front of it. ....

Graaf Reinet is not inaptly named "The gem of the desert" and amongst its near surroundings is the place ....called "the valley of desolation".<sup>24</sup> It was a long pull to reach the spot, my friends and guides said 2,000 ft. but it was worth climbing to see, even climbing as we did in the middle of the day. Starting off directly after dinner we crossed the Sundays River and kept round and up the mountain to the S[outh] W[est] of the town of course halting here and there "to admire the scenery" and at one place to get a welcome drink. The town lies at the

foot of the mountain ... and from its other side we obtained a beautiful view of the town spread out like a map right below. If a Gem it is certainly an Emerald and the green of its well kept gardens and vineyards contrasted brightly with the surrounding karoo. Every piece of land in the town except a small piece of stony ground at the N[orth] W[est] seems to be cultivated and I have rarely if ever had a birds eye view of any town as pleasing as this - every place appeared to be so well kept and the whole so neatly enclosed by the horse shoe bend of the river. ....

13.X[II].78 Friday. Fine.

Up in time to see the morning market which is a large one. All sorts of produce was put up and sold, firewood and forage, meal and mealies the latter 81/- per 200 lbs bag, turkeys and ducks and a stem-bok<sup>25</sup> and goats, tobacco and ostrich feathers, salt and skins, vegetables and fruit. I am used now wherever I go to being told that I have come at the wrong time. Here I am told that I have come too soon and should be here in the fruit season to enjoy especially the grapes. When I say that I am looking forward to enjoying as much fruit as is good for me about Cradock the Graaf Reineters say they dont admit that the Cradock fruit is equal to theirs. Certainly their early plums and apricots are very nice.

Was happy enough to get some letters this morning and went to the Botanic Gardens to read them. The gardens being quite flat and comparatively new cannot yet rival Grahamstown gardens tho' I am told the curator is ambitious that they should. Water is scarce and an extra supply is obtained from a well by a windmill pump. The paths seem to be laid out too rigidly to please me and the trees seem to be planted too much in lines for an ornamental garden. The borders of the

paths are made of turf and a black boy was engaged in cutting this with a pair of sheep shears! Afternoon walked about the town, left some hair and a shilling at a store where a black boy very creditably performs the duties of barber and evening visited the Library where there is a good assortment of books and a good selection of newspapers.

*Butler left Graaff Reinet on 14 Dec. 1878. Among the various farm he visited on his way back to Daggaboer where he was to spend Christmas, was Wheatlands.*

18.XII.78 Wednesday. Fine.

Wheatlands. What this wilderness of karoo may be made by the wise use of a permanent spring may be seen here. I suppose it must be about seventy years since some Dutchman trekked here. Now there must be a population of about a hundred people on the place. What Tavelberg is in ostrich farming, Wheatlands has been in agricultural farming though some of the lands are now handed over to the birds of whom there are some two hundred on the place. There is a splendid vineyard here which various authorities said contains sixty or seventy or eighty thousand vines....They are planted regularly in rows about 3 ft 6 in[ches] apart and bear an immense quantity of beautiful grapes. Some of the fruit is made into brandy, some into vinegar and some into raisins. The Brandy is simply made by filling a copper vessel with crushed grapes and distilling the juice by its passing when heated, in the form of vapour, thro' a spiral pipe placed in a cistern of water. Vinegar is made without distilling and the raisins are dried on frames about the size and shape of doors which are readily moved and stacked at night.

There is a very nice graveyard here and amongst others there is a stone which besides the name of the deceased simply describes him as "a faithful servant". There are lots of trees and a good number of

houses here.

*From Wheatlands Butler rode back to Daggaboer via Somerset East.  
He reached John Trollip's farm Sunnyside on Christmas Eve.*

25.XII.78 Wednesday. Fine. Hot (800th day).

Christmas Day. My third in the Colony. The former two in Grahamstown. Found a lot of Xmas cards awaiting me last night showing that loved ones far away had thoughtful forethought in providing for their absent brother and son. There was nothing unusual here for Xmas - the usual meals and afternoon nap and walk and a little singing in the morning "Hark the herald angels sing" etc. In fact it was too hot to do anything. The servants all had a holiday. A storm passed the other side of the hill.

1.1.1879. Wednesday. Fine.

New Years day. I cant say that I actually saw the old year out and the new[year] in. I could not get any one to sit up with me so went to bed as usual soon after nine but kept the candle alight and read for a long time, then put down the book and meditated, thought of friends at home etc. The last time I looked at my watch was a few minutes to twelve and waking from a little nap, found it was past twelve and that I was in the year 1879. Several times after I became concious during the night and as our year commences about an hour and three quarters before it does in England I was again thinking of those at home.

This old ill-kept Journal has in some way told the history, my history in the past year - of my journeings in this strange land, of Kafir war, drought, caterpillars, ticks, flies, hot winds and other plagues. Also of the bright side, of the end of the war, of rains and

many blessings, of the great and general kindness that I have everywhere met with, of much more happiness this year than last, notwithstanding its plagues, and I hope of a better state of health and spirits. This year opens somewhat like last except that the evils that then pressed so heavily upon us are now at work at a greater distance; the Kafir war is over but a greater Zulu war seems just about to begin: the drought was broken but is still very severe. The rainfall in Grahamstown last year was less than eighteen inches and in Cradock I expect it was much less. The rains that have fallen the last few months have only been a sort of hand to mouth supply and now we ominously hear of some fountains drying up; I cant see but how it must come to this unless the rainfall soon increases.

So much for the past year, it is passed with all its trials and joys and sorrows and for me 1879 has dawned brightly. Before it has half run its course I hope to be at home amongst the friends of my youth. Whether I shall have to leave them again or whatever may be beyond this near happy prospect, I will not attempt to pry into but see if we get so far safely first.

But I must here express my thankfulness to the Almighty Over-ruler of all things for so arranging and working all things together for my good. I have often felt that no amount of forethought on my part could have laid plans which seem so to have dove-tailed into each other. So though I know not what is before me I can thank God and take courage, feeling more confident than ever that He will guide me aright and safely lead me thro' every danger so long as I strive to know His way and follow Him closely.

13.1.79. Monday. Fine. Hot.

So far I dont think this summer has been as hot as last, at any rate

I have not felt it as much and now we have only the rest of this month and February before we hope to get some nice weather again. Left Dagga Boer for Cradock rather late so as to be out of the heat. .... Arrived in Cradock about 9.30 p.m. fed the horses, had supper and got to bed.

19.1.79. Sunday. Fine.

The Weslyans are holding their district meetings in Grahamstown and all their ministers have to be there. Two years ago I was a new arrival in the "city of the saints" and met a good many of the ministers. Last year no district meeting was held on account of the Kafir war. The Weslyans are a very methodical body and with them everything is done by rule. It is one of their rules that no minister shall remain in one place for more than three years or four at the outside and so although Rev. Lones their minister is universally esteemed throughout his district and is doing good he must go, and a stranger come in his place. The system has its advantages, a minister does not thus become idolized nor can a place be burdened with a minister that they do not like for longer than a certain term. ....

21.1.79. Tuesday. Fine. (Cradock to Grass Ridge).

*Butler and a friend from his lodgings in Cradock arrived at Grass Ridge about 10 a.m.*

.... The veldt has wonderfully improved with the late rains and really looks green, the air so far was delightful but soon the heat was oppressive. In a very few minutes I felt quite at home again in the home I have had the privilege of spending so many happy times in, had had some milk, a wash and then we walked down into the garden, more properly the orchard and vineyard. I have been so accustomed to being told that "it is a very bad season" that I had become rather cynical as to the fact of

there ever being "good" seasons. Two summers I have spent in the Colony but have hardly once had an opportunity of testing the truth of all the brag about the glories of the fruit season. This time I have been looking forward to the fruit season and for once have not been dis-appointed. I had seen the number of the trees here, had seen them in blossom and seen the promise of a profusion of fruit. But I have by repeated lessons learnt not to count on anything for a certainty in this country and so gave due weight to the possibility of destroying winds or hail storms or destroying diseases or worms. Happily so far this year these plagues have kept away and our visit to the orchard this morning was a real pleasure unmixed with the least dis-appointment. There were the long rows of fruit trees and vines and quince hedges all heavily laden with beautiful fruit, the weight of which has proved too much for many a stout branch and it has broken and come to the ground. But the eyes were not the only organs to be pleased by our visit. Soon we were assailed by one and another with "this is a beautiful peach" "try this one" etc. etc. until the samples we had to taste were more than a good meal, then we must have some mulberries and then must try the grapes which are only just commencing. A luscious bunch is brought and as we are trying to do justice to it, are told that bye and by we shall think nothing of putting away five such at one sitting. For once I am in the right place at the right time, am experiencing the joys of "a good season" and dont mean to grumble any more for the present. The apricots are mostly over, the quinces we dont take into account, the pears are not yet ripe and apples if they were ripe I dont much care about. For the present peaches are to be our chief delight and then figs, grapes etc. are to follow. There are many kinds of peaches all the names of which I cannot give, but there are tipits<sup>26</sup> or tight stones and loose stones, there are white peaches and long nosed peaches and

other peaches too numerous to mention. The longer the nose or point of the peach the poorer the quality as a rule, The large loose stone peaches are the easiest eating but I think the tipit has the choicer flavour. The white peaches are not so large nor as beautiful as the larger loose stone or tipits but are very nice. I had one fear about the fruit season viz. that after having had so little opportunity of eating fruit for so long I might be indiscreet enough to eat too much. But I am told that peaches never disagree with any one and I think I tested the truth of that statement to-day. ....

22.1.79. Wednesday. Fine. Hot.

Fruit drying - Eclipse of the sun.

Of course all the fruit here could not be eaten by the family here (tho' it is a large one). There is enough for all, for the black people, for the birds and for all the neighbours. Still there is enough and to spare so the industrious people here take a lesson from the ant and in the summer lay by a store for the winter. There is fruit preserving and also fruit drying - the latter process is now in full swing and as all hands are at it to prevent waste and leaving the fruit to rot, I was initiated into the art of fruit drying. The fruit is first peeled, then cut open, the stone taken out and then placed out in the sun on trays to dry. After about three days exposure it is dry and stowed away in bags for use in the winter. Besides the household the Kafir women on the place were all at it and seated on the floor round a heap of peaches sit eight black maids all peeling and cutting fruit and throwing it into tins whence it is placed out on the trays to dry. Minus the skins and stones and when all shrivelled up it takes a lot of peaches to fill a sack but here they fill many sacks.

The eclipse of the sun we were on the look out for [happened?] to-day. [We] smoked [pieces of] glass and were all ready for it. The

day was hot, and just about noon the time for the commencement of the eclipse, the sky became overcast. Still, we had frequent opportunities of using our smoked glass and saw the eclipse very well.

24.1.79 Friday.

Had the great responsibility and pleasure of taking three Misses Collet a ride up to Groenkloof where is another good tho' not so large stock of fruit. Some fruit here ripens earlier than at Grass Ridge as the heat is reflected from the surrounding kopjes.<sup>27</sup>

25.1.79. Saturday. Fine.

A month already since Xmas. Eating fruit, drinking milk, reading, writing etc.

26.1.79 Sunday. Fine.

.... To-days papers brought horrid news from Zululand. The war which everybody had been clamouring for had already begun but to-day we hear of a battle<sup>28</sup> in which hundreds of soldiers and native levies have been killed and of course thousands of the Zulus who appear to have come on in such numbers that they literally swamped the English force and killed every soldier there after a close hand to hand fight.

3.II.79 Monday. Fine.

Rode up to Doornberg with R[obert] W[ilkie].<sup>29</sup> Saw and gave chase to a large herd of springboks but they easily kept their ground. Passed through several swarms of young locusts<sup>30</sup> as yet without wings. The swarms are not very large perhaps from 20 to 100 yards in diameter and all hopping, constantly hopping about. As there are many locust birds<sup>31</sup> about this season it is hoped that this plague will be kept down. At Dornberg the dam that was being built when I was here last

has been finished and a crop of mealies coming on testifies to the utility of it. ....

17.II.79 Monday. Fine.

.... Received and posted English mail. Also received particulars of steamers sailing about April and plan of S.S. Walmer Castle<sup>32</sup> by which steamer I expect to go home. Taking these steps makes me feel my remaining time in the Colony is getting very short.

18.II.79 Tuesday. Fine.

I have said something about the peaches now I must say something about the grapes. I do justice to them in one way but I cant on paper. There are many hundreds of vines of many different kinds and we regularly repair to the vineyard about twice a day, partake largely, and take largely to the house. Peaches we hardly look at now tho' they are still busy drying them. There are blue and white Muscatel grapes, French grapes, blue grapes, lady grapes, crystal grapes, and blue and white honey pot grapes.<sup>33</sup> The last named are hardly ripe yet but are a very large fleshy luscious grape. The Muscatel grapes are almost too rich to enjoy any quantity of, the blue and lady grapes are nice and sweet but rather watery, the French grapes are delicious, neither too fleshy or too watery, neither too strong or too sweet in flavour but I think the large round crystal grapes surpass all. The clusters are very fine and the number of bunches on many vines is quite surprising. They have been making a lot of vinegar from the muscatel grapes which are placed in a basket and the juice extracted by clean footed little boys tramping them. Then it is let stand till it ferments and then turns to vinegar.

22.II.79 Saturday. Fine.

Commenced saying my Goodbyes. I have got used to saying good bye yet like it none the more and now I have to say good bye very likely never to see these friends who have been so kind to me again. .... Visited an old Bushmans cave in the afternoon; it is only a foot or two high. The top is all smoked, the floor is black with ash, some of the stones are shiny, I suppose with grease, and there are lots of bones to be seen, some of oxen, sheep, bucks, rock rabbits<sup>34</sup> etc. Since the Bushman abandoned the cave porcupines<sup>35</sup> have inhabited it. ....

*Butler spent the night of 22 Feb. 1879 at Saltpans Drift and said goodbye to the Ulyates. He returned to Grass Ridge on 23 February.*

25.II.79 Tuesday. Fine.

Was called in good time and got ready to start, sat down to an early breakfast but had no appetite. Then came the goodbyes again. I have twice before said goodbye to these people but both times with the intention of seeing them again. Now I have no such intention and saying good bye to such a number of such dear friends was a hard task after all my experience in that line; in fact with some of them I did not say the words but merely went thro' the form of shaking hands. Certainly if I have to come to this country again I am sure of finding friends. From now I consider I am on my way home tho' I have a long way round to go and it is nearly three months before I expect to reach home. I went in [to Cradock] with Herbert and helped drive the horses that were bought by Mr. Trollip last week: after they were once off their own ground they kept to the road very well and gave but little trouble. ....

2.III.79 Sunday. Fine.

Rev. Gedye the new Wesleyan minister preached here morning and

evening. He seems an earnest man and if he gets the people to like him may be the means of doing very much good. Called on Mrs. Grey and Mrs. Cook and wished them good bye. Called on Rev. Hunter who was a fellow passenger in the Dunrobin Castle in 1876 and has just come up here for a holiday and rest, his throat being bad. Took tea at Mrs. Kidgers and said farewell to friends there.

3.III.79 Monday. Thunderstorms.

Was busy running about all the morning saying good-byes, finally closing my boxes, portmanteau etc. and seeing them away and was ready to start at one o'clock but waited for dinner. Then a thunder storm came on and I did not get away from Cradock till nearly four o'clock but was not sorry to leave it behind me when I did. It is about nine months since we first arrived in Cradock and I have only actually spent about three in the town and have not had so much real enjoyment in the town as out of it. ....

*Butler reached Daggaboer on 4 March 1879. He spent nearly three weeks there.*

16.III.79 Sunday. Hot wind.

Was up in good time and dressed, eager to see our ministering friend Isaac Sharpe who had come nearly 200 miles to see us, 70 miles of which distance had been done in [a] post cart. I cannot say that I remembered much of him at home and was surprised to find him so hale and hearty at over three score years. I received a very warm shake of the hand and then we sat down to breakfast. According to the usual practise when ministers are present Mr. T[rollip] asked I[saac] S[harp] to "ask a blessing" but he declining, Mr. T[rollip] did so as usual. After breakfast I[saac] S[harp] was asked to conduct family worship and

consented. In the place of reading the usual portion of scripture and prayer for the day, [he made a change] saying we will read a chapter and then have a short time of silence. He read the eighth chapter of the Romans, then there was a silent pause and then he knelt and offered a short earnest prayer.

We had some time for conversation before our morning service in which he asked if Phillipa Butler who was some time at Ayton was my aunt. On being told she was my grandmother he explained that he frequently got confused amongst so many generations but remembered her very well. I asked how long he had had this journey in view and he said since before I was born.

Then we had our service, sang a hymn, I[saac] S[harp] read Eph.1 and Ps. 90 and 91. A silence followed which was broken by our friend speaking for some time. He took no particular text but dwelt on a good many truths, constantly quoting Scripture in their support. He spoke of dwelling very near to Christ; "fruit bearing is an evidence of discipleship"; "I believe that in this wide world there is a place for each one of us to fill"; drawing near to Jesus; and "Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out". After another silence we knelt in prayer and our friend "supplicated" very beautifully: "Give us the firm resolve, strengthened by Thy might, to strive to do Thy will. Day by day learning from the experiences Thou dost give us may we hour by hour, living very near to Thee, seek to work for Thy glory and not only will we praise Thee here but Thine shall be the glory and honour eternally, for Thou art worthy." "Bless each one of us and especially thy aged servant (Mrs. Collett), answer her prayers for those she loves and prays for and let us join in them," etc. So our meeting closed. We had a good dinner, most people had naps and then we went to Sunday School

where I[saac] S[harp] spoke a few words and prayed with and for them.

Tea followed and then a walk, we sat down (it was a very hot day) and then I[saac] S[harp] told us a number of anecdotes of life in Iceland, Greenland, Norway etc. which were very interesting and some of them amusing. Then we came in and had supper, more conversation, sang "Glory to Thee my God this night" and I[saac] S[harp] read 1 Thess. V and Ps. 103 and prayed. Thus our Sunday closed I think to the satisfaction of the whole household. Some things about I[saac] S[harp] one cannot help observing: his unbounded energy, his cheerfulness and reverence in conversation; frequently after relating some incident dropping his voice and testifying to the loving kindness and goodness of His Father. His reading of Scripture is impressive, putting much expression into and drawing much instruction from each verse. His prayers are fervent, his words well chosen and scriptural; he prays with an understanding of the needs of those he is thus leading in devotion and shows that he believes in Jesus being very near. Frequently he closed by attributing all the honour and glory unto God and "Thy dear Son our Saviour, for Thou art worthy". His address tho' unconnected and so not so easy to remember was fuller of Scripture than any sermon I have heard in the Colony.

17.III.79 Monday. Fog all day.

After breakfast went down to the ostrich camp and fed the birds. Then we came in and I[saac] S[harp], R[obert] W[ilkie] and I went into the parlour and had a proper Friends Meeting in which we each took some part, by far the greater part of course being taken by I[saac] S[harp] who spoke very nicely and kindly to us and especially to R[obert] W[ilkie] who, having to stay out here longer and by himself, is liable at times to feel dull. It was indeed a very solemn time and one I

trust I[saac] S[harp] will be able to look back upon with pleasure and feel that if Dagga Boer did seem out of the way he was still in the way of duty in coming here. I[saac] S[harp] gave us each one of his photos and shewed us a collection [of photographs] of some of his friends he has met with in travelling. After dinner he again interested the household in narrating some more incidents of his travels in various countries. Tea time came and it was time for our friend to be leaving to be in time to catch the post cart for Bedford, whence he intends taking another post cart and find[ing] his way to Alice and Lovedale<sup>36</sup> where possibly L. Kitching<sup>37</sup> may meet him. We walked down to the road together and had not to wait long for the cart. When [it came] I[saac] S[harp] nimbly jumped up into the cart, bade us farewell, sent a message of "love to all at home" and was off.

20.III.79 Thursday. Fine.

Had breakfast at Dagga Boer and then said goodbye to Mrs. Trollip and Mrs. Collet and R. Wilkie the remaining friends here. To Mrs. Trollip I feel more indebted than to any other lady in the Colony for her unbounded and generous hospitality, and am exceedingly sorry to say I fear her own health is now giving way and that she is likely to be a sufferer possibly for the rest of her days. I felt [the] parting from R[obert] W[ilkie] very much, we have been together most of the last two years and having been at school together and known each other ever since, have had more in common together than with any other in the Colony. Now I am going home and he is remaining; when shall we meet again? If ever. Probably he will be somewhat guided by my course of action. If I remain at home probably he will look to go home next year. If I come out again probably we shall enter into some business together. ....

*From Daggaboer Butler rode across to Fort Beaufort via Adelaide and then made for Healdtown.*

21.III.79 Friday. Fine. Cloudy.

.... Rather over an hour was necessary to cover the six miles between Beaufort and Healdtown<sup>38</sup> as the road has to cross the little stream in the kloof eleven times in that distance. But the ride is a very pretty one, other little kloofs run into this one, in places the hills are covered with bush but a great deal of land on the hill sides, in some cases right to the tops of the hills is planted with mealies and Kafir corn.<sup>39</sup>

Arrived at Healdtown<sup>40</sup> I was soon made to feel at home by Mr. and Mrs. Lones (formerly of Cradock) and also saw Mrs. and Miss Chapman.

22.III.79 Saturday. Fine. Hot.

Healdtown besides being a regular Wesleyan Mission Station is also a training institution for students wishing to become school teachers or ministers. The situation of the building is commanding, being on the edge of a cliff heading a kloof running towards Beaufort. The building unfortunately appears to have been built more for appearance than use and a little more thought expended on its adaptability to its purpose might have saved not only first expense but also expenditure for maintenance. But the Government of the day was respons[ible] for that. The building mainly consists of three large rooms, two of which are used as dormitories, and one as a hall for meetings etc. At each end is a dwelling house for a minister and there is also a dining room etc. for the students. There are at the present time forty-three students in the house, their food is very plain and their health good. For breakfast they get bread and tea, for dinner, meat four times a week, for

supper mealies and water. They all speak English, appear well behaved and are generally eager to learn. Every morning and evening after breakfast or supper they assemble in the hall for prayers. In the morning the singing and reading is in Kafir, in the evening the service is all in English. After the service is over the minister says "good morning" or "good night" as the case may be and the students raising their right hands to their foreheads return the salutation. Saturday is an off day but in the morning the lads are told off in companies to do work about the place, sweeping, window cleaning, digging or anything that may be required: any who wish to have the day to visit their friends can generally have it if they properly apply for it. ....

23.III.79 Sunday. Fine.

The regular prayers [were] after breakfast and Chapel at eleven o'clock. The chapel is a large one and some five or six hundred natives must have been present this morning. The service was entirely in Kafir and the sermon was ably translated by one of the students. I had pleasing evidence of the genuineness of the work in some cases this morning. Getting into conversation with one of the candidates for the ministry I found that Healdtown did not agree with his health and asked him if there was any other place where he could continue his studies. He did not know. When I asked if in case he could not go on studying, he would have to give up his work, his eyes glistened and he promptly and feelingly replied "Oh no sir".

In the afternoon I looked in at the Sunday School where there must have been some two or three hundred children and adults and all was going on orderly, all the teachers with two exceptions being natives. Then had a Bible class with the students on Heb. XI. Took tea with the Chapmans and in the evening had an English service with the students and the few Europeans on the place, in the hall.

24.III.79 Monday. Fine. *Butler and Rev. E. Lones visited Lovedale.*

.... About an hour and a half's ride brought us to Lovedale<sup>41</sup> which adjoins Alice and is a large mission institution supported by the London Missionary Society. Here we were kindly received .... and were glad again to meet our friend I. Sharpe. Were just in time for dinner and partook of this meal in the large hall with over two hundred boys and a few Europeans who are also being educated here. The European students sit at different tables and of course have superior food (they pay more) and sleep in different dormitories and I suppose mostly play together, but in the classes, Europeans and natives mix together and each stands on his own footing. At dinner I sat between I. Sharpe and L. Kitching<sup>42</sup> at a table overlooking the whole room and I[saac] S[harp] remarked on the vast power for good there represented....*After dinner Butler and the Rev. E. Lones were shown round.*

.... The girls are taught sewing, washing etc. besides their regular school work. Their establishment is nicely kept and the staff appeared to take great interest in their work. Thence we went to a large building in course of erection which when finished will be an imposing and substantially built edifice costing something like £8,000. Thence to the carpenters shop where twenty lads are learning their trade, and their instructor spoke well of their ability to work well when well looked after. They are now engaged in doing all the wood work for the new building. Next we visited the wagon makers shop where a number of lads are learning this business from beginning to end, wheel making, smithing etc. etc. As in the carpenters department they are regularly bound for a term of years and if they behave well and are efficient workmen receive a certificate at the end of their time. ....

After a hurried but very interesting visit we returned to Healdtown by the same path as we came. Here in the evening a Mutual Improvement

Society held a discussion on Agriculture. The debate was opened by one of the students reading a paper in which he treated of Egyptian and Grecian agriculture, manuring, irrigating etc. Very few brought forward any fresh ideas in the debate that followed but a good many questions were asked, the object apparently being to find the essayist at fault. Each speaker commenced Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen; one enquired how if there was so little rain in Egypt the river Nile came down, another wanted to know if the accent should be on the first or second syllable of traverse and one criticised another for saying "impovvish" instead of "impoverish". Some one wanted to know how when one potato was put into the ground a dozen others came from it and another how leaves were good for manure etc....A trader on the station who has been a farmer made some useful remarks and altogether the meeting was an interesting, sometimes amusing, and I hope a useful one.

28.III.79 Friday. Wet.

.... I must premise this part of my Journal [and say] that I have got sadly behind with my writing and this is being written up on board ship, some weeks after the freshness has been rubbed off my recollections of events by subsequent experiences.

*Butler left Healdtown on 25 March 1879. Due to wet weather he made slow progress to King William's Town which he reached four days later.*

29.III.79 Saturday. Wet.

.... Put up at Gleesons Hotel [King William's Town]<sup>43</sup>, a pretentious but not very cleanly or over comfortable place. Called at P.O. received my papers but after twice looking thro' the letters was told by the official that there were none for me. Neither could he tell me where A. Alexander or Rev. Tyson lived and this was a thing that struck me

in K[ing] W[illiam's] T[own] that instead of everybody knowing everybody, nobody seemed to know anybody. K[ing] W[illiam's] T[own] is the frontier town and during the late war was practically the seat of Government. The Governor lived here for some months and in the regular way the troops are quartered in the barracks here tho' now they are away in Zululand and the barracks are garrisoned by volunteers from P[ort] E[lizabeth]. It is a long town roughly divided into three: the business town, the village, and the German village. It is not well laid out, nor very healthy. Its trade is the Native trade. One thing was very observable this Saturday aft[ernoon] viz. the number of natives with horses, many with two horses. I thought a troop must be being raised for service in Zululand but was told that this was the regular thing for Saturday half holidays and horses could then be hired for 2/6 or 3/-. Gave up finding the Alexanders and when on the point of giving up the Tysons, got a clue to their whereabouts and spent the evening with them. Light rain in the afternoon, the Keiskama at Middle Drift this morning was about knee deep and the Buffalo here is bridged.

31.III.79 Monday. Fine.

.... Attended a public meeting to express sympathy with His Excellency Sir Bartle Frere in his present trying position. No one had made any arrangements for conducting the meeting, consequently no chairman and no resolutions were ready, a great deal of time was wasted, and in some respects the meeting was a failure. Most of the speeches were ungrammatical and none of them eloquent or even fluent, the only one worth listening to was by the editor of the Cape Mercury and was against the object of the meeting. If the meeting had been properly arranged I have no doubt it would have been as enthusiastic as it was unanimous in sympathising with the Governor.

1.IV.79 Tuesday. Wet.

K[ing] W[illiam's] Town to Ross' Mission Station.<sup>44</sup>

.... To-day I turn Westward and homeward. Delayed starting till after breakfast on account of the rain and after all had to start in the wet. Notwithstanding macintosh and leggings got pretty wet in the first 12 miles which took 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> hours. Here (at Halls)<sup>45</sup> I off-saddled for an hour and then started off the main road to find Ross' Mission Station by the Perie Bush where Willie Shaw was buried. Guided by the church on a hill I reached the spot in about an hour and the kind missionarys wife when I had stated my errand invited me to off-saddle and sent a little girl to show me Willies grave. It lies in a pretty spot by a stream running at the foot of a range of mountains which are covered by the dense Perie Bush. Mrs. Ross gave me a good meal and then persuaded me to stay the night and proceed on my journey in the morning, also offering me a change of raiment as not only some that I had on but some in my valise had got wet. So, eager as I was to get onwards, I thought it wise to stay and enjoyed the afternoon and evening in the Scotch Missionarys home. At evening prayer we sang psalms besides the ordinary reading and prayer.

*Butler left the mission station on 2 April 1879 but remained at a roadside hotel when he heard that the Keiskamma River was impassible.*

3.IV.79 Thursday. Misty.

This is a cleaner hotel than most on the road side, but small and so last night I had to sleep in the same room as a young Dutchman who was similarly detained. The post cart from Grahamstown could not get thro' last night and to-day there is a cart to Grahamstown. It passed the hotel before breakfast but knowing that some time must elapse before the rope was got to work I made sure of a good breakfast before

I started for the river. . . Got down about 11 o'clock and altho' the river had fallen about 14 ft it was still running strong, too strong to think of going thro' on horseback and too risky to swim thro', not so much for the actual swimming as the difficulty of getting onto the other side. There were two passengers in the postcart for Grahamstown, the Bishop and one [other]. The post contractors men on each side were hard at work, first they got a string across by throwing a stone, then a rope and then, with much exertion, the cable. At last this cable was drawn tight by a winch, the box, which runs from two sheaves running on the rope, fixed, filled with mails and started on its journey. The rope yielded too much to the weight and the box dipping in the water could only just be drawn back in time to save its being broken by the mighty rush of water. The cable was drawn higher and the box pulled across safely, filled with mails from the other side and returned. I think another journey each way was safely performed when [the other passenger] squeezed himself into the box and was let down half way. [He] stopped there for some joke (the Bishop remarking that it was too serious a matter to be joking about) and ultimately he was safely landed the other side.

I had brought my saddle and bridle down to send across and was going to get a boy to swim my horse across, but the box was again loaded with mails and started on its journey when the cable flew; the box went in the water and the ends of the rope of course swept round each side of the river. Then a long time was wasted, the post cart the other side having got its load (except the Bishop) returned for Grahamstown and all hands this side were set to work to get the mail bags from the box which was happily possible as they had been jammed in tight - but they were about an hour in the water first. I was getting hungry . . . . and not caring to trust myself to that cable after once seeing it break

I saddled up and returned to the hotel determined to wait another day before I attempted to proceed. Later in the day I heard that they got the cable across again, spliced it and the Bishop crossed by it.

*Butler spent the night of 4 April 1879 at Alice. The next day he started early hoping to reach Grahamstown the same day.*

5.IV.79 Saturday. Fine.

.... Oh! the roads - I was tired of going at a walking pace. Grahamstown was yet nearly thirty miles off and to-morrow was Sunday and there was no place between to spend Sunday. The Koonap was bridged so I got across that alright but a few miles beyond found my road leading me into another river. .... This I found was the Great Fish River and Fort Brown Hotel, my next stage, was yet some miles ahead. I off-saddled a few minutes and then despairing of accomplishing my task again pushed on. The sun was down for the last mile or two and I got off my road but found it again by listening to the yells of some wagon drivers. Then came to Fort Brown Bridge, crossed it and rode up to the hotel. Oh! I was tired, I had actually been in the saddle  $9\frac{1}{4}$  hours and had only been able to cover 44 miles. Such roads I never travelled before and hope I never may have to again. I guess I slept that night.

*Butler rested on Sunday 6 April 1879 and rode into Grahamstown on Monday morning.*

7.IV.79 Monday. Fine.

.... Called at Bothas Hill Hotel and rode on to Grahamstown where I put up at Mr. Galpins who had kindly invited me to make my last stay in Grahamstown there. After a seventeen miles ride by 9 a.m. I was ready for breakfast. This done I called on a few of my friends and hearing that one [ Mr. Knight ] had been telegraphing to me at King Williams Town

enquired the reason why and alas! discovered that he was going to be married on Wednesday and wanted me to be best man. This is the second wedding I have been brought in for when I never dreamt of having to attend one when I came out. Had a good batch of English and colonial letters. Tea at Mr. Wedderburns where Mr. Knight stays. Was introduced to his future wife at her fathers and attended Lodge where I found a good attendance and drew my clearance card.

9.IV.79 Wednesday. Fine.

Up and dressed early. The wedding was to be at nine o'clock so that the happy couple might catch the train. The carriage called for me at Mr. Galpins and then picked up Mr. Knight at the friends he has been staying with. We went to the chapel, received the bridesmaids. On the arrival of the bride [we] walked up the aisle, stood during the ceremony round the communion rail, signed the register in the vestry and drove away to the father of the brides house (Mr. Cockroft). [We] had breakfast, wished the happy couple every happiness, showered them with rice on their departure and got away about noon.

As a contrast to the mornings work spent the afternoon in packing up and labelling my luggage.

13.IV.79.Sunday. Fine.

The Grahamstown people are a queer set in religious as in some other matters. They gave up celebrating Christs resurrection for the sake of celebrating the landing of those Settlers in 1820 and they gave up even that celebration to hear a travelling lecturer. .... This evening the chapel was crammed fuller than I have ever seen it before to hear the Rev. C. Clarke,<sup>46</sup> a gentleman who has been charming the people with lectures on Dickens, Thackeray etc. .... His lecture for I cant call it a sermon was very fine, his voice full and clear and his flow of

language unbroken; one passage where he brought in "Lift up your heads O ye gates" etc. was exceptionally grand. But after all there seemed a lack of something, there was no invitation to taste of the joys he was so eloquent about, or warning if they were neglected. Since I have known G[rahams] t[own] no one has had such an opportunity of pressing home eternal truths and after all it was lost. .... Dined with Mr. Slater, looked in at two Sunday Schools in the afternoon and took tea at the Knowles.

14.IV.79 Monday. Fine. Grahamstown to P[ort] E[lizabeth] (Easter Monday).

Having said goodbye to nearly all of my friends I rode up to Mrs. Copelands where I spent my first month in G[rahams] t[own] and wished them goodbye and also parted with my faithful steed who I am glad to say will have a good master. I have ridden him upwards of 1,500 miles since I bought him and now sold him with saddle and bridle for £20 as near as can be exactly what I gave for him. To any young man coming out on the same errand as myself I can only say "Go and do likewise." Walked back thro' the Botanic Gardens and then said goodbye to the Shaws and Galpins and at 9.45 a.m. drove off in the rumbling old 4 wheeler for Atherstone. We were 9 passengers besides one or two boys and luggage behind so the 6 horses had hard work over bad roads. Atherstone Station 11 miles was reached in rather less than two hours and we had plenty of time for the train which had not yet arrived from P[ort] E[lizabeth]. ..... Arrived at P[ort] E[lizabeth] about half past six and took a cab to the Algoa House Hotel on the Hill where we found comfortable quarters with Mr. and Mrs. Knight, "the happy couple".

18.IV.79 Friday. Fine.

The 17.X.76 just 30 months ago and a day I boarded the Dunrobin Castle to come out here and to-day I boarded her for home. ....

*The Dunrobin Castle sailed from Port Elizabeth on 18 April and from Cape Town on 22 April. She docked in London on 15 May 1879. Though the last entry of the diary marks the end of the voyage Butler apparently intended to write more. At the foot of the last page are the words "Never concluded as intended." in another hand, perhaps Butler's daughter Mary's.*

Footnotes

SECTION 6

1. Camphor Pillules

Camphor is a solid crystalline oily substance having a bitter taste and pungent smell. Camphor is distilled from a species of laurel Cinnamomum camphora. In the form of a liniment camphor produces a warm glow when rubbed on the chest. Camphor was used as a medicine to prevent colds in the head and as a sedative.

- W.A.R. Thomson (ed.): Black's Medical Dictionary 31st edition London 1976 p 151.
- J.P. Friel (ed.): Dorland's Illustrated Medical Dictionary 26th edition Philadelphia 1981 p 208.

2. See fn. 18 p 260.

3. Reservoir Wall

A reservoir at West Hill was built in 1878 by railway workers. The construction of the railway line into Grahamstown required embankment at West Hill which the Town Council proposed to utilise for a reservoir. After lengthy negotiations the railway authorities agreed to construct the reservoir and the Town Council agreed to pay £1,554 towards its cost. The West Hill Reservoir was known later as the Cradock Road Reservoir.

- M.Gibbens:Two Decades p 144-146.

4. Telephone

The first effective telephone was invented by Alexander Graham Bell and patented in America on 7 March 1876. His telephone system consisted of a metallic diaphragm and a permanent magnet with a wire coil round it. Sound waves caused the diaphragm to vibrate which resulted in variations in the magnet's field. These variations produced an electric current generated in the wire coil. The current was then passed to a receiver and the process was reversed to produce sound waves again. Technical improvements in the transmitter were made in the late 1870's. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the commercial telephone system which developed in the United States became popular in Europe and in due course became world wide.

The first permanent telephone was installed in the Market Office, Grahamstown in 1902. By 1912 Grahamstown was in telephonic

communication with 15 other towns in South Africa.

- W.D. Halsey et al. (eds.): Collier's Encyclopaedia U.S.A. 1966 Vol.22 p 125.
- G.T.J. 16 May 1912. I am indebted to Mr. N. Southey for this reference.
- C.A., 3/AY/1/1/14; Grahamstown Town Council Minute Book 30 April 1902. I am indebted to Miss R.M. Sellick for this reference.

#### 5. Microphone

A microphone converts sound into electric current. Alexander Graham Bell used an electromagnetic microphone in his telephone system (see fn. 4 above). A more sensitive carbon microphone was developed from the work of Thomas Edison in 1877 and David Hughes in 1878. Carbon microphones are the ones in use in modern telephones.

- Chambers's Encyclopaedia New edition London 1959 Vol.IX p 380.

6. See fn. 2 p 310.

7. See fn. 3 p 310.

8. See fn. 7 p 311.

#### 9. Tiffin

In India and other eastern countries tiffin was a light midday meal or lunch. The word was originally colloquial English: tiffing, from tiff to sip.

- The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1971 Vol.II p 3320.

#### 10. Hoek

Literally a corner, a hoek may mean a valley in or between mountains. The word is Afrikaans, from Dutch hoek a corner.

- Branford: Dictionary p 89.

#### 11. Moscow

Moscow was the name of Butler's horse.

12. Kneehaltered

To kneehalter a horse one ties the bridle to the foreleg to allow the animal to graze but not to run away. The word is a transliteration of the Afrikaans kniehalter.

- Branford: Dictionary p 121.

## 13. See fn. 4 p 310

14. Nek

A nek is a raised strip or ridge of the land between two mountains. The word is Afrikaans from Dutch and is found in many place names e.g. Daggaboersnek.

- Branford: Dictionary p 163.

15. Krantz

A krantz, kranz or kranz is a sheer cliff-face or crag, an Afrikaans term possibly from the German Kranz. Krantz appears in many place names e.g. Honey Krantz.

- Branford: Dictionary p 127.

16. Bump of Locality

The prominences on the head were associated by phrenologists with special mental faculties. Such bumps were used colloquially of the faculties themselves, as in the phrase "bump of locality".

- The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1971 Vol.I p 294.

17. .... Waterfowl

No attempt has been made to identify Dr. Holub's birds since so many species exist. Readers are referred to Holub's book Seven Years in South Africa; travels, researches and hunting adventures between the diamond fields and the Zambesi, 1872-1879, London 1881.

- D.S.A.B Vol.I p 390.

18. Kreli's Photograph

As part of the diary entry for 20 Nov. 1878 Butler glued in

photographs of the chiefs Sarhili, Veldtman, Sandile and Oba (see biographical index).

The photograph of Veldtman perhaps a photograph of a painting, is inscribed "W.H. Schröder 1874" (? , inscription not clear). the photograph of Sandile also carries inscriptions "... Gaika tribe" and "W.H. Schröder 1878" (? , inscription again not clear). Next to the photograph of Oba Butler wrote that Oba had been photographed by Aldham, Grahamstown. Butler had met some of Oba's people at Daggaboer on 13 June 1878.

19. Off-saddled

Off-saddle means to unsaddle a horse, hence to break a journey. The word is a transliteration of the Afrikaans afsaal unsaddle.

- Branford: Dictionary p 168.

20. Willoughby

Willowby was a farm south of Grass Ridge. See map p 378.

21. Railway Extension

From the late 1850's there was competition between Graaff Reniet and Grahamstown for a railway link to Port Elizabeth. Both towns served as collecting points for the produce of the surrounding country districts, which they claimed needed to be transported rapidly to the coast.

Sufficient money for railway building was not available to the Cape government until after the discovery of diamonds in the late 1860's. When the line from Port Elizabeth to the diamond fields was started under Act 13 of 1873 the people of both Graaff Reinet and Grahamstown hoped that the railway would be continued via their towns. At the same time the claims of East London to be connected to the Great North Line via Queenstown were put forward to the railway authorities. In 1874 a line from Port Elizabeth via Uitenhage to Graaff Reinet was approved and finally completed in 1879. Grahamstown was linked to Port Elizabeth in September 1879 (see fn. 10 p 198).

The main line from Port Elizabeth to the north reached Cradock in 1883 and Kimberley in 1885. The obstacle of the Sneeuwberg Mountains between Graaff Reinet and Cradock meant that Graaff Reinet was not linked to the main line until 1898. Even then the bulk of rail traffic used the main routes and towns on those routes such as Beaufort West and Cradock benefitted accordingly.

- G.D.R. Dods: Nineteenth Century Communications in the Zuurveld Unpublished M.Sc. thesis Rhodes University 1960 p 168-214.
- K.W. Smith: From Frontier to Midlands, A History of the Graaff-Reinet District, 1786-1910 Grahamstown 1976 p 79-85
- J. van der Poel: Railway and Customs Policies in South Africa 1885-1910 London 1933 p 8-9.

## 22. Graaf Reinet

Graaff-Reinet, the third oldest country town in the Cape Province was named after Governor C.J. van der Graaff and his wife Cornelia Reynet. A drostdy was established there in 1786, the centre of a large frontier district. On several occasions between 1795 and 1801 the Boers at Graaff-Reinet rebelled against the government in Cape Town. Graaff-Reinet was the focus of reaction against the government's attempts to regulate the relations between masters and servants. Several leaders of the Great Trek came from the Graaff-Reinet district.

After 1837 Graaff-Reinet developed as the leading town in the midlands, a prosperous business centre in a large wool-producing district.

In 1845 a Board of Municipal Commissioners was established and in 1880 Graaff-Reinet was incorporated. Municipal affairs tended to reflect divisions and party political antagonisms in the town. After 1870 Graaff-Reinet and the midlands districts declined in importance economically and in national affairs, though in recent years the town has emerged as an educational and tourist centre.

- K.W. Smith: From Frontier to Midlands, A History of the Graaff-Reinet District, 1786-1910 Grahamstown 1976 p 25-33, 119, 135, 359-364.
- S.E.S.A. Vol.5 p 292-295.

23. Poort

A poort is a narrow pass through mountains often along a stream bed. The term is Dutch poort, a passage or pass.

- Branford: Dictionary p 189.

24. Valley of Desolation

Butler enclosed a photograph of the Valley of Desolation as part of the diary entry for 12 Dec. 1878. The Valley is situated about 16 kms. outside Graaff Reinet and is a well known tourist attraction.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.5 p 292-295.

25. Stembok

This animal was probably a Steenbok Raphicerus campestris, a small antelope which lives in open plains. The height at the withers is about 55 cms. (22 inches). The steenbok is bright rufous fawn in colour with white underparts, long broad ears and a whitish ring round the eye. The horns are straight and sharp. Steenboks eat grass leaves and roots and often take refuge in old Aardvark burrows or caves.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.10 p 262-263.

- J. Dorst and P. Dandelot: A Field Guide to the Larger Mammals of Africa London 1972 p 264, 272 (colour plate).

26. Tipit = taaipit

The name is used of peaches which have firmly embedded pips or stones. The term is a combination of the Dutch taai, tough and pit, stone or pip.

- Branford: Dictionary p 247.

## 27. See fn.57 p 323.

28. Battle (Isandhlwana)

On 11 Jan. 1879 Sir Bartle Frere's ultimatum to the Zulus, which required them to disband their armies, expired, and the British forces entered Zululand. The commanding officer, Lord Chelmsford, chose

the plain below the Isandhlwana mountain to pitch a temporary camp.

On 21 Jan. 1879 a reconnaissance force was sent out. Lord Chelmsford thought those troops needed help and went to relieve them with a strong force. Lt.-Col. Pulleine was left in charge of the much depleted force at Isandhlwana camp.

At about 10.00 a.m. on the morning of 22 January, Col. Durnford arrived from Rorke's Drift with 300 mounted Basutos. He assumed command and decided to pursue what he thought were small groups of Zulus in the area. He met the advancing Zulu army which had crept up close behind the hill and battle was joined about 11.30 a.m. The Zulu forces encircled the British troops in a great arc and attacked in fierce charges. The companies of the 24th Regiment formed squares and fired until their ammunition ran out, when they continued to fight with bayonets until they were overwhelmed. That day an estimated 858 white and 471 black soldiers of the British forces, and 3000 Zulus were killed.

Although the British forces won a victory over the Zulus at Ulundi on 4 July 1879 the political effects of the Isandhlwana disaster were far-reaching (see Introduction p 54).

- G.A. Chadwick: The Zulu War of 1879, The Battle of Isandhlwana and the Defence of Rorke's Drift Durban 1964 in S.A. Pamphlets Vol.105.
- J.P. MacKinnon and S.H. Shadbolt: The South African Campaign, 1879, London 1882, reprinted Portsmouth 1973 p 6-13, 30-31.

29. Robert Wilkie

Robert Wilkie had arrived from Daggaboer on 28 Jan. 1879 to enjoy the Grass Ridge fruit. He returned to Daggaboer on 7 Feb. 1879.

30. Young Locusts

Locusts belong to the family Acridoidae of the order Orthoptera. The South African Brown Locust Locustana pardalina occurs in two phases, a solitary one, and a swarming one, which is both gregarious and migratory. Swarms of locusts may destroy vast areas of grazing or crops.

When the eggs hatch from the ground, nymphs or hoppers appear which soon begin to jump about and feed voraciously. The brown locust which occurs in the Karoo moults five times in the hopper phase before the adult winged insect appears. Some of the hoppers are brightly coloured and known as Rooibaadjies or Red-Jackets.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.7 p 20-23.
- A. and E. Klots: Living Insects of the World London 1959 p 19.

### 31. Locust Birds

The term locust bird or Springkaan voël is used of several species which feed on locusts, including the White-bellied Stork Ciconia abdimii and the White Stork Ciconia ciconia.

The white-bellied stork is a large migrant which is often seen in flocks of several hundred. These storks eat quantities of insects especially locusts, and are protected for that reason.

The white stork, also a migrant, is common in the Karoo. Large flocks of them are found where there are locusts or caterpillars on the open veld. The white stork is also protected.

- Branford: Dictionary p 137.
- G.R. McLachlan and R. Liversidge (revisers): Roberts Birds of South Africa 4th edition Cape Town 1978 p 52-53, 49 (colour plate).

32. See fn. 27 p 263.

### 33. Grapes

Grapes are the fruit of several species of Vitis vinifera, a member of the climbing plant family Vitaceae. Several varieties were imported into South Africa from Northern France and the Rhineland in the eighteenth century for wine-making. The Muscadel and Crystal varieties were among the earliest grown. The French grape or Palomino is used for making brandy. The Hanepoot, Muscat d'Alexandria, which is used for wine-making and as a table grape is sometimes called honey pot by association of ideas.

- Branford: Dictionary p 84
- S.E.S.A. Vol.5 p 306-308, Vol.11 p 248, 454-460.

34. See fn 47 p 321.

35. Porcupines

The Hystricidae family, porcupines, are represented in Africa by two subfamilies, the Hystricinae, the Crested Porcupines, and the Atherurinae or Brush-tailed Porcupines which are found mainly in West Africa. The South African porcupine is Hystrix africae-australis, the largest rodent in Africa. This porcupine is about 60 cms. (30 inches) long, a solitary, nocturnal vegetarian animal. Covered with sharp black and white banded quills, it can be aggressive. It rushes backwards at an attacker and the quills, which are loose, may lodge in the body of the predator sometimes with fatal results. Porcupines may cause damage to crops.

- J. Dorst and P. Dandelot: A Field Guide to the Larger Mammals of Africa, London 1972 p 34, 49 (colour plate).

- S.E.S.A. Vol.9 p 11.

- I.T. Sanderson: Living Mammals of the World London 1955 p 146-147.

36. See fn 41 below

37. L. Kitching

Langley Kitching was one of Isaac Sharp's associates who accompanied Sharp on his missionary tour of South Africa. Sharp and Kitching arrived in Grahamstown in January 1879 and spoke at the Bible Society meeting and the Anniversary meeting of the Ark of Safety Lodge, I.O.G.T., early in February. Kitching must have stayed behind in Grahamstown when Sharp visited Daggaboer and rejoined Sharp at Lovedale in March.

- E.S. 7,11 Feb.1879.

- G.T.J. 31 Jan.1879.

38. See fn 40 below.

39. Kaffir Corn

Kaffir corn is the seed or grain of several species of the Sorghum plant group, especially Sorghum caffrorum. When the grain is ground up it is used to make porridge, and when sprouted is used in the brewing of Kaffir beer. Kaffir beer was originally a home-brewed fermented beverage made from malted Kaffir corn. Kaffir beer is now produced commercially and for municipal beer halls.

Kaffir corn is highly drought resistant and flourishes on

heavy soils. Several hybrid varieties are grown commercially. The prefix Kaffir may mean indigenous or may carry offensive overtones.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.6 p 265-266.
- Branford: Dictionary p 106-108.

#### 40. Healdtown

Healdtown, a Wesleyan mission station situated 11 kms. north of Fort Beaufort, was founded in 1853 by the Rev. John Ayliff on the site of a former L.M.S. mission station, Birklands, which had been established in 1844. Healdtown was in a district settled by Mfengu.

In 1855 Sir George Grey, the Governor of the Cape, established an Industrial School at Healdtown which taught manual and agricultural skills. Healdtown also offered primary and higher education and teacher training. The Healdtown Institution building was opened on 14 May 1857. The industrial department was not very successful and closed in 1865.

In 1867 Healdtown was reopened as a training institution for teachers and for Wesleyan theological students. James Heald, a Secretary of the W.M.M.S., and his sister, gave £1000 towards it. Healdtown was criticized by the Wesleyan church authorities for poor administration and extravagance and the theological seminary was closed in 1883. The teacher training department and school continued and were transferred to state control in 1955.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.5 p 454.
- L.A. Hewson: Healdtown; A Study of a Methodist Experiment in African Education. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Rhodes University 1959; Vol.I p 134, 137-8, 148-172; Vol.II p 223-4, 238, 244, 247, 258, 268-278, 289.

#### 41. Lovedale

The Lovedale mission near Alice was founded in November 1824 by two missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society the Rev. John Bennie and the Rev. John Ross. They called the mission Lovedale after Dr. John Love, Secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society. After the frontier war of 1834 the mission was moved westwards to

the banks of the Tyumie River.

In 1841 the Lovedale Institution, a school, seminary and teacher training institution was founded. The Rev. William Govan became its first principal. In 1855 an industrial department was added under Sir George Grey's scheme for Industrial Schools. Wagon-making, carpentry and bookbinding were taught. Lovedale flourished, partly because of sound financial organisation. The Main Education building was started in 1876 and completed in 1883 at an estimated cost of £12,000. By 1905 there were 750 pupils at Lovedale.

In 1916 the South African Native College, Fort Hare, was opened. Lovedale came under state control under legislation of 1953.

- R.H.W. Shepherd: Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century 1841-1941 Lovedale n.d. p2, 64, 87, 94, 133, 176, 196, 263, 284.
- S.E.S.A. Vol.7 p 44

42. See fn. 37 p 371.

43. King William's Town

King William's Town is situated on the banks of the Buffalo River on the site of an L.M.S. mission station which was established there in 1826. The mission station was destroyed in the frontier war of 1834. The following year (1835) a military post, Fort Hill, was established. The village which grew up on the west bank of the Buffalo River was called King William's Town in 1835, in honour of the reigning monarch.

In 1847 King William's Town became the capital of the new province of British Kaffaria. More buildings for the expanded military establishment were erected, including barracks for 400 soldiers, officers' quarters, commissariat and ordnance stores and a military hospital. Besides the Imperial troops the F.A.M.P. were garrisoned there.

In 1858-1859 over 300 German immigrants arrived and were settled in a "German village" at the southern end of the town. King William's Town became an important trading centre which served the eastern districts and the Transkei. A large hospital, the Grey Hospital, was opened on 18 June 1859. The town was incorporated

in 1861 and was linked by rail to East London in 1877. In recent years it has become an educational centre.

- S.E.S.A. Vol.6 p 400-401.
- C.L.; MS 14616; A.W. Burton: Rise and progress of King William's Town, 1835-1862, unpublished typescript with map, p 3-6, 9-11, 15-16, 18, 28, 34, 37-38.

#### 44. Ross' Mission Station

Ross' mission station near King William's Town was named the Pirie Mission after the Rev. Alexander Pirie, one of the founders of the Glasgow Missionary Society. The Pirie Mission was established in May 1830 by the missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society and was closely associated with one of them, the Rev. John Ross and his family. Ross worked in the area from 1823 until his death in 1878. His son, the Rev. Bryce Ross also became a missionary and was stationed at Pirie from 1861 until his death in 1897.

- R.H.W. Shepherd: Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century 1841-1941 Lovedale n.d. p 23, 81, 193, 519.

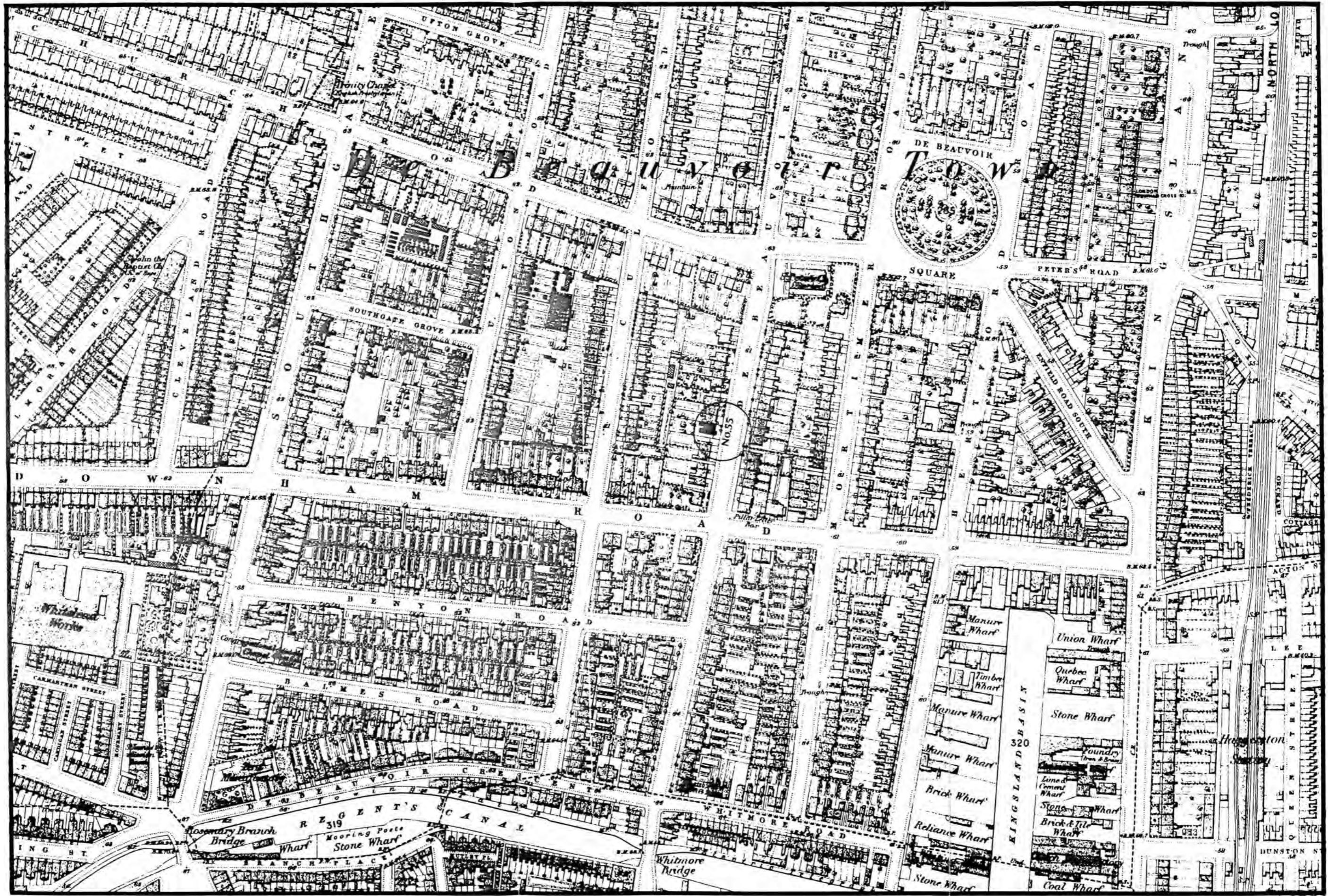
#### 45. Halls

Halls was a roadside hotel on one of the main routes to King William's Town.

#### 46. Rev. C. Clark

The Rev. Charles Clark was a touring lecturer who visited Grahamstown twice: 1-7 April and 13-18 April 1879. His subjects were historical and literary and included lectures on Westminster Abbey, the Tower of London, Oliver Cromwell, Dickens and Thackeray. He was a highly popular speaker. He returned to Grahamstown unexpectedly on Sunday 13 April and preached that evening at Commemoration Chapel. He left on 16 April for Port Elizabeth on his way back to England.

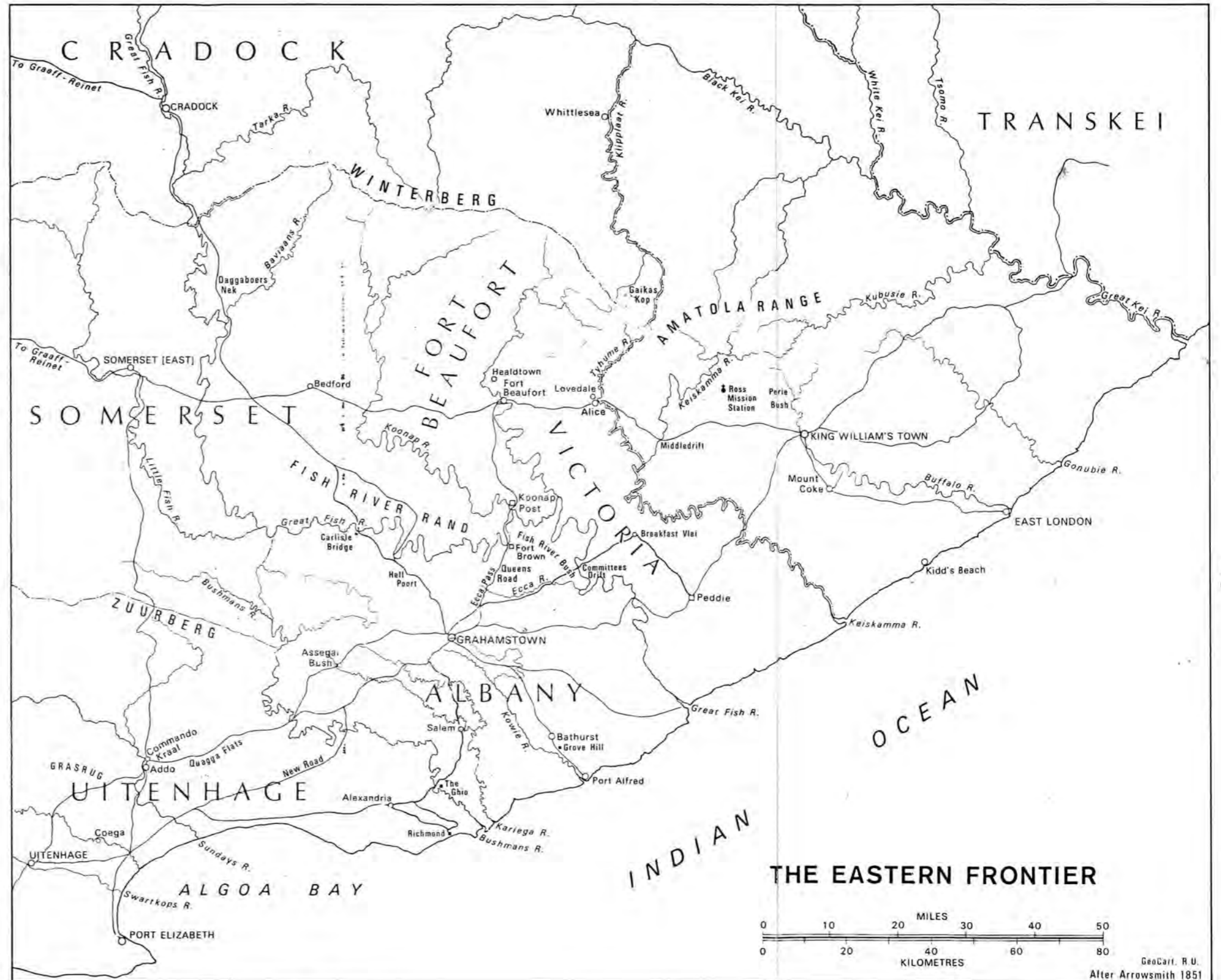
- G.T.J. 2,4,7,15, 18 April 1879.
- E.S. 1, 4, 8, 15, 18 April 1879.



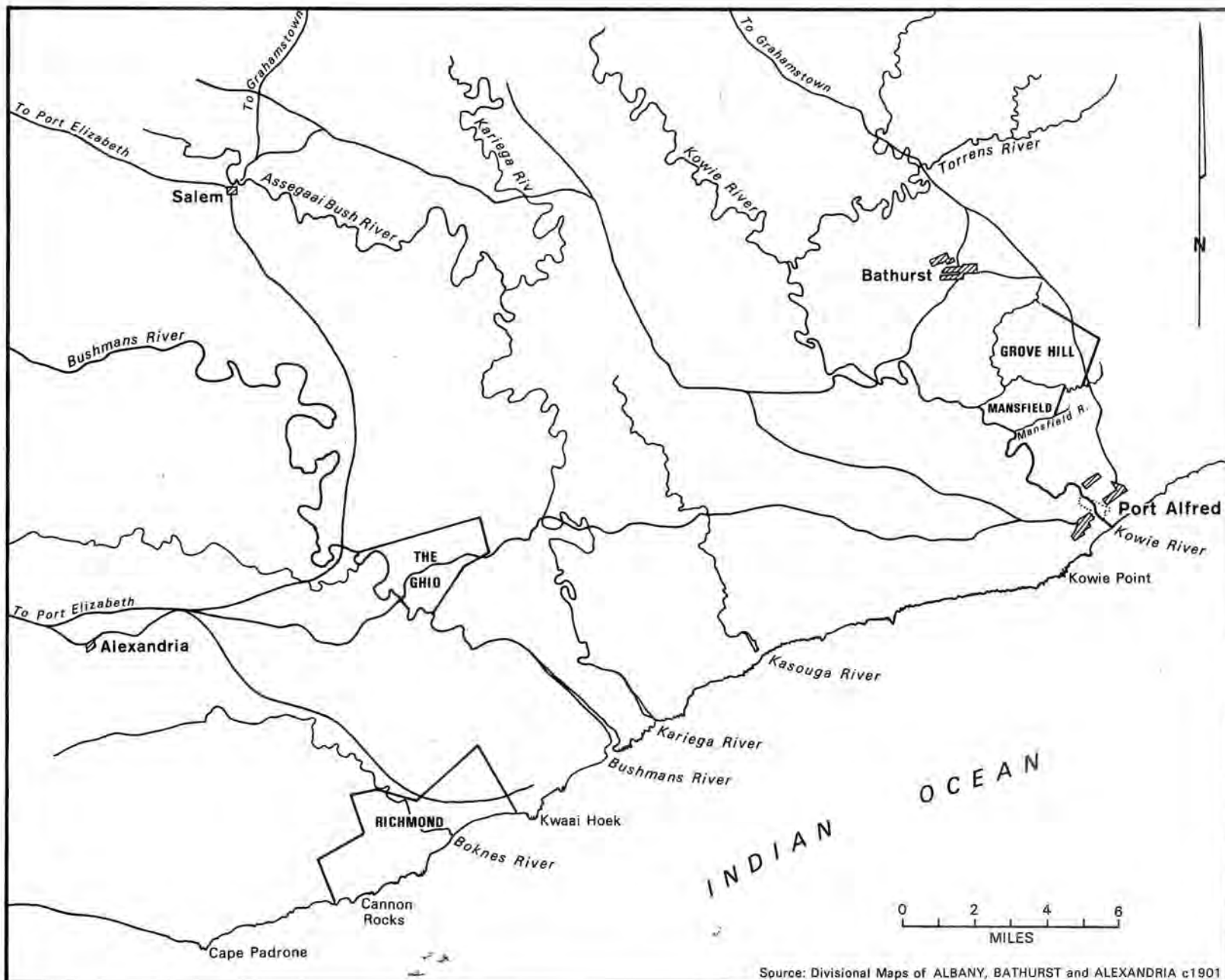
Part of the Ordnance Survey map, 1870, London, showing the Butlers' house.

The Main Journeys made by James Butler, 1876-1879

1. Port Elizabeth - Grahamstown  
(via New Road) 6 Dec. 1876
2. Grahamstown - Peddie -  
Grahamstown 19-29 May 1877
3. Grahamstown - Richmond -  
The Ghio - Grahamstown 12 Oct.-10 Dec. 1877
4. Grahamstown - Grove  
Hill - Grahamstown 25 Feb.-6 May 1878
5. Grahamstown - Cradock 7-13 May 1878
6. Cradock - Grahamstown -  
Somerset East - Cradock 15 Oct.-13 Nov. 1878
7. Cradock -  
Graaff-Reinet - Daggaboer 20 Nov.-24 Dec. 1878
8. Cradock -  
Fort Beaufort - King William's Town -  
Grahamstown 3 March-7 April 1879

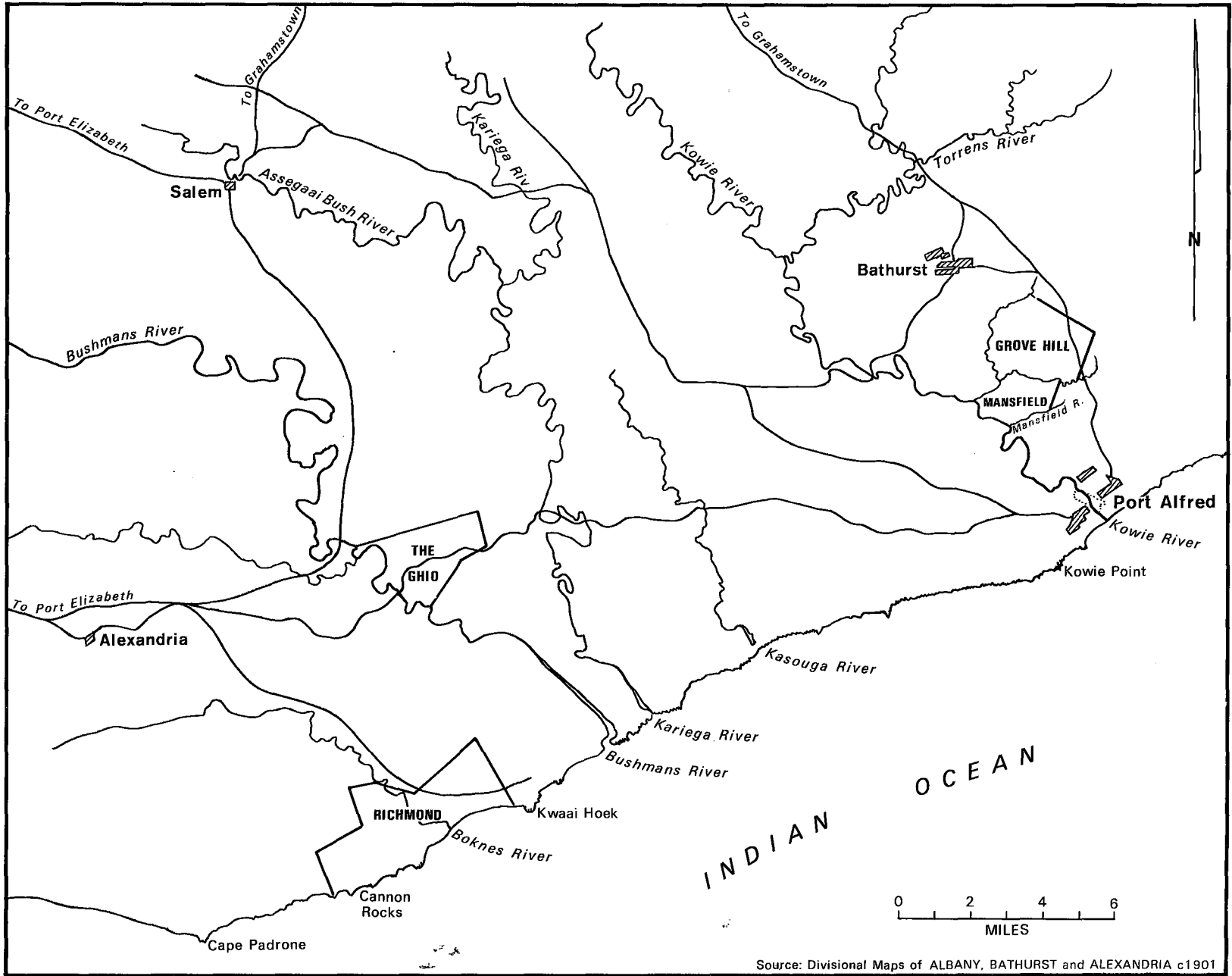


Map to show the places visited by Butler.



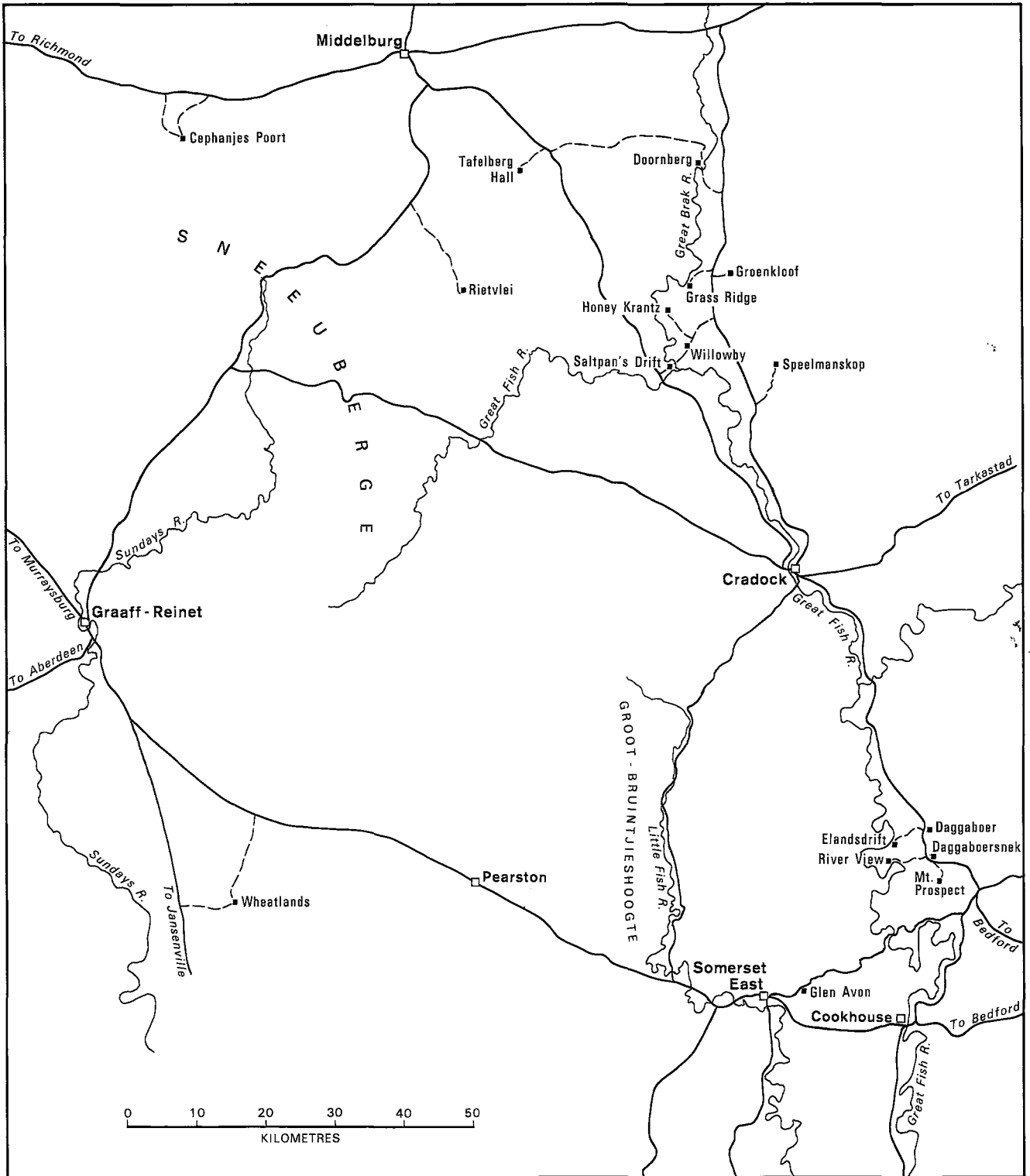
MAP SHOWING FARMS  
IN ALBANY VISITED  
BY BUTLER

Source: Divisional Maps of ALBANY, BATHURST and ALEXANDRIA c1901



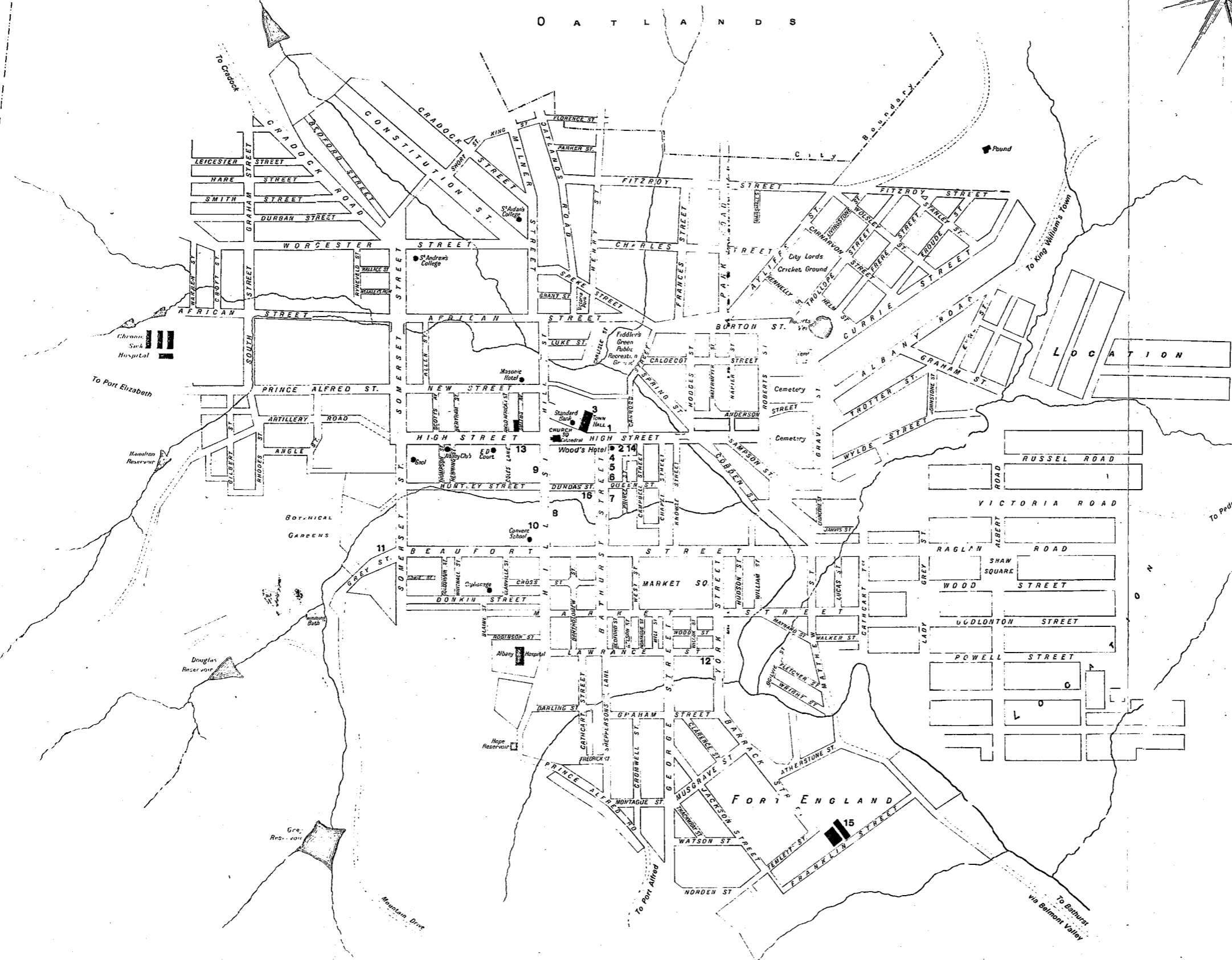
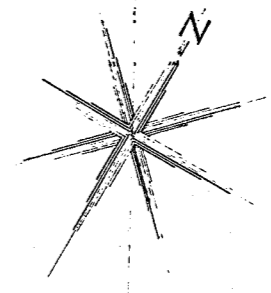
MAP SHOWING FARMS  
IN ALBANY VISITED  
BY BUTLER

Source: Divisional Maps of ALBANY, BATHURST and ALEXANDRIA c1901



MAP SHOWING THE FARMS IN THE CRADOCK DISTRICT VISITED BY JUIER

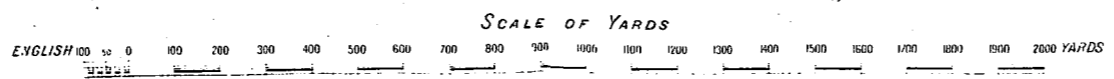
# PLAN OF THE CITY OF GRAHAMSTOWN



Map of Grahamstown based on E. Grubb's plan, 1909.

### KEY

- 1 Commemoration Church
- 2 Shaw Hall
- 3 Library(1879)
- 4 Museum
- 5 H.C. Galpin's Store
- 6 T.H. Copeland's Store
- 7 Baptist Chapel
- 8 Albany or I.O.G.T. Hall
- 9 St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Procathedral
- 10 Trinity Presbyterian Church
- 11 T.H. Copeland's House The Grotto
- 12 Mrs. Passmore's Boarding House (Approx. Site)
- 13 Post Office
- 14 Wesley Chapel
- 15 Fort England
- 16 Union Chapel



APPENDIX 1

Reminiscences of Willie [Shaw]

Introduction

James Butler wrote his Reminiscences of Willie Shaw very soon after he had heard the news of Shaw's death on 16 March 1878. The piece is bound in the diary between two sections of the entry for 20 March 1878. It does not form part of the text and can be read independently.

Death was a common experience in Victorian homes both in England and overseas. During the nineteenth century the population of the United Kingdom increased vastly; but so did the number of deaths. In the five year period 1871-1875 the deathrate per thousand was 22.0: the birthrate 35.7 per thousand.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of the figures of the 1860's Dr. William Farr, Superintendent of the Statistical Department of the office of the Registrar General, predicted in the Annual Report for 1872 that 13,785 young people between the ages of 20 and 24 would die of consumption alone.<sup>2</sup> The high mortality rate in all classes of society and particularly amongst the young was a sad and sobering fact.

Nearly everybody from the Queen downwards had experienced the death of a near relation. Butler had lost his sister. Queen Victoria herself as a young woman had heard the "painfully interesting details of the King's last illness"<sup>3</sup> and had mourned the death of her husband Prince Albert for years. The customs and practices associated with mourning such as special clothes and restricted social activity, rendered obligatory in some form by the Queen's example, extended far beyond the actual death and burial. The memoir or reminiscences formed part of this mourning ritual.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines reminiscences as "the collective memories or experiences of a person put into literary form (1811)"<sup>4</sup> Such pieces owed something also to the formal death notice or obituary which often in the nineteenth century included a brief biographical sketch of the deceased.<sup>5</sup> Reminiscences were often hagiographical, highly formalised, with much sentimental detail. A major section was concerned with the deathbed. In an introduction the dying person was set in his context: a brief life story was given together with a resumé of the author's relationship with the deceased. The description of the process of dying was concluded with a summary of the moral lessons to be learned and perhaps a pious hope that readers would be benefitted.

Within a highly stylized outline the memoir might provide an illuminating glimpse of Victorian family life. The memoir of her children<sup>6</sup> written by Mrs. Tait, the wife of the Dean of Carlisle, describes the tightly restricted, carefully regulated yet vital and joyful lives of her daughters. The five little girls all died within six weeks from scarlet fever in 1856; a domestic tragedy which, sadly, was not unique. Mrs. Tait's hope was that her memoir might

"Speak a word of comfort to those upon whom a similar burden is laid, and who are feeling that it is too heavy to bear."<sup>7</sup>

The writing of a memoir might provide a way for the bereaved to express their grief. In 1878 Archbishop White Benson wrote a memoir of the life and death of his son Martin White Benson who died at the age of seventeen on 9 February 1878.<sup>8</sup> Written only a week after the boy's death it conveys the father's devastating sense of loss. It provides also a picture of the ideal of mid-Victorian education as exemplified in Martin White Benson.

John Reed in his book Victorian Conventions has explored some of the literary conventions associated with illness, suffering and death. Reed shows how the conventions were used to inculcate proper moral beliefs. For the Victorians suffering acquired a moral function: the ennoblement of the sufferer and also of the witnesses.

The moral and didactic purposes are clearly expressed by the Rev. William Shaw in his Preface to William Impey's Memorial of Harriet Langford Impey,<sup>9</sup> a memoir which Butler himself read.<sup>10</sup> Harriet was Impey's fourth daughter who died in 1868.<sup>11</sup> She was Shaw's granddaughter. Shaw quotes Impey's introduction to the original edition:

"This brief memorial of a beloved child, is recorded in the hope that it may prove a pleasant remembrance to the members of the family, and that it may also be of some lasting benefit, especially to the younger branches."<sup>12</sup>

The Memorial follows the standard pattern: an account of Harriet's life and her death, which was a painful and protracted one. The piece ends without the usual moral precepts, but they are implied throughout.

Butler's Reminiscences of Willie Shaw represent his attempt to conform to the prescribed literary pattern. He begins with a brief sketch of Willie Shaw's life with emphasis on his own knowledge of Shaw. It is interesting to notice that Shaw's nickname for Butler was "Uncle", though Butler was four years younger than Shaw. Most memoirs were written by a close but senior relation: father, mother, uncle or older brother.

For the detailed account of Shaw's death Butler had to rely on the evidence of Lieutenant Purdon, together with Shaw's own field diary, which apparently was not preserved. Butler's version of Shaw's death is supported by the newspaper accounts.<sup>13</sup> Unusually, from the memoir point of view, Shaw did not die at home but by violence in wartime.

Ironically he was killed not by the enemy but by a friend. In spite of all these differences Butler ends according to the prescribed pattern with a sentence which underlines the moral lesson: "May we all heed Willie's dying warning 'Take the advice of a dying man and prepare for your dying moments'".

There can be no doubt that Butler's grief was genuine and deep. His health was adversely affected. There is a tradition in the Butler family that Shaw's death permanently influenced Butler's attitude towards the Xhosa; that subconsciously he blamed them for instigating the war which was the reason for Shaw's death.<sup>14</sup>

The memoir was a characteristically Victorian literary form. By the end of the nineteenth century changes were evident both in the social conditions and in the mental climate of Victorian Britain. Not only did authors find it increasingly difficult to explain pain and death in a culture "deeply committed to material progress"<sup>15</sup> but the circumstances which made deaths at home so common began to change. More people died in hospital. The memoir with its deathbed convention had reflected social fact<sup>16</sup> in acceptable literary form and had perhaps helped to make death itself less bitterly distressing.

Footnotes to Introduction to Reminiscences

1. Census figures quoted in D. Read: England 1868-1914 London 1979, p 6. Hereafter Read: England 1868-1914.
2. Figures quoted in Read: England 1868-1914 p 7. These were the projected figures for people who had survived childhood. Infectious diseases were the great killers of infants and young children.
3. Quoted in John R. Reed: Victorian Conventions Ohio 1975 p 156. Hereafter Reed: Victorian Conventions.
4. The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1971 Vol.II p 2485.
5. The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary Oxford 1971 Vol.I p 1963.
6. Extracts quoted in D. Newsome: Godliness and Good Learning London 1961 p 76-78. Hereafter Newsome: Godliness.
7. Quoted in Newsome: Godliness p 76.
8. Newsome: Godliness p 148-194.
9. William Impey: Memorial of Harriet Langford Impey who died at Heald Town, South Africa, aged twelve years and ten months. London 1870. Hereafter Impey: Memorial.
10. "... I sat down to rest and read "Memorial of Harriet Langford Impey" a little book detailing the very beautiful experience of a young Christian passing through "the valley of the shadow of death." The beauty of the story is that it is true, a very important point which cannot always be said of such accounts."  
  - Jim's Journal 13 Feb. 1877.
11. G.T.J. 10, 12 Aug.1868.
12. Impey: Memorial p 3.
13. G.T.J. 4, 22 March 1878; E.S. 19 March 1878; Grocott's Penny Mail 19, 22 March 1878.
14. Information supplied by Professor Guy Butler to the editor on 19 March 1982.
15. Reed: Victorian Conventions p 20.
16. Reed: Victorian Conventions p 171.

Reminiscences of Willie [Shaw]

Reminiscences of Willie [Shaw].

William Abercrombie Shaw was born at Guernsey the 20th of February 1850 and was killed in the Perie Bush the 16th of March 1878. I first met Willie at Richmond farm the 13th of October 1877. Mr. and Mrs. Shaw and family were staying there with Mr. B. Dell, having moved there from their own farm the "Ghio" for greater safety, during the Kafir war which had then only just begun. Willie and his brother James were living at Richmond farming a portion of it. R. Wilkie had first gone to the Ghio on a visit, but finding it suited him so well had considerably prolonged it [his stay] and I was now paying a visit to Richmond to see him and the Shaws. That evening was the first time I saw Willie and we were friends at once and he gave me one of his photos. We talked about the Diamond Fields where he had been some time, about kurveying<sup>1</sup> etc. etc.

The next day was Sunday, one of those quiet holy Sabbaths spent away from any chapel but not without service morning and evening and Willies voice was very helpful in the singing.

We stayed at Richmond six weeks. We never had the remotest approach to any unpleasantness; Willie was such an open hearted, generous, lively fellow that he was friends with everybody and everybody liked him. He was always the life of the party and the foremost in any fun and when one of the tenants .... was married Willie was the busiest in making preparations to welcome him home. He was also a tall fine, well-built and handsome man, a fearless rider, strong and athletic. We were all soon "cousins" but Willie took to calling me "uncle".

The government announcing that the war in Galeaka land was virtually over, we thought it safe to go back to the Ghio which is

considered dangerous in war time as it is so surrounded on all sides by dense bush. But before the things were unloaded from the wagon Willie and James who had been in town met us with more disquieting news from the front. Pending the uncertain state of affairs we did not settle down at the Ghio, the things were not unpacked more than was absolutely necessary and we waited and watched the course of events for a fortnight. One day returning from a ride with Mr. S[haw] we found Willie had brought one of our bi-weekly posts from Alexandria containing the alarming news of the battle of Umzintzani<sup>2</sup> in which our friend Hornabrook was wounded, this with other disquieting items about the Gaikas made Willie decide that the Ghio was not safe, in case of a general Kafir war; though Richmond might be safe it would be overcrowded and uncomfortable and consequently that we must all "trek"<sup>3</sup> into town. The other sons seemed to coincide with this view tho' Willie was the leader of it and early on the Saturday morning following this Thursday afternoon we were on the road to Grahamstown. Some furniture, clothes etc. were taken with the wagon, all else was packed up and left in charge of the sons - possibly to be burnt by the Kafirs.

We arrived in Grahamstown the tenth of December, R[obert] W[ilkie] and I returned to our former lodgings, Mrs. S[haw] soon took a house and of course we were constantly calling there.

Then with Christmas and the New Year came the actual outbreak of the Gaikas, no one could say what might not happen and though the worst fears happily were not realised it was for some time as much as the troops could do to hold their own and even now nearly four months afterwards we do not see the beginning of the end.

Willie had frequently talked of going to the front but had been dissuaded by his mother, but early in February he thought it his duty to go and on the 13th went in command of a party of 28 men who

subsequently joined Capt. Gardiners troop.<sup>4</sup>

We spent the evening with him at Mrs. Gilfillans just before he left and on the morning of his departure went into town and waited to see him start, his company being the only one I have ever made a point of seeing off.

I never saw Willie looking so serious and thoughtful as he did that morning; he was busy arranging about rations and many matters of detail for his troop so that we only had an opportunity of seeing him for a very few minutes at his hotel. After wishing him "good bye" here we all went down to Bathurst St to watch the actual start and see the last of them, tho' all had not intended doing so. He was mounted on his own favorite horse and took up a spare one. When the orders were given by Commandant Minto "Prepare to mount", "Mount", Willie quietly obeyed but never even looked toward us and moved off with a very serious if not a sad look.

I wrote to him for his birthday and the same day two of his brothers went forward under Capt. Gush but neither of them, though both were officers looked so concerned about the matter as did Willie.

Then a few days after we left Grahamstown again with the Shaws and came to their new farm between Bathurst and the Kowie. The war was considered to be localised but before we reached the farm we had another disquieting telegram from Willie. We moved into Bathurst while this house was being renovated and the chief events of the week were the arrival on Wednesdays and Saturdays of the post which now had an enhanced interest. Willie was very good in writing and in turn wrote to each of his brothers and sisters and on the 16th of March I had a letter from him replying to my birthday letter. He asked for any spare English papers and we sent him several by the next post.

But alas! before we posted these papers Willie was dead.

He kept a rough Journal to the day before his death and from it we gather that after passing through Maclean he went on patrol through the Gonubie and Kwelegha rivers, saw the ruins of burnt farm houses and the place where the Taintons and Brown were murdered.<sup>5</sup> On one occasion during the night he heard a horse making off and calling the guards found them asleep: at other times when there was nothing particular to do they played foot-ball or went hunting. On the [11 January?]<sup>6</sup> he joined Capt. Gardners troop with his men and was made Sergeant. He received my letter on the 2nd March and answered it on the 6th. One man who had been abusive to the Capt[ain] was publicly dismissed but on confessing that it was under the influence of drink and apologising, he was re-admitted with a caution which was extended to the whole company. Besides their relaxation they of course sometimes had to put up with hardships and Willie notes "if we liked could make ourselves very miserable." Two or three times he met R. Bruce who lived on the adjoining farm (and was his old schoolfellow and intimate friend) and had joined Bowkers Rovers,<sup>7</sup> but shortly afterwards died in the hospital of typhus fever though he went there suffering from dysentery.

Hitherto they had been under Commandant Brabant but orders coming from K[ing] W[illiam's] Town for 120 picked men to proceed thither immediately he with some others from the same troop were selected.

On the 10th they were at Stutterheim where some German farmers had been murdered and their houses burnt over them.<sup>8</sup> One of these farmers was reported to have been making assegais. A young man...recently from England had been killed in an engagement and was about to be buried but W[illie] thinking the grave not deep enough jumped in and dug it about 2 ft. deeper.

On the 12th he was in an engagement near Isidingi and 2 bullets passed over his head. The 13th he was in camp with a large number of Europeans and natives nearly a thousand in all, here he met his brother James who was with another troop of Albany men under Capt. Gush. The next day he was ordered at once to K[ing] W[illiam's] T[own] but on the way was met by the General and ordered to Ross' Mission Station<sup>9</sup> adjoining the Perie Bush which Willie notes should be called the Perie "Krantz"<sup>10</sup> so precipitous is it. By a silenced march they were placed to waylay an outlet from this Bush, the last link in a chain surrounding it and hemming in the rebels.

On the 15th he notes being awake most of the previous night, the horses were knee-haltered,<sup>11</sup> they heard the Kafirs talking in the Bush, his horse eat his biscuits "so to-day I have simply nothing" that is his last memorandum, but he wrote a letter the following day.

As I lay on the sofa after dinner on Monday the 18th reading the paper I was surprised to hear some one say "here is a cart with Uncle Chapman and Barbara [Shaw]." Mr. C[hapman] alighted, hurriedly asked for Mr. Shaw and took him aside and it was evident something was wrong and on going to the cart we heard the sad news that Willie was dead.

Then of course there was a distressing scene such as I do not wish to have to witness again, Mrs. Shaw in an agony of grief, Mr. S[haw] quite broken down, the whole house wrapt in sadness. Instead of the bright faces, we saw countenances marred with weeping; instead of every one flitting about playfully, there were forms in black sadly moving about; everyone seemed to want to get away from everybody and finding myself powerless to be of any good I was glad to get away into the bush there to grieve and meditate - "alone, yet not alone."

Mr. Chapman was a great comforter and that evening and the next

morning conducted family prayer beautifully and consolingly. It was some days before Mr. Shaw could take any vocal part in the same service but though he broke down when he did he was enabled submissively to say "Thy will be done" and to bless the Lord for all His dealings and pray that Willies death might prove a blessing to many souls.

Our grief could not stay the course of time and this was a blessing - for as day by day passed the bitter seemed more and more to be taken out of the sorrow, comforting letters came from all parts of the Colony and though each post afresh opened the wound and perhaps gave us a fuller sight of its depth, the assurances of the deep sympathy and prayers of so many good people was a great solace. Then again there came to mind many little things, trivial in themselves and not thought very much of at the time, which went to build up the hope, subsequently "a sure and certain hope" that our loss was his gain, that he was prepared for death and is now "with Christ which is far better". It was remembered how his mother on giving him a small pocket testament to take was met with the reply as a rebuff "I have one already", how he asked his father to pray with him before he started, his seriousness at starting, his loss of interest and ambition in his worldly concerns and similar testimonies from some of his companions outside the family.

Lieutenant Purdon called at the farm on his return from the front and the following details of the accident are from him.

Lieut[enant] Purdon was sent on the night of the 16th to watch a field of mealies where it was thought the Kafirs might be coming in the night for food, arrived at the spot they found a ruined house where the main party of them found shelter from the rain. L[ieutenant] P[urdon] called for volunteers for the first watch, two men to be placed about 20 yards apart, each side of the house. Willie tho' not liable for guard duty, being an officer, at once volunteered and asked his friend

Berrington to go with him saying "I have a watch, I will relieve myself when the two hours are up."

At the expiration of his time he rose from the stooping posture he had been in and throwing his macintosh over his shoulders was starting for the house, when one of the men at the door mistaking him for a Kafir throwing his blanket over him, shot - there was no challenge, it is said their orders were not to challenge - the aim was deadly, the bullet entered his chest on the left side just under the collar bone and must have glanced downwards internally for it did not pass through. Of course the shot alarmed the others and directly three guns were levelled at Berrington who just had time to save himself by calling out "For God's sake, what are you doing you have shot one of our own men."

Of course everything was then done that could be done, a door was torn down for a stretcher, but he could not lie down on it as he felt suffocating, a number of men were mounted in a few minutes ready to start in two directions for a doctor, but it was evidently no use doing that.

Whilst he was being encouraged by some one saying his voice was stronger, he said "No, I'm dying, I'm not afraid to die." As they carried him to the camp he called the Lieut[enant] and said "Purdon, pray for me." Then he prayed for himself and then asked "who shot me" and when the poor young fellow .....to whom Willie had been very kind and who was very fond of and obliging to Willie, was brought, he gave him his hand and said "I forgive you." Then he prayed for his parents and then especially for his mother and Lieut[enant] P[urdon] (who is a good young man) said he showed that he was no stranger to prayer.

He spoke to his comrades "Take the advice of a dying man and

prepare for your dying moments" and then gave Lieut[enant] P[urdon] a message for the young lady he loved.<sup>12</sup>

Instead of being taken to the Camp he was carried to the Mission Station where the minister was with him and also Capt. Gardner and other of his friends.

About his last words were "Tell my dear mother, it's all right", "how will she bear it."

From the time of the accident to the moment he breathed his last was about an hour during the whole of which time he was perfectly conscious.

It is a great comfort to his friends that his body did not fall into the hands of the enemy to be mutilated but met with a Christian burial. A regular coffin was made for him and he was buried close by the Mission Station in the same piece of ground that Mrs. Ross the wife of a former missionary and mother of the present one lies [in], but a few yards off. There in a lovely spot close by a constant running stream and surrounded by tall yellow wood trees lie the remains of "Willie". If ever I am near Ross' Mission Station by the Perie Bush I shall certainly try and visit the spot where Willie Shaw is buried. I shall never see his fine figure and handsome face again, nor hear his hearty laugh, nor receive another warm shake of the hand but I trust I shall see him "in the sweet bye and by" when he will be clothed in white and I shall hear his voice singing that new song when we meet on that beautiful shore.

May we all heed Willie's dying warning "Take the advice of a dying man and prepare for your dying moments."

Footnotes to Reminiscences

1. See fn. 49 p 268.

2. Battle of Umzintzani

A sharp engagement took place between colonial and Gcaleka forces on 2 Dec. 1877 at Holland's trading store, Mzintzani, not far from Butterworth. Early that morning a force of some 800-1000 Gcaleka made a surprise attack on a combined F.A.M.P.-volunteer force of about 152 men under Inspector J.H.W. Bourne of the F.A.M.P. The colonial troops were on a patrol at the time. They took up position with the two artillery corps, the Grahamstown Volunteer Horse Artillery and the Cape Town Artillery at either end of their line. The guns effectively checked the Gcaleka, who attacked in large numbers, but the battle continued until after 8 p.m.

Some 80-90 Gcaleka were killed to a colonial loss of 2 killed and 7 wounded. One of those wounded was Bombardier Hornabrook of the Grahamstown Volunteer Horse Artillery, Butler's friend. The battle of Umzintzani resulted in heightened panic among the colonists and encouraged colonial blacks to rebel against white rule.

- M.W. Spicer: The War of Ngqayecibi, 1877-1878. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1978, p 137-8, map following p 248.
- G.T.J. 3, 5, 7, 10 Dec. 1877.
- E.S., 7, 11, 14 Dec. 1877.

3. See fn. 7 p 256.

4. Captain Gardiner's troop

Several men from the Salem and Sidbury districts fought in the Transkeian campaign of October-November 1877. Another contingent from those districts left Grahamstown early in 1878 and reached King William's Town on 8 Jan. 1878. These troops were commanded by Captain John Gardner and known as the Albany Rangers. During their three-month tour of duty they joined the Ciskeian patrols and were involved in Colonel Thesiger's campaign to crush the Ngqika in the Perie Bush.

Willie Shaw left Grahamstown for King William's Town on 12 February to join Captain Gardner's troop. He was in command of 28 local men who were equipped at their own expense. Shaw was

killed accidentally in the Perie Bush on 16 March. On 6 April Captain Gardner's troop returned to Grahamstown. They had captured 4000-5000 head of cattle and the E.S. estimated that each man would gain nearly £100 from the sale of these animals. See fn 43 p 211.

- Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 179-180, map following p 183.
- E.S. 15 Jan. 1878, 12 Feb. 1878, 19 March 1878, 9 April 1878.
- G.T.J. 25, 28 Jan. 1878, 8, 18 March 1878, 8 April 1878.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 19 March 1878, 9 April 1878, 12 Feb. 1878.

#### 5. Taintons and Brown

Richard Tainton was a magistrate with special responsibility for the blacks in the King William's Town district. When Captain Brabant, the officer in charge of the colonial war effort in the Ciskei, was eager to punish some stock thieves who had defied him on 24 Dec. 1877, Tainton persuaded Brabant not to attack the thieves' kraal with his volunteers (including Bowker's corps, see fn. 7 below), but to let him mediate.

On 31 Dec. 1877 Richard Tainton, his brother John and Field Cornet William Brown of the Divisional Police, with 50 Mfengu policemen, went to the kraal. The blacks agreed to pay a fine of 12 head of cattle and actually handed over 11 animals. When the whites tried to collect the last animal they found the kraal preparing for war, and retired. Later that day their party was surprised by armed men from the kraal. The police ran away and the three whites were murdered. The blacks involved joined the Ngqika rebels.

Commandant Bowker's troops searched the area on 5 Jan. 1878 and found stores of guns and ammunition. They shot two blacks and took several prisoners. Three men were condemned to death for the murders. The incident exacerbated the fears of both blacks and whites on the frontier.

- G.T.J. 4, 7, 25 Jan. 1878, 11, 25 March 1878.
- E.S. 4, 11 Jan. 1878.
- Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 153-154.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 8, 11 Jan. 1878, 12 March 1878.

6. Dates

In Butler's MS there is a blank space for the date, which he must have intended to fill in later. The exact date on which Willie Shaw joined Gardner and was given his commission is not mentioned in the newspaper reports. A letter from Captain Gardner to Commandant Minto dated 28 Feb. 1878 was printed in the G.T.J. The letter mentioned that Shaw had arrived and been made a sergeant.

- G.T.J. 4 March 1878.

7. Bowker's Rovers

Bowker's Rovers were members of a volunteer corps from the King William's Town district led by Captain (later Commandant) Bertram Egerton Bowker, fifth son of Miles Bowker of Tharfield, Albany. Bowker's Rovers fought in Commandant Griffith's attack on Sarhili's kraal on 9 Oct. 1877 and joined Griffith's column in the Transkeian campaign of October-November 1877. When the volunteers were discharged on 21 Nov. 1877 Bowker's Rovers returned to King William's Town where they were given a hero's welcome. Bowker's troops were also involved in the campaign in the Ciskei (see fn. 4 above) where they held a roving commission.

- Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi p 120.
- G.T.J. 5, 10, 12, 17, 24, 31 Oct. 1877. 9, 21, 26 Nov. 1877, 4, 25 Jan. 1878.
- E.S. 19, 26 Oct. 1877, 27 Nov. 1877, 15 Jan. 1878.
- E. Morse Jones: Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa Cape Town 1969 p 93.

8. German farmers

A number of houses in the Stutterheim district were burnt in the first week of March 1878. The district was one settled by German farmers. Some families were warned in time and escaped, but three German farmers were killed. Their names were Fenski (or Vensky) Siebert and Kapheng.

- G.T.J. 15 March 1878.
- E.S. 15 March 1878.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 15 March 1878.

9. See fn. 44 p 374.
10. See fn. 15 p 365.
11. See fn. 12 p 365.
12. See fn. 37 p 265.

APPENDIX 2

The Biographical Index

Families are listed to show their descent from a common ancestor and the relationships of individuals to one another. In such lists names marked with \* are entered separately in the Biographical Index. These entries carry an indication in square brackets which refers to their position on the family plan, e.g. James Butler B1/2/3.

Information on the women mentioned in the diary has been difficult to discover. Detailed newspaper obituaries are much rarer for women than for men. Women are listed in the Biographical Index as James Butler knew them in 1876-1879. For example, Mrs. Frederick Gilfillan, born Susanna Jane Shaw, was married in 1867. She is entered as Gilfillan, Susanna Jane. Her husband died in 1885 and she subsequently married Archibald Craig. As the eldest daughter of the Rev. Barnabas James Shaw she is listed on the family plan of the Barnabas Shaws and her own entry carries a cross reference to the Shaw family plan: S1/2. When Butler mentions the unmarried daughters of his friends, e.g. Miss Shaw, Miss Impey, he refers to the eldest girls unmarried at the time. Thus, by Miss Chapman he means not the eldest daughter of the Rev. George Chapman, Susanna (who became Mrs. John Cook in 1870), but Mary Elizabeth Chapman who married in 1883.

Except where it seems inappropriate, as for example in the case of Colonial Governors, the religious affiliation of individuals (if known) has been given.

Death notices in newspapers sometimes appeared for several days in succession. Where appropriate the issue in which a separate obituary appears has been cited. Titles (e.g. the Rev., the Hon.); nicknames (e.g. "Lily" for Mary Emma Shaw); and an indication of career (e.g. Shepstone, Sir Theophilus, Administrator) have been mentioned.

References to material in the Cape Archives carry the prefix C.A. Material from the Cory Library is listed with the prefix C.L. and carries an indication of the nature of the document, e.g. C.L.; MS 14879/3, St. George's Church marriage register. The Butler Papers, which are lodged in the Cory Library, are cited under the prefix B.P. For other abbreviations see list p iii.

Families have been listed under the following initials:

Ayliff	A
Butler	B
Cawood	Ca
Chapman	Ch
Collett	C
Cook	Co
Galpin	G
Gush	Gu
Impey	Im
Krige	K
Barnabas Shaw	S
William Shaw	W
Simey	Si
Trollip	T
Wood	Wo

ALEXANDER, Alfred c.1849-17 Aug. 1892

Quaker.

Before he came to South Africa for health reasons at the end of 1876 Alfred Alexander had served as a partner in the firm of Alexander and Son, Corinium Iron Works, Cirencester, England. He was a member of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers. For about fourteen years he carried on business as an engineer in South Africa. When gold was discovered in the 1880's he went to the Witwatersrand and became manager of the Zuurbelt General Mining Company. Later he managed the Bantjes General Mining Company.

He married on 12 June 1877 Frances Patton Impey [Im 1/7], daughter of the Rev. William Impey. They had three children. He died in Johannesburg on 17 August 1892 and was buried in the cemetery at Braamfontein, Johannesburg.

He had known James Butler in England. Butler met him when he landed at Cape Town and again when he reached Grahamstown on 22 December 1876. He came to South Africa as the representative of Messrs. Tangye Brothers, Hydraulic and General Engineers. His advertisement in the Graham's Town Journal offered consultation on woolwashing machinery and engineering plants.

- G.T.J. 18 May 1877, 13 June 1877, 20, 23 Aug. 1892.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No. 745; M.A., Commemoration Church Church marriage register.
- Albany Museum; File SMD 580 (13), Shaw family.

The AYLIFFS

Wesleyan.

The Rev. John Ayliff 1797-1862, 1820 settler, was a Wesleyan minister and missionary to the Mfengu. He became the first principal of the Healdtown Training Institution, author of a Xhosa grammar, a history of the Mfengu and diaries of the early struggles of the 1820 settlers. He married on 25 June 1820 Jane Dold, a fellow settler. She died on 7 May 1889 at the age of 90. Their children were:-

- |    |          |                                |
|----|----------|--------------------------------|
| A1 | John     | 1821-1878                      |
| A2 | Reuben*  | 1823-1899                      |
| A3 | Daughter | 6 Sept. 1824-? died in infancy |
| A4 | William* | 1825-1905                      |
| A5 | Matthew  | 1826-1829 died young           |
| A6 | Mark     | 1827-? died young              |

- A7 Jonathan\* 1829-1885  
 A8 James 1831-1910  
 A9 Jane 1833-1847 died aged 13 years 5 months  
 A10 Esther\* 1835-1900  
 A11 Sarah Ann 1837-1916  
 A12 Elibabeth Gardner 1839-1897, married the Rev. C.F. Overton  
       in 1867  
 A13 Nathaniel Arthur 1842 died young.

- G.T.J. 27 Dec. 1867, 9 May 1889, 1 May 1897.
- D.S.A.B. Vol.1 p 28.
- I. Mitford-Barberton: "Ayliff" in Familia, Year II-III, No. 4, 1965-6, p 90-93.
- C.L.; MS 15784; M.A., Pamphlet by the Rev. J. Walton on the life of Mrs. Ayliff, Grahamstown 1862, with enclosed newspaper obituary; letter dated 29 April 1847 from Elizabeth Stenland to Mrs. Ayliff, sympathising over death of Jane; A memoir of the Rev. John Ayliff by a friend, Grahamstown 1862.
- C.L., MS 15613; M.A., Booklet entitled Libbie with details of the life of Elizabeth Overton.
- C.L.; MS 1987; M.A., notes on Ayliff family.

AYLIFF, Reuben 28 March 1823-19 Oct. 1899 [A2] Wesleyan

Reuben Ayliff was born at Salem and educated at the Salem Academy. He commanded the Mfengu levies in the frontier war of 1850 and became an Interpreter for the Eastern Districts Court.

In 1869 he was elected Mayor of Grahamstown but lost his position when he went to the Diamond Fields for too long. On his return he was re-elected until 1872.

He had a distinguished career in local government in Grahamstown and in the Cape Parliament. He was elected M.L.A. for Uitenhage 1866-1873.

He was a staunch Wesleyan and active member of Commemoration Church. He was a prominent member of the Independent Order of Good Templars. He represented the Ark of Safety Lodge, Grahamstown, at the annual meeting of the Grand Lodge of South Africa at King William's Town in 1877. He went twice to America as the official representative of South African Good Templary.

He lived in Grey Street, Grahamstown. His courtesy and friendly

disposition made him a popular citizen despite frequent and extended absences from Grahamstown when he travelled with the Eastern Districts Court or on temperance business.

He never married. Towards the end of his life he had a long period of poor health. He died at Rock Cottage, Grey Street, Grahamstown on 19 Oct. 1899 and was buried the following day in the same grave as his mother at his own request.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.1 p 28 (John Ayliff).
- C.L.; MS 15899/1 No. 22; M.A., Commemoration Church Baptism Register.
- C.L.; MS 15784; M.A., Papers concerned with Ayliff property.
- G.T.J. 17 Aug. 1877.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1 The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 440.
- Grocott's Dail Mail 19 Oct. 1899, 21 Oct. 1899.

AYLIFF, William 31 Aug. 1825-27 April 1905 [A4] Wesleyan

William Ayliff was educated at the Salem Academy. He became a farmer. He served as a Captain in the Port Elizabeth Fingo Levy in the war of 1850. He became M.L.A. for Fort Beaufort in 1864-1869 and again in 1872-1888. He served as Secretary for Native Affairs in the first Sprigg ministry 1878-1881.

In Grahamstown he became a Town Councillor from October 1885 to June 1903 including a period as Chairman of the Board of Works. He was a director of the Eastern Province Guardian Loan and Insurance Company and a trustee of Commemoration Church.

He married on 27 Oct. 1852 Elizabeth Anne Richards, daughter of Joseph Richards of Truro, Cornwall, and stepdaughter of Robert Godlonton. They had no family. She died on 16 March 1897.

William Ayliff was the owner of a successful farm called Wardens near Fort Beaufort. In later life he lived in Grahamstown at Oak House, Lawrance Street, and died there in 1905 at the age of 78.

- C.L.; MS 15899/1 No. 17; M.A., Commemoration Church baptism register.
- G.T.J. 6 Nov 1852, 2 May 1905, 18 March 1897.
- D.S.A.B. Vol.2 p 18.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 28 April 1905

- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No. 255; M.A., Commemoration Church marriage register.

AYLIFF, Jonathan 17 June 1829-20 Oct. 1885 [A7] Wesleyan

Jonathan Ayliff was born at Salem on 17 June 1829. He was educated at Salem and Bedford. He was articled in 1847 to a Grahamstown attorney, Isaac Faulkner Slater, and qualified as an attorney in 1852. He took over the legal business of George Jarvis. In 1879 he took into partnership William Henry Somerset Bell and Andries Stockenstrom Hutton. The offices of the firm of Ayliff, Bell and Hutton were in Hayton's Building, High Street, Grahamstown.

He saw military service in the frontier war of 1846. He became M.L.A. for Victoria East 1864-1866, and M.L.A. for Grahamstown 1879-1885. He served on several parliamentary commissions, to which his knowledge of Xhosa customs and language and his legal training proved most useful. He served briefly as Colonial Secretary in 1884-5.

He was a strict Wesleyan and acted as legal consultant to the Wesleyan church in Grahamstown. Tall, and endowed with a rich voice, he was both tactful and popular, a good public speaker and charming conversationalist. He earned the respect and liking of the whole community.

His wife was Susannah Martha Wood, [Wo5] eldest daughter of the Hon. George Wood. They married in 1854. They had three sons and three daughters and lived in Worcester Street, West Hill.

Ayliff died in London on 20 October 1885. His wife died on 15 Dec. 1890.

- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 440.
- D.S.A.B. Vol.2 p 17.
- G.T.J. 22 Oct. 1885, 16, 18 Dec. 1890.
- G. Randell: Gentlemen of the Law, Lovedale 1982 p 5-7.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No. 304; M.A., Commemoration Church marriage register.

AYLIFF, Esther

14 Sept. 1835-1900

[A10] Wesleyan

"Miss Ayliff"

Esther Ayliff was the elder of the two unmarried daughters of the Rev. John Ayliff. When her father retired from Healdtown in the early 1860's Esther Ayliff went with her parents to Fauresmith in the Orange Free State to stay with her brother Reuben. There her father died in 1862.

She accompanied her mother and sister Sarah Ann to Grahamstown and lived with them at Rock Cottage, Grey Street. Her mother died in 1889. Esther died in 1900.

- C.L.; MS 15899/1 No. 556; M.A., Commemoration Church baptism register.
- C.L.; MS 15277; M.A., Letters of condolence to William Ayliff on the death of his sister.

BARKLY, Sir Henry

24 Feb. 1815-20 October 1898.

Governor of the Cape Colony 1870-1877.

The only son of a Scottish merchant, Henry Barkly entered the House of Commons in 1845. Between 1848 and 1870 he served as Governor in various Colonies where his record in the promotion of constitutional reform made him a suitable choice as Governor and High Commissioner at the Cape. His instructions were to introduce responsible government at the Cape, which he did in 1872.

The 1870's were years of crisis in South Africa. Griqualand West was annexed as a Crown Colony by Barkly in 1871 as the only way to resolve the crisis which had developed at the diamond fields. His action was deprecated at the Colonial Office.

In the succeeding years Barkly's position was not easy. He was caught between his conflicting responsibilities: to the Colonial Office and to his responsible Cape ministry. His personal integrity remained unchallenged. He retired on pension in March 1877 and was succeeded by Sir Bartle Frere.

He was married twice: to Elizabeth Helen Timms who died in 1857 and to Anne Maria Pratt. He died in London and was buried in Brompton Cemetery.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.2 p 27.

BARRETT, J.(?)

28 Sept. 1852-?

? Wesleyan

Barrett was the brother of the Rev. Edward James Barrett a Wesleyan minister.

He was one of the lodgers at Mrs. Passmore's boarding house in Lawrance Street, Grahamstown.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

BERRINGTON, E.

?-?

E. Berrington was one of the 36 men who joined Captain J. Gush's corps of volunteers in the frontier war of 1877-1878. Captain Gush's contingent came from the Salem and Sidbury districts, and left Grahamstown on 11 Oct. 1877. Gush's group joined the Albany Mounted Volunteers and fought in the campaign in the Transkei October-December 1877.

Berrington also took part in General Thesiger's campaign against the Ngqika in the Perie Bush. He was a member of the picketing party on the night Willie Shaw was killed (16 March 1878). He probably returned to Grahamstown with Captain Gardner's troop on 6 April 1878.

- G.T.J. 22 March 1878, 8 April 1878.

- E.S. 5, 9, 12, 26 Oct. 1877, 22 March 1878 9 April 1878.

- Grocott's Penny Mail 22 March 1878, 9 April 1878.

BIRCH, Trenly

1833-5 Oct. 1910

? Anglican

Trenly Birch was born at Uxbridge, Middlesex, the son of John and Mary Ann Birch. He came to South Africa and opened his first outfitters business in 1860 at 3 Main Street, Port Elizabeth. In May 1864 he opened a branch at 66 Bathurst Street, Grahamstown.

In July 1867 his brother-in-law Thomas Harrison Copeland came to South Africa and joined the business as a partner. Birch and Copeland dissolved their partnership in 1878. Birch's reopened in new premises in Church Square, Grahamstown in 1893.

A man of quiet and retiring disposition Birch was a patron of sport. His home in Grahamstown in the 1870's was Bishopsbourne, West Hill, but most of his time in South Africa was spent in Port Elizabeth.

In 1901 T. Birch and Co. Ltd. became a limited liability company

under the management of Mr. C.G. Miles, though Birch retained a practical connection with the business almost until his death. He retired to Cheltenham, England, where he died at his residence on 5 October 1910. Birch's store in Grahamstown was closed on 8 October 1910 as a mark of respect.

His wife was Eliza, born Holloway, the sister of a former M.P. for Stroud, George Holloway. She died on 22 January 1880. They had no children.

- A. Macmillan (compiler): The City of Grahamstown, Grahamstown 1902 p 29 in South African Pamphlets No. 112.
- C.A.; M00C 6/9/655 No. 3084.
- C.L.;MS 1970, newspaper cuttings from The Eastern Province Herald 18 March 1964.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 7 October 1910.
- G.T.J. 6 October 1910.

BRABANT, Sir Edward Yewd 31 May 1839-13 Dec. 1914.

Edward Yewd Brabant was born in Cheshire, England, the son of J.T. Brabant, land agent to Lord Vernon.

He came to the Cape in 1856 and served with the Cape Mounted Rifles 1856-1870. He retired with the rank of captain. He married in 1862 Mary Burnett, daughter of Canon Robertson of Canterbury. He settled in East London and took up farming. For several years, 1873-1878, 1884-1902 and 1905-1907, he represented East London in the Legislative Assembly. He gave evidence before the Colonial Defence Commission in 1876. He favoured a paid militia: the Cape Yeomanry Act of 1878 shows his influence.

In the frontier war of 1877 he commanded several contingents of volunteers. He commanded the 1st Cape Yeomanry in 1878 and led part of it in Basutoland in 1879.

In 1896 he became a member of the Colonial Defence Commission and President of the South African League the following year. He was promoted to brigadier-general in 1900 and knighted in 1901. He fought in the South African War 1899-1902 but by then his military tactics seemed old-fashioned. He was best as a leader of small columns.

He died in East London on 13 Dec. 1914.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.3 p 98.

BRUCE, Robert Michael      12 Sept. 1850-17 March 1878      ? Wesleyan  
"Bob"

Robert Michael Bruce was the second son of William John Bruce, barrister and farmer, and his wife Mary. Robert Bruce was educated at the Salem Academy. The family lived on the farm Belton near Salem.

Bruce joined the Salem and Sidbury contingent of volunteers early in October 1877 and fought in the Transkeian campaign with Commandant Griffith's column.

He contracted dysentery early in March 1878 and was sent to the hospital at King William's Town. On 17 March he died there, of typhoid fever.

He had been a promising poet. A collection of his poems was published under the pseudonym B.M.R. after his death. A tablet to the memory of Bruce and William Shaw was put up in the Wesleyan chapel at Salem.

- C.L., MS 15899/3 No. 456, M.A.; Commemoration Church baptism register.
- B.M.R.: Under the Yellowwoods, Poems. Grahamstown, 1878.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 8 Jan. 1878, 19 March 1878, 12, 23 April 1878.
- G.T.J. 18 March 1878.
- E.S. 19 March 1878, 9, 12, 24 April 1878.

#### The BUTLERS

#### Quakers

- |      |              |    |  |
|------|--------------|----|--|
| B    | John Butler  | m. | Ann Napper                                       |
|      | d. 1839      |    | d. 1862  |
| B1   | John Butler  | m. | Philippa Norman* He died 18 Oct.1830 in America. |
| B2   | George       | m. | Elizabeth Francis.                               |
| B3   | William      |    | 1796-1870 (bachelor)                             |
| B4   | Thomas       |    | 1798-1883 (bachelor)                             |
| B5   | Peter        | m. | Mary Busvine                                     |
| B6   | Samuel       |    | 1809-1899 (bachelor)                             |
| B7   | Ann          | m. | Frederick Clark                                  |
| B1/1 | Harriet      |    | 1822-1845  |
| B1/2 | Philip John* | m. | Mary Watts*                                      |



daughters. In 1854 he was offered a job as a clerk in the office of John Poole, watch, chronometer and clock maker, recently established in new premises at 57 Fenchurch St. in the City of London. In 1868 after the sudden death of John Poole, Philip John Butler was appointed a manager at Poole's and in due course became the senior manager and received a third of the profits. One of the firm's responsibilities was the servicing of the chronometers on the steamships of Donald Currie's line, and Butler knew many of the captains.

In 1887 he retired from Poole's and went to live at Lansdown near Barnstaple with his wife and two daughters. He died in 1890. At the time of his death his estate was worth over £7,400, the result of his own hard work.

- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 15
- B.P.; PR 3481/1, Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler, p 6, 10; PR 3481/4 Poem by P.J. Butler (?) enclosed in James Butler's copy-book dated 11 June 1866; PR 3500/6 Notes by Eliza Butler on the life of P.J. Butler; PR 3502/1 family trees; PR 3502/6 Financial statement of the Trustees' Account, estate of P.J. Butler.

BUTLER, Mary

11 Nov. 1823-2 Feb. 1900

Quaker

Mary was the eldest daughter of James and Rebecca Watts (born Challacombe) of Bristol. She was educated at the Friends' School, Sidcot from 1833 to 1837. On 10 May 1850 she married Philip John Butler [ B1/2]. They had eight children.

The Butlers lived in De Beauvoir Town, Hackney. Mary Butler's influence kept family links close: her grown-up children all lived at home in the early 1870's and she corresponded with her Watts and Challacombe relations both in North Devon and in Canada. She also wrote poetry. Several poems commemorated birthdays and anniversaries. The last poem she wrote a few days before she died was to her son John on his 49th birthday.

On her husband's retirement she went with him to live at Lansdown near Barnstaple. For the ten years of her widowhood (1890-1900) she was cared for by her daughter Eliza.

- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 15.
- B.P.; PR 3500/1, Poetry by Mary Butler in diary for 1899; PR 3500/4 Poetry by Mary Butler, Letters to Mary Butler dated 9 Jan. 1888 and 6 Sept. 1887 from Laura Watts; PR 3500/5, correspondence with relations in America; PR 3502/1, Family trees; PR 3502/3; Mary Watt's copy-book dated December 1840.

BUTLER, John 26 June 1851-16 Feb.1928 [ B1/2/1] Quaker

John Butler was born 26 June 1851. He was educated at a small boarding school near Bristol and at the Friends' School, Croydon from 1860-1866. He was trained as an engineer and worked at the Quaker firm of Tangye Brothers and Holman in the City of London. He attended evening classes in architecture and machine construction and became a skilled draughtsman and carpenter. It was he who designed the substantial stone building in Cradock which housed his brother's newspaper The Midland News.

From the early 1870's John Butler was involved in Quaker philanthropy. He taught at the Bedford Institute like his brothers and in later life supported the Quaker campaign against capital punishment and the work of the League of Nations.

He acted as the London representative of The Midland News and supported it with generous financial contributions. Until 1919 he was an executor of his father's estate.

In 1883 he married Henrietta Cove. They had two sons. They lived at 91 Osbaldestone Road, Stamford Hill, London.

- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 22.
- B.P.; PR 3481/1 Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler p 1-12; PR 3502/1 family trees; PR 3500/5, Circular letter from John dated 24 Sept. 1915; PR 3500/6, Circular letter about P.J. Butler's estate dated 26 July 1919.

BUTLER, Joseph 15 Oct. 1852-27 April 1934 [ B1/2/2] Quaker

Joseph Butler was born in London and educated at Miss Norman's boarding school at Portishead near Bristol, and the Croydon Friends' School (from 1861-1867).

In October 1867 Joseph Butler joined the Quaker engineering firm Tangye Brothers and Holman where his brother John worked. In his spare time he taught at the Bedford Institute and took lessons in French and German at a night school.

On 4 August 1881 he married Mary Sophia Boone at the Friends' Meeting House, Weston-Super-Mare. They had no children. Their home was at Landeck, 27 Beaufort Rd., Kingston-upon-Thames. Joseph and his wife were temporarily responsible for James Butler's two children, Mary

and Ernest, when in 1897 they were sent to Sidcot Friends' School. Family tradition suggests that Joseph wanted to adopt Mary and Ernest, but their parents refused.

In Kingston Joseph Butler became President of the Quaker Adult School. In August 1821 he was appointed a local magistrate and J.P. He regularly attended Yearly Meeting and gave support to the Quaker campaign against capital punishment. From the 1890's he took a keen interest in the affairs of The Midland News and supported it financially. He collected funds for the short-lived Quaker school in South Africa.

He rose to be manager of the London branch of Tangye's Ltd. He retired in 1924. In March 1932 his wife died. A few months later he made a tour of South Africa in the care of his niece Mary. He died in 1934.

- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 21, 177-180, photograph between p 212 and 213.
- B.P.; PR 3481/1, Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler; PR 3500/6, Circular letter about P.J. Butler's estate dated 26 July 1919; PR 3501/1, Details of Joseph Butler's early life and his marriage; PR 3501/2, Correspondence on Joseph Butler's work as a J.P.; PR 3501/3, Correspondence with Mary Emma Butler; obituary notices.
- Information supplied to the editor by Professor Guy Butler on 5 March 1982.

BUTLER, JAMES                      22 July 1854-17 June 1923 [B1/2/3] Quaker

James Butler was educated at Croydon Friends' School 1863-1869 and apprenticed in his father's firm in November 1870. For the next five years he was active in Quaker evangelical and philanthropic work in the East End of London.

Early in 1876 his health broke down, probably due to pulmonary tuberculosis, and he was sent to South Africa to recuperate. He spent two-and-a-half years in the Eastern Cape during which time he kept a diary filled with anecdote and interesting comment on South African affairs at a crucial period.

On his return to England in mid-1879, Butler was advised to live abroad despite greatly improved health. He returned to Cradock at the end of 1879 and established a general store in partnership with a Quaker school friend who had come to South Africa for health reasons,

Robert Wilkie. Wilkie left to farm in the Steynsberg district and Butler was joined by his younger brother, Charles, in 1887. They formed a new partnership, Butler Brothers, which sold books as well as lamps and "fancy goods". The shop failed to make a profit and Charles Butler left Cradock for Vryburg at the end of 1907.

On 3 September 1891, Butler printed the first issue of a newspaper, The Midland News and Karroo Farmer, an English biweekly (later daily) which he edited from 1897 to 1923. The paper reported local news and took an independent editorial line on national events. It became known as pro-Boer in the late 1890's. Although the paper was losing money Butler resisted two attempts (in 1897 and 1902), supposedly instigated by Cecil Rhodes, to buy The Midland News for his own political purposes. During the South African War 1899-1902 which Butler opposed as unjust, his paper gained a reputation for fast and accurate news coverage. Butler was again unpopular in the First World War years for refusing to publish anti-German propaganda. His paper never carried a liquor advertisement, for, as a convinced teetotaler, Butler was pledged to promote temperance. For all his idealism, Butler was impractical in business affairs: The Midland News only survived because of the generous financial support of Butler's wife's relations, the Colletts, and of the Butlers in England.

In October 1903, Butler accompanied an official delegate of the Society of Friends (the Quakers) on a tour of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal to investigate post-war conditions with a view to the most useful distribution of aid collected by the Friends' South African Relief Fund in England. Partly through Butler's efforts, the Friends' resources were used for educational bursaries for Boer children and for book grants to Dutch Reformed ministers who had lost their libraries during the war. Butler was also instrumental in the Quaker effort to return Bibles taken by British soldiers as mementoes.

Butler took an active part in Cradock municipal affairs. He served on the Town Council, on the Library Committee and the School Board. He was Secretary of the Cradock Farmers' Association and helped to promote irrigation schemes. He was an active campaigner for the establishment of a hospital in Cradock.

As there was no Quaker Meeting in Cradock when he arrived Butler attached himself to the Wesleyans. He held many lay offices in the

Wesleyan Church and served for seventeen years as a Sunday School teacher. In 1904 he established a Quaker Meeting in his own home, made possible because one of his brothers (Charles) and two of his sisters (Eliza and Emily) were then living in Cradock. He was eager for the establishment of a formal Quaker organisation in South Africa and pressed for the foundation of a local Friends' School. Both aims were realised after his death, though the Friends' School lasted less than a year (in 1932).

Butler was among the Friends who made representations before Parliament to secure the exemption of Quakers from compulsory military service. As a result of the agitation, a conscience clause was included in the Defence Act (Act No.13 of 1912 Section 82 (2) ).

After his death in 1923 Butler was acclaimed for his long record of public service in Cradock, for his integrity as a newspaper editor and particularly for his efforts to reconcile English and Afrikaans speaking South Africans in the bitter post-South African War period.

He married, on 28 March 1882, Annie Letitia Collett, the daughter of a local farmer and granddaughter of James Lydford Collett, 1820 settler. They had two sons and five daughters.

- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 15-27, 86.
- A.M. Davey (ed.): Lawrence Richardson; Selected Correspondence 1902-1903 Van Riebeeck Society Second Series No. 8 Cape Town 1977.
- Emily Butler Fear: The Story of Quakerism in South Africa Unpublished typescript 1938. Copy deposited with the Quaker Yearly Meeting Committee, Johannesburg.
- G.T.J. 5 April 1882.
- P. and W. Scarnell Lean: Quakers in South Africa - A Brief History 1981. Unpublished typescript deposited with the Quaker Yearly Meeting Committee, Johannesburg.
- D. and D. Steere: The Work of Friends in Africa London 1955 p 46-55.
- Statutes of the Union of South Africa 1912 Cape Town 1912 p 249.
- B.P.; PR 3481/1 Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler; PR 3481/3, Scrapbook of James Butler's life.

BUTLER, Mary                      9 June 1856-20 June 1869      [ B1/2/4 ] Quaker

Mary Butler was born in London and educated at Croydon Friends' School from 1863 until her death. She died at school after a short illness. In his pamphlet about the family her brother Joseph mentions that they all felt her loss sorely. For her brother James her death produced a crisis in his spiritual growth, a deepening of his faith. She was buried in the Friends' Burial Ground at Croydon.

- Jim's Journal 20 June 1877.
- B.P.; PR 3481/1 Pamphlet on James Butler's early life by Joseph Butler, p 6-7; PR 3502/1, Family trees; PR 3500/3, Letters from Mary Butler to her family, memorial card.

BUTLER, Eliza                      18 Sept. 1859-15 March 1954 [B/1/2/5] Quaker

Born in London, Eliza Butler was educated at the Friends' School, Croydon from 1869 to 1874.

Much of her life was spent in household tasks: as the only girl in a family of brothers (her sister Emily was seven years younger and Mary died) such duties were expected of her. She was responsible for the care of her parents in their old age.

About 1903 she went to live in Cradock where her brothers James and Charles and their families then lived. She took a small house in the town. Though she played a lively part in Wesleyan affairs, she, James, Charles and her sister Emily formed a Quaker Meeting in James's house in 1904. She remained a Quaker all her life.

Eliza Butler, like her mother, was a great letter writer. She kept in touch with members of the family in England and wrote descriptions of lengthy visits to family and friends in other parts of South Africa.

In 1905 at her brother James's suggestion she interviewed the elderly residents of Cradock and wrote down their reminiscences. Her stories reflect individual memories of the town with freshness and immediacy.

She lived on an annuity of £80 per annum from her father's estate which was administered by her brothers in England. In 1919 she considered going back to live in England but was deterred by the financial and practical difficulties. She died in Cradock in 1954.

- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 25-26, 229-230.
- Guy Butler: Bursting World, An Autobiography 1936-1945 Cape Town 1983 p 79-80.
- B.P.; PR 3500/3, Quaker birth certificate, Eliza Butler, letters from school Eliza Butler to her parents; PR 3500/4, Letters from school Eliza Butler to her parents; PR 3500/5, Eliza Butler's account of a visit to Robert Wilkie's farm; PR 3500/6, Correspondence about Eliza Butler's income and her possible removal to England, 1919; newspaper cutting, an account of an interview with Eliza Butler, 26 June 1937.
- B.P.; MS 14680, Eliza Butler's reminiscences of Cradock, 1905, 2 volumes.

BUTLER, William                      26 June 1861-9 Dec.1938      [B/1/2/6] Quaker

William Butler, born in London, was educated at Croydon Friends' School. As a youth he was involved in Quaker philanthropic work at the Bedford Institute in East London.

He married on 22 Feb. 1863 Ellen Catford. They had two sons and two daughters. They lived at 3 Dunkirk Rd., Birkdale, Southport.

William Butler was keenly interested in family history. He collected as much information as possible about the Butlers from Quaker records and his relations, and in 1915 he toured North Devonshire and Bristol to investigate the places where his forebears had lived. His researches were summarised in several elegantly drawn family trees illustrated with pen and ink sketches and maps, packed with detailed information, as well as accounts of his fact-finding tours.

William was one of the Trustees of his father's estate who was responsible for seeing that his sisters Eliza and Emily received their regular remittances from the estate.

- B.P.; PR 3500/6, Correspondence about P.J. Butler's estate 1915, 1919; typescript about Butler family history, 1917; PR 3502/1, Family trees.

BUTLER, Charles                      11 Jan. 1864-7 Jan. 1949      [B/1/2/7] Quaker

Charles Butler was educated at the Friends' School which moved from Croydon to Saffron Walden, Essex, in 1879. He was trained as a printer. His spare time was spent in helping the under-privileged at the Bedford Institute.

In 1887 he went to Cradock to join his brother James's business.

They opened a bookshop, and in 1891 started a newspaper, The Midland News and Karroo Farmer.

Charles married Mary Emma Collett [C2/5] on 14 Oct. 1891. They had five children.

In 1908 the Charles Butlers moved to Vryburg. Charles started a newspaper there, The Northern News in February 1908. In Vryburg he was active in civic affairs and served on the school and hospital boards in 1918 and as a town councillor in 1925. His greatest contribution was in the development of scientific stock farming. His press campaign and pressure on the government Agricultural Department to perform research into cattle disease resulted in the discovery of the cause of gallamziekte in 1919.

In 1926 Charles Butler became General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Cape Town. He retired to Cradock in 1934, but continued his public-spirited activities. He served as Mayor of Cradock in 1938. He died on a visit to Uitenhage in 1949 and was buried in Cradock.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.4 p 70.
- The Midland News 14 Oct. 1891
- Guy Butler: Bursting World, An Autobiography, (1936-45) Cape Town 1983 p 78-79.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 228, 239-240.

BUTLER, Emily 23 Feb. 1866-4 April 1951 [ B/1/2/8] Quaker

Born in London Emily was thought to be delicate as a child, and thus was not sent to the Friends' School where her brothers and sisters were educated.

She married Herbert George Fear (born 7 Aug. 1862) who was also a Quaker. They had one son and three daughters. In November 1903 the Fears went to live in Cradock where Herbet joined the staff of The Midland News, his brother-in-law's paper, as a journalist.

In 1918, because of a breakdown in Herbert's health the Fears moved to Cape Town. There he joined The Cape Argus as a journalist, a position he held until his death on 11 January 1933.

Emily devoted much hard labour to the project to found a Friends' School in South Africa, a scheme mooted by the Cradock Butlers the year of her arrival. In 1905 possible candidates for the headmastership

of the proposed school were interviewed in London but nothing further was done owing to lack of funds. In 1926 Emily Fear proposed to a Friends' General Meeting in Cape Town the formation of an Education Committee. The meeting agreed and she became its Clerk. The Committee collected £5,481 13s 11d. In 1932 the Friends' School was finally established at Uplands near Pietermaritzburg but it lasted less than a year.

In 1938 Emily wrote a history of Friends in South Africa based on official minutes which she called a Record of Quaker Activities in South Africa.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1 Butler family trees
- Emily Butler Fear: Record of Quaker Activities in South Africa 1938 Unpublished typescript in possession of the Yearly Meeting Committee, Johannesburg, p 60.

### The CAWOODS

Wesleyan

The Cawood family came from Yorkshire. In mediaeval times the family owned Cawood Castle in the village of Cawood near York and several Cawoods are mentioned as custodians of the King's Forests in the area.

The Cawoods in South Africa are the descendants of David Cawood (1777-1832) and his wife Mary, born Smith, (1787-1822), who arrived with the 1820 Settlers on the ship John with Hayhurst's party. David Cawood was a cotton mill owner and had lived at Way Bank Hall near Bradford.

The Cawood family were located near Kaffir Drift on the Fish River, later known as Cawood's Post. In 1830 William, James, Joseph and Samuel went to Dingaan's kraal in Natal. After the war of 1834 the family moved to Uitenhage and in course of time built up a large trading business with branches in several Eastern Cape towns.

The children of David and Mary Cawood were:-

Ca1	James	1799-1876
Ca2	William	1801-1877
Ca3	John	1802-?
Ca4	Joshua	1804-?
Ca5	Elizabeth	?1805-1896
Ca6	Mary	1808-?

Ca7	Samuel*	1810-1887
Ca8	Joseph	1811-1864
Ca9	Sarah	?-1895
Ca10	David	died on the voyage

- Allen Cawood: The Ancient Family of Cawood of Cawood, Yorkshire 1000 Years Ago and Reminiscences of some of their descendants. No publisher given, n.d. p 1-17, family tree p (i).

CAWOOD, Sarah                      c.1816-11 Dec. 1888                      Wesleyan

Sarah Cawood was the wife of William Cawood [Ca2]. She was born Sarah Hulley the third child of the 1820 settler Richard William Hulley (1786-1880) and his Irish wife Ann Brangan (1783-1844), members of Richardson's party, who farmed at "Caxton" near Clumber.

Sarah married William Cawood on 15 Sept. 1834 at Bathurst. She was his second wife. She bore him seventeen children including two sets of twins. The Cawood family were wealthy and lived in a large house with ten bedrooms in Cradock.

William Cawood was the manager of the Cradock branch of the family trading business. He was quiet and retiring but an astute businessman. He served for many years as a municipal commissioner. He died at Cradock on 1 August 1877.

Sarah Cawood died on 11 Dec. 1888.

- Albany Museum; Roll 34/4, Cawood; File SMG 552(b), (d), (e), Cawood; Roll 41/6, Hulley; Correspondence file, Hulley family.
- E. Morse Jones: Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa Cape Town 1969 p 43.
- C.L.; PR 3448 No. 34, St. John's Church, Bathurst, baptism, marriage and burial register.
- G.T.J. 2 Aug. 1877.

CAWOOD, Samuel                      April 1810-15 June 1887 [Ca7]                      The Hon. Wesleyan

Samuel Cawood was a prominent Grahamstown citizen. He was a merchant and butcher and lived at the Market Square. His family firm, Cawood Brothers, had branches in several Eastern Cape towns including Port Elizabeth and Cradock. In the war of 1846 the firm had supplied the troops and also horses for India on government contract.

He married on 24 March 1834 Rosa Pike (c.1816-1906) the sixth child

of the 1820 settler William Pike and his wife Mary. They had fourteen children.

Samuel Cawood promoted new agricultural industries. He pioneered cotton growing in Albany. In 1872 he managed three cotton gins in Grahamstown. He experimented also with linseed, sugar beet, coffee and olives. On his farms in Albany and in the Orange Free State he introduced imported merino sheep and improved stock farming methods.

He served on the Town Council in Grahamstown 1866-1876 and 1879-1882?, including a term as Mayor in 1880. He was a member of the Legislative Council 1860-1878 where he promoted local eastern and separatist interests.

He was a Wesleyan, a trustee of Commemoration Church. He was also associated with the Settlers Jubilee Memorial Tower (as Treasurer of the executive committee) and the tower of St. George's Cathedral.

He died on 15 June 1887. Rosa Cawood died on 21 May 1906 and was buried in the Wesleyan Cemetery.

- Albany Museum; Roll 38/6, Pike; Roll 34/4, Cawood.
- Allan Cawood: The Ancient Family of Cawood of Cawood, Yorkshire, 1000 years Ago and Reminiscences of some of their descendants. No publisher given, n.d. p 14-16.
- M. Gibbens Two Decades p 305-306, 349, 442.
- G.T.J. 16, 18 June 1887.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 21 May 1906.
- C.L.; MS 15901/2 No. 459; M.A.; Commemoration Church burial register.
- C.L.; PR 3448 No. 30, St. John's Church, Bathurst, register of baptisms, marriages and burials.

CHALMERS, John Aitken 21 Jan. 1837-1 June 1888 The Rev. Presbyterian

John Aitken Chalmers was the second son of the Rev. William Chalmers, Presbyterian missionary. He was educated at home and in Scotland. He was ordained as a Presbyterian minister in Glasgow in 1860. He married Eliza Lindsay a professor's daughter in 1861 but she died after less than a year. In November 1861 Chalmers went to Emgwali as a missionary to the Xhosa.

In 1867 Chalmers married Margaret Tudhope of Grahamstown. He spent fifteen years as a missionary among the Ngqika people. In 1877

he published a biography of his Ngqika friend and colleague Tiyo Soga. He also wrote many Xhosa hymns and became a powerful preacher in Xhosa. His advice as an authority on the Xhosa was much sought by judicial and civil authorities.

The last twelve years of his life were spent as minister of Trinity Presbyterian church in Grahamstown. He died in Grahamstown in June 1888.

Margaret Chalmers his wife served for several years as President of the Ladies Benevolent Society. She died after a long illness on 24 March 1930.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.1 p 163.
- G.W. Cross: Echoes of a Ministry: Sermons preached in Trinity Church Grahamstown by the late Rev. John Aitken Chalmers, with a Memoir Grahamstown 1892, pp i-iii.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 25 March 1930.

#### The CHAPMANS

#### Wesleyan

The Rev. George Chapman and his wife Jane, born Wakinshaw, came to South Africa in 1849.

Their children were:

- Ch1 Susannah Sarah - married the Rev. John Thornhill Cook in 1870.
- Ch2 James Wakinshaw
- Ch3 Jane Eliza - died young
- Ch4 Mary Elizabeth\* - married William B.G. Blenkins in 1883
- Ch5 George William
- Ch6 Twin boys - died in infancy
- Ch7 Emma Eliza - married C.M. Mallett in 1881.

- C.A.; M00C 6/9/318 No. 1381.
- C.L.; MS 15104; M.A., Journal of George Chapman, entries for 1 Nov.1849, 10 July 1852, 1 May 1856, 15 Feb. 1857.
- G.T.J. 17 Oct. 1881, 23 Nov. 1883.

CHAPMAN, George                      26 Dec. 1817-9 July 1893    The Rev. Wesleyan

George Chapman was born at Alvaston near Derby on 26 Dec. 1817. He became a Wesleyan missionary and was posted to West Africa in 1843. He came to South Africa in 1849 and served in the Eastern Cape. He became a tutor at Healdtown Institution in 1875. When the Rev. William Impey [Im1] resigned early in 1878 Chapman became acting Chairman of the Grahamstown District until the arrival of the Rev. John Walton, Impey's successor. From 1879-1883 he became Principal of Healdtown Institution. In 1883 he was transferred to Lesseyton near Queenstown where he was in charge of theological training for future Wesleyan ministers.

He married on 29 Aug. 1846 Jane Eliza Wakinshaw of Newcastle-on-Tyne, the sister of Mary Shaw the wife of the Rev. Barnabas James Shaw [S1]. They had eight children.

Chapman died at Queenstown on 9 July 1893, aged 75 years.

- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/318 No. 1381.
- The Queenstown Free Press 11, 14 July 1893.
- G.T.J. 18 July 1893.
- C.L.; MS 15104; M.A., Journal of George Chapman.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, South Africa. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1894. Cape Town, 1894, p 6-8.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, Great Britain. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1894. London, 1894, p 42-43.

CHAPMAN, Mary Elizabeth                      31 March 1852- ?                      [Ch4] Wesleyan

Mary Elizabeth Chapman was the third daughter of the Rev. George Chapman. She was born 31 March 1852. As an infant she survived the measles epidemic which killed her two year old sister Jane Eliza. She married on 14 November 1883 William B.G. Blenkins, son of Major W.B.G. Blenkins, at Lesseyton.

- C.L.: MS 15104; M.A., Journal of George Chapman, entry for 31 March 1852.
- G.T.J. 23 November 1883.

THE COLLETTSWesleyan

The Colletts in South Africa are the descendants of James Lydford Collett, (?1800-1875), trader, farmer and politician. Of his early life little is known, but he was articled to a lawyer in Oxford before his arrival in South Africa. He fought in the frontier wars of 1834 and 1846. He was a member of the Committee of the Eastern Province Argicultural Society. In the 1840's he bought farms in the Cradock district. He became M.L.A. for Cradock in 1854 and supported Eastern Province Separatism in the Assembly.

He married in 1824 Rhoda Ann Trollop [ T6 ] the daughter of the 1820 settler Joseph Trollop. They had nine children. James Collett died at Grass Ridge farm near Cradock on 10 Aug. 1876. After her husband's death Mrs Rhoda Ann Collett lived with her daughter and son-in-law John and Martha Trollip at Daggaboer. She died on 4 Nov. 1895 at Rietvlei.

The children of James and Rhoda Ann Collett were:-

C1	Rhoda Ann	1824-1895	m. Joshua Trollop
C2	John*	1826-1908	m. Mary Trollop [ T8/1 ]
C3	Susanna	1829-1889	m. Richard John Maskell
C4	Martha	1831-1891	m. John Trollip [ T1/5 ]
C5	James	1833-1910	m. Mary Simpson
C6	William*	1835-	m. Annie Maria Cook
C7	Joseph	1837-1901	m. Emily Simpson
C8	George	1840-1878	m. Martha Susanna Adendorf
C9	Elizabeth	1844-1913	m. Jonathan Crooks

- G.T.J. 30 Aug. 1878, 13 Aug. 1875, 20 Dec. 1910, 3 Aug. 1901.
- B.P., PR 3502/1, Collett family tree.
- E. Morse Jones: Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa, Second edition Cape Town 1971, p 102-103.
- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa Pietermaritzburg 1971, p 187-192.
- I. Mitford-Barberton and V. White: Some Frontier families Cape Town, 1968 p 78-80.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town, 1977, p 74-77, 83-85, 247-8.

COLLETT, William      7 Aug. 1835-22 March 1916    [ C6 ]      Anglican

William Collett's farm, Rietvlei, was in the Middelburg district.

He married on 10 Sept. 1862 at the Wesleyan church at Cradock, Anna Maria Cook [ Co5 ] youngest daughter of the Rev. Edward Boyer Cook.

- G.T.J. 16 Sept. 1862.
- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa Pietermaritzburg 1971 p 188.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Enid Webster of Grahamstown on 1 Feb. 1983, and by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov.1983.

COLLETT, John      27 Nov. 1826-10 Aug. 1908    [ C2 ]      Wesleyan

John Collett was born near Bathurst in 1826. He married at Doornberg farm on 19 July 1854 Mary [ T8/1 ], his first cousin, the daughter of Joseph and Phoebe Trollip.

John Collett became a prosperous farmer. He bought the farm Grass Ridge in the Cradock district as a young man and lived there all his life. He was much respected in the neighbourhood and became a J.P. He was a devout Wesleyan who conducted regular family worship at home. He provided funds to build the Wesleyan Chapel at Fish River Station.

His wife Mary died on 9 Aug. 1906 in her 72nd year. John Collett died on 10 Aug. 1908. Both were buried at Grass Ridge. A tablet to their memory in the Fish River Chapel was unveiled on 22 Jan. 1919.

The Colletts had 13 children:

C2/1	Walter James	b. 25 April 1855
C2/2	Annie Letitia	b. 29 Aug. 1856
C2/3	Herbert Joseph	b. 14 Feb. 1858
C2/4	Jessie Marion	b. 29 May 1860
C2/5	Mary Emma	b. 4 Feb. 1862
C2/6	Daughter	b. 1864 died in infancy
C2/7	Rosa Phoebe	b. 8 March 1865
C2/8	John Owen	b. 12 April 1867
C2/9	Martha Rhoda Agnes	b. 15 Dec. 1868
C2/10	Albert Henry	b. 3 June 1871
C2/11	Gervase Chancellor	b. 10 April 1874

C2/12 Norman Hugh b. 27 Jan. 1877  
 C2/13 Dudley Templeton b. 9 July 1878

- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa Pietermaritzburg 1971 p 189-191.
- B.P.; PR 3502/2, Notes on John Collett's life; PR 3502/5, Mourning card; golden wedding card dated 19 July 1904; obituary notice from The Methodist Churchman 1 Sept. 1908 (John Collett); obituary notice from The Methodist Churchman 4 Sept. 1906 (Mary Collett); service sheet: unveiling of tablets.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977, photograph opposite page 148.

COLLETT, Walter James 25 April 1855-5 Oct.1943 [ C2/1] Wesleyan

The eldest son of John Collett farmed at Groenkloof in the Cradock district. He married on 2 June 1880 Bremnerina Jones Innes (1857-1930). They had three sons and four daughters.

- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa, Pietermaritzburg 1971, p 190.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977, p 82, photograph between p 148 and 149.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, Collett family tree.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov. 1983.

COLLETT, Annie Letitia 29 Aug.1856-9 April 1951 [ C2/2] Wesleyan  
 "Letty"

Annie Letitia Collett was educated at Bedford. She married on 28 March 1882 James Butler [ B1/2/3]. As a wedding gift her father gave her the house called The Poplars, 63 Bree Street, Cradock. For the first fifteen years of her marriage her health was poor, due to thyroid deficiency. She was an efficient practical person with a capacity for maintaining serene family relationships. The Butlers had two sons and five daughters.

After her husband's death in 1923 Annie Letitia spent a year at Louisvale near Upington. As an old lady she lived in Cradock and was cared for by her daughter Mary. She remained a devout Wesleyan all her life.

She died on 9 April 1951, aged ninety-four.

- B.P.; PR 3502/6, Newspaper cutting: The Midland News 1 Sept. 1950; PR 3502/1, A birthday book, Light for the Valley: A Daily Memorial Text-Book, Paisley n.d.; PR 3502/1, Collett family tree.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 24, 29-31,33,35.
- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa Pietermaritzburg 1971 p 190.

COLLETT, Herbert Joseph 14 Feb.1858-June 1937 [ C2/3 ] Wesleyan

Herbert Collett was educated at Mr Templeton's school in Bedford. He joined the Cradock volunteers and fought in the frontier war of 1877-1878. After a period of war service in Basutoland he settled on the farm Willoughby (Willowby) and then moved to Saltpans Drift. He became well-known for the horses, cattle and ostriches he bred. He was a member of several farmers' associations and President of the Cradock Agricultural Society. He served as a field cornet in the South African war.

A bachelor all his life, he became a wealthy farmer who gave generously to projects such as school bursary funds and church fêtes. His financial assistance enabled The Midland News to continue.

He was a staunch Wesleyan all his life. He was a member of the congregation at Fish River Chapel, which he helped to build. A new hall at Fish River Station was named The Herbert Collett Memorial Hall after him. He died in 1937 and was buried in the cemetery at Fish River.

- B.P.; PR 3502/6 Booklet: In Memory of Herbert Joseph Collett; PR 3502/1 Collett family tree.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 79-81, photograph between p 148 and 149, p 165-166.

COLLETT, Jessie Marion 29 May 1860-21 Dec.1946 [ C2/4 ] Wesleyan

Jessie Collett remained a spinster all her life. She kept house for her brother Herbert [ C2/3 ] at Saltpans Drift. Like him she gave generously to charitable causes. She had a reputation for strictness. Jessie died in 1946.

- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov.1983.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977, p 78-79.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, Collett family tree.

COLLETT, Mary Emma 4 Feb. 1862-25 March 1947 [ C2/5 ] Wesleyan

Mary Emma Collett married Charles Butler [ B/1/2/7 ] on 14 Oct. 1891. The Charles Butlers lived in Cradock and moved to Vryburg in 1908. The family returned to Cradock in 1934. They had three sons

and two daughters. Mary Emma died in 1947.

- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov.1983.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1 Collett family tree.
- Newspaper cutting, report of a double wedding on 14 Oct. 1891, enclosed in Jim's Journal, Vol. 3.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 22,228.

COLLETT, Rosa Phoebe 8 March 1865- 3 Feb.1956 [C2/7] Wesleyan

Rosa Phoebe married on 14 Oct. 1891 Joseph John Maskell, her first cousin. The Maskells farmed at Dwaalfontein, Cradock district.

They had four sons and two daughters. Rosa Phoebe Maskell died in 1956.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1 Collett family tree.

COLLETT, John Owen 12 April 1867-1957 [C2/8] Wesleyan  
"Owen"

John Owen Collett farmed at Rooispruit. He married on 11 Jan. 1894 Kate Gedye. They had one son and six daughters. He died in 1957 and was buried in Uitenhage.

- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977, photograph between p 148 and 149.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1 Collett family tree.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov.1983.

COLLETT, Martha Rhoda Agnes 15 Dec.1868-7 April 1950 [C2/9] Wesleyan  
"Agnes"

Martha Collett married her cousin John Hedley Collett "Jack". They farmed first at Lion's Hill, Hofmeyr district, and from 1934 at Retreat. They had four children. Martha Collett died at the age of eighty-two. Her husband died two days after celebrating his 100th birthday.

- B.P.; 3502/2, Newspaper cutting ? 1965; PR 3502/1 Collett family tree.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 82.
- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa Pietermaritzburg 1971 p 191.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov.1983.

COLLETT, Albert Henry 3 June 1871-19 Oct.1961 [ C2/10 ] Wesleyan  
"Bertie"

Albert Collett farmed at Speelmanskop near Cradock. He married on 20 Oct. 1896 Annie van Heerden of Katkop farm. They had one son and four daughters. They celebrated their golden wedding in 1947.

Albert Collett was a staunch Wesleyan and earned the respect of all who knew him. He died in 1961 and was buried at the cemetery at the Fish River Wesleyan church.

- B.P.; PR 35021/1, Collett family tree; PR 3502/7, newspaper cutting: a double funeral.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 82, photograph between p 148 and 149, 165-166.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov.1983.

COLLETT, Gervase Chancellor 10 April 1874-18 June 1969 C2/11 Wesleyan

Gervase Collett farmed in the Uitenhage district. He married on 9 July 1913 Rowena Gedye. They had three daughters.

- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977, photograph between p 148 and 149.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, Collett family tree.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov.1983.

COLLETT, Norman Hugh 27 Jan. 1877-4 Sept.1966 . [ C2/12 ] Wesleyan

Norman Collett farmed at Woolwyn (Botmanskop) and later at Katkop in the Cradock district. He married on 28 June 1916 Gladys Isobel Hart, a descendant of Robert Hart of Glen Avon near Somerset East. Gladys was interested in geology and natural history.

Norman Collett fought in the South African war and in World War I during which he was wounded in the shoulder.

He was a generous, warm-hearted person, a humorous and memorable story-teller. He gave financial support to The Midland News.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1 Collett family tree.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 29,74,81-82,87, 88,115-116, photograph between p 148 and 149, 165-166.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov.1983.

COLLETT, Dudley Templeton 9 July 1878-19 Oct.1961 [ C2/13 ] Wesleyan

Dudley Templeton Collett was educated at Boys' High School, Cradock and Gill College, Somerset East. He joined his father on the farm Grass Ridge which in due course he inherited. He served in the South African war and was mentioned in despatches. He was decorated for his services in East Africa in World War I.

Dudley Collett married on 3 March 1920 Katie Marian Jubb in Commemoration Church, Grahamstown. They had no children of their own but adopted a daughter. Katie Collett died in 1951 and Dudley married her sister Mrs Alice Torrance.

He was one of the Collett brothers who gave financial support to The Midland News.

Dudley Collett died in 1961. He was buried in the cemetery at the Fish River Wesleyan Chapel.

- B.P.; PR 3502/7, Newspaper cutting: a double funeral; PR 3502/1 Collett family tree.
- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning Cape Town 1977 p 82, photograph between p 148 and 149, 165-166.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov.1983.

COOK, Mary Frances 14 July 1809-7 June 1886 Wesleyan

Mary Frances Cook was the wife of the Rev. Edward Boyer Cook, a Wesleyan minister. She was the second daughter of Christopher Thornhill, 1820 settler, and his wife Dorothea (born Mounsey). The Cooks had five children:

Co1	John Thornhill	
Co2	Edward Boyer	
Co3	Dorothea Mounsey	m. Josiah Slater*
Co4	Mary Frances*	m. Dr. George Grey
Co5	Anna Maria	m. William Collett*

After her husband's death Mrs Cook lived with her daughter Mary Frances Grey in Cradock. She died there in 1886.

- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Enid Webster of Grahamstown on 1 Feb. 1983.
- G.T.J. 9 June 1886.

COPELAND, Thomas Harrison 13 June 1831-24 April 1893

Anglican

Thomas Harrison Copeland was the second of the six children of Thomas Copeland and his wife Sarah, born Harrison. He was born at Preston, Lancashire on 13 June 1831. He married Louisa Holloway of Farm Hill, Stroud, the daughter of Adam and Frances Holloway and sister of George Holloway, M.P. for Stroud. The Copelands had eight children. Copeland family tradition suggests that Thomas Harrison Copeland invested his inheritance in the Holloway family firm and lost it.

He arrived in Grahamstown in July 1867. In the early 1870's he went into partnership with his brother-in-law, Trenly Birch, as Birch and Copeland, an outfitters' firm, but the partnership was dissolved in March 1878. Copeland continued in business as T.H. Copeland and Son. Copeland retired as senior partner in 1892 when the shop became known as Copeland and Creed.

Thomas Copeland was Captain Commanding the Irish Rifles, a local volunteer corps which included many Irishmen, and a Captain of the First City Volunteers. He served as a Town Councillor 1870-1874 and as a J.P. in 1885.

The family lived at The Grotto, Grey Street. They were Anglicans. Copeland gave £100 to the Cathedral Tower Fund. He was interested in and supported local sports and was president of several sports clubs.

He died at Pote's Villa, Grahamstown on 24 April 1893. Mrs Copeland and her daughters returned to England. She died on 22 Feb. 1923 at Rotherwick, Hampshire.

- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 442.
- G.T.J. 15,29 March 1878, 5 May 1878, 24 July 1878, 12 June 1885, 29 Sept. 1892, 23,27 April 1893.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 24,26 April 1893.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 26 Feb. 1923.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Molly Copeland of Grahamstown on 6 Aug. 1982 and by Mrs. Ruth Altson of Grahamstown on 28 Sept. 1982.

COPELAND, Henry Alfred 16 Nov.1861-5 Dec.1946

Anglican

"Harry"

The eldest son of Thomas Harrison Copeland, Henry Copeland was educated at St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, 1876-1881.

He married on 27 March 1888 Edith Eliza, fourth daughter of Henry Holloway of Stroud, Gloucestershire, at the parish church, Blandford, Dorset. She was his cousin.

Henry Copeland was employed in his father's outfitters' shop. He lived at The Grotto, Grey Street. After some years he bought a farm, Yellow-woods, in the Highlands district.

When he retired he moved to Grahamstown and lived at Mosdene, Fitzroy street. Edith Copeland died at Mosdene on 7 Oct. 1932.

Henry Copeland died on 5 Dec. 1946.

- Grocott's Penny Mail 2 May 1888.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 8 Oct. 1932.
- Harco and H.G. Iwema (compilers): St. Andrew's College Register, 1855-1959, 4th edition, Grahamstown, ?1959, p 51.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Molly Copeland on 6 Aug. 1982 and by Mrs Ruth Altson on 28 Sept. 1982.

CROSS, G.W. 1851-3 Sept.1920 The Rev.

Baptist

G.W. Cross was born in Banbury, Oxfordshire in 1851 and trained at Spurgeon's College, London. After a four-year stay in Belfast he arrived in Grahamstown in mid-1877 to be pastor of the Baptist congregation. In the frontier war which broke out a few months after his arrival he served as chaplain to the volunteer forces.

He was a man of culture and scholarship and interested particularly in education. He corresponded with Olive Schreiner and gave public lectures on learned topics. He was associated with the management of many Grahamstown public institutions such as the library and the Albany Hospital. He was for seventeen years Honorary Secretary of the Public Schools Committee.

He left Grahamstown in 1880 to become a teacher and part-time farmer at Bowden but returned as pastor in 1885. He left Grahamstown permanently in 1903 when the citizens presented him with a testimonial and monetary gifts in recognition of his many public services.

He lived in Pretoria between 1904 and 1914. He moved to Durban

and then to Bloemfontein where he was associated with charitable and missionary work. Together with the Rev. H.J. Batts he founded the Baptist Church there. He was one of the founders of the Baptist Union of South Africa in 1877 and served on its Executive as Secretary and as President. He was elected a life member of the Executive in April 1920.

He died at the National Hospital in Bloemfontein on 3 Sept.1920. A memorial service was held at the Baptist Chapel in Grahamstown two days later. He was survived by his wife and four sons.

- Grocott's Penny Mail 3 July 1903.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 6,7 Sept.1920.
- G.T.J. 30 May 1877.
- V. Smit: One and a half centuries of Grahamstown Baptist Witness 1820-1970, n.d. no publisher given, no page numbers.
- S. Hudson-Reed (ed.): Together for a Century: The History of the Baptist Union of South Africa 1877-1977, Pietermaritzburg 1977, p 63-66, photograph following p 64.
- H.J. Batts: The Story of a 100 Years 1820-1890, being the History of the Baptist Church in South Africa, Cape Town 1920. p 27-28,60-63,91,112-113.

DAVIES, John Edward 1826-27 Oct.1891.

Wesleyan

John Davies was born in London in 1826. He joined the army and was posted to the Cape. He saw active service in the war of 1851-1853 and was decorated. By the 1860's he had left the army and opened a clothier's establishment in Bathurst Street, Grahamstown. He lived in Hill Street.

In 1874 he became Superintendent of the Albany General Hospital, a post he held for seventeen years.

He was a staunch Wesleyan and served as a lay preacher for thirty years. He died in Grahamstown at the age of sixty-four.

- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 443.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 28 Oct.1891.
- G.T.J. 29 Oct. 1891.

DELL, Benjamin John 1 Nov.1850-17 Jan.1926

? Wesleyan  
"Ben"

Benjamin Dell was born at Barville Park near Port Alfred, the third son of Stephen Dell, a farmer, and his second wife Ann, born Ford. Benjamin Dell married on 2 July 1884 Maria Elizabeth Brown, a teacher from Salem. They had no children.

In 1877 Dell bought the farm Richmond from his friend Barnabas John Shaw [S1/1]. Dell failed to pay the instalments on the property and in fact was declared insolvent on 17 Feb.1880.

The Dells went to Johannesburg after their marriage and Dell worked on a mine for some years. They returned to Barville Park in 1902 and lived in a house called Sandholme on the farm property. Dell died on 17 Jan.1926 and was buried in the cemetery at Barville Park. His wife died on 17 Oct.1938.

- Grocott's Daily Mail: 19 Jan.1926.
- C.L.; MS 15871/1 No.490; M.A., Salem Chapel marriage register.
- M. Jeal: The Dell Chronicles, 1750-1979, Johannesburg 1979, p 214,218,221,226,231,232.
- Albany Museum; File SMD 224 (a-d); SMD 536, transactions concerned with the sale of the farm Richmond.

DISTIN, John Sweet c.1827-2 Aug.1902

Anglican

John Distin was born in Kingsbridge, Devonshire, the son of John Distin and his wife Anna, born Sweet.

Distin came to South Africa and made a fortune on the diamond fields. He became a prosperous farmer and stock breeder. His farm Tafelberg Hall, about twenty miles from Middelburg, became a show-place.

Distin was a pioneer of new agricultural methods. In the 1870's he was one of the first farmers to build substantially fenced encampments for ostriches. He was said to have sold £26,674 worth of ostrich feathers in eleven years. He was one of the first farmers to use steam-powered agricultural machinery.

He married Selina White. They had five sons and five daughters.

Distin died at Middelburg on 2 Aug.1902.

- J. Noble (ed.): Official Handbook: History, productions and resources of the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town 1886 p 243-245.
- Allen Cawood: The Ancient Family of Cawood, Yorkshire, 1000 Years Ago and Reminiscences of Some of their Descendants, n.d. no publisher given, p 14.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/458 No.3160.
- J.T. McNish: Graves and Guineas, Cape Town, 1969 p157.
- H.M. Matthews: Grahamstown Diocese Historical Notes; Typescript in C.L.; Grahamstown 1961, Vol.4, p 40-45.

DU PLESSIS, Jan Hendrik Jacobus 14 March 1826-29 June 1891 The Rev. Dutch Reformed

Jan Hendrik Jacobus du Plessis was the second child of Jan Jeremias du Plessis and his wife Susanna Sophia, born de Villiers. He was born and educated at Paarl. In 1856 he became a theological student at the University of Utrecht in Holland. He returned to South Africa in 1861 and was posted to Cradock.

He married in 1862 Harriet Barker, a daughter of the L.M.S. missionary George Barker.

In the late 1860's the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa was affected by the controversy in Europe over "liberal" theology. Du Plessis was regarded as a liberal, but at the Synod of 1870 he was able to help bring about reconciliation.

Du Plessis's great monument in Cradock was the Dutch Reformed church (see fn 21 p 314) which was opened in 1868. The building was a testimony to his energy and qualities of leadership.

Du Plessis and his wife gave substantial support to educational projects in Cradock. Mrs du Plessis's sister was the first head-mistress of the Rocklands Seminary, and Mrs du Plessis herself taught there.

Du Plessis retired to Cape Town in 1887. In 1889 he moved to Pietermaritzburg where he died in 1891. He was buried in Paarl.

- H.C. Hopkins: Die Ned. Geref. Kerk, Cradock, 1818-1968, Cape Town 1968, p 44-47.

FRERE, Sir Henry Bartle 29 March 1815-29 May 1884 Colonial Governor

Henry Bartle Frere was the son of an ironmaster. A talented administrator, Frere served in India 1842-1867. He came to the Cape in March 1877 as Governor and High Commissioner. He hoped to become the first governor-general of a federated South Africa.

Throughout his period at the Cape Frere's policy was aimed at accomplishing confederation. He dismissed the Molteno ministry in 1878 and provoked the Zulu war in 1879 to achieve a federated South Africa. Not only did he fail, he also had to take blame for the military disaster at Isandhlwana.

Frere was recalled in August 1880. He died less than four years later.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.2 p 243.

#### THE GALPINS

Anglican

The Galpin family in South Africa are the descendants of Henry Carter Galpin who founded a watchmakers' and jewellers' business in Grahamstown which was managed after his death by his sons under the name of Galpin Brothers. There were seven Galpin sons all of whom were educated at St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown. The five eldest showed musical talent and learned to play different instruments in an informal orchestra. The Galpins were all interested in natural history, a hobby fostered by their mother. The seven sons were:-

- |    |               |                  |                               |
|----|---------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| G1 | Alfred Carter | b. 4 April 1851  | - managed Galpin Brothers.    |
| G2 | Walter Henry  | b. 24 Dec. 1852  | - managed Galpin Brothers.    |
| G3 | James Fussel  | b. 10 Jan. 1854  |                               |
| G4 | George Luck   | b. 14 March 1857 | - became a doctor.            |
| G5 | Ernest Edward | b. 6 Dec. 1858   | - became an eminent botanist. |
| G6 | Frank Herbert | b. 25 Oct. 1860  |                               |
| G7 | Henry Arnold  | b. 10 June 1864  |                               |

- E. Gledhill: "Henry Carter Galpin", in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society, Vol.3, No.3 1981 p 39-61.

- Harco and H.G. Iwema (compilers): St. Andrew's College Register, 1855-1959. 4th edition, Grahamstown, ?1959, p 36,40,44,46,52.

GALPIN, Henry Carter 16 June 1820-13 Dec.1886

Anglican

Henry Carter Galpin was the eldest son of Thomas Carter Galpin of Charmouth, Dorset and his wife Ann, born Hounsell. He was trained in architecture and engineering as well as clock and jewelry making. The latter craft he took up after a breakdown in health due to a winter of surveying in Ireland and a shipwreck in 1845. In 1848 he left England for South Africa to recover his health.

He settled first in Cape Town. In 1850 he married Georgina Maria Luck (1825-1890) the daughter of a Stellenbosch wine merchant. They had seven sons. The Galpins moved to Grahamstown where Henry Carter established a watchmakers' and jewellers' business. In the 1860's the firm was moved to 10 Bathurst Street. The family lived above the shop. Besides jewelry and clocks the shop sold optical instruments and surveying equipment.

Galpin's hobby was said to be astronomy. He built an observatory to house a large reflecting telescope. One of the features of the observatory was the "camera obscura" a device of lenses and mirrors for viewing the surrounding streets.

Galpin died in Grahamstown on 13 Dec.1886. Georgina Galpin died on 1 May 1890.

- E. Gledhill:"Henry Carter Galpin," in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society, Vol.3 No.3 1981 p 39-61.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/239 No. 1917.
- G.T.J. 1 May 1890.

GALPIN, Alfred Carter 4 April 1851-1921

[ G1 ]

Anglican

Alfred Carter Galpin, the eldest son of Henry Carter Galpin, was educated at St. Andrew's College. With his brother Walter Henry he managed the family firm, Galpin Brothers, in Bathurst Street.

He married on 30 April 1885 Letitia Harriet Attwell at Commemoration Church.

He died in 1921.

- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No. 866; M.A., Commemoration Church marriage register.
- G.T.J. 1 May 1885.
- E. Gledhill: Lecture given to the Grahamstown Historical Society on 27 July 1981.

GEDYE, Edwin 4 Dec.1835-25 June 1899

The Rev. Wesleyan

Edwin Gedye was born in Devonport, England in 1835, the son of Nicholas Edwin Gedye and his wife Ursula. He became a Wesleyan lay preacher at the age of eighteen and joined the Wesleyan ministry in 1857. He was posted to Shawbury in 1858 where he learnt Xhosa. He returned to the Cape Colony (to Peddie) for the sake of the education of his children.

He went to England on furlough after twenty years in 1877 and then returned to Port Elizabeth and Cradock. He visited England again in 1892 for health reasons but soon returned to South Africa where he served at Mount Coke and at Lesseyton where he was in charge of the Theological Institution for the training of black ministers. His wife was in charge of the girls' department of the Lesseyton Institution where teaching and domestic skills were taught.

Gedye died at the Wesleyan Mission House, Lesseyton on 25 June 1899 after a ministry which had lasted forty years. He was survived by his wife Mary Ann (born Greenwood) and his children: four sons and four daughters.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/390 No.1844.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, South Africa. Minutes of the Annual Conference 1900. London 1900 p 6-8.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, Great Britain. Minutes of the Annual Conference 1900. London 1900 p 38-39.

GILFILLAN, George c.1832-13 March 1878.

George Gilfillan was the sixth child of William Frederick Anderson Gilfillan, the first Civil Commissioner of Cradock. He was a government surveyor. He was struck by lightning while on active service in the frontier war of 1877-1878 on 13 March 1878 and died at the camp of the Cradock Volunteers near the Thomas River. He was survived by his wife and five children.

- G.T.J. 15 March 1878, 20 March 1878.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 15 March 1878.
- Marjorie Gilfillan: The Story of One Branch of the Gilfillan Family in South Africa, Cape Town, 1970 p 173,179.

GILFILLAN, Susanna Jane 27 Oct. ?1846-12 Feb.1892 [ S1/2 ] Wesleyan

Susanna Jane was the eldest daughter of the Rev. Barnabas James Shaw. She married on 18 Dec.1867 Frederick Mounsey Gilfillan, a government surveyor, a son of William Frederick Anderson Gilfillan, the first Civil Commissioner of Cradock.

Frederick and Susanna had four sons and two daughters. They lived at first at Alexandria and then in Grahamstown.

Frederick Gilfillan died on 5 June 1885 at New Radford near Peddie.

Susanna subsequently married Archibald Craig. She died at Kimberley Hospital on 12 Feb.1892 aged forty-five years and three months.

- G.T.J. 8 June 1885, 13 Feb.1892.
- M. Gilfillan: The Story of One Branch of the Gilfillan Family in South Africa, Cape Town 1970 p 175.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/221 No. 1055, Frederick Gilfillan.
- C.L.; MS 15871/1 No. 327; M.A., Salem marriage register.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

GLANVILLE, Burt James Nov.1819-22 June 1882 ?Wesleyan

Burt Glanville was born in Plymouth in 1819. He studied science and lectured at the London Mechanics Institute. In 1856 he came to Grahamstown where he became curator of the Albany Museum which had been founded the year before. He acquired an extensive knowledge of South African natural history and geology.

In 1860 he became Town Clerk of Grahamstown, a post he held until December 1881 when he became Town Treasurer. His advice was sought not only on municipal affairs but also on literary and scientific subjects.

His brother Thomas B. Glanville was editor of The Graham's Town Journal until 1876. During Thomas Glanville's absence at the diamond fields 1870-1872, Burt Glanville acted as editor. He corresponded extensively with the Eastern Province Herald and the Cape Monthly Magazine, the editor of which was a personal friend.

The last ten years of his life he suffered from asthmatic attacks. In his work at the Museum he was materially assisted by his daughter,

who helped to move the Museum's collection into the new Town Hall building in 1882.

His wife Elizabeth died on 4 August 1925 aged ninety-one.

- G.T.J. 23 June 1882.
- E.S. 23 June 1882.
- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 22.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 23 June 1882.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 5 Aug.1925.
- C.L.; MS 15901/3 No.1080; M.A., Commemoration Church burial register.

GODLONTON, Robert 24 Sept.1794-30 May 1884                      The Hon. Wesleyan

Robert Godlonton was orphaned at the age of twelve and brought up by a married sister. He was apprenticed at a printing office in Shacklewell, London. He married in 1814 and emigrated to South Africa with the 1820 settlers.

In 1834 he became a partner in the Grahamstown printing and stationery business of L.H. Meurant, the publisher of The Graham's Town Journal. Godlonton bought the business in 1839.

After the death of his first wife he married in 1845 Sarah Richards, born Attwell, widow of Joseph Richards. Her son William Attwell Richards joined the family partnership which took over the firm when Godlonton retired in 1866.

Godlonton was active in local commercial affairs. He promoted the development of the Kowie Harbour and became a director of several Grahamstown insurance companies and banks. He owned several farms and took an interest in agricultural experiments such as cotton growing.

Godlonton served on the Albany Divisional Road Board and became a J.P. In 1854 he was returned as one of the 7 eastern members of the Legislative Council. In parliament he supported eastern and separatist interests which were also reflected in his newspaper and his printed works. He retired from public life in 1878.

He was a staunch Wesleyan, a trustee of Bathurst Wesleyan Chapel, an active member of Commemoration Church in Grahamstown.

He died at Beaufort House, Grahamstown, and was buried in the

Wesleyan cemetery.

- D.S.A.B., Vol.2, 263-266.
- W.A. Maxwell:"Robert Godlonton, 1794-1884" in Annals of the Grahamstown Historical Society 1981, Vol.3, No.3, p 72.

GOWIE, Charles Ross 1819-16 June 1900

Wesleyan

Charles Gowie was born in England in 1819. He arrived in Grahamstown from Hull, Yorkshire, in 1843. He worked for fourteen years at Blaine Brothers, Grahamstown, and then joined Gowie, Fordred, Atken and Company as senior partner. In 1866 the firm went into liquidation and Gowie started an outfitters' business on his own account. When diamonds were discovered Gowie moved to the future Kimberley where he opened a drapers' and outfitters' store.

He was an energetic Wesleyan, a trustee of Commemoration Church and a superintendent of Commemoration Sunday School. For nearly twenty-five years he worked for the temperance cause, including a term as Chief Templar of the Grand Lodge of South Africa of the Independent Order of Good Templars. He married on 27 Feb.1846 Mary Ann Smithson of Hull, Yorkshire. They had ten children.

Gowie retired to Grahamstown. He died at Frere Villa, Beaufort Street, on 16 June 1900.

- G.T.J. 7 March 1846, 18,19 June 1900.

GRAINGER, William ?1845-15 Feb.1903

Baptist

William Grainger came to Grahamstown as a child. His father established a gun-making firm, Grainger and Sons, in which William and his three brothers were employed.

Later he became a bookkeeper at Messrs W. and C. Gowie, his brother-in-law's firm. He was employed there until two months before he died.

William Grainger was a staunch Baptist and keenly interested in religious education. In his youth he had visited Canada where he had learnt American methods in Sunday School work. He became Superintendent of the Baptist Sunday School in Grahamstown c.1876. His addresses to the Sunday school children were enlivened with graphic anecdotes and his sermons to black congregations (where he was a

popular preacher) were enthusiastically received. He served as Sunday School Superintendent for over twenty years. An unselfish and unassuming man, he was active in prison and hospital visiting and in raising funds for charity.

He married Helen, daughter of Alexander Gowie on 19 June 1872. They had one son and one daughter, who died young. His son became the manager of a branch of W. and C. Gowie in Bulawayo.

Grainger died on 15 February 1903. His funeral was held at the Baptist Chapel on 17 Feb.1903.

- Grocott's Penny Mail 18 Feb.1903.
- G.T.J. 24 June 1872.

GREY, Mary Frances 27 Feb. ?1840-?

Anglican  
"Fanny"

Mary Frances Grey was the wife of Dr. George Grey of Cradock. She was the second daughter of the Rev. Edward Boyer Cook, a Wesleyan minister (see above: Cook, Mary Frances).

Dr. George Grey qualified at Edinburgh University in 1854. He moved to Cradock where he became a J.P. He was much respected in the town where, as the Rev. Matthew Norton noted, the poor benefitted from his unobtrusive generosity. He was well-known for his enthusiastic interest in geology, a subject on which he wrote newspaper articles. He died at Kruidfontein near Cradock on 30 April 1876.

The Greys had three sons and one daughter, Ethel. Ethel married William Crosby who was editor of The Midland News in the early 1890's.

Mrs Grey continued to live in Cradock after her husband's death.

- G.T.J. 15 May 1860, 1 Sept.1860,8,10 May 1876, 3 Dec.1896 (Crosby marriage).
- Albany Museum; Roll 36/9, Thornhill/Cook.
- H.M. Matthew: Grahamstown Diocese Historical Notes; Typescript in C.L.; Grahamstown 1961, Vol.4, p 60,62,64,70.
- Information supplied by Mrs E. Webster of Grahamstown to the editor on 1 Feb.1983.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- The General Directory and Guide Book to the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies, 1876. Cape Town 1876, p 347-348.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Joan Collett of Cradock on 25 Nov.1983.

GUNGUBELE (GONGABELLA) ?-?

Gungubele was the son of Maphasa, a Thembu chief who had fought against the British in the 8th frontier war. His location was in the Glen Grey district near Queenstown.

In November 1876 Gungubele bought a farm called Mapassa's Poort, but he could not pay for it and the property reverted to the former owner. Dissatisfied over the farm and urged to rebel by surrounding blacks, Gungubele took up arms against the colonial forces in late January 1878. Fighting continued into February and the Thembu suffered considerable losses. Gungubele fled to the Thomas River area.

He was captured at the end of March 1878 and tried at King William's Town on 17 July 1878. He was sentenced to death for treason but the Governor commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. Gungubele was released under an amnesty of 1888.

- M.W. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi, 1877-1878, Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1978, p 186-203.

THE GUSHESQuaker/Wesleyan

The Gush family in South Africa are the descendants of Richard Gush, 1820 settler. His son Joseph died in 1907. According to Joseph Gush's death notice he had six children:

- Gu1      Margaret
- Gu2      Charlotte Elizabeth
- Gu3      Letitia Oak
- Gu4      Sarah Ann
- Gu5      Joseph John Gurney\*
- Gu6      Priscilla Emma

- C.A.; M00C 6/9/568 No.994.

GUSH, Richard 24 April 1789-20 Sept.1828Quaker

Richard Gush was the fifth son of Thomas and Mary Gush, born at Beer, near Axminster, Devon, in 1789. At fourteen years of age he was apprenticed to a carpenter. A few years later he moved to London and married in 1812 Margaret Evans or Evens. They had six sons and four daughters. He became a Wesleyan local preacher but kept a keen interest in Quakerism.

He went to South Africa with the Sephton party of 1820 settlers. and settled at Salem where he continued to act as a local preacher and to practise his trade as a carpenter. He accepted many Quaker convictions and habits including the plain dress and speech, pacificism, teetotalism and the habit of silent worship. In the war of 1834 he managed to persuade the Xhosa warriors who came to attack Salem to withdraw. A man of high ideals, he was sometimes impractical and improvident.

In the last seven years of his life he gave up carpentry and spent time cultivating his allotment. He died at his son's farm Woodbury on 29 September 1858. He was buried at Salem. His wife Margaret died in 1881.

- Guy Butler: Richard Gush of Salem, Cape Town 1982, p viii-xxiv and 88-103.
- A.E. Makin: The 1820 Settlers of Salem, Wynberg 1971, p 96-98.
- G.T.J. 2 Oct.1858; 27 April 1881.
- James Backhouse: A Narrative of a Visit to The Mauritius and South Africa, London 1844 p 298-300.
- D.S.A.B. Vol.1 p 338.

GUSH, Joseph 4 March 1821 - 2 April 1907 [ Gu ] Wesleyan

Joseph was the son of Richard Gush and his wife Margaret. He was born on 4 March 1821 at Salem. He was a carpenter at Salem when he married Charlotte Dennison (born 1819) on 13 August 1844. After spending some years in transport riding he bought the farm Woodbury near Sidbury. In due course he became prosperous and acquired several other properties.

He was appointed a J.P. and became M.L.A. for Albany in 1883. For thirty years he represented Ward 6 in the Albany Divisional Council. Conservative in politics, he consistently opposed responsible government which he feared would introduce racialism into party politics.

He was a founder and vice-President of the Central Farmers' Association. As an active Wesleyan he served in many of the official capacities open to laymen.

In the mid-1890's he retired from Woodbury to Salem. His wife died in 1893 and was buried at Salem. He died at his residence at

Salem on 2 April 1907. Five daughters and one son survived him.

- C.L.; MS 15871/1 No.80; M.A., Salem Chapel marriage register.
- C.L.; MS 15872 No.115; M.A., Salem Chapel burial register.
- G.T.J., 18 April 1893, 23 April 1877, 5 June 1883, 4,6,9 April 1907.
- C.L.; MS 15869 No.50; M.A., Salem Chapel baptism, marriage and burial register.
- C.A.; M00C 6/9/568 No. 994.

GUSH, John Joseph Gurney      1850 - 20 Nov.1943      [ Gu1/5]      Wesleyan  
"Gurney"

John Joseph Gurney Gush was the only surviving son of Joseph Gush and his wife Charlotte. He was baptised on 3 Feb.1850 at Salem. He was known as Gurney.

He farmed at Woodbury with his father and took over the management of the farm completely when his father retired in the mid-1890's.

He married Margaret Eliza Matthews in the Salem Wesleyan Chapel on 19 October 1892. He was one of the most progressive farmers in the Salem district where he took a leading position as a stock farmer. Woodbury was noted for its high quality stock, and Gush himself was highly respected in the district.

He died on 20 Nov.1943 and was buried at Sidbury.

- C.L.; MS 15869 No.727; M.A., Salem Chapel baptism, marriage and burial register.
- C.L.; MS 15871/1 No.546; M.A., Salem Chapel marriage register.
- C.L.; MS 15872 No.998; M.A., Salem Chapel burial register.
- C.L.; MS 7433; Charlotte Gush: letters to her family.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 22,24 Nov.1943.

HANN, Thomas      ? - 5 March 1895

Thomas Hann began a successful commercial career as a clerk in Grahamstown in the early 1860's. He worked as a clothier in an establishment in Bathurst Street in the 1870's, and lived in Goldswain Street. He became the Market Master of Grahamstown.

He moved to Port Elizabeth where he held the post of Chief Accountant of the firm Messrs Parker and Co.

He died in Port Elizabeth on 5 March 1895.

- G.T.J. 7 March 1895.
- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 446.
- Commercial Directory and Guide to the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1881. Grahamstown, 1881 p 448.

HILL, Henry Jan.1843 - 20 Oct.1913

Wesleyan

Henry Hill was born in Grahamstown in 1843, the son of John Hill who had arrived in South Africa in 1817. As a young man Henry Hill worked for some years as a bookkeeper for the Grahamstown firm of C.J. Stirk and Son. He left them to become Secretary to the Albany Divisional Council, a post he filled for nearly forty years.

He was an active member of the Wesleyan church. For nearly fifty years he was connected with the Commemoration Church Sunday School, as teacher, and then as Superintendent. He served as chapel steward, chapel treasurer, choir member and secretary to the Trustees. He represented his church at synods and conferences. He died in the Albany Hospital on 2 October 1913, aged seventy years and ten months.

- G.T.J. 2 March 1843; 4,7,14,21 October 1913.

HOLFORD, William 2 June 1831 - 8 Jan.1911

The Rev. Wesleyan

William Holford was born at Newton Heath near Manchester in 1831, the son of George Holford and his wife Maria (born Burgess). He became a Wesleyan local preacher in 1851. He was trained for the Wesleyan ministry at Hoxton Theological College and appointed to Mount Coke mission in the Transkei in 1855. He was closely involved together with the Rev. J.W. Appleyard in translation work into Xhosa, and in the management of the mission press, of which he became the Superintendent after the death of Appleyard in 1874.

He was involved in the training of black teachers at the Watson Institution, a branch of which was established at Peddie in 1848. He served as Governor of the Healdtown Institution for the training of black ministers and teachers, 1883-1890.

The last years of his ministry were spent in Eastern Cape circuits. He retired to East London and died at Fort Beaufort on 8 January 1911.

His wife was Ellen (born Walker). She died on 18 July 1903 and was buried at Fort Beaufort. They had three daughters and two sons.

- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, South Africa, Minutes of the Annual Conference 1911. Cape Town 1911 p 6.
- C.A.; M00C 6/9/659, No.
- L.A. Hewson: Healdtown, A Study of a Methodist Experiment in African education. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Rhodes University 1959, p112-116,279.
- G.T.J. 23 July 1903.

HOLUB, Emil 7 Oct.1847 - 21 Feb.1902.

Emil Holub was the son of a Czech doctor and was born at Holitz, Bohemia on 7 October 1847. He trained as a doctor in Prague. In 1872 he sailed for Southern Africa which he intended to explore. He financed his several exploratory journeys by practising as a doctor at Kimberley.

He returned to Europe at the end of 1879. He spent a few years lecturing and holding exhibitions of his geological, floral and animal specimens from Southern Africa and published several works on his travels. He married on 2 Nov. 1883 Rosa Hoff the daughter of an Austrian museum curator. His wife accompanied him on his next expedition to southern Zambia but, due to attacks by unfriendly tribesmen they had to return, and left for Europe in August 1887.

For the rest of his life he lectured and exhibited in Europe and the United States, which he visited in 1894. He died in Vienna on 21 Feb. 1902. His vast ethnographical collections, scientific drawings, maps and papers, many of which are valuable, are housed in various Czech museums.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.1, p 390.

HORNABROOK, G.E.? 25 Sept.? -?

?Wesleyan

The identity of Butler's friend Hornabrook presents problems. The Birthday Scripture Text Book gives his initials as G.E. R. Griffiths in his book on the 1st City Volunteers mentions G.E. Hornabrook, but The Journal of 10 Dec.1877 gives the name Charles Hornabrook and the issue of 7 December quotes Edward.

In the war of 1877-1878 Hornabrook joined the Grahamstown Volunteer

Horse Artillery and left with them for King William's Town early in October 1877. He fought at the battle of Mzintzani (see fn 2 p 397) on 4 Dec.1877 and was wounded in the thigh. He was sent to King William's Town to recuperate and arrived back in Grahamstown a month later, apparently recovered, but lame.

- G.T.J. 7,10,21 Dec.1877.
- E.S. 2 Oct.1877, 11,14 Dec.1877.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 8 Jan. 1878.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

HUNTER, William 11 Sept.1837 - 23 Aug.1905                      The Rev. Wesleyan

William Hunter was born at St. Helen's on 11 Sept. 1837. He became a Wesleyan local preacher at Birkenhead and offered himself for the ministry in 1860. He was posted to South Africa and spent twenty years as a missionary in the Eastern Cape.

He married on 31 January 1866 Louisa Maria Barnes. They had five sons and two daughters.

Hunter was a gifted linguist and teacher and wrote hymns, tracts and text books in Xhosa. He was a member of the Board for the Revision of the Xhosa Bible. He revised the Rev. W.J. Davis's Xhosa Dictionary.

In 1878 he developed a "throat affection" and was given a year's leave to recuperate in England. He returned to England finally in 1880 for health reasons.

He retired in 1899 and died at Sevenoaks in 1905.

- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, Great Britain, Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1906. London, 1906, p 126.
- C.L.; MS 15018; M.A., Minutes of the Grahamstown District, 1871-1889. See Minutes of the meeting held 14 Jan.1880, including Supplementary Minutes, para.9.
- A South African Bibliography, 2, London 1979, p 25,624.
- C.L., MS 15726; M.A., Barnes family register.

THE IMPEYSWesleyan

The Impey family came to South Africa in 1844. George Impey, a flax-spinner and sail-cloth manufacturer, came from Whitby in Yorkshire, England, in 1844, accompanied by his wife, Anne Frances, born Patton, four sons and three daughters. George Impey became Principal of the Salem Academy (see fn 10 p 257). When he left the school he went to Grahamstown where he became an accountant in the office of The Graham's Town Journal, and later became manager of the British Kaffrarian Bank in King William's Town. The Impey children were:

Im1	William*
Im2	George
Im3	Samuel Patton
Im4	Richard Pullman
Im5	Mary Ann
Im6	Sarah Catherine
Im7	Fanny

In 1848 Mrs Impey died. George married secondly a Mrs Stephen, a widow, on 25 June 1849. She bore him two children.

- R.H. Impey: Family History of Impey and Hart, Palmerton 1937, p 6-17, in South African Pamphlets, Vol.108.
- C.L.; MS 865-873, Collection of letters from George Impey to his sister Mary Ann in England. See especially MS 868, letter dated 6 Oct.1846; MS 870, letter dated 27 Jan.1848, MS 871, letter dated 20 Sept.1849, p2.

IMPEY, William 22 Feb.1818 - 25 Sept.1896 [ Im1 ] The Rev. Wesleyan

William Impey was born in Whitby, Yorkshire. He came to South Africa as a Wesleyan missionary in 1838 and in the course of a long ministry served at many of the Wesleyan mission stations in the Eastern Cape.

He married on 8 April 1841 Mary Elizabeth Shaw [ W3 ] second daughter of the Rev. William Shaw. In 1856 Impey succeeded his father-in-law as General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in the Eastern Cape and Chairman of the Grahamstown District.

Impey was active in the formation of new circuits under black ministers and in the promotion of black education, especially the training of ministers. In 1865 he was appointed to a Commission on Native Affairs of the Cape government and was elected President by the

other members. He was a good administrator and retained the confidence both of the blacks and of the colonists.

After many months of theological doubt Impey found he could not subscribe to the Wesleyan doctrine of the eternal punishment of the damned, and resigned from the Wesleyan ministry on 11 April 1878.

He was accepted into the Anglican ministry and ordained priest in 1879. He served in Grahamstown and East London. He died at his home in Oatlands Road, Grahamstown in 1896. His wife died on 28 Oct. 1915 aged ninety-four.

The Impeys had nine children:

Im1/1	George William	b. 1842	m. Lydia Roberts Wood
Im1/2	Ann Letitia*	b. 1844	m. Henry Wood* [Wo7]
Im1/3	Benjamin Shaw Horton	b. 1846	m. Emma Jane Hellier
Im1/4	Maria Boyce	b. 1848	m. Henry Driver (in 1870)
Im1/5	Charles James Close	b. 1851	m. Caroline Elizabeth Upton
Im1/6	Mary Ann	died in infancy	
Im1/7	Frances Patton*	b. 1853	m. (1) Alfred Alexander (2) Melville Heyman
Im1/8	Harriet Langford	died young	
Im1/9	Mary Elizabeth*	b. 1857	m. Peter Gordon (in 1882)

- D.S.A.B. Vol.2, p 327-328.
- Albany Museum; File SMD 580 (13), Shaw family.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 30 Oct.1915.
- C.L.; MS 15100; M.A., Copies of correspondence between William Impey and Dr. W. Morley Punshon.

IMPEY, Frances Patton 23 Dec.1853-? [ Im1/7 ] Wesleyan  
"Fanny"

Frances Patton Impey was born 23 Dec.1853. She married on 12 June 1877 Alfred Alexander, engineer and mine manager. They had one son and two daughters.

Alexander died in 1892. Two years later on 8 Sept.1894, she married Captain (later General) Melville Heyman at Bulawayo. Her children took the name of Heyman.

- C.L.; MS 15899/3 No.679; M.A., Commemoration Church baptism register.
- G.T.J. 13 June 1877, 20,23 Aug. 1892, 13 Sept.1894.
- Albany Museum; File SMD 580 (13), Shaw family.

IMPEY, Mary Elizabeth 26 June 1857 - ? [ Im1/9 ] Wesleyan

Mary Elizabeth Impey was born 26 June 1857. She married Peter Gordon, later manager of the Standard Bank, Grahamstown, on 27 July 1882. They had one son.

- C.L.; MS 15899/3 No.944; M.A., Commemoration Church baptism register.
- G.T.J. 31 July 1882.
- Albany Museum; File SMD 580 (13), Shaw family.

KIDGER, William 27 Aug.1833 - 3 April 1910 Wesleyan

William Kidger was born at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, England, the son of Joseph Kidger and his wife Anna, born Armitage.

William Kidger kept a general dealers' store in Cradock. He served several times as the Chairman of the Board of Municipal Commissioners of Cradock, and was a member of the Cradock School Committee.

He was a loyal member of the Wesleyan church. Kidger's wife was Rebecca, the daughter of William Cawood [C2]. They had one son and one daughter.

Kidger died at Tarkastad on 3 April 1910.

- C.A.; M00C 6/9/657 No.3346.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- The Cradock Register 4 Feb.1876, 16 Jan.1878.
- E.S. 7 Feb.1879.
- G.T.J. 16 Aug.1887.

KING, Robert 3 March 1846 - Feb.1894 Wesleyan

Robert King was a successful Grahamstown business-man in the linen drapers' firm of Ryall, King and King, High Street. He came to Grahamstown c.1867 for his health. He married on 5 August 1868 Alice, eldest daughter of John Webb. They had ten children.

King was a staunch Wesleyan, active in Sunday School work and as a local preacher. He gave generously to charities and religious institutions. He collected some £800 in England towards the peal of bells which was hung in the Cathedral tower. The great bell carries an inscription to his memory.

He was an ardent temperance worker. In 1877 he was elected to

represent the Grand Lodge of South Africa of the Independent Order of Good Templars and went to America. He served as a director of the Good Templars' Hall company. He was a member of the Grahamstown Town Council 1864-1876.

He moved to Port Elizabeth in 1880 where he joined the firm of Baker, King and Co. In the last months of his life he suffered from insomnia and depression. On a voyage to England in search of health he was lost from the Dunottar Castle near Knysna in February 1894. His wife died in the Albany General Hospital in Grahamstown on 10 July 1902 at the age of fifty-two.

- G.T.J. 7 June 1868, 20,22 February 1894, 12 July 1902, 27 Dec.1880.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 11 July 1902.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

#### KING, Thomas

Thomas King was one of the partners in the firm of Ryall, King and King of High Street Grahamstown.

- G.T.J. 30 April 1877.

KNIGHT, Daniel 8 Feb.1847 - 20 Jan.1923

Wesleyan

Daniel Knight came to Grahamstown from Guernsey, Channel Islands, in 1876 "to find a grave", as he expressed it. Instead he recovered his health and became a prominent citizen. He was a member of the Town Council for over thirty years and Mayor 1901-1903. He was president of the Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Albany Museum Board, Rhodes University College Council and the Municipal School Board.

He was an active Wesleyan who at different times served in every official capacity open to laymen. He was a member of the Independent Order of Good Templars.

He was the founder and proprietor of Knight's Boot and Shoe Store in High Street. In 1897 a branch of the shoe business was opened in Bulawayo. The Bulawayo store was closed in 1955.

Knight married on 9 April 1879 Ida Emmeline Cockcroft, the daughter of Thomas Iken Cockcroft of Grahamstown. They had one daughter. Ida Knight died in 1885. Knight married secondly Emily Stewart Priest,

daughter of F. Priest of Willesden, England, on 4 April 1888. Emily Knight had been governess to the Cockcroft children. There were four children of the second marriage.

Knight died on 20 Jan.1923. His wife died on 15 July 1933. She had been a respected President of the Ladies' Benevolent Society and a life-long supporter of temperance.

- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/218 No.354.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No.779; M.A., Commemoration Church marriage register.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- G.T.J. 7 April 1888.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 22,23,24 Jan.1923; 15 July 1933; 21 Aug.1933.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mr. Edgar Knight of Grahamstown on 1 Nov.1982.

KNOWLES, Henry c.1819 - 25 April 1885                      Doctor.    ?Wesleyan

Dr. Henry Knowles was born c.1819. He was trained as an apothecary and came to South Africa in 1849. He lived in Grahamstown for thirty-eight years. He qualified as a doctor at the University of Glasgow in 1867.

He was a man of broad scientific interests. At the Queen's Jubilee Exhibition held in Grahamstown in 1887-1888 he exhibited a "hydro-speculum or water-telescope" which was highly commended by the judges.

He was a keen sportsman, often to be seen out riding, carrying his gun, accompanied by his pointers.

He died at his house in Bathurst Street on 25 April 1888. He was survived by three daughters and one son, also a doctor. His wife Louisa Semmons Knowles had died on 11 Aug.1887, aged seventy-one.

- G.T.J. 11 Aug.1887, 26,28 April 1888.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 20 Jan.1888, 27 April 1888.
- The General Directory and Guide Book to the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies, 1878. Cape Town 1878, second half of the book, p 99(a).

KNOWLES, Mary 6 Aug.? - 26 April 1878

Wesleyan

Mary Knowles was the second daughter of Dr. Henry Knowles and his wife Louisa. Mary died after a short illness on 26 April 1878 and was buried in the Wesleyan cemetery, Grahamstown.

- G.T.J. 3 May 1878.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 3 May 1878.
- E.S. 3 May 1878.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

THE KRIGES

Dutch Reformed

The Krige family in South Africa are the descendants of Willem Adolph Krige or Krigo of Lingen in the Netherlands, who arrived at Table Bay in 1721. A branch of the family settled at Stellenbosch, several of whom became farmers.

It has not been possible to identify the Mr. Krige whom James Butler visited in 1876. Three Krige brothers farmed close to Stellenbosch:

- K1 Willem Adolph Krige (1841-1914) who lived at Vredelust.
- K2 Gideon Johannes Krige (1843-1923) who lived at Oude Libertas.
- K3 Jacob Daniel Krige (1845-1919) who bought Libertas Parva in 1869.

J.D. Krige in his work on the Krige family mentions that Gideon Johannes Krige was a deacon and elder in the Dutch Reformed Church in Stellenbosch. Gideon Krige was a wealthy man. The railway line from Cape Town crossed Gideon Krige's property and the train usually stopped opposite the homestead to let Krige alight. On the other hand both Jacob Daniel Krige and Willem Adolph Krige were wine-farmers and their houses, both elegant Cape Dutch homesteads, were in Dorp Street, Stellenbosch.

A fourth Krige brother, Jacobus George Joubert Krige (1846-1920), [K4], became a Dutch Reformed minister. A Rev. J.G.J. Krige is mentioned in the passenger lists of those who landed from the Dunrobin Castle on 11 Nov. 1876.

- C.C. de Villiers, revised by C. Pama, Geslagsregisters van die ou Kaapse Families; Deel I, A-K, Cape Town 1966 p 427-429,

- H. Fransen and M.A. Cook: The Old Houses of the Cape, Cape Town 1965 p 51.
- The Cape Mercantile Advertiser, 13 Nov.1876.
- The Cape Argus, 14 Nov.1876.
- Letter, Librarian, Stellenbosch Museum to J.M. Garner dated 8 Sept.1982 with enclosure, J.D. Krige: The Krige family.

LAMPLOUGH, Robert May 1833 - 8 June 1905 The Rev. Wesleyan

Robert Lamplough was born in Derby in 1833. He was trained in banking but decided to become a Wesleyan minister, offered himself, and was accepted by the Conference in 1855. He was posted to South Africa.

He served for many years as Secretary to the Annual District Meetings held in Grahamstown. In 1868 he was put in charge of the Healdtown Circuit as Superintendent, a post he combined with that of Tutor at the Healdtown Institution for the training of black ministers. In 1877 he became Vice-Principal of the Healdtown Institution. His work there earned him the nickname of Vulindlela - the way-opener.

In 1880 he became Chairman and General Superintendent of the Queenstown District. When the South African Conference was formed in 1883 he was its first Secretary. In 1887 and in 1902 he was President of the South African Conference. In Queenstown he started a book room to supply Wesleyan ministers with devotional literature. Lamplough retired in 1905 and died on 8 June that year in Cape Town.

He married on 27 December 1859 Sarah Eliza Moore. They had three daughters and two sons. Mrs Lamplough died on 14 Jan.1898.

- C.A.; M00C 6/9/525.No. 1748.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No.422; M.A., Commemoration Church marriage register.
- L. Hewson: Healdtown, A Study of a Methodist experiment in African education. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Rhodes University 1959, Vol.II, pp 236,246,256.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, South Africa.  
Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1906. Cape Town, 1906, p 7.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, Great Britain. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1906. London, 1906, p 149.

LONES, Ezekiel 18 Jan.1841 - 29 Jan.1918                      The Rev.    Wesleyan

Ezekiel Lones was born at Prince's End, Tipton. He became a Wesleyan minister in 1870 and was sent to Grahamstown. He spent sixteen years in South Africa. He returned to England in 1887.

In 1911 he came to South Africa again and worked for four years at Cambridge Church, East London, after which he went back to England.

Lones was a highly educated man, a keen scholar and linguist. He was an active supporter of the movement to found an independent local Conference and was elected as a member of the first South African Conference which met in Cape Town in 1883.

The Rev. Richard Hornabrook met the Lones family in 1875. He liked Ezekiel Lones but found Mrs Lones "too vinegary for me."

Lones died at St. Just, Cornwall, on 29 Jan.1918, aged seventy-seven.

- C.L.; MS 15018; M.A., Minutes of the Grahamstown District, 1871-1889, including Minutes of a meeting held 9 Jan.1884, with enclosure, Question 47.
- C.L.; MS 15087; M.A., Diary of Richard Hornabrook, entry for 1 March 1875.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, Great Britain. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1918. London, 1918, p 108.
- J. Whiteside: History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa. London, 1906, photograph p 237.

LONGDEN, John 27 Sept.1827 - 26 Dec.1914                      The Rev.    Wesleyan

John Longden was born in Marples, Cheshire in 1827. He was accepted for the Wesleyan ministry in 1849. He worked in the south west of England before he came to South Africa in 1857, for his wife's health. He served for fourteen years in the Transkei and for the rest of his ministry in the Eastern Cape, including about thirty years in Somerset East.

He married Louisa Jane Burn, born Botters, of Cornwall. They had six daughters and three sons. Louisa Longden died on 25 November 1882 at Somerset East aged fifty-two. John Longden continued to live at Somerset East and died there on 26 Dec.1914 in his eighty-eighth year.

- G.T.J. 29 Dec.1914, 2 Jan.1915.
- C.A.; M00C 6/9/192 No.5070.

- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, South Africa. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1915. Cape Town, 1915, p 6.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, Great Britain. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1915. London, 1915, p 164.

MAKINANA (MACKINNON)      ?-?

Makinana was a son of the Ndlambe chief Mhala, who died in 1875, and a brother of Nathaniel Mhala. He joined Maphasa, a Gcaleka chief who had fled from the Transkei into the Colony in September 1877, and claimed British protection.

In November 1877 Makinana was told that he was to be disarmed, fined 200 head of cattle for his part in some raids against the Mfengu in August 1877, and resettled beyond the Qora River. In the process of disarmament he and his people were handled so roughly that they fled to the Draaibosch location. There was a clash with the police sent to collect the cattle for the fine.

War seemed imminent and the frontier colonists demanded strong measures for protection. Fortunately W.B. Chalmers, Special Commissioner to the Ngqika, was able to reassure Makinana who gave up some arms and some of the cattle for the fine. On 4 Dec.1877 Chalmers declared the matter closed, but the incident strengthened the resolve of some colonial blacks to rebel against white rule.

- J.B. Peires: The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa people in the days of their independence. Johannesburg 1981, p 83.
- M.W. Spicer: The War of Ngcayicibi, 1877-1878. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1978, p 125-134.

MERRIMAN, Nathaniel James    4 April 1809 - 16 Aug.1882      Anglican  
Bishop of Grahamstown.

Nathaniel James Merriman was the third of eight sons of Thomas Merriman, solicitor and banker, of Marlborough, England. He was educated at Winchester and Oxford and ordained in 1835.

He married in 1840 Julia Pottinger of Manchester. They had nine children.

In 1849 he became Archdeacon of Grahamstown. From 1849 to 1870 he exercised an effective pastoral ministry on foot in a vast area which at one period (1848-1854) included Bloemfontein. In 1853 and in 1861 he refused to become a bishop, but helped to set up the (Anglican) Church of the Province of South Africa with its own independent

synodical government, affiliated to the Church of England, in 1870.

In 1872 he became Bishop of Grahamstown, where he greatly encouraged mission work. The late 1870's were the years of the bitter quarrel between Merriman and Frederick Henry Williams, the Dean of Grahamstown (see fn.155 p 85).

Merriman died as a result of a carriage accident near Grahamstown on 16 August 1882.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.I p 535.
- M.M. Goedhals: Nathaniel James Merriman, Archdeacon and Bishop 1849-1882: a study in church life and government. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Rhodes University, 1982.

MFANTA (UMFANTA)      ? - ?

Mfanta was a brother of Ngangelizwe the Paramount chief of the Thembu. Mfanta lived in Ngangelizwe's location but continually quarrelled with the Paramount.

In late 1877 he was reported to be in favour of war and urged Gungubele to join in the imminent rebellion against the Colony. He himself took part in a marauding and looting campaign.

Mfanta, with a force of 300 armed men, joined the Ngqika rebellion on 28 Jan.1878. In some sharp fighting the black forces were defeated and Mfanta fled.

He was captured in April 1878, tried and sentenced with the other rebels. He was subsequently released under an amnesty for all prisoners from the war in 1888.

- M.W. Spicer: The War of Ngqayecibi, 1877-1878. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1978 p 191-203.

MHALA (UMHALA)      ? - ?

Nathaniel Mhala was a son of the Ndlambe chief Mhala, who died in 1875, and a brother of Makinana.

He was an educated man, a government interpreter at King William's Town. In the war of 1877-1878 he was the subject of an attack in The Cape Mercury for suspected treachery. He felt compelled to resign and went into hiding, torn between sympathy for his own people and loyalty to the government. In the frontier panic of early 1878 even

those with whom Mhala corresponded were suspected. One, an Ndlambe headman, had his kraal searched without a warrant by Bowker's Rovers in an unsuccessful attempt to find evidence of Mhala's treachery.

Mhala was charged with murder and treason and tried in King William's Town before Judge Dwyer on 15 July 1878. He was acquitted, but refused reinstatement in government service.

- M.W. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi, 1877-1878. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1978, p 158-160.
- J.B. Peires: The House of Phalo: A History of the Xosa people in the days of their independence. Johannesburg, 1981, p 83.

MINTO, Timothy Edward                      ? - 28 July 1901                      Anglican

Timothy Edward Minto came to the Cape as a young man. He joined the Eastern Province Bank as a clerk and became manager. Later he entered business in the firm of Heideman and Minto.

In the war of 1877-1878 he was appointed Commandant of the Albany Mounted Volunteers in November 1877 and Commandant of the Fish River District and the Albany District in 1878. He became Colonel of the 3rd Cape Yeomanry and fought in Basutoland in 1879. After the Basutoland campaign, in which he won a medal, Minto became Inspector of Stores and Accounting Officer of the Defence Department.

In 1886 he became Civil Commissioner at Hope Town and transferred to Bathurst in 1889. He was a keen sportsman in his youth.

He married on 5 Feb. 1879 Catherine Anne Black, daughter of James Black, at Trinity Church, Grahamstown.

He died in 1901 at his house in Oatlands.

- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 449.
- G.T.J. 23 Nov. 1877, 30 July 1901.
- E.S. 7 Feb. 1879.

NELSON, Richard William 11 Aug.1837 - 1 July 1906

Anglican

"Tom Noddy"

Richard William Nelson, the son of an Irish doctor, Richard William Nelson, and his wife Agnes, came to Grahamstown in 1862. He became book-keeper to Samuel Cawood, a prominent local merchant, whose second daughter, Rachel, Nelson married at Commemoration Church on 7 Oct.1863. Nelson's connection with Samuel Cawood helped him to withstand the economic depression of the 1860's.

He had been a member of the 15th Lancashire Volunteers in England and joined the First City Volunteers in Grahamstown in 1875. He fought in the war of 1877 and rose to be Captain Commandant of the First City Volunteers.

He was elected to the Town Council in 1866 and served on it for twenty-six years. He chaired many Municipal Committees and became Mayor for a few months in December 1888. He was made a J.P. in 1871. He was an Anglican, and was elected to the Cathedral Vestry in 1886.

He was a skilled and able public speaker with an incisive manner. His power of ready retort made him a useful ally and a feared antagonist in public life.

He died on 1 July 1906 at his residence Myrtle Villa, Grahamstown aged sixty-nine. At his funeral at the Cathedral on 2 July 1906 the chief mourners were his widow, son and two daughters. Mrs Rachel Nelson died 15 Feb.1910.

- Grocott's Penny Mail 2 July, 4 July 1906.
- G.T.J. 9 Oct.1863, 13 Dec.1871, 31 March 1879, 6 March 1886, 3 July 1906, 17 Feb.1910.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No.515; M.A., Commemoration Church marriage register.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mr. N. Southey, July 1983.

NORTON, Matthew c.1826 - 24 Nov.1912

The Rev. Anglican

Matthew Norton was the son of a labourer and worked in a factory as a child. He always felt his lack of education. He arrived in South Africa in April 1860 and was ordained deacon that year. He was priested in 1862. He served at St Mark's Mission in the Transkei, at Adelaide (1861-1866) and Cradock (1867-1877).

Early in 1877 Norton became the first incumbent of the newly

completed Christ Church in Grahamstown. He remained there for thirty-five years and earned the respect of his parishioners for his faithfulness and care of the sick.

In 1908 he was made a Canon of Grahamstown Cathedral.

His wife was called Selina. They had three sons and seven daughters. Selina Norton died on 19 Feb.1912. In May of that year Norton retired. He died a few months later on 24 Nov.1912 at his home in Oatlands Road. A memorial tablet to Norton and his wife was put up in Christ Church and unveiled by their daughter a year after Norton's death.

- G.T.J. 2 March 1912, 11 May 1912, 26 Nov.1912, 25 Nov.1913.

- Grocott's Penny Mail 27 Nov.1912.

- Obituary of Canon Norton in Church Magazine for the Archdeaconry of Grahamstown, January 1913, No.1, p 4.

- H.M. Matthew: Grahamstown Diocese Historical Notes; Typescript in Cory Library, Grahamstown, 1961, Vol.4, p 140-144.

OBA 1835 - 25 March 1907

Oba was a grandson of Ngqika and a nephew of the Rharabe Paramount Chief Sandile.

In 1874 he bought two farms in the Victoria East district. By November 1877 his people there were suffering from the effects of drought and overcrowding, and they stole cattle from neighbouring white farmers.

In December 1877 G.M. Theal was appointed Special Resident with Oba's people. Theal's influence prevented Oba from joining the Ngqika rebellion.

In April 1878 Oba applied to the government for a place of safety for himself and his family. About a third of his followers joined Sandile in rebellion but Oba and the rest went with Theal to Calderwood, Victoria East. Oba himself was detained in a military barrack in Wynberg near Cape Town.

After the war Oba was given the farm Aberdeen near Victoria East in recognition of his loyal service. His followers were relocated at Kentani in the Transkei.

Oba died at Calderwood, Victoria East on 25 March 1907.

- G.T.J. 9 April 1907.

- E.S. 16, 23 April 1878.
- M.W. Spicer; The War of Ngcayecibi, 1877-1878. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1978, p 151-152, 177-178.

PASSMORE, Matilda 1831 - 17 Oct.1908

?Anglican

Matilda Passmore, born Goddard, was the daughter of Ralph and Sarah Goddard of Grahamstown. She married on 3 Sept.1850 Thomas Emmanuel Passmore, a local carpenter, in St George's Cathedral. They had seven children.

Thomas Passmore died in 1864 at the age of thirty-six. In the 1870's Matilda Passmore kept a boarding establishment called Roseneath in Lawrance Street, Grahamstown. James Butler was one of her lodgers.

Matilda Passmore died at Queenstown on 27 Oct.1908.

- C.L.; MS 14879/3 No.411, St George's Cathedral marriage register.
- G.T.J. 12 Feb.1864, 10 Dec.1877, 18,22 Feb.1878, 1 March 1878.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/615 No.736.

PRICE, Walter Henry 30 April 1851 - 12 Nov.1911 The Rev. Wesleyan

Walter Price was born at Newtownards, County Down, the grandson of a Wesleyan minister. He was the first student to be trained at the Methodist College, Belfast.

He was posted to South Africa in 1875. After ten years he returned to England in 1885 and served in France and in various circuits in England.

In temperament he was humorous and cheerful and his home was a hospitable one.

He retired in 1899 due to poor health. In 1902 he settled at Bristol. He died there on 12 Nov.1911.

- B.P.; 3502/1 The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, Great Britain. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1912, London, 1912, p 136.

PRICE, Gibson

? - 2 March 1878

Wesleyan

The infant son and only child of the Rev. W.H. Price died of croup on 2 March 1878.

- G.T.J. 4 March 1878.

PRIESTLEY, John 1831 - 30 Jan.1906The Rev. Wesleyan

John Priestley was born at Churwell near Leeds. He became a Wesleyan missionary and was sent to the Cape. After eleven years he returned to England in 1866. In the 1870's he served again in South Africa for a further nine years.

His health seems to have been poor. The Rev. Richard Hornabrook mentions in his diary that Priestley appeared depressed when they met in 1878, and in 1880 the Wesleyan authorities gave him a year's leave as a supernumerary to recover his health.

He returned to England c.1893. The last thirteen years of his life he worked as a supernumerary. He died at Ilfracombe on 30 Jan. 1906 in his seventy-fifth year.

- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, Great Britain. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1906. London, 1906, p 136
- C.L.; MS 15087; M.A., Diary of Richard Hornabrook, entry for 30 Aug.1878.
- C.L.; MS 15018; M.A., Minutes of the Grahamstown District, 1871-1889. See Minutes of the meeting held 14 Jan.1880, including Supplementary Minutes, para.8.

PURDON, Lieutenant

The Purdon family in the Eastern Cape was, and is, an extensive one. Lieutenant Purdon's name is not mentioned in the newspaper reports of Willie Shaw's death. Possibly he is to be identified with James Thomas Purdon who was appointed Second Lieutenant of the 1st Clumber Mounted Volunteers in 1878 and resigned in 1879.

- G.T.J. 23 May 1878, 7 March 1879.

RICARDS, James David 10 Jan.1828 - 30 Nov.1893 The Rt. Rev. Roman Catholic Bishop

James David Ricards was born in Wexford, Ireland in 1828, the son of a doctor. He came to South Africa with Bishop Devereux in 1849 as a sub-deacon. He was ordained priest in 1851 and consecrated

third Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern Province on 18 June 1871.

He was a man of culture and learning who was interested in all aspects of science. He gave public lectures on such subjects as astronomy, magnetism, electricity and microscopes as well as public readings from Dickens and the Irish novelists.

With Dr. W.G. Atherstone he helped to identify the first diamond which was discovered at Hope Town in 1866.

He actively promoted Catholic education. Under his auspices several Catholic Orders founded schools in the Eastern Province and started new educational and missionary projects. Richards retained a tolerant regard for other Christians.

He tried to establish a model farm near Port Elizabeth but the experiment was not a success.

He died on 30 Nov.1893 at his house in Beaufort Street. He was mourned by the whole Christian community in Grahamstown. He was buried in the Roman Catholic Cemetery.

- G.T.J. 2,30 Dec.1893.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 29 Nov.1893, 1,4 Dec.1893.
- D.S.A.B. Vol.2, p 594-595.

RICHMOND, Reginald Heber 1 Nov.? - ?

Wesleyan

Reginald Richmond was a "provision merchant" with a store in Bathurst Street. He lived at Wychling Cottage, Prince Alfred Road, and later in Hill Street.

He married on 16 Nov.1875 Lydia Sophia Pike, daughter of Horatio Pike of Grahamstown.

Richmond was an energetic Wesleyan. He served the Grahamstown Wesleyan Sunday Schools as teacher and superintendent. He was interested in temperance work and became an active member of the Independent Order of Good Templars. He was elected to the Town Council in 1884 and 1886.

- C.L.; PR 3572/1; M.A., Sunday School Union Minute Book, meetings 25 April 1876, 3 May 1877, 2 May 1878.
- Commercial Directory and Guide to the Eastern Province, 1881. Grahamstown, 1881, p 461.
- G.T.J. 17 Nov.1875, 27 Jan.1879.
- BP.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

ROBERTS, Thomas James 29 Nov.1839 - ?

Wesleyan

Thomas James Roberts was the third son of Sanuel Roberts, 1820 settler and his wife Hannah, born Scanlen. The family lived in Grahamstown.

Roberts moved to Cradock in the 1860's. He married Sarah Elizabeth Fletcher. They had six sons and five daughters.

Roberts was a keen temperance worker, active in the Independent Order of Good Templars in Cradock.

- Albany Museum; Roll 38/11, Roberts; File SMD 580 (12).
- The Cradock Register 21 July 1876.

ROSS, Bryce 12 Aug.1825 - 15 Dec.1899

The Rev. Presbyterian

Bryce Ross was the second son of the Rev.John Ross, missionary of the Glasgow missionary society, one of the founders of Lovedale (see fn 41 p 372), and his wife Helen, born Blair.

Bryce Ross was a distinguished scholar and translator. He was a member of the Bible Revision Board (see fn 8 p 138 ) where he helped his father and extended and consolidated his work, while continuing with Bible revision. He became editor of the magazine Indaba which was founded in 1862. He moved permanently to Pirie in 1868. His father died there on 7 June 1878.

He married on 28 February 1851 Margaret Brown of Kilmarnock, Scotland. Butler met Mrs Ross when he went to see Willie Shaw's grave which was next to that of Mrs Helen Ross, Bryce Ross's mother who had died in 1862. Bryce Ross died on 15 Dec.1899.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.2, p 605-6, Vol.1 p 681.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1 The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

SANDILE 1820 - 29 May 1878

Sandile was the son of Ngqika and his great wife Sutu. He was the Paramount Chief of the Rharabe Xhosa and was born near Burnshill, Eastern Cape. His father died when Sandile was about eight years old. He took up his duties as Paramount about 1840, but was unable to assess or control the complex and changing situation on the frontier. Influenced by the war party among his people Sandile fought against the whites in the 1846, 1850 and 1877 wars. He took part in the disastrous

cattle killing of 1856-7. Sandile's contact with white officials and missionaries made him realise that "civilization" would undermine the traditional way of life and his own power as chief. Thus he resisted white influence.

IN 1878 when the Ngqika had been drawn into the frontier war Sandile waged a guerilla campaign from the isi Denge forest near Stutterheim. There he was joined by other rebels. On 29 May 1878 he was killed by an Mfengu patrol, and buried on a local farm by Colonial forces. Sandile, despite his popularity with his people, had a cruel streak in his character possibly because of physical deformity: he had a withered leg from birth. He also drank excessively. His death marked the end of the power of the Rharabe to resist white rule, the end of a long process of tribal fragmentation.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.2 p 614-616.
- Cradock Register 21 June 1878.

SARHILI (KRELI) c.1814 - 1892.

Sarhili was Paramount Chief of the Gcaleka, the heir of Chief Hintsa whom he succeeded in 1835.

In 1844 he concluded a treaty of friendship with the Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Peregrine Maitland. Sarhili received a salary and a Resident was sent.

He and his tribe took part in the disastrous cattle killing of 1856-1857. The Cape government thought that Sarhili was responsible for starting the cattle killing and he was ousted from his territory in the Kentani-Willowvale district.

By the early 1860's the Gcaleka had returned to their traditional lands. There were two skirmishes with the Thembu in the early 1870's which demonstrated the resurgent Gcaleka power.

Sarhili fought against the Cape Colony in the war of 1877-1878. The Gcaleka were defeated. Sarhili was deposed in 1877 and his people fled across the Mbashe river.

After the war Sarhili returned and settled in Bomvanaland. In 1883 he was officially pardoned and given back some of his land in 1885. A traditionalist himself, he was regarded in the Colony as the

instigator of frontier wars. He died at the Sholora location in 1892.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.1 p 686-688.

SAUNDERS, Rhoda Phoebe 14 July 1842 - 9 Dec.1917 [T8/4] Wesleyan

Rhoda Phoebe was the wife of Edward Saunders (1836-15 April 1877). Rhoda Phoebe, born Trollip, grew up on her father's farm Doornberg. Edward Saunders farmed at Highlands, near Fish River Station. The Saunders's had two children.

After her husband's early death Rhoda Saunders used her large house in Bree Street Cradock, later known at The Poplars as a boarding house. It was at her house that James Butler and Robert Wilkie found lodgings in 1878. After his marriage in 1882 The Poplars became Butler's home.

Rhoda Saunders died on 9 Dec.1917 and was buried at Fish River.

- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa, Pietermaritzburg 1971, p 136, 198-201.

- The Cradock Register 4,25 Jan.1878, 27 Sept.1878.

- Guy Butler: Karoo Morning, Cape Town 1977, p 18.

SHARP, Isaac - see p 477.

THE BARNABAS SHAWS

Wesleyan

Barnabas Shaw (1788-1857) pioneer Wesleyan missionary and founder of the first mission station in Namaqualand, Leliefontein, married Jane Butler of Bridlington Quay in 1814. She died in 1861. Their children were:

S1	Barnabas James*	m. Barbara Wakinshaw*
S2	Charlotte Elizabeth	m. William L. Blore.
S3	Jane Butler	m. John Ayliff [ A1 ]
S4	Samuel Best*	m. Mary Anne Barnes
S5	Catherine Esperance	
S1/1	Barnabas John*	
S1/2	Susanna Jane*	m. F.M. Gilfillan
S1/3	James Wakinshaw*	
S1/4	William Abercrombie*	
S1/5	George Henry Bramwell*	

S1/6 John Reay\* "Jack"  
 S1/7 Barbara\*  
 S1/8 Samuel Charles\*  
 S1/9 Ambrose George Campbell\*  
 S1/10 Dorothy Catherine Reay\* m. the Rev. James Wilson Thompson  
 S1/11 Mary Emma\* "Lily".

- D.S.A.B. Vol.1, p 709.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/94.

SHAW, Barnabas James 1 Feb.1821 - 15 June 1902 [ S1 ] The Rev. Wesleyan

Barnabas James Shaw was educated at the Wesleyan School at Wodehouse Grove, Leeds, and at a school in Plymouth. Having offered himself for the Wesleyan missionary ministry he was trained at Hoxton Theological Institution. He expected to be sent to India and learnt the Canarese language, but instead was posted to South Africa. He learnt Dutch in Holland in preparation.

On 27 July 1843 he married Barbara Wakinshaw of Newcastle-on-Tyne. They had eleven children.

Shaw spent some years in the Western Cape but his health broke down and he returned to England to rest. A short period of ministry in the Channel Islands followed, where he learnt French.

In 1849 he accepted an invitation from the Rev. William Shaw to take charge of the Salem Academy, (see fn 10 p 257), but Shaw actually became principal of the Salem Industrial Institution which was established by Sir George Grey after the war of 1850. Shaw's brother Samuel Best Shaw [ S4 ] became head of the Salem Academy.

Some years later Shaw bought a farm, The Ghio, on the Bushman's River near Alexandria. There in the 1860's he kept a boarding school. Between 1874 and 1877 he farmed at Richmond, Alexandria district, and subsequently at Wesley, Peddie district. His last years were spent in Grahamstown where he kept a private school. Throughout his life he continued to act as a Wesleyan minister when his health permitted. He died at his residence in Grahamstown, Byker House, on 15 June 1902.

- G.T.J. 1 May 1867, 19,21 June 1902.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 20 June 1902.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, South Africa. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1903, Cape Town, 1903, p6.

SHAW, Barbara 22 April 1821 - 17 Nov.1914

Wesleyan

Barbara Shaw was the third daughter of James Wakinshaw of Byker, Newcastle-on-Tyne and his wife Susannah, born Fentonby. She married the Rev. Barnabas James Shaw on 27 July 1843. They had eleven children. Barbara's sister Jane Eliza also married a Wesleyan minister, George Chapman.

The Shaws went to the Eastern Cape in 1850 on the invitation of the Rev. William Shaw. Barnabas Shaw's health was poor and he was unable to act as a full-time Wesleyan minister though he seems to have been a successful school-master and farmer. Nevertheless Barbara Shaw performed many of the duties usually fulfilled by the head of the household. She was a woman of energy and resource, noted for her sincerity, geniality and hospitable nature.

She died on 17 November 1914 and was buried in the Wesleyan cemetery, Grahamstown.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1 The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- G.T.J. 21 June 1902, 21 Nov.1914.
- C.L.; MS 15901/2 No.798; M.A., Commemoration Church burial register.
- Albany Museum; Roll 36/9, Thornhill/Cook.

SHAW, Barnabas John 23 April 1844 - ?

[ S1/1 ]

Wesleyan

Barnabas John Shaw was educated at the Salem Academy. He became a Wesleyan minister, served briefly at King William's Town in 1871 but spent most of his life as a farmer.

He married Mary Ann Dold, daughter of Matthew Dold on 21 Oct.1875 in Commemoration Church, Grahamstown.

In 1874 he bought the farm Richmond from the Eastern Province Guardian Loan and Investment Company. He failed to keep up the payments on his loan. Shaw sold the farm to Benjamin Dell in 1877 but he too failed to pay for it. Both Dell and Shaw were declared insolvent and Shaw's estate was placed under a sequestration order dated 17 Feb.1880.

In the 1880's he became a law agent at Alexandria.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No.704, Commemoration Church marriage register.
- Albany Museum; File SMD 224 (a-d), SMD 536, Transactions concerned with the sale of the farm Richmond.
- G.T.J. 22 Oct.1875, 1 Sept.1884.

SHAW, James Wakinshaw 11 June 1847 - ? S1/3 Wesleyan

James Shaw was educated at the Salem Academy. He became a farmer and settled in the New Radford district near Peddie.

He married on 17 April, 1883 Ellen Olivia Bradfield Elliott the daughter of John Elliott of the farm Orange Grove, Peddie district.

They farmed near Clumber.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- G.T.J. 23 April 1883, 1 Dec.1904.
- C.L.; PR 3521 No.563; M.A., Peddie marriage register No.3.

SHAW, William Abercrombie 20 Feb.1849 - 16 March 1878 S1/4 Wesleyan  
"Willie"

William Abercrombie Shaw was born 20 February 1849 at Guernsey, Channel Islands. This is the date given in the Birthday Scripture Text Book; a year prior to that given by Butler in his Reminiscences. He came to South Africa with his family in 1850 and was educated at the Salem Academy. Butler records that he went to the Diamond Fields, but by 1877 he was engaged in farming.

It was Willie who urged his family to return to Grahamstown for safety during the war of 1877-8. He volunteered for active service in February 1878, left Grahamstown and joined Captain Gardner's troop of the Albany Mounted Rangers. He was made a Sergeant. His troop was involved in patrol duties in the Stutterheim District in the campaign against Sandile. On 16 March he was accidentally shot by another volunteer while on picket duty in the Perie bush. He died and was buried at the Ross Mission Station near Keiskamma Hoek on 17 March. After their tour of duty his fellow volunteers contributed towards the cost of a memorial tablet to Shaw and his friend R.M. Bruce which was erected in the Wesleyan church at Salem.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- E.S. 19,22 March; 9,16,24 April 1878.
- G.T.J. 22 March 1878.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 22 March, 9,16,23 April 1878.

SHAW, George Henry Bramwell 19 Jan.1851 - 22 Jan.1945 [ S1/5 ] Wesleyan

George Henry Bramwell Shaw was born 19 January 1851 at Grahamstown where his family had sought refuge during the frontier war of 1850-1853.

He entered the civil service and became a magistrate. He served in many country towns including Adelaide, Montagu, Jansenville, Kenhardt and Colesburg where he was when he retired.

He married twice. His first wife was Engela Copeman, daughter of the Rev. P.W. Copeman an Anglican clergyman, whom he married at Whitney on 18 July 1889. She died in 1890. He married secondly Sarah Roberta Godlonton Hoole, eldest daughter of F.B. Cotterell Hoole and granddaughter of Robert Godlonton, on 9 May 1894.

He died at his home in Rondebosch in January 1945.

- C.L.; MS 15869 No.896; M.A., Salem Chapel baptism, marriage and burial register.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 26 Jan.1945.
- G.T.J. 27 July 1889, 15 March 1890, 7 June 1894.

SHAW, John Reay 9 March 1853 - 2 July 1931 [ S1/6 ] Wesleyan  
"Jack"

John Reay Shaw was born at Salem and educated at his father's school where he afterwards taught.

He married at Alexandria on 27 March 1883 Charlotte Louise van Ryneveld, the third daughter of John van Ryneveld and a granddaughter of W.C. van Ryneveld a former Civil Commissioner of Graaff-Reinet. After his marriage Shaw lived in Grahamstown and practised as a law agent. He served as a Town Councillor in Grahamstown 1909-1911. He was also Chairman of the School Board. In politics he was progressive.

A staunch Wesleyan, he became a Circuit Steward at Commemoration Church and was for several years Superintendent of the Fort England Sunday School. In 1926 he represented Queenstown district at the Wesleyan Conference in East London.

About five years before his death he retired to Stutterheim to be near his daughter Mrs Charles Wylde. There, despite periods of ill health, he gave active support to the Wesleyan community and was instrumental in the building of the Wesleyan church in Stutterheim.

He died at Stutterheim on 2 July 1931. He was survived by his

wife, four sons and four daughters.

- Grocott's Daily Mail 3 July 1931.
- Obituary of J.R. Shaw in The Methodist Churchman Vol.XXXVIII No.4, Cape Town, 27 July 1931, p 6.
- G.T.J. 30 March 1883.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mr N. Southey, Sept.1983.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- Albany Museum; File GM 69/35, van Ryneveld family papers.

SHAW, Barbara 28 Nov.1854 - 21 March 1923 [ S1/7 ] Wesleyan

Barbara Shaw was born at Salem. She never married. She cared for her mother in her old age. They lived at Byker House, Beaufort Street, Grahamstown. She died on 21 March 1923.

- C.L.; MS 15869 No.898; M.A., Salem Chapel baptism, marriage and burial register.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 22 March 1923.

SHAW, Samuel Charles 7 Sept.1857 - 17 Jan.1930 [ S1/8 ] Wesleyan  
"Charles" or "Charlie"

Samuel Charles Shaw was born at Salem on 7 Sept.1857. He was a farmer all his life.

He married on 25 April 1883 Mildred Amelia Elliott the daughter of a farmer, at Wesley Chapel, Peddie district. They had two sons and four daughters.

Shaw died at Shawdene (the Ghio) on 17 January 1930, aged seventy-three. He was buried at Salem. His wife died in 1937 and was also buried at Salem.

- C.L.; MS 15869 No.990; M.A., Salem Chapel baptism, marriage and burial register.
- C.L.; PR 3521 No.564; M.A., Peddie marriage register No.3.
- C.L.; MS 15872 No.914 and No.956; M.A., Salem Chapel burial register.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs E. Colivas of Grahamstown on 16 Sept.1983.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 23 Jan.1930.

SHAW, Ambrose George Campbell 17 July 1860 - Sept.1951 [ S1/9 ] Wesleyan  
"Amby"

Ambrose George Campbell Shaw was born at Salem. He bore the name of a lively Grahamstown personality Dr. Ambrose George Campbell (1799-1884), a skilled but quarrelsome doctor who attacked the settlers, the government and The Journal. No direct link between the Shaws and Dr. Campbell has been traced.

Ambrose Shaw was lame, due to a childhood accident. He spent his life as a farmer. As a young man he farmed at New Radford in the Peddie district but later moved to the Alexandria district. He lived on the farm Glen Shaw, on land adjoining the farm Richmond.

He married on 6 April 1887 Mary Ellen Locke the second daughter of George Grey Locke of the farm Maitland near Peddie. They had ten children.

During World War I the Shaws moved to a farm in Rhodesia. There Mary Ellen Shaw died suddenly on 21 Oct.1930. Ambrose Shaw died in Rhodesia in September 1951.

- C.L.; MS 15870 No.48; M.A., Salem Chapel baptism register.
- C.L.; PR 3521 No.582; M.A., Peddie marriage register No.3.
- C.L.; MS 15876; M.A., Salem E. Circuit Account Book.
- Information supplied to the editor by Mrs Stella Shaw of Port Alfred on 18 Sept.1983.
- E.H. Burrows: A History of Medicine in South Africa, Cape Town 1958 p 165-167.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 27 October 1930.

SHAW, Dorothy Catherine Reay 10 April 1862 - 1 Nov.1934 [ S1/10 ] Wesleyan  
"Dora"

Dorothy Catherine Reay Shaw was born at Salem on 10 April 1862. She married on 17 May 1887 a Wesleyan minister, James Wilson Thompson, at Commemoration Church, Grahamstown. They had seven children.

Thompson came to South Africa in 1883. He became well-known for his eloquent preaching, sparkling wit and spontaneous humour. He served as Chaplain to the prison in Grahamstown and as Chaplain to the First City Regiment. He was Senior Warden of the Albany Masonic Lodge.

On 12 Jan.1904 Thompson died in the Albany General Hospital after a short illness. He was only 46 years old. He was buried in

Grahamstown. A fund was opened to collect money for the benefit of his widow and children.

Dorothy Thompson died at her residence in Grahamstown, 9 African Street, on 1 Nov.1934. She was buried in the Wesleyan cemetery, Grahamstown.

- C.L.; MS 15870 No.92; M.A., Salem Chapel baptism register.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No. 902; M.A., Commemoration Church marriage register.
- Current burial register, Commemoration Church, No.818.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 13,15 Jan.1904.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 1 Nov.1934.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, South Africa. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1904, Cape Town 1904, p 8.

SHAW, Mary Emma 13 March 1868 - 24 July 1943 [S1/11] Wesleyan  
"Lilly " or "Lily"

Mary Emma Shaw was born on 13 March 1868. She never married. She lived for some years with her sister Dorothy Thompson. She died on 23 July 1943 at 58 Beaufort Street, Grahamstown, aged seventy-nine. She was buried in the Wesleyan Cemetery.

- Current burial register, Commemoration Church, No.906.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 24 July 1943.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

SHAW, Samuel Best 1829 - 24 June 1889 [ S4 ] Wesleyan

Samuel Best Shaw was born in Hull, Yorkshire and was educated at Wodehouse Grove School, Leeds. Letters from his brother to Samuel written in the 1850's suggest that Samuel Shaw's youth was regarded as a wild one. He spent some years in Australia.

By 1859 he had become head of the Salem Academy in the Eastern Cape (see fn 10 p 257 ). His career there was distinguished.

He married on 25 Dec.1860 Mary Ann Barnes, the daughter of a farmer. They had thirteen children.

Samuel Shaw died on 27 June 1889 at the Masonic Hotel, Grahamstown, and was buried at Salem. Mary Ann Shaw died on 13 June 1917, aged

seventy-nine and was buried in Grahamstown.

- C.L.; MS 15871/1 No.256; M.A., Salem Chapel marriage register.
- C.L.; MS 15901/2 No.878; M.A., Commemoration Church burial register.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/270 No.
- C.L.; MS 15726; M.A., Barnes family register.
- C.L.; MS 15610; M.A., Shaw family letters.

SHARP, Isaac 4 July 1806 - 21 April 1897

Quaker missionary

Isaac Sharp was born at Brighton in 1806, the eldest of fourteen children. He was educated at Earl's Colne, Essex. At the age of twenty-four he became private secretary to Joseph Pease, the first Quaker M.P.

In February 1839 he married Hannah Procter of North Shields. They lived at Darlington. Hannah Sharp died after four years of marriage.

Sharp became an accredited Quaker missionary and a world traveller. Between 1846 and 1865 he visited Norway, Iceland, the Faroes, Greenland and Labrador. In 1877 he started on a seven-year missionary journey which included South Africa, Australia and America. His companions were Langley Kitching and Theodore Harris. In the 1890's Sharp visited the Far East, Mexico and Syria.

He had great personal charm and an optimistic personality despite frequent bouts of illness. He was impractical in business affairs.

He died on 21 April 1897 and was buried at Ettington, Warwickshire.

- F.A. Budge: Isaac Sharp; An Apostle of the Nineteenth Century. London, 1899. See especially p 62-69, 82-119.

THE WILLIAM SHAWS

Wesleyan

William Shaw, 1820 settler and Wesleyan missionary, married Ann Maw in 1817. The Shaws had five children:

- |    |                |                         |
|----|----------------|-------------------------|
| W1 | William Maw    |                         |
| W2 | Margaret Ann   |                         |
| W3 | Mary Elizabeth | m. William Impey* [Im1] |
| W4 | Matthew Ben    | m. Annie Simpson*       |
| W5 | Ellen Hey      | died young.             |

The children of Matthew Ben Shaw [ W4 ] were:-

W4/1	William*	1856-1878
W4/2	Constance	m. Oliver Stuart
W4/3	Ann*	m. William Brownlee
W4/4	Elizabeth	b. 13 Jan.1860
W4/5	Matthew Ben	b. 10 Aug.1861 ? died young
W4/6	Alice	m. Eric Grant
W4/7	Harry	
W4/8	Ronald	
W4/9	Arthur Lancelot	
W4/10	Beatrice Maw St John	m. Gerard Thompson
W4/11	May Blanche	m. Moultrie
W4/12	Vivienne Shaw	
W4/13	Mabel	m. Arthur White.

- Albany Museum; File SMD 580 (13), Shaw family.

SHAW, William 8 Dec.1798 - 4 Dec.1872

The Rev. Wesleyan

William Shaw, settler minister and missionary statesman, was born in Glasgow in 1798. On 30 Dec.1817 he married Ann Maw.

He was appointed as minister to the Sephton party of 1820 settlers. The Sephton party was located at Salem. There Shaw ministered to all the Albany settlers. In 1823 he started mission work across the frontier. By 1830 he had established a chain of mission stations in the Transkei.

As Chairman of the Albany District from 1830 Shaw encouraged the building of churches, the establishment of a printing press and the foundation of schools and agricultural settlements.

Shaw gave evidence before the Aborigines Protection Committee in 1836. He returned to Grahamstown in 1837 as General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in South-East Africa. In the period 1837-1856 Shaw was consulted by the British authorities in their attempts to control the unsettled frontier.

Ann Shaw died in 1854. Shaw returned to England in 1856. He

became President of the Conference in 1865. He died in London in 1872.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.1 p 711-714.
- P.H. Lyness: The Life and Influence of William Shaw, 1820-1856. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1982, p 67-247.

SHAW, Annie ? - 8 Dec.1924 Wesleyan

Annie Shaw, born Simpson was the wife of Matthew Ben Shaw (1823-1905) [W4], trader and magistrate in the Transkei. She married him on 13 March 1856 at Commemoration Church, Grahamstown. They had thirteen children.

Annie Shaw died at Maclear in 1924.

- C.L.; PR 848, B. Holt: A great Transkeian pioneer.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No.326; M.A., Commemoration church marriage register.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 17 Dec.1924.

SHAW, William 23 Dec.1856 - 21 May 1878 [W4/1] Wesleyan

William Shaw was born in Grahamstown. He died there after a short illness on 21 May 1878.

- G.T.J. 27 May 1878.
- C.L.; MS 15899/3 No.899; M.A., Commemoration Church baptism register.

SHAW, Annie 25 March 1858 - ? [W4/3] Wesleyan

Annie was baptised in Grahamstown.

She married William Thomson Brownlee the son of Charles Brownlee on 26 April 1883.

- C.L.; MS 15899/3 No.1066; M.A., Commemoration Church baptism register.
- G.T.J. 4 May 1883.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

SHEPSTONE, Theophilus, Sir 8 Jan.1817-23 June 1893 Wesleyan/Anglican  
Administrator

Theophilus Shepstone was the eldest son of the Rev. John William Shepstone, Wesleyan missionary and his wife Elizabeth, born Brooks. He came with his family to South Africa with the 1820 settlers. Shepstone's early years were spent on mission stations and he became a noted Xhosa linguist and an authority on tribal customs.

He married in 1838 Maria Palmer. They had six sons and three daughters. He served as resident agent with the Mfengu at Peddie but moved to Natal in 1845. He became Secretary for Native Affairs there 1856-1876. As an administrator he followed a policy of divide and rule aimed at the civilisation of the black tribes. In 1877 he was sent by the British government to annex the Transvaal. He became Administrator of the Transvaal until 1880 when he retired. He died at Pietermaritzburg on 23 June 1893.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.1 p 715.

THE SIMEYS

Quaker

Thomas Simey, a carpenter and builder in Cape Town, married Matilda Greenwood c.1840. Thomas Simey died 3 April 1860. The Simeys had two sons and three daughters:

- Si1 Thomas James
- Si2 Mary Greenwood
- Si3 Matilda Jane
- Si4 Caroline
- Si5 Ebenezer Miller

- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/215 No.9609 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, Matilda Simey.

- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/90 No.6808, Thomas Simey.

SIMEY, Matilda c.1812 - 2 Dec.1884

Quaker

Matilda Simey was the widow of Thomas Simey, carpenter and builder who died 3 April 1860. She was born Matilda Greenwood in London c.1812. She married Thomas Simey c.1840. They had two sons and three daughters.

Matilda Simey took over the management of the Friends' School in Cape Town in the late 1860's. She and her daughters taught there and her daughter Matilda Jane managed the school after her mother's

retirement.

The family lived in Clifton Street at the top of Caledon Street, Cape Town, in a house called Greenwood Villa.

Matilda Simey died at the house of her son Thomas James Simey in Port Elizabeth on 2 Dec.1884 aged seventy-two years and two months.

- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/215 No.9609<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, Matilda Simey.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/90 No.6807, Thomas Simey.
- The General Directory and Guide Book to the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies, 1876, Cape Town, 1876 p li; and 1882, Cape Town 1882, Cape Town Street Directory p xv.

SIMEY, Matilda Jane c.1845 - 28 Feb.1912 [ Si3 ] ? Quaker

Matilda Jane Simey was born in London and brought up as a Quaker.

As a young woman she taught at the Friends' School in Cape Town. She married the Rev. John Wilson Wright. They had no children. Her husband died c.1898 and she subsequently became involved in mission work.

She died in Birmingham, England on 28 Feb.1912, aged sixty-six.

- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/700 No.2757.

SLATER, Josiah 5 Dec.1830 - 28 April 1912. Wesleyan

Josiah Slater was the son of a Wesleyan minister. He was born in Wales and educated at Old Kingswood School, near Bristol. On 23 June 1863 he married Dorothea Mounsey Cook at Bristol. They had two sons and three daughters.

In 1869 he came to South Africa to be principal of a newly established boys' school at Lesseyton Wesleyan mission near Queenstown. While there he passed the B.A. examinations of the University of London.

In 1875 he became co-rector of Grey College, Bloemfontein but resigned the following year to take up the editorship of The Graham's Town Journal. He became sole proprietor of the newspaper in 1886.

He took an active part in public affairs in Grahamstown and was keenly interested in education. He was a member of Commemoration

Church and served in many of the offices open to laymen.

His wife died in 1905. He died at Grahamstown on 28 April 1912.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.3 p 741.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/690 No.1297.
- G.T.J. 1 Sept.1863, 10 July 1876.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 4 Sept.1905.

SMITH, Charles Thomas 20 Nov.1823 - 10 Feb.1901 Anglican  
Judge

Charles Thomas Smith was the eldest son of Charles and Ann Smith of Fulham, Middlesex. He was educated in Germany and at Cambridge, and was called to the Bar in 1857.

He became a Judge of the Cape Supreme Court in 1868. He lived in Grahamstown until 1880. There he served on the committees of the Public Library, the Albany Hospital and the Grahamstown Public School. He founded the Eastern Province Rifle Association.

He moved to Cape Town in 1880. He became Chancellor of the University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1898.

He married in 1872 Julia Greathead of Grahamstown. They had five sons and two daughters.

Smith died at Rosebank, Cape Town in 1901.

- C.L.; MS 9312, letters and press cuttings on the life of Smith.
- D.S.A.B. Vol.2, p 672-673.

STOCKENSTROM, Andries 22 April 1844 - 22 March 1880 ? Dutch Reformed

Andries Stockenstrom was the second son of Sir Andries Stockenstrom politician and administrator, and his wife Elsabe Helena Maasdorp. After a legal education in England and Germany he became an advocate in Cape Town in 1866 but soon settled in Grahamstown where he practised as an attorney. He supported local literary, social and benevolent activities.

In 1876 he acted as Judge of the Griqualand West Land Court which was set up to arbitrate on the vexed question of land ownership in Griqualand West. His judgement was the subject of controversy.

He stood for Grahamstown in the election of 24 November 1876 but

lost to Richard Southey (see fn 14 p 142 ). He served as Attorney-General in Molteno's cabinet 22 Aug.1877-5 Feb.1878. He became M.L.A. for Albert 1878-9 but retired from active politics because of poor health.

He was reappointed judge in 1879. He died at Swellendam on 22 March 1880 while on circuit.

He married in 1867 Maria Henrietta Hartzenberg of Graaff-Reinet. They had one son.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.4 p 620-621.

TINI MAQOMO            ? - ?

Tini Maqomo was the son of the famous Ngqika warrior Maqomo.

In the early 1870's he bought two farms in the Fort Beaufort district and settled there with his followers. By December 1877 drought and over-grazing led to stock-theft among the neighbouring white farmers who became very suspicious of Tini. Many left the district. Tini reacted by arming his followers.

In February 1878 W.B. Chalmers, Special Commissioner appointed to investigate the Fort Beaufort area, recommended that black-owned farms should be sold to whites. On 20 February a warrant was issued for Tini's arrest for sedition. Tini fled to the Waterkloof where all attempts to capture him failed. After spending a few weeks in the Perie bush he returned to the Schelmkloof and was captured there early in June 1878.

On 19 July he was tried before Judge Dwyer in King William's Town for high treason and found guilty. on 18 September his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Tini was released under an amnesty of 1888.

- M.W. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi, 1877-1878. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1978, p 203-213.

THE TROLLIPSWesleyan

The Trollips in South Africa are the descendants of the 1820 settlers Joseph Trollop (1775-1862) and his wife Susanna. The name is spelt variously Trollop, Trollope, Trollope, and Trollip. The original Trollops came from Thornley, County Durham in the fifteenth century. The author Anthony Trollope belonged to a West country branch.

Joseph and Susanna Trollop had nine children:-

T1	William	1796-1875
T2	John	1798-?
T3	Esther	1800-1886
T4	Stephen	1802-1868
T5	Benjamin	?1804-1867
T6	Rodda or Rhoda Ann	1806-1895
T7	Jacob	1808-1859
T8	Joseph	1810-1885
T9	Mary Ann	?1813-?1896.

William, Rhoda, Jacob, Joseph and the sons of Stephen all went to live on farms in the Cradock district where they founded extensive and interrelated clans.

In the following lists the original settlers have been spelt Trollop following the English baptismal registers, their descendants Trollip as in most of the South African records.

- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa. Pietermaritzburg, 1971, Forward and p 4, 32-38, 43-50.

TROLLOP, William 11 April 1796 - 18 Aug.1875 [ T1 ] Wesleyan

William Trollop moved away from Albany in the late 1830's. In 1837 he acquired the farm Vaderlandsche Wilgeboom in the Cradock district, and Daggaboersnek near Bedford in 1839. It seems probable that Daggaboersnek or Daggaboer may originally have been part of the much larger Vaderlandsche Wilgeboom. The homestead at Daggaboer was called Sunnyside.

Trollop remained a farmer all his life. He married Patience Everley (1798-1876). Both died at Daggaboer and were buried in the

cemetery on the farm.

William and Patience Trollop had nine children:

T1/1	Alfred	b. 1818
T1/2	Sarah	b. 1821
T1/3	Henry	b. 1823
T1/4	James William	b. 1826
T1/5	John*	b. 1828
T1/6	Thomas*	b. 1830
T1/7	Edward	b. 1832
T1/8	Ann	b. 1835
T1/9	William Everley	b. 1837.

- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa. Pietermaritzburg, 1971, p 51-55, 98-102.
- C.A.; M00C 6/9/152 No.2018.

TROLLIP, John 8 May 1828 - 14 Oct.1892 [ T1/5 ] Wesleyan

John Trollip was born at Bethany near Bathurst on 8 Sept.1828. His family moved to Daggaboer near Bedford in 1839. On the death of his father in 1875 he inherited Daggaboer farm where he lived for over fifty years.

He married in 1851 Martha Collett [ C4 ] third daughter of James Lydford Collett. The Trollips had no children, but "brought up a good many," as Trollip said of his wife. They were wealthy, and well-known for their generosity and hospitality. An energetic and progressive farmer, Trollip was a keen sportsman and a good shot, a man of ideas as well as action. He was a strict Wesleyan.

On 14 Oct.1892 he was tragically drowned in the Holtz Sluit, a tributary of the Fish River, about four miles from Cradock. He was buried at Daggaboer.

Martha Trollip had died on 5 Oct.1891. Her generosity and care of the invalids to whom she gave hospitality as well as her work in the Wesleyan Sunday School on the farm, were much missed.

- C.A.; M00C 6/9/309 No.2238.
- C.L.; MS 15869 No.261; M.A., Salem baptism, marriage and burial register.

- H.E. Hockly: The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa. Cape Town, Second edition, reprinted 1966 p 167,247.
- G.T.J. 10 Oct.1892.
- B.P., 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- The Midland News 9 Oct.1891, newspaper cutting enclosed in Jim's Journal Vol.3.

TROLLIP, Thomas 20 March 1830 - 18 Oct.1906 [ T1/6 ] Wesleyan

Thomas Trollip was born near Bathurst on 20 March 1830 and educated at the Salem Academy. He moved with his family to Daggaboer in 1839.

He became a prosperous farmer and stock breeder in the Daggaboer area and lived at the farm Mount Prospect. He had travelled widely within South Africa and was among the early pioneers of Rhodesia. In 1886 he contested a seat in the House of Assembly but narrowly lost the election. He was closely associated with his brother John in business affairs.

He was a Wesleyan. He married Mary Jane, born Robson, (1834-1901). She was well known for her homeopathic medicines. They had seven sons and four daughters.

Trollip died as a result of a bizarre accident. He was trying to climb into a railway carriage at Cradock station when his foot was run over by a truck. His toes had to be amputated and a further operation became necessary from which he failed to recover. He died at the Queen's Central Hospital, Cradock on 28 Oct.1906.

- B.P., PR 3502/1 The Birthday Scripture Text Book.
- C.L.; MS 15869 No.277; M.A., Salem baptism marriage and burial register.
- C.A.; M00C 6/9/558 No.3175.
- Grocott's Penny Mail 29,31 Oct.1906.
- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa. Pietermaritzburg, 1971, p 79-81, 90-91.

TROLLIP, Charles Percy 14 Feb.1851-May 1909 [ T1/3/3 ] Wesleyan

Charles Percy and Louis Henry Trollip (his brother) were infants when their father was killed in an ambush in 1851 (see fn 12 p 313). They were brought up by their uncle John Trollip at Daggaboer.

Charles Trollip married in 1881 Theresa Kate Barnes. They had

seven children. Charles Trollip farmed at Klein Piet Poort, which he renamed Alandale, near Rosmead. He died in 1909.

- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa. Pietermaritzburg, 1971, p 58, 68-69.

TROLLIP, Louis Henry 24 July 1849 - 27 Feb.1924 [T1/3/2] Wesleyan

Louis Henry Trollip was just two years old when his father Henry was killed in an ambush in 1851 (see fn 12 p 313). He and his brother Charles Percy were brought up by their uncle John Trollip at Daggaboer. Louis Henry Trollip was educated at the Templeton School, Somerset East.

He married on 10 Oct.1871 Elizabeth Prudence Tucker Edwards daughter of the Rev. John Edwards a Wesleyan minister. She was known as "Libby", a lively person who enjoyed musical evenings. They had two sons and three daughters.

Louis Henry Trollip inherited Daggaboer after John Trollip's death. He was a progressive farmer and served as Chairman on local irrigation schemes committees. As a keen Wesleyan he was active in the affairs of the Daggaboer congregation for over fifty years.

He died on 27 Feb.1924 and was buried at Daggaboer. His wife died on 15 March 1934 and was also buried there.

- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa. Pietermaritzburg, 1971, p 62-68,78.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

TROLLLOP, Joseph (Junior) 12 March 1810-24 June 1885 [T8] Wesleyan

Joseph Trollop settled in the Cradock district in the late 1830's, at the farm Doornberg where he lived all his life. He married Phoebe Whitehead (8 Nov.1815-26 Nov.1889), the daughter of the 1820 settler John Whitehead and his wife Sarah (born Overton). Sarah Whitehead died on 1 Sept. 1878.

Joseph Trollop died on 24 June 1885 and was buried in Cradock. His wife died four years later and was also buried in Cradock. They had eleven children:

T8/1	Mary	b. 22 June 1836 m. John Collett [C2]
T8/2	Sarah	b. 24 March 1838 died young
T8/3	Sarah Susanna	b. 30 March 1840
T8/4	Rhoda Phoebe*	b. 14 July 1842 m. Edward Saunders
T8/5	Joseph Overton	b. 1 Sept.1844
T8/6	Daniel Roberts	b. 20 Jan.1847
T8/7	Martha ("Patty")	b. 23 July 1849
T8/8	Henry Edward	b. 28 March 1852
T8/9	Margaret Ann	b. 6 May 1854 died young
T8/10	Charlotte	b. 6 March 1856
T8/11	Jonathan Stephen	b. 2 Feb.1859

- D.T. Gordon: The Trollops of South Africa. Pietermaritzburg, 1971, p 198-237.

TYSON, William 1 Nov.1823 - 5 May 1898 The Rev. Wesleyan

William Tyson was born at Irton, Cumberland in 1823. He offered himself for the Wesleyan ministry in 1846. After his training he was sent to Jamaica where he spent sixteen years. He returned to England for several years in 1862.

In 1870 he was posted to South Africa. He served in South Africa until 1884, most of the period in the Eastern Cape. In 1884 he represented the newly formed South African Conference at the British Conference. The following year he was sent to Honduras where he spent five years. He retired in 1891 and lived in Grahamstown where he assisted at services at Trinity Church. He died on 5 May 1898 aged seventy-four.

His wife was Ellen (born Stallard). She died on 3 Jan.1922 in her ninety-seventh year. They had three sons and five daughters.

- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, South Africa. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1899, Cape Town 1899, p 9.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/376 No.1367.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 4 Jan.1922

TYSON, Ellen ?-? Wesleyan

Ellen Tyson was the eldest daughter of the Rev. William Tyson. She married in September 1882 the Rev. William Cotton, a Wesleyan minister, at King William's Town.

- G.T.J. 8 Sept.1882.

ULYATE, Donald George ? 1842 - 30 April 1929 ? Wesleyan

Donald George Ulyate was the second son of Henry Ulyate and his wife Amelia, born McKenzie. Both his parents were the children of 1820 settlers. Ulyate was educated in Grahamstown.

He became a transport rider. In the 1860's he was assistant at the general store at Daggaboer near Bedford. When diamonds were discovered he became a partner in a transport riding company financed by John Trollip. Ulyate ventured into prospecting at the diamond fields but had to return to Daggaboer after a serious illness.

On 30 June 1874 he married Sophia Usher Pike, an orphan who has been informally adopted by John Trollip.

The Ulyates lived at first in Cradock where two children were born to them and then moved to Saltpans Drift, a farm outside Cradock, where Ulyate became storekeeper. They moved to Johannesburg c.1896.

There Ulyate opened a general dealer's and later a clothier's store.

In 1899 for health reasons he moved to East London and lived there for the rest of his life. He died on 30 April 1929.

- A.M. Ralls: Glory which is Yours, Pietermaritzburg, n.d., P 3-13,48-66,86-110,169-171,190,197.

VELDTMAN c.1822 - 1910

Veldtman or Veldtman Bikitsha was a petty Mfengu chief of the Zizi clan who had fought with the colonial forces in the wars of 1846 and 1851. His location was on the border of Gcaleka territory. In 1877 he appealed for white support against Gcaleka threats. He fought in the Mfengu Levies in the war of 1877-1878 and was the only Mfengu to hold a commission.

- M.W. Spicer: The War of Ngcayecibi, 1877-1878. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1978 p v.

WALKER, John

? - ? 1901

Wesleyan

John Walker, a clerk, became a partner in the firm Walker and Co., General Merchants of High Street, Grahamstown.

He married on 7 January 1863 Margaret Maria, daughter of John Roberts of Oak Terrace.

He was an energetic member of the Wesleyan Church and served for several years as Superintendent of the Commemoration Church Sunday School.

A death notice appeared in The Journal of 17 Aug.1901 which noted the death of John Walker, formerly of Grahamstown, at Waltair, Calcutta, India.

- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No.500; M.A., Commemoration church marriage register.
- G.T.J. 7 Jan.1863, 17 Aug.1901.
- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 455.
- C.L.; PR 3572/1, Sunday School Union Committee, meetings of 25 April 1876; 3 May 1877.

WATTS, Rebecca 9 Oct.1794 - 19 Jan.1877

Quaker

"Grandma Watts"

Rebecca Watts was the widow of James Watts (d.1835) of Beera Farm, Ilfracombe, Devon. She was born Rebecca Challacombe the eighth child of William and Betty Challacombe of Buttercombe Farm, Devon.

She married James Watts on 19 Sept.1822. They had two sons and two daughters. Rebecca Watts became a Quaker in 1833.

In her old age Rebecca Watts lived with her daughter Mary Butler. She died on 19 Jan.1877, aged eighty-three. She was buried in the Quakers' Burial Ground, Stoke Newington, London.

- B.P.; PR 3502/1, Challacombe, Watts family trees.

WEBBER, John 17 Sept.1842 - 18 March 1912

Presbyterian

John Webber was born in South Molton, Devonshire, and came to Grahams-town with his family in 1844. At the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to J.G. Franklin the proprietor of The Frontier Times. He served on the staff of The Graham's Town Journal (in 1854), the Eastern Province Herald and The Great Eastern.

He became a butcher for twelve years and then bought the book-sellers' and stationers' business of Messrs. T. and G. Sheffield. The firm supplied periodicals, newspaper and fancy goods, besides books.

Webber was elected to the Town Council in 1887. He served as Mayor for four years. He was a member of the Albany Hospital Committee and Chairman and Treasurer of the Trinity Church Management Committee. He was one of the first people to join the Independent Order of Good Templars when the Order was introduced in Grahamstown. He occupied many official capacities in the Order.

In 1864 he married Elizabeth Stanton, daughter of Robert Stanton. They had seven sons and three daughters.

Webber died at his residence in Beaufort Street on 18 March 1912.

- G.T.J. 19 June 1834, 27 Aug.1904, 19 March 1912. I am indebted to Miss R.M. Sellick for the 1904 reference.

WEDDERBURN, John 1832 - 12 March 1907

Wesleyan

John Wedderburn was the son of William Wedderburn, 1820 settler, and his wife Martha. He spent his life in Grahamstown. He was a wagon-maker.

He married on 10 May 1853 Elizabeth Short, a widow. Her father was the inventor of a snake-bite antidote called "Croft's Tincture of Life".

The Wedderburns had five children.

Wedderburn was elected to the Town Council in 1866 and served on it at intervals until 1885. He was a devoted Wesleyan. He served in many of the official capacities open to laymen. He was Superintendent of the West Hill Sunday School for forty-five years. He was a strict teetotaler and a member of the Independent Order of Good Templars.

He died at his residence, Rocky House, Milner Street, on 12 March 1907. In 1909 a plaque to his memory was unveiled in Commemoration Church.

- Grocott's Penny Mail 13,15 March 1907.
- G.T.J. 12,14,21,26 March 1907, 15 June 1909.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/568 No.897.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No.269; M.A., Commemoration Church marriage register.

WHITEHEAD, Sarah

See Trollip, Joseph.

WILKIE, Robert 30 April 1851 - 11 Nov.1927

Quaker

Robert Wilkie lived on the Isle of Wight as a child and was educated at Ackworth and Croydon Friends' Schools. As a young man he developed a severe illness, probably tuberculosis, and was sent to South Africa in 1877 to recover.

At the end of 1879 he and James Butler started a business in Cradock: Butler and Wilkie. After a few years Wilkie left. He had a business in Colesberg before he bought the farm Springfield near Steynsburg. He farmed there for the rest of his life.

He married on 5 October 1881 at the farm Honey Krantz near

Cradock, Emily Jane Maskell the eldest daughter of Richard John Maskell. They had a son and a daughter.

Though there was no Friends' Meeting nearby Wilkie always took a keen interest in Quaker affairs. He died on 11 Nov.1927.

- Emily Butler Fear: Record of Quaker Activities in South Africa. Unpublished typescript lodged with the Friends' Yearly Meeting Committee, Johannesburg, 1938, p 60.
- G.T.J. 12 October 1881.
- C.A.; MOOC 6/9/390 No.1997, R.J. Maskell.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

WILKIN, Thomas H. 20 June 1851 - 18 Nov.1902 The Rev. Wesleyan

Thomas Wilkin was born in Gwinear, Cornwall, in 1851, the son of a Wesleyan local preacher. In 1874 he was accepted as a candidate for the Wesleyan ministry and trained for two years at Richmond Theological College. He was sent to Grahamstown in 1876 as District Missionary, a post which involved much travelling, visiting and holding services at scattered farms and settlements over a wide area.

In 1879 he was appointed army chaplain to the Wesleyan troops in Zululand. His health broke down as a result of a bout of enteric fever and jaundice caught in Natal and he returned to the Eastern Cape.

In 1882 he went back to England for health reasons. He retired in 1887 and died in 1902.

He married at Uitenhage on 8 Dec.1880 Miss S.G. Andrew of St. Mawes, Cornwall.

- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, Great Britain. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1903, London, 1903, p 135-136.
- C.L.; MS 15025; M.A., Reports of the Grahamstown District 1871-1884, which include the reports of the District Mission. See especially reports for 1878, 1880.
- G.T.J. 17 Dec.1880.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

WILLIAMS, Frederick Henry 1829 - 21 Aug.1885      The Very Rev. Anglican  
The Dean of Grahamstown

Frederick Henry Williams was born and educated in Ireland. He was ordained priest in the Church of England in 1851 and appointed Dean of Grahamstown in 1865.

He represented Grahamstown Diocese in 1870 at the first Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa, but soon showed himself hostile to the synodical system and to the Bishop of Grahams-town. The conflict between the Bishop and the Dean helped to clarify the relationship between the Church of England and the Church of the Province of South Africa (see fn 155 p 85).

Williams was a popular though contentious public speaker. He worked energetically towards the rebuilding of the cathedral tower.

He died in Grahamstown on 21 Aug.1885.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.2 p 847.

- M.M. Goedhals: Nathaniel James Merriman, Archdeacon and Bishop, 1849-1882: a study in church life and government. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Rhodes University, 1982.

WILLIAMSON, John E. c.1835 - 3 Aug.1880      Doctor

Dr. John Williamson came to South Africa for health reasons in 1872. He had a lung complaint. He settled in Grahamstown for several years and practised as a doctor. He entered into two partnerships: one with Dr. U.G.D. Glanville in May 1878 and the second with Dr. Edwin Atherstone in January 1879. He served as Medical Officer at the Albany General Hospital. His skill as a surgeon earned him a high reputation locally. He was official medical officer to the Grahamstown branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters.

His health did not improve despite a trip to England in 1878 and a visit to the Orange Free State in 1879. He returned from Bloemfontein to Grahamstown in 1880 after several months' absence. He died on 3 August 1880 aged forty-five.

Mrs Mary Williamson, his wife, died at Southsea in England on 15 Jan.1904.

- G.T.J. 1 March, 1 May 1878, 10 Jan.1879, 15 Feb.1904.

- Grocott's Penny Mail 7 June 1878, 3,6 August 1880.

- E.S. 3,6 Aug.1880.
- C.L.; Annual Reports of the Albany General Hospital, 1871-2, 1875-1880.

WILSON, John 20 March 1820 - July 1891

The Rev. Wesleyan

John Wilson was born in London. He became a Wesleyan missionary and was sent to South Africa in 1845. He served in the Eastern Cape until 1884.

He was an energetic pastor with a cheerful and friendly personality.

He retired in 1884 and settled at Cala in the Transkei. He died unexpectedly but peacefully in July 1891.

- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, Great Britain. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1892, London 1892 p 48.
- The Wesleyan Methodist Church, South Africa. Minutes of the Annual Conference, 1892, Cape Town 1892 p 6.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

THE WOODS

Anglican and Wesleyan

The Wood family in South Africa are the descendants of George Wood, 1820 settler. He had eleven children:

Wo1	George Samuel	b. 28 Jan.1828	
Wo2	John Edwin*	b. 22 May 1829	
Wo3	William	b. 17 May 1831	
Wo4	Joseph Garbett*	b. 14 Feb.1833	
Wo5	Susannah Martha	b. 14 Sept.1834	
Wo6	Eleanor Jane	b. 21 Aug.1836	
Wo7	Henry Richard*	b. 24 March 1838	m. Ann Letitia Impey
Wo8	Harriet Porter Rhodes	b. 22 May 1839	
Wo9	Benoni Horace	b. 21 Aug.1840	
Wo10	Elizabeth Lucy	b. 16 Oct.1841	
Wo11	Louisa Anne	b. 14 March 1843.	

- C.L.; MS 15899/1; M.A., Commemoration Church baptism register, No.'s: 112,169,230,281(a),348,449,603,760,843,951,1056,1214.

WOOD, George May 1805 - 1 Nov.1884

The Hon. Wesleyan

George Wood was the son of George Alfred Wood and his wife Martha. He was born in Kent in May 1805. In 1819 Wood was apprenticed to a carpenter for seven years and came to South Africa the following year with the 1820 Settlers.

In 1834 he became a trader, and after the frontier war of 1834 he opened a general merchant's store in Grahamstown. He became prosperous enough to invest large sums in projects such as the development of the Kowie harbour. He took an active part in civic affairs in Grahamstown.

In 1854 he was elected to the Legislative Council. In parliament he promoted eastern and separatist interests and was active in the campaign for a Grahamstown railway.

Wood was a staunch Wesleyan. He married Susannah Garbett. They had eleven children. Wood died in Grahamstown on 1 Nov.1884.

- D.S.A.B. Vol.4, p 793.

WOOD, George Samuel 28 Jan.1828 - 29 Aug.1884

[ Wo1 ]

Anglican

George Wood, Junior

George Samuel Wood was a member of the family firm, Wood Brothers, until 1869. He was the first mayor of Grahamstown, 1862-1865 and M.L.A. for Grahamstown 1864-1868. He was an eastern separatist in politics. He supported financial reforms and measures to aid agriculture.

His insolvency in 1869 meant the end of his parliamentary career. He became during the 1870's a popular and successful auctioneer. He served on the Albany Divisional Council in the 1880's. He was President of the Albany Agricultural Society from its formation. He owned several farms.

He was an Anglican, a member of the Cathedral vestry. His wife was Frances Elizabeth Cotterell, born Hoole.

Wood died on 29 Aug.1884 at his residence on the Market Square. He was buried in the Wesleyan cemetery. Mrs Wood died on 26 Sept.1908.

- G.T.J. 29,30 Aug.1884.

- M. Gibbens: Two Decades, p 458-459.

- Grocott's Penny Mail 28 Sept.1908.

WOOD, John Edwin 22 May 1829 - 18 July 1901 [ Wo2 ] Wesleyan

John Edwin Wood joined his father's firm of G. Wood and Sons which later became Wood Brothers. He was a man of wide interests including agriculture, horticulture and education. His activities in the public service were manifold, including years as a Town Councillor (1862-6), Mayor (1865-6), Chairman of the Albany General Hospital and manager of the Grahamstown Building Society (from 1877). He served on many local school boards and was a Director of the Kowie Railway Company. He was a member of the Albany Divisional Council, M.L.A. for Albany 1864-7, and M.L.A. for Grahamstown from 1885.

Wood was a faithful Wesleyan. His wife was Charlotte Wright, daughter of William Wright of Grahamstown. They had no surviving children.

Charlotte Wood died at Fair View, the Woods' large house in West Hill, on 1 Oct.1892. John Wood died there on 18 July 1901.

- M. Gibbens: Two Decades p 26,89,459.
- G.T.J. 12 May 1888, 20 July 1901, 4,6,11 Oct.1892.
- C.L.; MS 15899/1 No.169; M.A., Commemoration Church baptism register.

WOOD, Joseph Garbett 14 Feb.1833 - 25 Sept.1892 [ Wo4 ] Anglican

Joseph Wood was educated at the Salem Academy. He became a farmer in the Bathurst district.

On 7 June 1854 he married Lydia Cock at Commemoration Church.

He joined the Bathurst Volunteers and rose to the rank of Colonel. He fought in the war of 1877-1878 and also in Basutoland in 1878. He was a member of the Grahamstown Town Council and M.L.A. for Albany 1879-1887.

In March 1887 Wood and two other Grahamstown men formed a syndicate to prospect for minerals near the Rhodesia-Bechuanaland border. Ownership of the area was in dispute and the syndicate's activities were opposed by the imperial authorities and by Cecil Rhodes. By 1895 mining experts had proved that the area contained no valuable minerals. The syndicate came to nothing.

Joseph Wood became an Anglican. He died in 1892 at his residence

near Fort England. He was survived by his wife and six children. Lydia Wood died in 1924.

- C.L.; MS 15899/1 No.348; M.A., Commemoration Church baptism register.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No.295; M.A. Commemoration Church marriage register.
- G.T.J. 26,28,29 Sept.1892.
- Grocott's Daily Mail 5 Aug.1924.
- Paul Maylam:"The Long Arm of Small-town Enterprise" in Studies in Local History; Essays in honour of Professor Winifred Maxwell, edited by J.A. Benyon, C.W. Cook, T.R.H. Davenport, K.S. Hunt, Cape Town, 1976, p 80-88.

WOOD, Henry Richard 24 March 1838 - 24 July 1921 [ Wo7 ] Wesleyan

Henry Richard Wood had a long record of public service in Grahamstown. He was a member of the Town Council for over twenty-eight years including four terms as mayor in the 1890's. He became M.L.A. for Grahamstown 1902-1907. In politics he was conservative. He was Chairman of the Eastern Province Guardian Loan and Investment Company for thirty-six years, Chairman of the Albany Hospital Board for twenty-five, and a member of the Rhodes University College Council. He served on the Chamber of Commerce and on the Licensing Board.

He was a devout Wesleyan. He was Superintendent of the West Hill Sunday School for forty-five years and a member of the District Synod for forty.

He was married twice. His first wife was Ann Letitia Impey [ Im1/2 ]. The second was Anna Mildred Slater, daughter of Josiah Slater, whom he married in 1894.

Wood died at his residence in Henry Street, Oatlands on 24 July 1921. He was survived by his wife and ten children.

- Grocott's Daily Mail, 25 July 1921.
- C.L.; MS 15900/1 No.505 and No.1048; M.A., Commemoration Church marriage register.

WOOD, Ann Letitia 13 Feb.1845 - 21 Dec.1892 [Im1/2] Wesleyan  
 "Annie" or "Letty"  
 Ann Letitia Wood was the wife of Henry Richard Wood [Wo7] whom she  
 married on 30 April 1863. She was the daughter of the Rev. William  
 Impey. The Woods had six children.

Ann Wood died on 21 Dec.1892 at Kimberley Hospital.

- C.A.; M00C 6/9/312 No.106.
- C.L.; MS 15899/3 No.73; M.A., Commemoration Church baptism register.
- G.T.J. 5 May 1863.
- B.P.; PR 3502/1, The Birthday Scripture Text Book.

WOOD, James 1828 - 25 Nov.1880 Anglican  
 "The Fenian"

James Wood was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1828. He joined the Royal Engineers and served with them for thirteen years. He was posted to the Cape in 1850.

After he had purchased his discharge he settled in Grahamstown as a hotel keeper. Wood's Hotel in Bathurst Street became one of the best known in the Eastern Cape. In 1878 Wood purchased the Bay Postal Contract in the estate of Cobb and Co. See fn 1 p 134.

Wood was an active member of the Grahamstown Town Council, 1866-1867 and 1870-1880. He was a vigorous and witty speaker, a supporter of Dean Williams.

Wood married on 17 June 1857 at St George's Church Honoria Millicent Jackson.

He died on 25 November 1880 at his residence in High Street.

- M. Gibbens: Two Decades, p 458.
- G.T.J. 20 June 1857, 6 Dec.1878, 26 Nov.1880.

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