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A MISSIONARY LIFE AMONG THE AMAXHOSA: THE EASTERN CAPE JOURNALS OF JAMES LAING, 1830-1836

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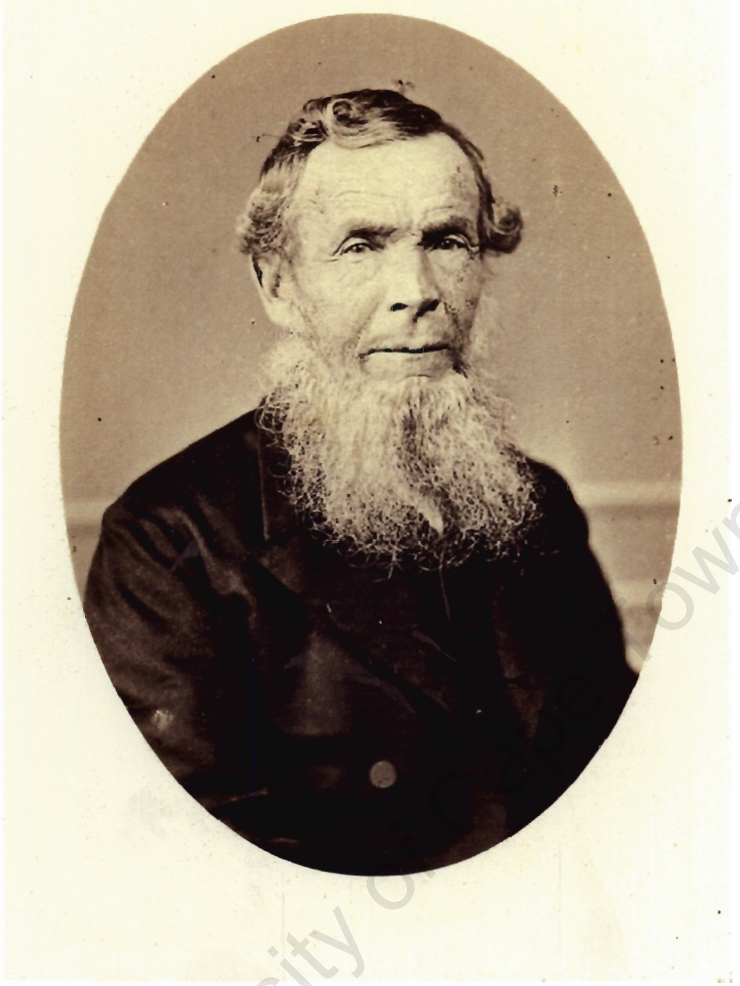


Figure 1: James Laing: *carte de visite* by Carl Bluhm, King William's Town. *Source*: Courtesy of Rhodes University, Cory Library, PIC/M 1055.

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Abstract

This thesis is a critical edition of a section of the journals of the Reverend James Laing of the Glasgow Missionary Society. The first scholarly study of the Laing journals, this thesis seeks to contribute towards a new understanding of the early days of transcultural interchange on the Eastern Cape frontier. The only previous published work on Laing is William Govan's hagiographical *Memorials of the Missionary Career of the Rev. James Laing, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland in Kaffraria* published in Glasgow by David Bryce and Son in1875. This thesis attempts to make Laing's text as accessible to today's readers as possible. To this end, the text is a faithful transcription of the original, augmented by a contextual introduction, detailed footnotes and a comprehensive index.

James Laing was born on 6 September 1803 and was raised in the Scottish Lowlands. He read classics, philosophy, theology and a range of medical subjects at Edinburgh University where he enrolled in 1822. The Glasgow Missionary Society assigned Laing to Burnshill Mission on the Eastern Cape frontier. He sailed for the Cape on 11 October 1830. From that day, he kept a journal almost without break, until a week before his death.

Laing's journals comprise four bound volumes and more than two thousand pages in toto. These are housed in the Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University as part of the Lovedale Institution Collection. Laing's journal constitutes a major element in the small body of extant Glasgow Missionary Society records. It was decided to edit, for this thesis, the first portion of the journals only.

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Missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society, in line with those of other contemporary missionary societies, were expected to remit regular reports back to the Society's headquarters. The Society, in turn, edited the reports and published extracts at intervals in the Society's journals. Laing, however, expressed serious reservations about the accuracy of these published reports in his journal. Laing's own caveats underscore the need for researchers to consult the eye-witness accounts left by the missionaries rather than relying on their published metropolitan versions.

When Laing embarked for the Cape, he knew little about the territory and less about the language of the people. Laing struggled to learn isiXhosa but became totally fluent in the language. His renderings of the language in his journal are surprisingly accurate, given the then embryonic nature of documented isiXhosa. His journal is therefore particularly significant for Xhosa linguists as one of the earliest documented descriptions of the complex phonetics of the Xhosa language.

What this thesis shows is that Laing provides highly significant eye-witness accounts of Xhosa customs and ceremonies, of great value to historians and anthropologists. The significance of Laing's journal is therefore threefold: his early linguistic contributions, his detailed accounts of Xhosa genealogy, and his delineation of Xhosa ethnography.

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Acknowledgments

As a research librarian in the field of African studies first in the Cory Library for Historical Research at Rhodes University and latterly in the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town, I have been in a privileged position as a researcher. These environments have allowed me access to the collections of both libraries and to experience at first-hand the skills and professional qualities of the staff. This has made working on the journals of the Reverend James Laing a particularly rewarding experience and I thank all the staff, past and present, of both institutions.

The former Cory Librarian Michael Berning inculcated in me a deep commitment to southern African history and its researchers. I have appreciated his extensive knowledge of the Cory collections and have been grateful for his professional research skills. It has been additionally rewarding that he has shared my interest in the under-researched activities of the Glasgow Missionary Society. He endured many hours of patient proof-reading of Laing's often impenetrable handwriting with patience, humour and insight. He has my profound gratitude.

I owe many insights into Xhosa customs and traditions to the assistance of my colleague in the Cory Library, Zweliyanyikima Vena. He shared his broad knowledge and experience willingly and often, laced always with that irreverent humour for which he is famous. He guided me through the intricacies of the Xhosa language and its orthographies—interspersed with Latin aphorisms to encourage me along the way. I am particularly indebted to him for his careful translations of several key documents written in isiXhosa. Enkosi, igqirha Vena.

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I am also deeply indebted to Mrs Anne Payne of the British Library for the identification of the shorthand system Laing employed and for the translation of several shorthand passages. I am also grateful to several others who assisted with identifying and penetrating the shorthand, including Mrs Elizabeth Holland of W B Gurney & Sons, verbatim reporters to the British Parliament and A.P.W. Brewin of East Grinstead in Sussex.

Marion George and the staff of the Cape Archives have been helpful over the years and I am grateful to them all, in particular to Jaco van der Merwe and his colleagues in the Reading Room. To the north, Clive Kirkwood in the National Archives in Pretoria was ever ready to help.

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Arlene Fanaroff, Melanie Geustyn, Margaret Cartwright and Najwa Hendricks of the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town always responded to my many queries with their characteristic skillfulness and friendly efficiency.

I would also like to acknowledge the kind assistance of the archivists of the Dutch Reformed Church (Cape Town) and the Genealogical Service Centre of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints for their help with Laing family details. The General Register Office for Scotland, the National Register of Archives (Scotland), Barbara Horn at the Scottish Record Office and I C Cunningham of the National Library of Scotland all responded readily to my queries as did the librarians of Edinburgh University Library, the Library of the University of Glasgow, Prof Andrew Walls of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World at the University of Aberdeen, the Ewart Library of the Dumfries and Galloway Regional Council and the curator of Dumfries Museum, Nithsdale District Council.

I wish to thank Professor Jane Carruthers of the UNISA History Department for her detailed and helpful assistance with Scottish sources, including putting me in touch with James Stevenson-Hamilton of Lanarkshire for Laing's Scottish background.

Professor John Haigh, then Head of the School of Pharmacy at Rhodes University, responded readily to my queries and gave informed comment on the medications Laing used in treating his sickly wife.

I am grateful to the Ernest Oppenheimer Memorial Trust for their 1820 Settler and Eastern Cape History Scholarship in 1988. This scholarship enabled me to obtain the Dictaphone which so facilitated the transcription of Laing's journals.

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My most appreciative thanks go to Professor Christopher Saunders for his unwavering professional guidance, his help and his ever-constructive criticism. His scholarly insights and enthusiasm spurred me on towards the completion of a lengthy and hefty project.

Professor Robert Shell has endured life with Laing for many years with patience, humour and spirited advice. I am profoundly grateful to him for his enthusiastic encouragement when the Laing doldrums seemed overwhelming. I thank him for quietly preparing the many forgotten meals and for his extraordinary tolerance of my increasing absence of mind in the final throes of thesis writing. Above all, I am grateful for the energy, the passion and the inspiration in the life we share together.

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Part One

Editor's introduction

Chapter One

Description of the journal and editorial methods

Missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society, like other contemporary missionaries, had to remit regular reports back to their Society's headquarters.[1] Most missionaries kept a regular journal to assist them in this task. They either submitted extracts from their journals or wrote letters based on their journal texts—sometimes both. The missionaries' reports were then edited and extracts published at intervals in the Society's journals. In the case of the Glasgow Missionary Society, extracts from the reports of the Society's missionaries were published initially in their annual *Report*. In 1828 the Society launched a *Quarterly Paper* in an effort to circulate information about the Society's operations and missionary activities more frequently. The editors of the *Quarterly Paper* expressed their intentions in the first issue to include "extracts from the latest letters received from the Missionaries in Caffraria [Eastern Cape]".[2]

In December 1837, the original Glasgow Missionary Society dissolved and re-formed as the Glasgow Missionary Society "adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland". This successor published a *Quarterly Intelligence* "detailing intelligence communicated by the

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[1]Glasgow Missionary Society, *Quarterly Paper* 2 (June 1828), 3-4.

[2]Glasgow Missionary Society, *Quarterly Paper* 1 ([1827]), 1.

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Missionaries, and the business of the Society going on at home" gleaned from missionary letters, journals and reports remitted to Scotland. When the Society split from the Church of Scotland to be incorporated into the Free Church of Scotland movement in 1843, sections of the missionaries' reports were included in the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Free Church of Scotland*, (later simply the *Home and Foreign Record*). The Free Church subsequently published the reports in their *Quarterly Missionary Paper*.[3]

Laing, however, had some serious reservations about the accuracy of these published versions of the missionaries' submissions and expressed these reservations particularly candidly in his entry for 10 July 1833 (see page 354). Laing's own caveats underscore the need for researchers to consult the eye-witness accounts left by the missionaries rather than relying on their published metropolitan versions.

Laing himself explained his intentions for his journal in several of his early entries, for example, writing to Patrick Falconer on board the outward bound brig *Aquila* on 11 October 1830: "As I may have leisure I purpose making a few memorandums of the voyage. These I mean to send to you. They may not be of much interest—but should I deem them so uninteresting as to afford you little pleasure in their perusal I shall have it in my power to destroy them or retain them in my own possession. When I have a particular friend before me to whom I can make my remarks I am more likely to attend to propriety than I would be were I to write only for my own inspection. The inward feelings of my soul may not thus so openly appear ...", and again on 16 January 1831: "I purpose occasionally making a few notices of

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[3]Published bibliographical sources and written enquiries indicate that there are very few copies extant of the publications of the Glasgow Missionary Society. The strongest holdings are those in the Lovedale Collection in the Cory Library: *Report* (1822-1843), *Quarterly Intelligence* (1838-1843) and *Quarterly paper* (1821-1843). The Edinburgh University Library holds copies of the *Report* (1796-1797;1823; 1825-1831; 1833-1836; 1846-1847) and the *Quarterly Paper* (1828-no. 16 Feb. 1837; wanting nos. 3, 6, 7, 10, 13).

some things in my life which are of some importance. I would wish in all that I say to be short. I would not wish to destroy precious time in writing about things of little moment. All writing is meant to be read, if not by the public, at least by the individual who writes it". On 19 January 1831 he wrote: "One of the uses which I intend this journal to serve is that it may be a kind of general depot from which I may write letters to my friends. Brevity is best here. Enlargements may be made, as deemed necessary, when I make out my letters. I may leave out things which would be of little service or interest to them; other things I may add which have no place here."[4] These intentions could explain his omissions, particularly relating to expressions of his personal emotions, though his restrained personality could also contribute to this reticence. Clearly, he was aware of a potential reading audience, and caution was his key. He was then, a professional diarist. The diary was part of his work.

The journal, written over a period of more than forty years, lacks an overall uniformity of size, save that imposed through binding. Laing indicates in his entry for 22 July 1870 that his journal was written in several volumes of unbound "paper books". It is possible that the Lovedale Press bound these original paper-back journal volumes at the instigation of his friend, colleague and hagiographer, the Reverend William Govan. The four bound volumes, three quarto and one octavo, are half-bound, gold-ruled and lightly tooled in brown leather on green linen, with the gold-blocked uniform spine title of *Journal of Rev J. Laing*. The volumes were not numbered by the binder but the third and fourth volumes in the chronological sequence are further spined: "College tickets and certificates" and "Letters" respectively.

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[4]Cory Library, MS 16,579/1,Laing journal, 11.10.1830, 16.1.1831, 19.1.1831.

All four volumes are now housed together in the Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, though the set was divided for many years.[5] In 1961 the Mission Council of the Church of Scotland in Africa deposited the two volumes covering 2.6.1845-2.11.1858 and [22].11.1858- 21.1.1872 (seven days before Laing's death) in the Cory Library as part of the Lovedale Institution Collection. A small collection of Laing's letters and related papers accompanied the journal volumes in this deposit which, together with the two volumes added later, constitute the major proportion of Laing papers which are known to have survived. The two earlier volumes, commencing with Laing's departure for the Cape from Liverpool Bay on 11 October 1830 and ending on 31 May 1845, were deposited in the Cory Library twenty years later by Mr Peter van Lill, then of the Department of African Studies, University of Fort Hare.

Laing's journals constitute a major element in the small body of extant Glasgow Missionary Society records covering the early period of the Society's activity on the frontier. Their survival was not without its hazards as Laing recorded on 22 July 1870:

> Since I came to Burnshill in 1831, I have from time to time jotted down some of the occurrences which have taken place here and elsewhere and these are contained in a number of paper books. During my late visit to the Transkei, in a heavy rain these books were completely soaked, and would have been utterly wasted had not Mrs Laing dried them leaf by leaf.[6]

Signs of this and possible earlier water damage are clearly evident and, in some parts, areas of text have been marred or obliterated. Further damage, caused by *Lepisma saccharina* (commonly known as fishmoth or silverfish), is manifested in holes in the paper. Elsewhere,

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[5]Cory Library, MS 16,579/1, Laing journal, vol. 1, 11.10.1830-8.1.1836; MS 16,579/2, Laing journal, vol.2, 9.1.1836-31.5.1845; MS 9043/1, Laing journal, vol. 3, 2.6.1845-2.11.1858, with college tickets, letters of reference, University lecture notes and some journal entries relating to Laing's pastoral work in Edinburgh (1828); MS 9043/2, Laing journal, vol. 4, [22].11.1858-21.1.1872.

[6]Cory Library, Laing journal, MS 9043/2, vol.4, 22.7.1870, no pagination.

more superficial nibbles have removed considerable areas of text. Foxing, a secondary consequence of damp through fungal growth, has affected some portions of the journal. The volumes have suffered still further at the hands of their many interested—if frustrated—readers over the years as is evidenced by tears in the paper and by general wear and tear.

In James Laing's journals and letters, in common with other historical writings, there are issues of meaning, style and context to consider. Over the years, several conventions have been developed to guide editors in the editing of historical texts but none of them is entirely satisfactory in every circumstance. Every set of historical documents presents the editor with a phalanx of problems—some unique, some idiosyncratic, some important and some seemingly pedantic. However challenging these problems might be and whichever set of rules is selected to resolve them, the one overarching principle that any editor must observe is that of consistency.

In Laing's writings, where text has been partly or totally obliterated, the present editor has used square, or "editorial", brackets to suggest a word or phrase Laing might have used in the given context. Editorial brackets have also been used where the editor has added a letter, a word, or phrase to make Laing's meaning clearer, for standard editorial comments and to give certain corrected spellings to improve the clarity of Laing's text. In addition, where Laing's handwriting has proved impenetrable, editorial brackets have been used to allow the editor an attempt at the word or phrase. Laing himself used round brackets and these have been retained as "authorial" brackets.

Laing wrote almost entirely in ink but there are some obscure pencil annotations which are almost certainly in someone else's hand (possibly Govan). Marginal symbols, mainly numeric, in Laing's hand, proliferate throughout the text. These are presumed to have had

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editorial significance for Laing himself in the production of the version of the journal which he submitted at intervals to the Society in Glasgow. These annotations and symbols have been omitted from the edited text submitted here.

Laing was not blessed with a legible hand nor, as became increasingly evident, with a consistent one. Illegibility has been compounded by Laing's use both of a structured form of shorthand in parts and of his own speed writing, effected by the prodigal use of abbreviations and initial letters. In many cases, Laing used the same initial standing alone and unexplained to represent different words in the same sentence. Only through following his patterns and repetitions and by applying a tentative logic has an attempt at translation been possible. Fortunately, much of the nature of the information required by the Society to indicate the progress of his missionary endeavour has imposed a partial grid of explanation upon these categories of record, and this has fostered interpretation to a considerable extent. Nevertheless, the editor was faced at times with considerable challenges, to cite one vexed example, where Laing used the solitary capital letter "S" six times in one sentence. To promote readability, the editor has silently expanded many of the persistent but obvious abbreviations.

Laing occasionally used a shorthand system devised by Andrew Hunter of Edinburgh which antedates Pitman's phonetic system.[7] Laing probably learnt the system during his University years. He used this shorthand only for occasional, brief passages early in his journal. He

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[7]The first edition of Hunter's *An Easy System of Short-hand Writing Designed for the Use of Schools and Private Learners* was published between 1815 and 1822. The 3rd edition of his *The system of stenography taught in Hunter's Academy* was published in Edinburgh in 1816. Isaac Pitman published the first edition of his system entitled *Stenographic Sound-hand* in 1837.

abandoned the practice after 1832.[8] Translated shorthand passages are italicised and prefaced by the italicised word *[Shorthand]* in editorial brackets. While Laing probably used initials and abbreviations for speed and expediency in jotting down his journal notes, it is

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[8] I am deeply indebted to Mrs Anne Payne of the British Library for the identification of the system and for the translation of some of the shorthand passages. Regrettably, Laing's shorthand script was not sufficiently precise for Mrs Payne to decipher all the passages.

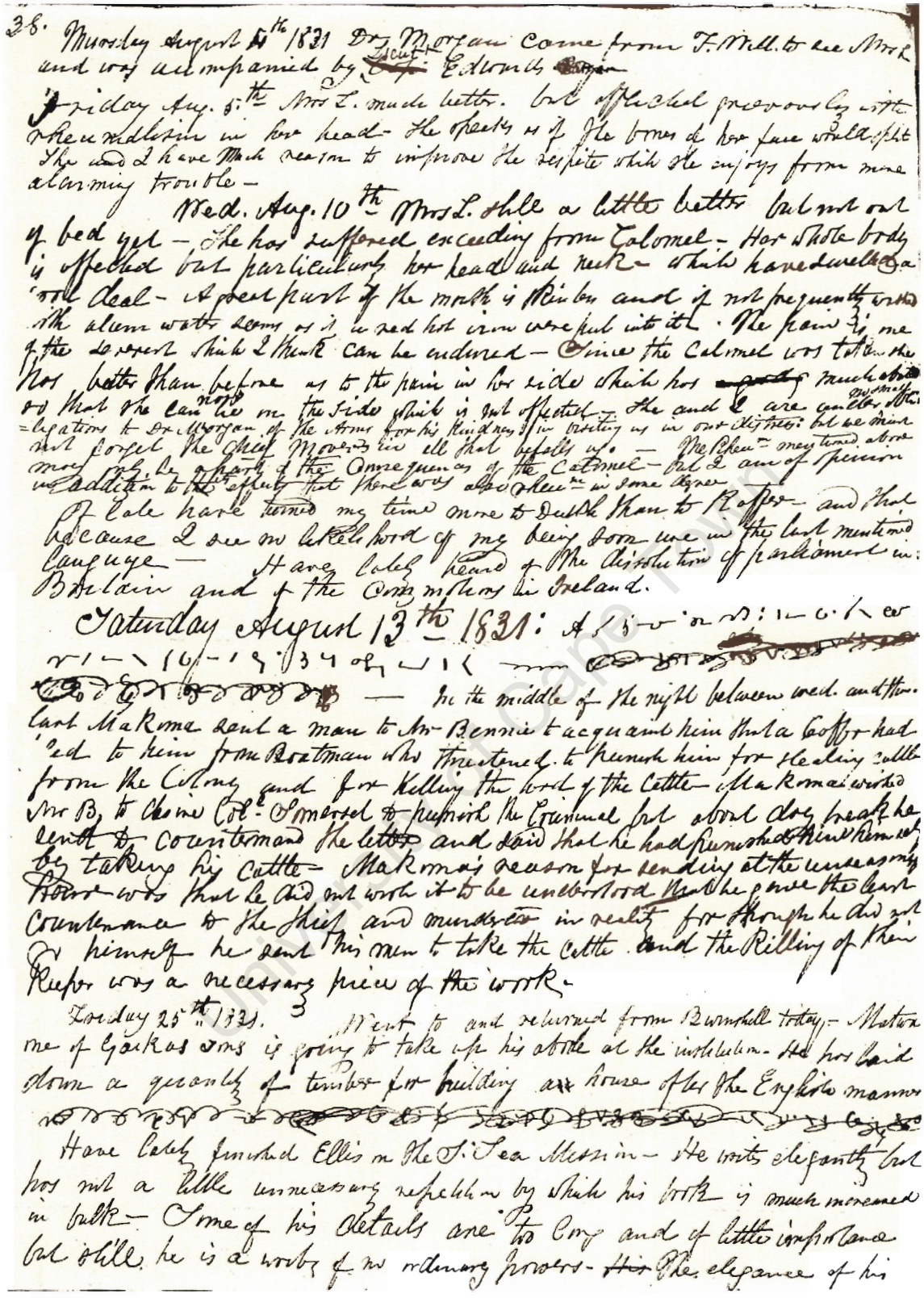


Figure 2: A sample of Laing's handwriting and his use of Hunter's shorthand. Courtesy of Rhodes University, Cory Library, MS 16,579/1.

conceivable that his use of Hunter's shorthand could have been calculated to conceal meaning. His intention may only become clear if all the symbols can be interpreted. Laing seldom revealed his emotions in his journal, nor did he give many insights into his relationships, marital or social. It is possible that within the safety and privacy of his shorthand system he may have felt able to articulate his more personal and intimate thoughts. Deciphered fully, these passages may allow examination of an as yet unexplored dimension of Laing's personality.

On occasion, Laing covered the same topic in two slightly different texts. Where it was clear that amalgamating these texts would flesh out the topic to advantage, the editor used editorial prerogative by intertwining the two texts. Where this has been done, the process and the different sources have been indicated clearly in a footnote.

Laing's spelling of English words generally causes no difficulties though he uses unorthodox spellings consistently for certain words e.g. "schorching" for "scorching" in describing the blistering Eastern Cape summer temperatures and "smoaking" for "smoking". These are either nineteenth century Scottish variants or Laing's own personal vagaries.

Laing mostly recorded Xhosa names and words phonetically so it is not surprising that his attempts are not always accurate in present terms. The Reverend John Bennie was still in the process of codifying isiXhosa when Laing began his journal. Although Bennie had published the first Xhosa vocabulary in 1826 and the first bilingual Xhosa-English dictionary in 1830, much of the language was still undocumented. Laing was also recording words in the original Xhosa orthography. The new Xhosa orthography, which, among other conventions inserted an 'h' to distinguish aspirated from non-aspirated consonants, was not published until a

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century later. The editor has retained Laing's versions of Xhosa words in the text, but has followed these words with the modern spellings in editorial brackets e.g. "Xosa [Xhosa]".

The present editor has taken a small number of decisions regarding punctuation to enhance the readability of the text. Laing used the short dash "-" liberally to separate phrases and clauses, particularly when writing cryptically and probably at speed. The use of the dash resulted in a disturbing textual choppiness. Where appropriate, the present editor has silently replaced these visually intrusive punctuation marks with commas or periods to allow for a smoother read.

Laing frequently used underlining for emphasis. In accordance with modern printing conventions, the editor has respected Laing's emphasis and has silently replaced the underlining with italicised text. Laing's inconsistencies of capitalisation within sentences have also been silently changed, e.g., "thursday and Friday" has become "Thursday and Friday."

Laing was faithful to his journal, writing an entry for nearly every day of his life on the Eastern Cape frontier. The dating system he used to mark each new entry was not always consistent and he seldom included all the components of a full date expression. He seldom includes the year. For the reader entering Laing via the index, the editor has standardised all entry dates *viz.* day of the week, month, date and year, all in bold text e.g. **"Monday December 20th 1830"**. The current year also appears as a running head at the top of each page. The day of the week is often significant in Laing's text, hence the inclusion of this component. The editor has respected Laing's use of the Christian "Sabbath"where he has used this term rather than the secular "Sunday". Similarly, the editor has respected the

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instances where Laing has indicated the time of day in his journal entry header e.g. "Evening".

The main reason there has been no serious attempt to study Laing's journal in depth since William Govan's hagiography was published in 1876 can be attributed to Laing's almost impenetrable handwriting. Future scholars will soon be able to access the full forty two years of Laing's journal in one or other format. The present editor presents the first six years, corresponding to Laing's first bound journal volume and covering 11 October 1830 to 8 January 1836, in this thesis. The text of a further seven years from 9 January 1836 to 6 March 1843 exists in both electronic and printout formats. A pre-electronic typescript covers the next ten years, from March 1843 to 18 February 1853. In addition, the editor read virtually the entire journal (15 March 1831 to 21 January 1872) onto sixty six audio-cassettes. These cassettes will be digitised onto CD and these multi-media transcripts will be deposited in the Cory Library for Historical Research to accompany the manuscript journals. In making Laing's full journal text more accessible, the editor hopes to encourage further scholarly explorations of this rich primary source on the Eastern Cape frontier.

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Chapter Two

Historiographical essay

> *"The study of particulars, even of a single detail, has its value, if it is done well. Concerned with human affairs, it will always reveal something of immediate interest; even when dealing with minutiae, it is instructive, since everything human is worth knowing. But this specialized study, too, will always be related to a larger context; even local history will be related to the history of the whole country, a biography to the history of a major event in church and state, to an epoch of national or universal history."*
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> Leopold von Ranke cited in *The Varieties of History: from Voltaire to the Present*, edited and selected, and introduced by Fritz Stern (New York: World Publishing, 1972), 61.

Much has been written—and often hotly debated—regarding the role of missionaries in the southern African past. Adherents to various historiographical traditions have variously praised or condemned the missionaries in general. Rarely are the missionaries simply allowed to speak.

Nineteenth-century studies of missions and missionaries in South Africa, as elsewhere in that era, were almost exclusively hagiographical. Whether written by authors immersed in the missionary endeavour themselves or by those who were supportive of the missionary cause, these works unreservedly promoted the spread of Christianity in foreign parts. These works could be seen to have been written, at least in part, to promote material support of the missionary effort abroad among the faithful in the sending country, and as inspirational texts for aspirant young missionaries. Theirs was no reluctant empire.

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Into this category falls the Reverend William Govan's posthumous biography of James Laing published by the Lovedale Press in 1875, three years after Laing's death.[9] Govan, himself a Scottish missionary, came to the Cape as the first principal of Lovedale Institution when it opened its doors in 1841. By the time Laing died, Govan had known him for thirty five years, had sat with him in the Presbytery of Kaffraria and had been his superior throughout the years Laing was stationed at Lovedale (1843-1855). This first biography of Laing falls roundly into the hagiographical —what historians Johannes Du Bruyn and Nicholas Southey refer to as the "reverential"—genre[10].

Two years later, in 1877, the first biography of a black missionary, the Reverend Tiyo Soga, by John Aitken Chalmers, was published by Andrew Eliot in Edinburgh. Significantly, this was also the first biography of a Black mission convert. As Soga's later biographer[11], Donovan Williams, wrote in the introduction to his publication of Soga's edited journals and letters:

> Tiyo Soga is unique in the history of the Blacks in South Africa. He was the first ordained minister to be educated overseas; the first black missionary among Africans; the first black translator of an English classic into an African language; and the first to formulate a philosophy of Black consciousness and even negritude[12].He was also the first black minister to breach the South

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[9]William Govan, *Memorials of the Missionary Career of the Rev. James Laing, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland in Kaffraria* (Glasgow: David Bryce and Son, 1875).

[10]Johannes Du Bruyn and Nicholas Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries in South African historiography" in *Missions and Christianity in South African history* edited by Henry Bredekamp and Robert Ross (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), 36.

[11]Donovan Williams, *Umfundisi: a biography of Tiyo Soga, 1829-1871* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1978).

[12]Tiyo Soga, *The journal and selected writings of the Reverend Tiyo Soga* edited by Donovan Williams (Cape Town: A A Balkema for Rhodes University, 1983), 1. Soga translated John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" into isiXhosa and this translation was published by Lovedale Press in multiple editions. The first edition was published in 1868. John Bunyan, *Uhambo lo mhambi: owesuka kwe lilizwe, waye esinga kwelo lizayo: imbali ezekeliswe nge pupa*; ngu John Bunyan, isicaka sika Tixo, iguqulwe kwinteto ya mangesi ngu Mfundisi, Umfo ka Soga (Lovedale: Lovedale Missionary Institution Press, 1868).

> African colour line when he married Janet Burnside at Ibroxholm near Glasgow on 27 February 1857.

Chalmers' biography is significant for its wealth of detail not only on Soga's life but also on the lives, opinions and attitudes of many of the amaNgqika and amaMfengu in the region. Chalmers quotes a letter written by Soga to Dr Alexander Somerville, Secretary of the Committee on Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, in 1866:

> The prevalent opinion in that tribe [*amaGcaleka*] is, that missionaries are the emissaries of Government, to act upon the minds and feelings of the people, with an instrument which they call *'the Word';* and that those who become affected by the Word, and exchange Kafir[13] customs for those of the white men, become subjects of the English Government. Thus white men plan to get a footing in their country, which they afterwards take altogether.[14]

Works on missions, missionaries and Christian church work in general followed a similar, uncritical tenor, including a history of South African missions by historian Johannes du Plessis in 1911.[15] Du Plessis was a man of his time to whom the growing segregationist policies of the new Union of South Africa were, as Arthur Keppel Jones remarks in his review of the reprint, "a part of the natural order of things".[16] Still, Du Plessis' work, the first

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[13]Caffer/Caffre/Kafir/Kaffir/Kaffer are variant spellings of the Arabic "Kafir" originally meaning "ungrateful". As historian Robert Shell explains, "by association, those who did not believe in Allah were ungrateful. All non-Jews, non-Christians and non-Muslims—people 'not of the book'—were thus considered "Caffers". Because the Arab Muslims came into contact with many African pagans, there arose an association in the Muslim mind between caffers and pagan African. This association was exported to the Indonesian archipelago by Arab and Gujerati traders. The Portuguese, and later the Dutch, picked up the term...In the nineteenth century, the British ... reintroduced the term, this time applying it to all Africans on the Eastern frontier." Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage: a social history of the slave society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995): 189-190. The term, commonly used in the 19th century to describe the Xhosa speaking peoples, their language and their land, did not have the pejorative sense then that it has today.

[14]John Aitken Chalmers, *Tiyo Soga: a page of South African mission work* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1877), 327-328.

[15]Johannes du Plessis *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911, reprinted by C. Struik, Cape Town, 1965).

[16]Arthur Keppel-Jones, (Review) "A History of Christian Missions in South Africa by J. Du Plessis". *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 2, **1**, (Spring, 1968): 113.

major overview of Christian missions in South Africa, was nonetheless a factual and useful chronicle of the missionary effort.

Lytton Strachey delivered a mortal blow to this hagiographic tradition in 1918. Reacting to what he considered to be the indigestible and tedious Victorian genre of hagiography, Strachey set about to write short, terse and forthright biographies of four famous Victorians who had been lauded for their achievements in their chosen fields.[17] Of the four, one was a churchman— Henry Edward, Cardinal Manning—who felt the sting of Strachey's pen. Instead of a pious man of God, Cardinal Manning emerges as an opportunistic, ambitious cleric. While hagiographies would continue to appear, the Victorian hagiography became a discounted genre, definitely passé among intellectuals after the first World War.

Four years later, historian George Edward Cory discovered the diary of the Reverend Francis Owen in the archives of the Church Missionary Society in London. Cory had been anxious to locate the diary as Owen had been the only eye-witness to the murder of Piet Retief to leave an account "written at the time and on the spot". Cory managed to persuade the Society to hand the diary over to him. He brought it back with him to South Africa and deposited it in the Cape Archives for safe-keeping. Cory's edited version of the Owen diary was published by the Van Riebeeck Society in 1926.[18] An historian who had hitherto held scant brief for missionaries, Cory delivered an edited text that contributed as much to the history of Dingane's reign and his disastrous encounter with Piet Retief and his trekker party as to the missionary life of Francis Owen, missionary at Dingane's capital, Umgungundhlovu. Cory

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[17]Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians: Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Arnold, General Gordon* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1918).

[18]Francis Owen. *The Diary of the Rev. F. Owen, Missionary with Dingaan, together with the accounts of Zulu affairs by the interpreters, Messrs Hully and Kirkman*, ed. George Edward Cory (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1926).

declared in the preface that his "object was to elucidate certain matters in connection with the Retief-Dingaan treaty".[19] This was significant as, in later years, Cory was to anger a large sector of the Afrikaner population by asserting that he doubted that such a treaty had ever existed.[20]

Cory's use of the missionary record was a clear departure from the hagiographical tradition and his publication of Owen's diary was a watershed moment in South African historiography. Cory recognised the value of the mission record as a fundamental, secular primary source. He regarded this diary as an invaluable eye-witness account that could contribute significantly to a better understanding of history. Cory says as much after Owen's entry for 9 July 1838 where he writes:

> The remainder of Mr Owen's diary, though interesting in consequence of his attempt to establish a mission in Moselikatze's country, is not of the same historical value as the account of his difficulties and dangers in Natal and Zululand. Every useful purpose, therefore, will be served by epitomizing the history of his doings from the date at which we have now arrived until that of his departure from South Africa in 1841. This procedure will have the advantage of relieving us from reading, not only the numerous sermonizings and expositions which the good man gave on every possibly opportunity, but also many personal details of no interest to any one but himself."[21]

The following year, historian William Miller Macmillan published the first of his two works based on the writings of the Reverend Dr John Philip of the London Missionary Society. In 1920 he had been given access to the extensive collection of Philip papers in the University

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[19]Francis Owen, *The Diary of the Rev. F. Owen*, [first page of text, no pagination].

[20]Isabel Hofmeyr, "Popularising history: the case of Gustav Preller" *Journal of African History* 29, **3** (1988): 528; Felix N Okoye, "Dingane and the voortrekkers: a note on South African historiography" *Journal of Negro History* 56, **2** (April 1971): 140.

[21]Francis Owen, *The Diary of the Rev. F. Owen*, 141.

of the Witwatersrand Library and he drew on these extensively in his research.[22] Historian Christopher Saunders describes Macmillan as the "first and most important of the early liberals". Macmillan's principle intention in these books was to revise the dismissive views as expressed by historians George McCall Theal and Cory of Philip's political role in ameliorating the lot of the Khoekhoe in Cape. Through his also secular interpretation of Philip, Macmillan hoped to help deflect the increasingly polarising racial and political trajectories of the Union government of the 1920s.

There remain hagiographical echoes in the publication of commemorative volumes which, by their nature, affirm and laud the commemorated, whether an individual, a group or an institution. For example, Lovedale's centenary in 1941 saw the publication of the first comprehensive—but insider—history of the Institution.[23] Thirty years later, in 1971, Shepherd produced a further history of Lovedale that covered additional years (1824-1855) but was much condensed in length.[24] It would be a further thirty years before a new, comprehensive history of Lovedale would appear, authored by Graham Duncan.[25] Duncan, as a minister in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, also writes as something of an insider, but an insider informed by the varying genres of mission historiography over these intervening years.

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[22]William M Macmillan, *The Cape colour question: a historical survey* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927); —, *Bantu, Boer and Briton: the making of the South African native problem* (London : Faber & Gwyer, 1929). These secondary works were particularly timely and of lasting historical value as the Philip papers were destroyed by fire in 1931.

[23]Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd., *Lovedale South Africa: the story of a century 1841-1941* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1941).

[24] Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa, 1824-1955* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1971).

[25]Graham Duncan, *Lovedale, coercive agency: power and resistance in mission education.* (Pietermaritzburg : Cluster, 2003).

In the 1950s, two voluminous and significant theses by historian Donovan Williams appeared.[26] These substantial studies by Donovan Williams have still not been published but they provide minutely detailed information on the missionaries on the eastern frontier, particularly those in the Glasgow Missionary Society. Nonetheless, Williams contributed substantially to the corpus of mission historiography with his later writings. The first of these, published in 1967, was a biography of the Reverend William Ritchie Thomson, Glasgow Society Missionary and government agent on the eastern frontier.[27] Significantly, Williams prefigured later studies on the influence of the mission station on the rise of African nationalism with an article published in 1970.[28] Eight years later, in 1978, Williams published his biography of Tiyo Soga[29] and, in 1983, his edited version of Soga's journal and selected writings appeared.[30]

By the time this seventh volume appeared, the Graham's Town Series had already published the missionary journals of the Reverend John Ayliff and the Reverend William Shaw, both missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.[31] The missionary journal motif in the series continued with the publication of the journal of the Reverend Friedrich Gottlob

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[26] Donovan Williams, "The Missionary as Government Agent on the Eastern Frontier: 1818-1830". MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1953; "The Missionaries on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, 1799-1853", Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1959.

[27] Donovan Williams, *When races meet: the life and times of William Ritchie Thomson, Glasgow Society Missionary, government agent and Dutch Reformed Church minister, 1794-1891* (Johannesburg: A.P.B. Publishers, 1967).

[28] Donovan Williams, "African nationalism in South Africa: origins and problems." *Journal of African History* 11, **3** (1970): 371-383.

[29] Donovan Williams, *Umfundisi: a biography of Tiyo Soga, 1829-1871* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1978).

[30] Tiyo Soga, *The journal and selected writings of the Reverend Tiyo Soga*, 7.

[31] John Ayliff, *The journal of John Ayliff, 1821-1830*; ed. Peter Hinchliff, Graham's Town Series 1 (Cape Town: Balkema for Rhodes University, 1971); and William Shaw, *The Journal of William Shaw*, ed. W. D. Hammond-Tooke, Graham's Town Series 2 (Cape Town: Balkema for Rhodes University, 1972).

Kayser of the London Missionary Society in 1990[32] and the journal and selected letters of the Reverend William Shrewsbury in 1994.[33]

Just as the first World War prompted an intellectual backlash against pure hagiography, so too did World War II. By 1950, it seems safe to point to the emergence of a new radical historiography in South Africa. One of the first, and arguably the most influential, publications in this stable came out under the name of Nosipho Majeke.[34] Majeke was the pseudonym used by Dora Taylor, a socialist Scottish woman who was also a founder member of the nascent Non-European Unity Movement in Cape Town. Taylor clumped all missionaries together in one broad homogenous swathe, regarding them as primary agents of colonisation and conquest. She believed that the missionaries "came from a capitalist Christian civilization that unblushingly found religious sanctions for inequality. . . and whose ministers solemnly blessed its wars of aggression."[35] In Taylor's interpretation, missionaries embraced the policy of segregation—indeed, were responsible for it:

> The segregated mission reserve was the particular contribution of the missionary to the pattern of South African society. It was part of the liberal myth of 'protection'. It is trusteeship in its earliest form. In other words it is the beginning of the *herrenvolk* lie of the inferiority of the Non-European.

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[32]Frederik Gottlieb Kayser, *Rev. F G Kayser: journal and letters*, ed. H. C. Hummel, Graham's Town Series 11 (Cape Town: Macmillan for Rhodes University, 1990).

[33]William J Shrewsbury, *The journal and selected letters of the Reverend William J. Shrewsbury;* ed. Hildegard Fast, Graham's Town Series 13 (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press for Rhodes University, 1994). This trend was a natural one given the strong church and missionary focus of the archival collections housed on the Series' doorstep in the Cory Library for Historical Research. The editorial board of the series made the decision in the mid-1990 to broaden its publishing scope to incorporate texts that would be more representative of the demographic profile of the Eastern Cape. At that point, Rhodes University made the regrettable decision to discontinue the Series.

[34]Nosipho Majeke (*pseud.* Dora Taylor), *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest* (Cape Town: Society of Young Africa, 1952).

[35]Johannes Du Bruyn and Nicholas Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries in South African historiography": 38.

> 'Protection' and 'inferiority', the idea that the black man is 'different' from the White—these have become part of the machinery of oppression.[36]

In the following decades, many historians and scholars in cognate disciplines, while perhaps not embracing the full expression of the missionary as the agent of conquest and subjugation as delineated by Taylor, nonetheless pointed to the links between missionary and commerce, between commerce and capitalism, and between capitalism and colonialism. As historian Roger Beck pointed out, missionaries—isolated as they often were in far-flung rural areas—had little option but to become traders. The links between Christianity and commerce were certainly forged, albeit of necessity.[37]

Most prominent and influential of these studies was historian Martin Legassick's doctoral work on the missionaries among the Griqua and the Sotho-Tswana between 1780 and 1840.[38] Legassick led the field of scholars who had begun addressing the issues of how African people perceived the missionaries, how they reacted to them and how they received the missionary message. Although Legassick himself was later critical of his own dissertation, he contributed the valuable notion of a "frontier zone" where power lines were blurred and where various processes of acculturation occurred.[39]

Schoolmaster and historian Anthony Dachs, writing in 1972, pointed to the links between missionary and imperialism. Responding to the release of the biography of the Reverend

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[36]Ken Smith, *The changing past: trends in South African historical writing* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1988), 158-9.

[37]Roger Beck, "Bibles and beads: missionaries as traders in Southern Africa in the early nineteenth century." *Journal of African History 30* (1989): 211-225.

[38]Martin Legassick, *The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana, and the missionaries, 1780-1840: the politics of a frontier zone* (Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms, 1973). PhD diss., UCLA, 1969.

[39]Christopher Saunders, *The making of the South African past: major historians on race and class* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble,1988), 173.

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John Mackenzie by one-time Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland Anthony Sillery,[40] Dachs posited that Mackenzie, like the other LMS missionaries in Botswana, "eventually looked to the political arm of empire to promote as well as to protect his chosen religious work."[41] Dachs writes in his concluding remarks:

> For all the difference in their objectives, the missionaries were as much agents of alien political expansion as traders, consuls and concession-hunters. By their settlement they threatened independence; by their methods they eroded custom, integrity and authority; by their connexions they invited the imperial replacement of resistant African rule. This was missionary imperialism *sui generis*—the product of practical experience in African circumstances.[42]

In 1975, Jane Sales published her University of Chicago thesis on the rôle of the London Missionary Society in the Eastern Cape.[43] The work is drawn almost exclusively from the archives of the Society, to the extent that historian Tony Kirk observes that it "more often reads like a précis of the LMS archives than a serious history".[44] In documenting the work of the LMS and the daily lives of the missionaries disappointingly little comes through of the lives, thoughts, responses or aspirations of the people among whom they worked.

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[40]Anthony Sillery, *John Mackenzie of Bechuanaland, 1835-1899: a study in humanitarian imperialism*. (Cape Town: Balkema, 1971).

[41]Anthony Dachs, "Missionary imperialism: the case of Bechuanaland" *Journal of African History*, 13, **4** (1972): 647.

[42]Dachs, "Missionary imperialism: the case of Bechuanaland": 658.

[43]Jane M Sales, *Mission stations and the Coloured communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852*. (Cape Town: Balkema, 1975).

[44]Tony Kirk, "The rôle of the missionaries in conquest." Review of *Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape 1800-1852* by Jane Sales. *Journal of African History* 17, no. 1 (1976): 144.

In all the secular studies of missionaries in southern Africa, a clear majority have focussed on the work of the London Missionary Society missionaries, from van der Kemp through Philip to Mackenzie. Yet another study focussing on the LMS working among the Southern Tswana, but this time a study of primary importance in the historiography of missions, is that of anthropologists, Jean and John Comaroff. Much has been written either in support of or to criticise the Comaroffs' historico-anthropological propositions and conclusions. No scholar exploring the realm of the missionary in southern Africa can ignore them.

The Comaroffs regarded the missionaries as "not just the bearers of a vocal Protestant ideology, nor merely the media of modernity. They were also the human vehicles of a hegemonic worldview".[45] Du Bruyn and Southey write of the Comaroffs' focus on "the 'cultural confrontation" between the Southern Tswana and missionaries". They point out that no future study on the history of Christian missionaries will be able to ignore the influences of culture, symbolism and ideology.[46] In her thoughtful and persuasive analysis of the Comaroffs' study in *Blood ground*, historian Elizabeth Elbourne points out that the Comaroffs pay lip service to such notions as the "multiplicity of meaning systems" but ultimately this conflicts with their all-encompassing analysis.[47] Elbourne muses: "I am unsure that the grids of religious meaning and of power relationships mesh as neatly as *Of Revelation and Revolution* implies, and yet the details of many of the particular discussions in the Comaroffs' are tremendously illuminating. Do they need to be squeezed into so

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[45]Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, volume 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 310.

[46]Du Bruyn & Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries in South African historiography", 40.

[47]Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood ground: colonialism, missions, and the contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 19.

cramped a Procrustean bed?"[48] There is a very real sense, reading the Comaroffs, that on occasion the conclusion is driving the evidence, that broad generalisations are drawn from small particulars, despite their assertions of the singularity of their project.[49]

Anthropologist Donald Donham also takes issue with perceived inconsistencies and contradictions in the Comaroffs' work. He writes

> ... at points, within the same chapter of the same volume—on pages opposite one another—the Comaroffs write passages that appear to stand in contradiction to one another (see 1991:212, 213; 1997:215, 216). In other places, the Comaroffs claim that they are not doing what in fact the bulk of their analysis seems to do.[50]

Donham considers that despite the Comaroffs' professed aim of integrating approaches to culture and power, that they stress "culture" to the neglect of "power".

> In consequence, "culture" comes to occupy a larger and ultimately static space of its own, one into which concepts of hegemony, modernism, and Protestantism are all collapsed.[51]

Elizabeth Elbourne's own magisterial study *Blood ground* was published in 2002.[52] Based largely on her doctoral thesis awarded some eleven years earlier,[53] *Blood ground* presents a thorough analysis of Christian missions at the Cape rooted, once again, in the work of the

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[48] Elbourne, *Blood ground*, 20.

[49] Jean and John Comaroff, "Christianity and colonialism in South Africa" *American Ethnologist* 13, **1** (February 1986): 1.

[50] Donald Donham, "Thinking temporally or Modernizing anthropology". *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (2001): 136.

[51] Donham, "Thinking temporally or Modernizing anthropology": 136.

[52] Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood ground: colonialism, missions, and the contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

[53] Elizabeth Elbourne, "'To colonize the mind': evangelical missionaries in Britain and the Eastern Cape, 1790-1837", D. Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1991.

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London Missionary Society missionaries. Elbourne has a special interest in the multi-faceted nature of Christianity. She acknowledges, significantly, that interpretations of Christianity vary from sect to sect, from country to country, from age to age and even within an individual over time. In her review essay on the Comaroffs' *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Elbourne writes that:

> From the very beginning of the activity of Christians in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, Christianity was out of control, unorthodox, and an available subject for reinterpretation in light of the needs of its interlocutors.[54]

Historian Norman Etherington notes in his review of *Blood ground* that "Elizabeth Elbourne has the historian's eye for particularity, diversity, personalities, and change over time." He points out that Elbourne does not "accept that the LMS missionaries performed the culture of British industrial capitalism for the purpose of inducting their converts into a new way of life. She emphasizes the poverty, eccentricity, and alienation of the missionaries from their own European background."[55] Elbourne views the interaction of black and white in the missionary context not simply in terms of the Comaroffs' dualism but rather as "a series of negotiations within the limits of shared language".[56] She refutes the notion that Christianity is monolithic but sees it rather as dynamic and open to interpretation over time.

Etherington makes a cogent point in noting that the actual numbers in the missionary communities who were the subject of Elbourne's study, as well as those studied by the Comaroffs, were actually extremely small—no more than a few thousand people. These were

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[54]Elizabeth Elbourne, "Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the Work of Jean and John Comaroff". *American Historical Review*, April 2003: 459.

[55]Norman Etherington, review of *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853* by Elizabeth Elbourne. *American Historical Review*, April 2004: 482.

[56]Elbourne, *Blood ground*, 18.

tiny in contrast with the communities in the far more populous areas where other missionary societies operated among the amaXhosa, amaZulu and baSotho. This line of enquiry also opens the question of how many missionaries among the southern Tswana the Comaroffs, for example, actually studied? Is it, in fact, valid to draw overarching conclusions about all nineteenth century missionary activity in southern Africa based on small, and possibly unrepresentative, samples?

As historian Natasha Erlank observes in her own review of *Blood ground*, Elbourne has a particular and important focus on the way Christianity is appropriated and interpreted by autochthonous populations.[57] Still further, Etherington notes that Elbourne, rather than simply quoting the missionaries at length, also quotes the people of the mission communities: "The recovered voices of such witnesses make it difficult to sustain the proposition that the LMS enterprise was primarily engaged in modernizing capitalist labour practices. Missionaries spoke with and on behalf of an oppressed community."[58]

Elbourne herself positions her doctoral thesis as a study that

> has tried to look at missionary history in a new way, making use of contemporary historiographical concerns about imagery of "the other" and yet tying these in firmly to the actual work of political negotiation, economic relationships, and fluctuating religious belief: of individuals muddling through as best they can.[59]

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[57]Natasha Erlank, review of *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, & the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony & Britain, 1799-1852* by Elizabeth Elbourne. H-SAfrica, H-Net Review, H-SAfrica@h-net.msu.edu (23 November 2005); H-Net: Humanities & Social Sciences Online.

[58]Etherington, (Review) "Elizabeth Elbourne, Blood Ground", 482.

[59]Elbourne, "To colonize the mind", 315

Norman Etherington has an impressive personal canon of publications on southern African missions and missionaries spanning over thirty years. His scholarly significance runs broadly and deeply within the genre as well as leaving a significant imprint on the broader southern African historical canvas.[60] Most significantly, Etherington examined the impact of the missionaries primarily through his studies of African converts (the *kholwa*)—who the *kholwa* were, where they came from and what predisposed some individuals more than others towards embracing the Christian message. Etherington took his study focus a step further by examining the linkages between mission stations and the rise of South African Black nationalism as had Donovan Williams in 1970.[61]

Natasha Erlank has broken from the stable of missionary scholarship focussing on the efforts of the London Missionary Society to examine the still under-researched contribution of the Scottish missionaries who operated under the aegis of the Glasgow Missionary Society in the Eastern Cape. Erlank's primary focus is on the gender factor in the missionary arena as exemplified in her doctoral thesis and in a subsequent range of articles.[62] However, she also makes some significant contributions to the phalanx of missionary scholarship with more

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[60]These publications range from "The Rise of the Kholwa in Southeast Africa: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand, 1835-1880,"(Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University, 1971, published by Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1974 and later under the title *Preachers, peasants, and politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland, and Zululand*, London: Royal Historical Society, 1978) to his newly-published edited volume, *Missions and empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[61] Norman Etherington. "Mission Station Melting Pots as a Factor in the Rise of South African Black Nationalism," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9, **4** (1976): 592-605; Donovan Williams, "African nationalism in South Africa: origins and problems." *Journal of African History* 11, 3 (1970): 371-383.

[62]Natasha Erlank, "John and Jane Philip: partnership, usefulness and sexuality in the service of God'" in J. De Gruchy, ed. *The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1999); —, "Gendered Reactions to Social Dislocation and Missionary Activity in Xhosaland, 1830-1847." *African Studies* 59 (2000): 205-227; —, "'Raising up the degraded daughters of Africa': the provision of education for Xhosa women mid-19th Century", *South African Historical Journal* 43 (2000): 24-38; —, "Sexual misconduct and power on Scottish mission stations in Xhosaland, South Africa, in the 1840s" *Gender & History* 15, **1** (April 2003): 69-84.

generalised studies of the Scottish missionary effort on the eastern frontier and these are of particular interest and relevance to the present writer.[63]

While not primarily writing with the missionaries in his headlights, historian Jeffrey Peires recognised the value of the missionary record as an important secular historical source. This is evinced in his use of these documents in his seminal works on the history of the amaXhosa for which he made liberal use of the primary missionary sources in Cory Library's collections.[64] A distinguishing mark of Peires' work lies in the extensive fieldwork he conducted over a wide geographic area of the Eastern Cape within a period of seven months.[65] This oral evidence, coupled with his comprehensive use of archival and secondary sources in all three of the major languages of the Eastern Cape (isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans), imparts an unshakeable integrity to these pioneering works on the amaXhosa.

Historian Clifton Crais' challenging regional micro-study of the Eastern Cape, by contrast, employs a multi-disciplinary approach informed heavily by post-modernist scholars such as Foucault and Bourdieu.[66] In essence, Crais explores the nature of British colonial rule in the face of different phases of Black resistance in the Eastern Cape. Despite focussing on issues

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[63]Natasha Erlank, "Re-examining initial encounters between Christian missionaries and the Xhosa, 1820-1850: the Scottish case" *Kleio* 31(1999): 6-32; —, "'Civilising the African': the Scottish mission to the Xhosa, 1821-1864" in B. Stanley (*ed.*) *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (London: Curzon, 2001); —, "Kilts for loincloths: Scottishness in the Eastern Cape in the nineteenth century", Paper presented at the International History Conference on the British Empire and the creation of British identities in the 19th and 20th centuries, University of Cape Town, 9-11 January 2002.

[64]Jeffrey B Peires, *The house of Phalo: a history of the Xhosa people in the days of their independence* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2003, previously Johannesburg: Ravan, 1981); —, *The dead will arise: Nongqawuse and the great Xhosa Cattle-Killing movement of 1856-7.* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2003, previously Johannesburg: Ravan Press; Bloomington: Indiana University Press; London: James Currey, 1989).

[65]Peires outlines his fieldwork methodology in Appendix 1B and gives a list of principal informants in Appendix 1C of *The house of Phalo*, 180-182.

[66]Clifton C Crais, *The making of the colonial order: white supremacy and black resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992); originally published as *White supremacy and Black resistance in pre-industrial South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

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such as culture and identity, he is dismissive of the role of religion—and missionary Christianity in particular, adopting the view that missionaries were simply the agents of capitalism and colonialism. However, as his sources were almost entirely the written views of whites, he has not been able to tap into a broader view. As John Mason points out "he is not able to tell his readers very much about what the residents (in all their ethnic and economic variety) thought of the missionaries' teachings and how much of it they accepted, rejected, or transformed."[67]

Those readers who find Crais' post-modern lexicon and framework opaque or even irritating might turn with some relief to the hefty chronicle of Eastern Cape history penned by journalist Noel Mostert.[68] The chronicle is hefty only in physical extent not in readability. Appropriately, the author uses the word "epic" in his title. Mostert begins his narrative with the earliest recorded voyages along the eastern coast of Africa and travels with his reader through the centuries to Maqoma's death in 1873, while his epilogue and postscript pull the narrative into the twentieth century and into the worst period of apartheid oppression.

Mostert largely dismisses the missionaries of the Eastern Cape as the harbingers of imperial domination and, in general, as being in collusion with the colonial government. Further, he believes that the missionaries as a whole were "despised by the Xhosa and hated by the colonists". He follows this statement by quoting directly from the journal of James Laing

> The bitter recrimination against the Xhosa for resisting their preachings was expressed by James Laing. He regarded with a satisfaction amounting to relish the prospect of the Xhosa being 'humbled' for their 'insufferable pride'

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[67]John Edwin Mason, (Review) "Clifton C Crais, White supremacy and Black resistance in pre-industrial South Africa". *African affairs* 92, no. 367 (April 1993): 304.

[68]Noel Mostert, *Frontiers: the epic of South Africa's creation and the tragedy of the Xhosa people.* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992).

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> because, as he put it, 'They might have been a happy people, for they had a fertile country, and the gospel of peace ... but alas they have ... rejected the gospel and now they are to be called to account for their abuse of the mercies [of] God and for their rebellion against him.'[69]

Cherry-picking out of context and without reference to era can mean that statements are interpreted through the prism of another time, another place. It could be argued that Laing wrote these words more out of regret than vengeance. Despite this indictment of Laing, Mostert nonetheless turns to him for detail and credits him with providing unique insights into the thoughts and reactions of the amaNgqika.[70] He has, without doubt, produced a well-researched, compulsively readable tome which no scholar of the Eastern Cape frontier region can afford to ignore.

Leon de Kock, writing in 1996 from the vantage point not of historian but of scholar of English, conducted what he termed a "postcolonial analysis" by examining

> the discursive procedures by which a 'civilising' colonialism in nineteenth-century South Africa sought to inscribe orthodox forms of subjectivity in 'barbarous' Africans [by having] recourse to the assiduous attempt by missionaries to create a universal regime of truth. The attempt by missionaries, particularly, and by the colonial administration at the Cape generally, to re-invent the lineaments of African subjectivity prepared the ground for momentous cultural struggle. ... This study deals with civilising discourse in English and with the appropriations of this discourse by Africans in textual forms of English.[71]

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[69]Mostert, *Frontiers*, 873, quoting the journal of James Laing, CL MS 9043, 23 July 1846. In fact, Mostert slightly misquotes Laing. The corrected journal text reads: "They might have been a happy people, for they had a fertile country, and the gospel was preached to render them so, but alas! they have many of them at least rejected the gospel and now they are to be called to account for their abuse of the mercies [of] God and for their rebellion against him."

[70]Mostert, *Frontiers*, 866, 925, 938.

[71]Leon De Kock, *Civilising barbarians: missionary narrative and African textual response in nineteenth-century South Africa*. (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press & Lovedale Press, 1996): 5.

Simply put, Africans on the mission stations were taught to read. De Kock examined the African responses to missionary colonialism in sources which he was able to locate in archival repositories, principally the Cory Library. He positions his own work, describing it as

> the story of how a colonial order partly based on evangelical colonialism (despite the many contradictions between missionaries and other colonial agents) seeks to rewrite the cultural precepts of identity for people made subservient by war and imperial expansionism, and how some of the colonised people internalised these texts and begin to rewrite them in an emergent narrative of African nationalism. In this sense, it is a story of conquest, yearning for a reconstructed world, and betrayal.[72]

De Kock cites novelist, literary historian and intellectual pioneer of African studies Archibald Campbell Jordan on the inseparable connection between literacy and the missionary enterprise. According to Jordan, without the missionaries there would have been no literacy, and without literacy no education for the Africans. "But since, outside of the missionary bodies, no one undertook to educate the Africans, acceptance of 'the Word' remained the only means of access to any form of modern learning, and literacy became the exclusive privilege of a few Christian converts and their progeny." Jordan goes on to say that the 'dawn of literacy' could be linked "first and foremost, with the Glasgow Missionary Society, whose representatives 'reduced the Xhosa language to writing'."[73]

Historian Timothy Stapleton, in the course of his research on Maqoma, right hand son of Ngqika, is one of the few scholars in recent years to work on the primary records of the Glasgow Missionary Society, including the journals of the Reverend James Laing. In view of

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[72]De Kock, *Civilising barbarians*, 27.

[73]Archibald Campbell Jordan, *Towards an African literature: the emergence of literary form in Xhosa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 37, cited in De Kock, *Civilising barbarians*, 66.

Laing's eccentric handwriting, the present author gave Stapleton access to the footnoted transcript of the journals now presented in this thesis. The value of Laing's journal as a major source on Maqoma and other key figures in Eastern Cape history is evidenced in the numerous references to the journal in Stapleton's published work.[74] Regrettably, Stapleton's potentially significant study is diminished by the public airing of his personal animosity towards fellow historian, Jeffrey Peires and his general denigration of other scholars in the field.

Historian Paul Landau, in his thoughtful and challenging studies of evangelism in southern Africa, has broached a range of fundamental issues implicit in former scholarly attempts to interpret the engagement between missionaries and autochthonous people. Central to his argument are the issues of language and contextualism, of translations and interpretations, of appropriations of meaning and of "analytic handicaps".[75] He cautions that the "notion that words embody 'meanings' relies on understanding words as separable signs, and they are not so to non-literate people. Moreover, the word-signs that we use in doing history cloak the changes that history works upon our thinking, since the meanings of words shift while their forms often remain the same."[76] Any future study of missionary Christianity in southern Africa will need to consider Landau's insights, particularly regarding missionary attempts to communicate, through language, the concept of the Christian Supreme Being and, likewise, the interpretation of African concepts of deity and spirituality by the missionaries.

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[74]Timothy Joseph Stapleton, *Maqoma: Xhosa resistance to colonial advance 1798-1873* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1994).

[75]Paul Stuart Landau, "'Religion' and Christian conversion in African history: a new model". *Journal of Religious History*, 23, no. 1 (February 1999): 11. —, *The realm of the Word: language, gender, and Christianity in a Southern African kingdom* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann; Cape Town: David Philip; London: J. Currey, 1995).

[76]Landau, "'Religion' and Christian conversion in African history: a new model": 9.

Historical geographer, Alan Lester, in his studies of British colonialism in southern Africa in the nineteenth century, has made extensive use of the records of the Glasgow Missionary Society in the Cory Library, including James Laing's journal and his writings in the Society's published journals.[77] Of particular interest, is Lester's study of the colonisation of Queen Adelaide province, 1834-1837 in which, in part, he analyses missionary responses to the invasive territorial policies of Sir Harry Smith and Sir Benjamin D'Urban.[78]

Elizabeth Elbourne, along with Richard Elphick, Norman Etherington, Johannes du Bruyn, Nicholas Southey and others have all expressed, in variously nuanced phrasing, "the need to incorporate the study of religion more thoroughly into the mainstream of cultural, social and political history".[79] To this end, historians Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport launched their comprehensive volume on Christianity in South Africa in 1997.[80] Elphick remarks in their introduction that, despite the pervasive influence of Christianity in South African life, it is "poorly reflected in the historical literature." The purpose of this publication was, as Richard Elphick continues, "to insert the Christian micro-narratives into the macro-narratives of South African history".[81]

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[77]As observed elsewhere in this thesis, Laing kept his journal primarily in response to the Glasgow Missionary Society's injunction to all missionaries to maintain a record of their endeavours. Glasgow missionaries were required to remit these records periodically back to the Society in Scotland in the form of reports. The Society then selectively published sections of these reports in either their annual *Report* or in the *Quarterly Papers* or the *Quarterly Intelligence*. When the Society split from the Church of Scotland to become incorporated in the Free Church of Scotland movement in 1843, sections of the missionaries' reports were included in the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Free Church of Scotland*, (later simply the *Home and Foreign Record*). They were subsequently published in the *Free Church's Quarterly Missionary Paper*. For further details, see the chapter on "Description of the Journal".

[78]Alan Lester, "Settlers, the state and colonial power: the colonization of Queen Adelaide Province, 1834-37", *Journal of African History*, 39 (1998): 221-246.

[79]Elbourne, *Blood ground*, 2.

[80]Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa: a political, social & cultural history* (California: University of California Press, 1997).

[81]Elphick and Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa*, 2.

It is salutary to note at this juncture the centrality of the missionary record to the secular study of history in southern Africa. While some historians regarded the records the missionaries left as being as compromised as any other historical record, as Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders assert, present historians tend "to show greater interest in problems of culture contact more broadly conceived".[82] Du Bruyn and Southey maintain that "missionaries in South Africa recorded their impressions of the landscape and people in famous books, yet their writings have not been meticulously probed". They conclude their essay on "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries" by suggesting that

> Perhaps the tendency is still to focus on the missionaries, their ignorance, success and failures, rather than on the whole dialectic, the whole process. In order to get closer to a more comprehensive history, historians will have to pay more attention to life histories and reminiscences; the whole range of missionary sources will have to be exploited. Careful study of written sources will not only enable historians to assess the nuances and complexities of the perceptions of the missionaries, but also—by reading between the lines—to become aware of the aspirations and desires of their converts.[83]

Norman Etherington has asserted that "insofar as the social history of Africa can be written at all from documents, it must be written from the missionary record. Alone among the agents of Europe who shared the daily life of Africans, missionaries chronicled that life."[84]

There are relatively few scholarly studies of the missionary records of the Glasgow Missionary Society at least in part because there are relatively few of their early records extant. Those that have survived form a major part of the Lovedale Collection in the Cory

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[82]Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders, *South Africa: a Modern History* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan; New York, N.Y.: St Martin's Press, 2000), 187.

[83]Du Bruyn & Southey, "The treatment of Christianity and Protestant missionaries", 42.

[84] Norman Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots as a Factor in the Rise of South African Black Nationalism,": 592.

Library for Historical Research in Grahamstown, while a sprinkling of GMS documents are embedded in the official records of the Cape in the Roeland Street Archives in Cape Town. The papers of James Stewart in the Manuscripts and Archives Division at the University of Cape Town cover a later period of the Scottish missionary effort, primarily focussing on Lovedale. A microfilm copy of a portion of Cory's Lovedale Collection is held by the Historical Manuscripts Division of the University of Witwatersrand Library. The early manuscript records of the Glasgow Missionary Society held in Scotland were virtually all destroyed during the second World War. This major loss, coupled with the general dearth of GMS source material, highlights the importance of the surviving primary records of the Glasgow Missionary Society in the Cory Library. This thesis, then, intends to throw the spotlight on James Laing, one of the major figures in the early Glasgow Missionary Society endeavour, who has not been the primary focus of any historical study since Govan's hagiography one hundred and thirty years ago.

The pendulum of Southern African missionary scholarship has swung from hagiographical studies of individual missionaries, through radical and sweeping condemnations of missionary Christianity to more thoughtful and textured interpretations of the variegated roles played by missionaries in different places and at different times in Southern African history. What is needed now is to consider what the pendulum has skipped in its oscillations and allow it to come to rest on the detailed records left by individual missionaries like Laing. It is the intention of the present author to enable this "study of particulars" to illuminate the complexities of that unique time and place in South African history through the prism of Laing's contemporary gaze. Laing's life and observations, which he recorded in detail over a period of forty two years in his journals, illustrate the truth of Elbourne's rejection of stasis, demonstrating that even an individual's own prism can change kaleidoscopically over time.

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Laing's life also demonstrates dramatically how it was not only mission adherents who were the subjects of change. Laing lived and travelled amongst the amaXhosa for forty two years. By 1872, the degree of his own acculturation is exemplified in his subliminal use of isiXhosa during his death-bed delirium. His journal illustrates, above all, the extent to which cultural and personal frontiers intersected within the context of the geographic frontier.

Ultimately, the motivations of the missionaries and the outcome of their missionary energies can sometimes be secondary to the historian's primary focus. Whatever the motivation and whatever the outcome, the mission record remains indubitably a core secular source to be mined with due regard to inherent biases, the universal flaw of all sources. Despite the untested accusations of the missionaries' destruction of autochthonous cultures, it is to the records of these same missionaries that historians must now turn to recover those cultures. With humility, then, this examination of James Laing's record of his frontier missionary life sets out to present important evidentiary detail of customs and cultures, traditions and beliefs, encounters and confusions, prejudices and proclivities, and enmities and amities, with what, the writer trusts, Ranke has termed "patient criticism".

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Figure 3: Portrait of James Laing. *Source*: William Govan, *Memorials of the missionary career of the Rev. James Laing, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland in Kaffraria* (Glasgow: David Bryce and Son, 1875), frontispiece.

Chapter Three

Biographical essay

Scottish beginnings

James Laing, the third of four sons of Robert Laing and Catherine Johnstone, was born on 6 September 1803 in the rural district of Thirstane Hill in the parish of Durrisdeer which lies to the South east of Sanquhar, Dumfriesshire, in the Lowlands of Scotland. According to William Govan, whose Victorian hagiography and miscellaneous compilations constitute the principal sources of information on Laing's very early years, Robert Laing was a shepherd. When James was five years old the family moved to Knockconey Dod a few miles from Thirstane Hill.[85]

As there was no school nearby for James to attend, the responsibility for his earliest education fell largely to his mother. Despite the democratic nature of Scottish education and the more ready availability of schooling to the poorer classes than under the English system, it is doubtful that Catherine Laing's literacy stretched far beyond an ability to read the Bible. Ability to write ran second in importance to the ability to read, and scriptural familiarity was more important than conversance with secular subjects which were considered to be at the lower end of the literacy scale. Although H.G. Graham states that in the Highlands half of the population of 400,000 were unable to read, a state of complete illiteracy amongst any of the

[85]William Govan, *Memorials of the Missionary Career of the Rev. James Laing, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland in Kaffraria* (Glasgow: David Bryce and Son, 1875), 1.

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Lowland people would have been unusual.[86] Except in those parishes where the population was too thinly spread for the parochial schooling system to be effective, an inherited respect for education and appreciation of its economic and social value led to a general high level of Lowland literacy.[87]

Catherine Laing was assisted in James' informal teaching by an elderly neighbour, Margaret Thomson, described by Govan as "a genuine specimen of the intelligent pious, hard-headed Scottish Covenanter".[88] Covenanters, groups of Scottish Presbyterians who bound themselves by religious and political oaths during the 16th and 17th centuries to maintain the cause of their religion, subsequently formed the Cameronian Sect which was joined to the Free Church of Scotland in 1876.[89] They were particularly influential in the Sanquhar district where Laing grew up.

What education James received at the hands of his mother and Margaret Thomson, whilst more probably in catechetical and biblical rote learning than in standard scholastic subjects, nevertheless equipped him sufficiently in fundamental secular learning for him to begin classes at the Sanquhar parish school in 1817 where he continued until 1822. The school was run by John Henderson, who was able to certify on 13 December 1825: "... that the Bearer hereof Mr James Laing was, under my care, several years, studying English, Writing,

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[86]Henry Grey Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the 18th Century.* 5 ed. (London, Adam & Charles Black, 1969), 423.

[87]Laurance James Saunders, *Scottish Democracy 1815-1840: the Social and Intellectual Background.* (Edinburgh & London: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), 250-1.

[88]Govan, *Memorials*, 1.

[89]*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 354.

Arithmetic, Latin and Greek, and, in all these branches, made every progress that I could wish ..."[90]

Despite the adverse conditions under which the parish schools and their schoolmasters subsisted in the early years of the nineteenth century—accommodation and salaries were far from the laudable standards set out in successive legislation from 1633 onwards to raise the extent and level of parochial education—the schools "gave access to instruction to the lowest and the poorest as well as highest, for the laird's and the ploughman's son, the sons of the carpenter and the lord of session ...and the teaching of the schools formed an easy stepping-stone for all to the highest training of the Universities".[91] James, as a shepherd's son and presumably from a concomitantly poor home, was not barred from access to tertiary education as he might have been had he been raised on English soil.[92]

There is some debate concerning the relationship between the Scottish school and the Scottish university. In many ways the four years' course of general education at University, which G.E. Davie suggests followed a similar pattern to that of the French Lycée, supplemented and extended the existing school curriculum and prepared the better and brighter students for subsequent specialist or professional training.[93] Many entered University

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[90]Cory Library, MS 9043/1, Laing Journal, vol. 3, no page, (insert dated 13 December 1825).

[91]Graham, *Social Life*, 433.

[92]"The regular working staff of a good sized farm consists of a grieve, a foreman ploughman, ordinary ploughman for each pair of horses, a cattleman, a shepherd, and men, women, and boy labourers, with extra workers at certain times ...". James MacKinnon, *The Social and Industrial History of Scotland from the Union to the Present Time* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921), 74. MacKinnon lists the shepherd at the end of the range of working staff, just before the casual labourers, presumably indicating the agricultural pecking order.

[93]G. E. Davie, *The democratic intellect: Scotland and her universities in the nineteenth century.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961), 4-5.

at the early age of fourteen or fifteen years, proceeding to their specialisation at nineteen or twenty, as did Laing's missionary colleague in later life, John Ross.[94]

However, as Laing only began his formal schooling at the relatively late age of fourteen years, he proceeded to his general University curriculum in his nineteenth year, entering Edinburgh University in 1822. His studies commenced in the Senior Humanities Class in the 1822/3 session. Thereafter he read Logic and Metaphysics (1823/4), Moral Philosophy (1824), Mathematics first class (1825/6) and Natural Philosophy (1825).

The tickets he held admitting him to the University's Theological Library for the sessions 1826-27, 1827-28, 1828-29 and 1829-30 are preserved in the back of volume three of his journal.[95] Govan states that Laing was self-supporting throughout his University life, with the probable exception of his first year.[96] He held several teaching posts whilst still a student during both his general studies and his theological training and taught for some time at his old Sanquhar school whence his schoolmaster, John Henderson, wrote that: "...he [Laing] also assisted me, for some time, and, in that capacity, acquitted himself not only to my satisfaction, but, so far as I knew, to that of my employers; that, I understand, he has also been teaching in Edinburgh, and, consequently, has now had considerable experience;...".[97]

According to Govan he acted as tutor "in the family of a Mr Blackley, at Enoch farm, in the parish of Durrisdeer, where he was much liked" during two summers and he cites a testimonial by Rev. Dr David Dickson confirming that Laing had worked as a teacher in the

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[94]Reminiscences of Rev. John Ross, Cory Library, MS 3664; MS 8220.

[95]Cory Library, MS 9043/1, Laing Journal, vol.3.

[96]Govan, *Memorials*, 2.

[97]Laing Journal, vol.3, Cory Library, MS 9043.

charity workhouse of his parish, the West Parish Church of Edinburgh. For a full year Laing is recorded as having worked as "a visitor in the Society for promoting Dr Chalmers' system of locality in Edinburgh, and which was then exclusively confined to the Cowgate in its operations"[98]. Thomas Chalmers, DD, LLD, theologian, minister and ecclesiastical and social reformer, developed a system of household visitations amongst the poor, foreshadowing the concept of family social work. The Society to which Govan refers is probably the Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick on whose behalf Chalmers delivered a fund-raising sermon in Edinburgh on 18 April 1813, during which he expounded his belief in the value of family visitations in the remedy of poverty. He used the visitation programme on three levels: for spiritual ministry, moral reform and the assessment of material needs. He rejected "handout" poor relief in favour of "restoring the self-respect and, where possible, the independence of the poor".[99] Chalmers was particularly active in Cowgate, one of the most impoverished districts of Edinburgh, and planned to build a church funded by subscription, accessible to poor and rich alike as in the rural areas of Scotland. This plan was rejected by the City authorities in 1834.[100]

Chalmers might well have had a strong influence on Laing's socio-religious views but he was to be involved in Laing's intellectual development as well. In 1828 Chalmers took up the Chair of Divinity at Edinburgh University and Laing attended his Theological Class during the 1829-30 session.[101] His Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Hugh Meiklejohn, S.S.H. certified on 22 January 1830:

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[98]Govan, *Memorials*, 3.

[99]Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Common-wealth in Scotland.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 76-78.

[100]Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, 239-40.

[101]Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, 177-183.

> That Mr James Laing, having produced the necessary Certificates, was enrolled a Student of Divinity and Church History to give occasional attendance during the present Session; that he has not, by delivering any discourses, afforded opportunity to judge of his talents and progress in theological study; but that his conduct (so far as is known to me) is suitable to his professional views, and such as entitles him to continuance in the prosecution of them, is Certified by
>
> Hugh Meiklejohn S. S. H.
>
> et Hist. Eccl. Prof. Reg.[102]

In its *Report* for 1829, the Glasgow Missionary Society recorded that "Another young man of talent and of character, *viz*. Mr James Laing, has been received by the Society as a Missionary student, and as a candidate for Missionary labours. He has completed a regular college education, and has already attended three regular sessions of Theological education in the University of Edinburgh."[103]

The *Report* states further that his recommendations were highly satisfactory which would be consistent with their *Report* a year later in 1830: "Mr Laing was admitted only about a year ago, but was so far advanced in his studies before becoming connected with [the] Society, that he has now finished his course in Divinity, and other necessary branches;...".[104]

In addition to his theological studies, Laing undertook several courses in branches of medicine, commencing with Anatomy conducted by Robert Hunter, M.D. of the Andersonian University, Glasgow from 5 May 1829 to 28 October 1829. From November the same year he was admitted to the courses of Pathology and Surgery (conducted by John Lizars,

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[102]Laing Journal, vol.3, Cory Library, MS 9043.

[103]Glasgow Missionary Society, *Report*, 1829, 20-21.

[104]Glasgow Missionary Society, *Report*, 1830, 28-29.

F.R.S.E.) and Anatomy, Physiology and Pathology (conducted by Dr Robert Knox, F.R.S.E.) in Edinburgh.[105]

Robert Knox was a controversial anatomist and early racial anthropologist. Knox had spent the years 1817 to 1820 as an army surgeon on the Cape frontier and, by the time Laing encountered him, had already begun his anatomical analysis and classification of the peoples of Southern Africa. In 1850 he published his major work on racial anthropology linking anatomical differences with national character entitled *The Races of Men: A Physiological Enquiry into the Influence of Race over the Destinies of Nations* in 1850. He also pioneered anthropometrical studies in South Africa and set out to prove that "human character, both national and individual, 'is traceable solely to the nature of that race to which the individual or nation belongs'".[106] Laing makes no mention of Knox in his journal in the period covered by this study and one may only surmise what impact Knox had in shaping Laing's racial preconceptions.

Writing in the Glasgow Missionary Society's *Quarterly Paper* the Rev. Thomas Bell cited as the sixth requisite in his "Report on the Character of a Missionary of the Society" that "[the missionary] should have some acquaintance with the Rules of Physic, as in knowing the pulse, letting of blood, etc." and Laing's medical studies would have been in keeping with this injunction.[107] Missionaries posted to remote stations were generally without access to professional medical care and needed some proficiency in the practice of medical routines

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[105]Laing Journal, Cory Library, MS 9043, vol. 3.

[106]Saul Dubow, *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), 15, 23, 27-28.

[107]Thomas Bell, "Report on the Character of a Missionary of the Society", Glasgow Missionary Society, *Quarterly paper* 2 (June 1828): 3-4.

and the dispensing of basic medication to treat themselves, their families and mission adherents. Laing was called on to use his rudimentary medical knowledge most notably in treating his first wife, Margaret's chronic ailments and in his attempts to cure Ngqika's son, Matwa's mysterious illness in 1831.

On 4 May 1830 Laing was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Penpont:

> Mr James Laing this day delivered the whole of his trials, as prescribed to him at the meeting of presbytery held at Dumfries on the 20th April last. All which trials the presbytery having taken into consideration, did unanimously approve of and sustain the same; ... Said Mr Laing having stated that he had made an arrangement with the Glasgow Missionary Society to become one of their missionaries in Southern Africa, requested that the Presbytery would take him up on trials for ordination as it would be necessary for him to set out for the station to which he was appointed as speedily as possible. The presbytery agree to the proposal and ... appoint Mr Laing to deliver the whole of these trials at their ordinary meeting on the first Tuesday of August next, that he may be immediately afterwards ordained.[108]

On 3 August 1830:

> Mr James Laing delivered this day the whole of his trials as prescribed to him at the last meeting of presbytery, in order to ordination with all which the presbytery, after due deliberation, expressed themselves satisfied; whereupon, after the usual questions were put by the moderator, he was solemnly set apart by a prayer and the imposition of hands, to the ministry of the word.[109]

Laing was designated in the Tron Church, Glasgow, on 31 August 1830, "to the office and work of a Missionary, in the presence of the Directors of the Glasgow Missionary Society, and a great many other friends. The services of the evening were conducted by the Rev.

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[108]Presbytery of Penpont records, Scottish Record Office, vol. CH2/298/10, 420-422. Extracted from the original Ms by Dr Barbara L. H. Horn, Secretary, Scottish Record Office.

[109]Presbytery of Penpont records, Scottish Record Office, vol. CH2/298/10, 420-422.

Gavin Struthers, who preached, and by the Rev. Duncan M'Farlan, now of Renfrew, who gave the address".

The Glasgow Missionary Society, to which Laing had committed himself, was constituted on 9 February 1796 in the Chapel of Ease Session-house, Albion Street, Glasgow. The Chairman of the first meeting, which was attended by twenty three ministers and thirteen laymen of several denominations, was Rev. Alexander Pirie, and the Secretary was Rev. Robert Balfour. The Society comprised an multi-denominational union of evangelical Christians of different churches, as were the London and Edinburgh missionary societies.[110] A Committee was appointed to draw up the form and regulations of the Society, and the object of the Society, as presented at a later meeting by the Committee, was to "advance and maintain the mission of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to those quarters of the earth, where it is yet unknown".[111] Also present at the first meeting was Rev. John Burns of the Barony Parish in Glasgow. He was to be commemorated subsequently in the naming of Burnshill mission station, where Laing was to be stationed for the major portion of his missionary life. The Society established and maintained strong links with Rev. John Love, founder of the London Missionary Society (also a multi-denominational society) founded the previous year. In 1800 Love transferred from the London Missionary Society to the Glasgow Missionary Society, a move which fortified the embryonic Glasgow missionary effort.[112]

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[110]Govan, *Memorials*, 319.

[111]Glasgow Missionary Society, *Quarterly paper* 1 [1827]: 1-2.

[112]Many of these founding members of the Glasgow missionary movement were to be commemorated in the naming of the Society's African stations. In addition to John Burns' commemoration at Burnshill, the stations Lovedale, Balfour and Pirie were named after John Love, Robert Balfour and Alexander Pirie respectively.

On 13 August 1830, two months before Laing's appointed date of sailing for the Cape, he married Margaret S.G. Drummond in Edinburgh.[113] They sailed from Liverpool Bay in the brig *Aquila* on 11 October 1830 and on that day Laing commenced the journal which he was to keep almost without break until a week before his death on 28 January 1872.

New frontiers

The *Aquila* docked in Cape Town on 1 January 1831. On disembarking, James and Margaret Laing were forced to remain in Cape Town awaiting the arrival of their household effects which the *Aquila* had been too small a brig to carry. They were met by Jan Frederik Beck, the Glasgow Missionary Society's agent in Cape Town, who took them to "respectable lodgings" where they stayed for three weeks at a cost of 6/- per day.[114] On 25 January 1831 they moved to the home of Professor John Pears and his wife in Bree Street where they were able to stay free of charge and Mrs Pears could take care of Margaret. Laing had been deeply concerned about the state of Margaret's health as she had been unwell almost continuously since their embarkation at Liverpool Bay, at times so severely that Laing feared she could die. However, under the care of Mrs Pears and Dr James Abercrombie, who had visited her regularly since their arrival in Cape Town, she gradually regained her strength and was healthy enough to set off for Port Elizabeth once their household effects had arrived.[115]

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[113]Laing journal, Cory Library, MS 16,579, 13.8.1831; Govan, Memorials, 4; According to the Laing family tree by Robert A. Laing, James married Margaret S.G. Drummond in London (*Familia* 13 (1976): 16-18). This information is incorrect. James Laing married Margaret Drummond in St Cuthbert's Church, Edinburgh on 13 August 1830. At the time of their marriage, James was living at 12, South Castle Street, in the Parish of St George's, Edinburgh. Margaret, daughter of the late John Drummond, Lieutenant in the Royal Marines, lived at 3, Charles Street in St Cuthbert's Parish. Register of Proclamations of Banns and Marriages for 1830, St Cuthbert's Church, County of Midlothian, (Edinburgh), General Register Office for Scotland: 82.

[114]For biographical information on Jan Frederik Beck (1782-26.7.1832), see Part Two, Laing journal, 3 January 1831.

[115]For biographical information on Dr James Abercrombie (1797-1870), see Part Two, Laing journal, 18 March 1831.

The Laings' goods finally arrived in Cape Town on the 17 March 1831 aboard the brig *Pretty Lass* and they were eventually able to embark for Algoa Bay on the *Conch*, a colonial brigantine of 100 tons, on 3 April 1831. Their voyage to Algoa Bay was dogged by bad weather, and they were delayed still further when they were held over in Hout Bay for six days.

They arrived in Port Elizabeth—a town for which Laing had few kind words—on 14 April. They were met by Alexander McDiarmid, artisan missionary at Burnshill, a day later and together they set out for Grahamstown by wagon on 20 April 1831.[116]

After the stresses of the voyage from Liverpool Bay, Margaret's chronic ill-health, the successive delays en route and the rigours of the wagon journey through unfamiliar terrain, there is a certain register of relief in Laing's journal entry recording how he was uncharacteristically moved by the sight of his friends John Ross and William Chalmers walking up the street to meet them on their arrival in Grahamstown five days later.[117]

Only on his arrival in Grahamstown did Laing learn the name and precise location of the station to which he was being sent. He consulted with his fellow missionaries in Grahamstown, asking their advice as to how he should best equip himself for the challenges of life on the Eastern Cape frontier. His journal entry for 2 May 1831 records that the advice he received was to occupy the newly established Burnshill station but that he should first spend some time with "one of the first Missionaries [John Bennie], to be initiated into the language and manners of the Caffres. Mr Bennie is the oldest Missionary now in our Society,

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[116]For Laing's opinions on Port Elizabeth, and for biographical information on Alexander McDiarmid, see Part Two, Laing journal, 19 April 1831.

[117]For biographical information on William Chalmers, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 17 February 1831.

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and I intend to remain some time with him to be benefitted as much as I can by his experience."[118]

Burnshill, the missionary station to which James Laing was assigned, was situated on the Keiskamma River in Xhosaland, beyond the borders of the Cape Colony and the "ceded territory" which had been expropriated by the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, from Ngqika, chief of the amaRharhabe, in 1819, ostensibly to create a buffer zone between the Colony and Xhosaland. The fourth of the Glasgow Missionary Society stations, Burnshill, was established on 13 June 1830 by Rev. William Chalmers and Alexander McDiarmid, in the wake of the razing of Balfour.[119]

The station, on the banks of the Keiskamma River between Middledrift and Alice, was the site of the Great Place of the late Ngqika, Chief of the amaRharhabe who had died in 1829, and little more than a kilometre from his grave.[120] Work on the mission was begun after

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[118]For biographical information on John Bennie, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 19 April 1831.

[119]For further detail on Balfour, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 10 January 1831.

[120]For biographical information on Ngqika, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 6 June 1831.



Figure 4: "Burn's Hill". Sepia wash painting of Burnshill mission station by Charles Davidson Bell, ca.1846. *Source:* Courtesy of the Bell Trust; University of Cape Town Libraries, Manuscript and Archives division, Bell Collection BC 686, C62.

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Note: The view of Burnshill above shows the dwellings of Sandile's (formerly Ngqika's) Great Place to the left at the back, the mission church in the centre and Laing's and the other mission houses on the edge of the vegetable garden.

consultation and agreement with Suthu, Ngqika's Great Wife,[121] and his sons Matwa[122] and Anta[123], since Sandile, his Great Son and heir, was then only 10 years old.[124] In view of Sandile's minority, the missionaries also sought and gained the permission of the Governor for the establishment of the station. Rev. William Chalmers, appointed to replace Rev. William Ritchie Thomson at Tyhume after his resignation and move to the Kat River district, left Burnshill on 24 July 1830. McDiarmid remained, accompanied by Charles Henry Matshaya, an Ndlambe teacher or reader, who had been appointed to the Station in July 1830, and an interpreter.[125]

When he embarked for the Cape in October 1830, Laing knew little about the territory to which he was being sent and less about the language of the people living there. During the voyage aboard the brig *Aquila*, Laing applied himself assiduously to the study of the Dutch language. On 19 November 1830 he wrote to Patrick Falconer, his friend and Secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society, telling him that he was confident that with what he had learned of this language before he left Glasgow, with what he would still learn of it before reaching

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[121]For biographical information on Suthu, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 6 June 1831 and 17 October 1831; Chapter Four, Laing's contribution to Eastern Cape history; and William D. Soga, "'Imbali ye Nkosikazi u Sutu" *Isigidimi samaXosa* 25, no. 197 (1 December 1885): 94-95.

[122]For biographical information on Matwa, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, especially 6 June 1831. Matwa featured strongly in Laing's life and throughout his journal in sequential episodes.

[123]For biographical information on Anta, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 6 June 1831.

[124]For biographical information on Sandile, see, inter alia, Part Two, James Laing's journal, 17 October 1831.

[125]Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper*, 7 (February 1831), 1-10; Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (14 April 1831), 25-28; Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria Minutes, 29.6.1831; Peires, *House of Phalo*, 49, 82. For biographical information on Matshaya, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 30 September 1831.

his destination, he would "nearly if not altogether" be able to communicate with the people "about their salvation" on his arrival.[126]

This seemingly inappropriate choice of language may be explained in terms of Glasgow Missionary Society policy. Learning Dutch in these circumstances would not have been unusual for a Glasgow missionary on his way to the Eastern Cape frontier. The immigrant Scottish missionaries were required by the Glasgow Missionary Society to learn Dutch to enable them to communicate with the Dutch colonists and the KhoeKhoe. In turn, some isiXhosa speakers, having come into contact with the Dutch both within and without the Colony, had some command of the Dutch language and were able to act as interpreters. As most of the missionaries spoke little or no isiXhosa and as most of the amaXhosa spoke little or no English, the use of Dutch as a communication conduit became common. In time the missionaries were to become more proficient in isiXhosa and the amaXhosa in English thus reducing the need for the agency of the interpreter and allowing more direct and accurate communication. Moreover, Laing would have found learning isiXhosa impossible from Scotland or en route as the language was still in the process of being documented and codified by 1830.

Laing was, as he recorded in his journal, fully aware of the cardinal importance of learning isiXhosa and "had always regarded, and still regard, a knowledge of Caffre as the primary study of our Missionaries".[127] However, he found the language to be "very difficult, so difficult, that I should not at all be surprised if I should never obtain a knowledge, or rather the power of its pronunciation. Yet, if God spare me, I shall use all diligence in endeavouring

[126]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 19 November 1830.

[127]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 6 June 1831.

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to acquire it". He remarked in his journal on 6 July 1831, somewhat ruefully, that he had been spending more time learning Dutch than "Caffer" but that "had the Caffer been an ordinary language" he would never have thought of learning Dutch first.

Having been advised to spend time with Bennie learning isiXhosa, Laing was informed in Grahamstown that Bennie was suffering from a bout of dysentery. Instead, James and Margaret Laing set off for William Chalmers' station, Tyhume Mission. This decision was apposite as Chalmers had co-founded Burnshill with Alexander McDiarmid on 6 June 1830. Chalmers had lived as the first missionary at Ngqika's Great Place for a mere six weeks until 24 July 1830, but Laing nevertheless clearly felt he might learn much about the situation at Burnshill from him.

They remained with Chalmers for two weeks. On 17 May 1831 James and Margaret Laing arrived at Lovedale for Laing's period of apprenticeship with Bennie until 14 October the same year. During this period of initiation, Laing was to draw from Bennie a knowledge of the language and the customs of the amaXhosa. Writing on 6 June 1831, Laing recorded that "Agreeably to my own wish, and that of my brethren, I came hither to study Caffre and Dutch under Mr Bennie's direction. He is best qualified, (as indeed he ought to be) to teach these, of any of the Missionaries.[128]

Laing struggled long and hard to learn isiXhosa as the agonised entries in his journal attest. His entry for 14 November 1831 describes the formation of the Xhosa clicks in detail and is particularly significant as one of the earliest documented descriptions of the complex phonetics of isiXhosa. It is also surprisingly accurate in its precision, given the then

[128]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 6 June 1831.

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embryonic nature of documented isiXhosa, and will be invaluable to the historians of southern African autochthonous phonetics.[129] But Laing persevered and in time became totally fluent in isiXhosa.

Aside from the difficulties of mastering a new language, James and Margaret Laing's time at Burnshill was fraught with other stresses. Laing's marriage may not have been a love match. Missionary societies were keen that their emissaries would lead stable lives, preferably supported by a life partner. In the execution of this injunction, it is probable that many missionaries were encouraged to marry an appropriate partner, chosen for them, not by them. It has not been possible to determine if Laing knew Margaret S.G. Drummond for any length of time before their marriage in August 1830. Given the relatively public purpose of his journal, Laing does not dwell on his feelings in his entries, so it is difficult to discern the true depth of his feelings towards Margaret. The omission of references to the intimacies of their relationship might be a symptom of Laing's intrinsic reserve. However, it is also possible that his reticence may indicate a lack of warmth in the relationship. Whichever the case, any personal stresses would have been exacerbated by the often harsh conditions under which Margaret and James were obliged to live on the Eastern Cape frontier.

Very little is known about Margaret Laing's life—and virtually nothing about her thoughts and feelings. She almost certainly wrote letters to her family and friends but there is only one known surviving letter written by her and this is in the Cory Library. Written to Helen Ross from Lovedale in 1831, her letter reveals a degree of companionship which must have been invaluable to these women, isolated as they were in a strange land on their separate mission stations. Margaret had sewn a dress for Helen from fabric which Helen had supplied. The

[129]For Laing's detailed description on framing the clicks, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 14 November 1831.

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letter is undated but is annotated by John Ross "Lovedale 1830 Note from first Mrs Laing". Ross' dating is, however, inaccurate as James and Margaret Laing arrived on the frontier in 1831. In her short letter, Margaret alluded to her ill-health several times but showed a degree of courage in her determination to attempt a ride on horseback to Tyhume the following day.[130]

The Laings remained at Lovedale for a period of five months. Laing's principle focus in staying at Lovedale was to learn isiXhosa, but he was also able to acquaint himself with some of the people, customs and places which would be part of his personal geography for the rest of his life. He travelled to the other Glasgow Missionary Society stations, including John Ross' Mgqakhwebe and what was soon to be his own station, Burnshill. Laing was clearly favourably impressed with Burnshill which he described as "one of the most romantic spots" he had ever seen.[131]

When he arrived at Lovedale, the Presbytery of Kaffraria had not met since 18 February 1830 and there were signs of rifts and discords among several of the missionaries. His arrival appears to have had a conciliating effect as a meeting of Presbytery was soon called for 29 June 1831 and he was duly appointed Presbytery Clerk. He was, by all accounts a gentle man, and by being at least a partial catalyst in helping to reconvene the Presbytery, his peace-keeping influence on the frontier had begun.

In October 1831, the Laings were eventually able to leave Lovedale and set off for Burnshill

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[130]Letter from Margaret Laing to Helen Ross, Cory Library, MS 3364.

[131]For Laing's first impressions of Burnshill, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 6 June 1831.

Lovedale on horseback along with their goods packed into wagons. They arrived at Burnshill on 14 October 1831 where they found Alexander McDiarmid had prepared a small wattle and daub house for them.

Laing's chronicles of Burnshill for the next forty one years (of which only the first five are recounted in this study) are rich in detail on life on the Eastern Cape frontier. His journals embrace the lives of the amaXhosa—in particular the lives of the amaNgqika close to Burnshill— and his own struggle to come to terms with a strange country, a strange language and a bewildering range of strange customs. Through his preparatory reading and his correspondence and discussions with fellow missionaries he would have been in some way prepared for his new life. How far Margaret, his wife, would have been similarly prepared it has been impossible to discern.

Neither Margaret, nor his first-born son Robert, was blessed with good health. Laing chronicled Margaret's persistent ill-health from her departure from Liverpool Bay in October 1830 until her early death at Burnshill in 1837. She was increasingly troubled with chronic dysentery and Laing treated her, in accordance with currently accepted pharmaceutical practice, with Dover Powder and calomel. Both of these substances contain traces of mercury and her continued reliance on these cures produced profound and distressing side effects, as well as a long-term—possibly fatal—result. Their first son, Robert, born at Burnshill on 9 October 1832, suffered from what Laing termed "water on the brain" and was presumably hydrocephalic. He was a frail child with a frail mother. Laing, who was reticent about discussing his family or his feelings in his journal, makes a few oblique—sometimes poignant—references to his personal and family problems but they are mostly cryptic and are frustrating to the researcher trying to understand the man behind the missionary.

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Figure 5: "Plan of the Amatola Mountains and Basin" by Charles Davidson Bell. *Source:* Courtesy of the Bell Trust; University of Cape Town Libraries, Manuscript and Archives division, Bell Collection BC 686, C80.

Family stresses thread through the journal almost imperceptibly. Laing fretted about Margaret's chronic ill-health in his journal and he hints at frustration. The modicum of medical training he had received in Scotland equipped him sufficiently to try to ease her suffering but neither he nor Dr Nathaniel Morgan of Fort Beaufort who visited Margaret frequently at Burnshill were able to restore her to enduring health.

By 1834, however, the Laings faced more than personal vicissitudes and ill-health. There were whispers of war and life on the mission stations became increasingly tense. Laing's journal details the intensifying apprehensiveness within his family as well as amongst the amaNgqika nearby. Burnshill enjoyed the protection of Suthu, the late Ngqika's Great Wife, and his sons Maqoma and Tyhali, and was less threatened by either advancing colonial forces or by the opposing amaNgqika than other frontier mission stations. Laing wrote of the fears and, in some instances, the atrocities, of both opposing forces. James and Margaret Laing gave asylum to fleeing traders and their families (three arrived in December 1834), to fellow missionaries and to Maqoma himself, who sent his horses, goods—and even proposed sending his wife and children—to the station for safe-keeping.[132]

Under Maqoma's protection, Rev. Friedrich Kayser and his family were brought from Knapp's Hope to safety at Burnshill arriving on 1 January 1835.[133] Eleven days later, Maqoma ensured the safe evacuation of Rev. John Ross, his wife Helen and their family from Pirie and they arrived at Burnshill on 12 January. Although reassured by Suthu's continuing promises of protection, Laing must have been relieved when Major Cox arrived from the Colony to escort them all to Grahamstown on 27 January 1835.

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[132]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 27 December 1834.

[133]For biographical information on Friedrich Kayser, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 14 July 1831.

Heavy rains delayed their departure and they eventually set out the next morning on a long, slow and muddy journey to Grahamstown, from Wednesday 28 January to Monday 2 February 1835—a six day trail covering a mere 100 kilometres at a rate of 16 kilometres a day, an agonisingly slow progress of less than two kilometres per hour. The journey was all the more wretched as their two year old, hydrocephalic son Robert was desperately ill and Laing feared that he might not recover.

And so James and Margaret took asylum in Grahamstown along with the other people of Burnshill and several neighbouring missionaries and traders. They were to spend more than nine months in Grahamstown. This was not a happy time. In addition to the stresses of war and having to flee from their home, they experienced a series of personal crises during this period. Their son Robert died on 17 March 1835. Two weeks later, on 31 March 1835, their second son, John Drummond Laing, was born. In April, when John was only three weeks old, both James and Margaret contracted the fever which was then sweeping Grahamstown.

To make the situation worse, Grahamstown hospitality appears to have been wearing particularly thin at this time. This reflected hardening attitudes of the colonists towards the missionaries, intensified through the tensions of the hostilities, where some missionaries were perceived to be sympathetic to the amaXhosa—if not actually collaborating with them—against the Colony. But there is a subtle suggestion in Laing's journal entries at this time that even fellow churchmen, whom he clearly had anticipated would have been supportive, could be hostile.

Laing had been raised in an environment where the Church of Scotland was the established church. This was not the case in the Eastern Cape, nor elsewhere at the Cape in 1831, where the Church of Scotland was simply one of several minor Christian sects, with adherents of

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varying religious and political loyalties. It is possible that he was unprepared for this and that he expected his fellow churchmen to ally themselves with him and his fellow Glasgow missionaries, regardless of civic or political contingencies. The opinions and attitudes of the colonial churchmen in Grahamstown were doubtless influenced by one of their few—and certainly their most powerful— media, the *Graham's Town Journal*, which, through Wesleyan Robert Godlonton's eloquent but strongly conservative editorials, must have influenced and moulded their political and personal responses.

Laing showed his liberal hand publicly in meetings and had several altercations, defending the rights of Matwa and the Burnshill people to graze their cattle on specific lots in Grahamstown. In so doing, he marked himself as a dissident in the town and even ended up being jailed—albeit by a drunken sergeant—for a few hours. Laing, the mild and gentle man, this time stood his ground for what he believed to be right and suffered in consequence of his bravery.

Eventually, after peace which had been forged with difficulty, and months of trying to negotiate the return of the Glasgow missionaries to their stations with the Governor and his officials, Laing and his wife left Grahamstown on 24 November 1835. The return journey was as soggy as their arrival—and almost as difficult—but they finally reached their home at Burnshill on the night of 27 November 1835. By the light of a brilliant moon they were able to assess the state of their home. A fire, indicating that someone had been there just prior to their arrival, was still burning in one of the rooms, and ashes, soot and dirt abounded throughout the house. But Suthu provided the one bright note by arriving to welcome them back after their ten months sequestered in Grahamstown.

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Figure 6: "Portrait of Queen Sutu, the Great Wife of the late Chief Gaika of the Amakosa and mother of the present Chief Sandili." Sepia wash portrait of Suthu by Charles Davidson Bell. *Source*: Courtesy of the Bell Trust; University of Cape Town Libraries, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Bell Collection BC 686, C50.

Beyond the journal

Although this study ends with Laing's return to Burnshill in January 1836, his life—and his journal—continued until January 1872.

Back at Burnshill at the beginning of 1836, life gradually returned to a quieter normal and Laing's ministry resumed. Margaret Laing continued to suffer bouts of ill health and finally, on 24 June 1837, she surprised Laing by dying unexpectedly. His journal records his shock as he wrote: "This morning about sunrise Mrs Laing died, faithful and beloved wife, leaving our child motherless and me a widower in this heathen land. I was not aware that death was at hand until it came". Laing had not noticed anything extraordinary about her state of health, only that she complained of "cold shivering" which she had experienced intermittently for several months. She tried to continue with her normal domestic chores but Laing insisted that she go to bed at dusk. During the night she took ill with another bout of the dysentery with which she had been so troubled in the past but did not appear to be any worse than normal by the time she retired. However, severe vomiting set in during the night, compounding the dysenteric symptoms, and she lay exhausted towards daybreak. The saddest lines in Laing's journal record that:

> About sunrise, she told me that her pulse had ceased, but on looking at her I did not need to feel for the departed pulse, as her countenance indicated that she was in the hands of death. Yet saving her deathlike paleness of her visage, there was nothing remarkable in her appearance. A few moments having fled in which there were a few long drawn breaths not so apparently as those of a person who has exhausted himself by running, her spirit took to flight from its clay tenement. In her departure there was neither a struggle nor a fear. Gently did she die and I could not exactly tell when she expired.[134]

[134]See Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, 24 June 1837.

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Margaret's short life at Burnshill must have been a painful one, certainly physically and probably emotionally. It is doubtful that she was physically capable of being the helpmeet and loving companion that Laing's second wife, Isabella Mirrlees was to prove from 1843 onwards or that she shared James Laing's intellectual pursuits or persuasions. There is, however, evidence in Laing's journal that Margaret taught in the school and in their home, trained their domestic helpers and also, on occasion, tended the sick.

Not a demonstrative man, Laing was nonetheless an affectionate man, named after his death by J. Masingata in his obituary as "*indoda ebisithanda*"—"the man who loved us".[135] This was a man who evinced warmth and affection among the people he worked and dealt with. But this was also a man who seems to have felt that he failed Margaret in her battle to come to terms with a life that was impossibly difficult, especially for a physically frail woman. His journal from the time of her death in 1837 till his re-marriage in 1842 is almost unremittingly bleak.[136]

Isabella Laing, by contrast to Margaret, was wife, companion, fellow worker, fellow missionary and fellow traveller along the long, wild missionary roads Laing travelled in the latter part of his life. After the personal tragedies of the deaths of his first son Robert in 1835, followed by that of his first wife Margaret in 1837, Laing travelled to Cape Town to marry Isabella Mirrlees, niece of Laing's longtime friend, Patrick Falconer. The marriage was

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[135]J. Masingata, writing from Falconer Mission, posted a tribute to Laing in isiXhosa which included the following sentiments: "Indoda ebisitanda, ebiti yakuhlangana nomntu emaziyo imbulise ngesandla lhleka, ibuza indaba ngokuhlala kwake, nezokuhamba kwomsebenzi welizwi le Nkosi". (*Isigidimi SamaXosa* (1 March 1872) page 8, column 1). This, translated by J Z Vena of the Cory Library, reads: "A man who loved us, who when he met one he knows would greet him all smiles and shake hands asking how he is and about the work of God."

[136]James married Isabella Mirrlees, niece of his friend Patrick Falconer, in St Stephen's Church, Cape Town on 27 July 1842. St Stephen's Church marriage register, entry no. 5½ [sic], Archives of the Nederduits Gerformeerde Kerk, Cape Town. Isabella was born in Glasgow on 26 February 1811, the daughter of Peter Mirrlees and a former Miss Stirling (her mother's first name is not given in the records). FamilySearch International Genealogical Index, http://www.familysearch.org.

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celebrated in St Stephen's Church, Cape Town on 27 July 1842. They returned to Burnshill together in September of that year in the company of the Rev. John Bennie who was then stationed at the newly instituted Seminary at Lovedale. However, the circumstances of the hiring of the oxen for the wagon which conveyed them home were to spark off an incident with far-reaching implications for Laing, Burnshill, Lovedale and the future of the Scottish missionary effort on the frontier.

Bennie became involved in a heated controversy with a man named Ndima, the owner of the oxen which he had hired, and ultimately with all the people at Lovedale, to the extent that the very continuance of the Seminary, the Station, and of the Scottish missions in general was in the balance.

Bennie had hired two of Ndima's oxen for the journey to Algoa Bay to collect Laing and his new wife, the Society's own oxen being insufficiently fit for the journey. According to Noyi (Robert Balfour), one of these oxen had been lost en route and the other had died shortly after returning from the journey.

> On the same day that the waggons left this, one of Dima's oxen, on being outspanned, ran off and was never afterwards found. ... Another of Dima's oxen, on the journey to the Bay, walking along side of the waggon on Quaggas Flat, accidentally fell under the wheel and was hurt. He was left there; but being found as the waggons returned, he was *driven* back with them to this place [Lovedale], whence he was taken by Tshuka, along with the waggon to Burnshill and there left [and subsequently died].[137]

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[137]Cory Library, MS 9038: Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, Lovedale, June 1843.



Figure 7: "Sandili chief of the AmaGaika or AmaXosa." Sepia wash portrait of Sandile by Charles Davidson Bell. *Source*: Courtesy of the Bell Trust; University of Cape Town Libraries, Manuscripts and Archives division, Bell Collection BC 686, C51.

Bennie refused to pay Ndima for the hire of the ox which had run off saying it had done no work. He offered Ndima a kaross in its place which Ndima refused, demanding instead full restitution.[138] Bennie offered Ndima a young, two year old ox. Ndima refused. Meanwhile, Ndima's other ox at Burnshill died and Ndima claimed compensation for this animal from Bennie as well. Bennie acceded partially by offering "two young oxen in full of his demands".[139] Ndima was indignant, convinced that Bennie was making fun of him. Bennie replied that he had not intended to mock Ndima and then withdrew all he had offered, upon which Ndima appealed to Charles Lennox Stretch, the Government Agent. Stretch wrote to Bennie in an unofficial capacity advising him to comply with Ndima's demands. Bennie refused. By this time Ndima had the backing of the people at Lovedale and reiterated his demand for compensation vehemently.

Ndima would have found Bennie's recalcitrance particularly offensive given the central importance of cattle to the amaXhosa. Cattle were pivotal in defining a Xhosa man's identity and status. To be deprived of these critical assets in this way would have heaped insult on dishonour.

After much altercation with the Presbytery through the agency of Noyi (Robert Balfour) and others, Ndima finally appealed to Stokwe, son of Nqeno and chief of the amaMbalu, who supported Ndima's claim to Stretch. Stretch, in turn, intervened and advised James Weir and

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[138]A kaross is a blanket made of softened animal skins used either as a mantle or as a bed covering. Karosses were worn by both Xhosa men and women. *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles: South African Words and their Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 359. Detailed descriptions of how the skins were cured and the karosses were prepared and decorated may be found in, *inter alia*, Ludwig Alberti, *Account of the tribal life and customs of the Xhosa in 1807, translated from the original manuscript in German of "The Kaffirs of the South Coast of Africa"* (Cape Town: AA Balkema, 1968), 29-35, John Henderson Soga, *The Ama-Xosa: life and customs* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1931), 410-414 and Peter T. Mtuze, *Introduction to Xhosa culture* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 2004), 53-55.

[139]Cory Library, MS 9038: Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, Lovedale, June 1843: p.255.

William Govan, both members of the Presbytery, to repay Ndima in the form of two oxen. Weir duly, but reluctantly, delivered the oxen to Ndima in full, but still unacknowledged, payment of Bennie's debt. However, feelings against Bennie still ran high and the Presbytery decided on 2 February 1843 to draw Bennie away from the centre of the storm by sending him to Burnshill and to replace him with the gentler, wiser Laing at the fledgling institution whose key role on the frontier was yet to be realised.[140]

This decision of the Presbytery brought its own problems. In the first place, Bennie did not take up his new post at Burnshill immediately, going rather to the Colony, ostensibly for an ailing Mrs Bennie to recover her full health. However, a more pertinent reason for his not proceeding to Burnshill to replace Laing straight away can be found in the response to the Presbytery's action by the Ngqika chief, Sandile.

On receiving the news, Sandile sent a message to the Presbytery saying that he wanted Laing to return to Burnshill and, further, that he was determined that Bennie should not take his place. After Presbytery's reply that he should accept their decision, Sandile sent a further message, recorded at the Presbytery's meeting of 22 May 1843:

> Mr Laing must return, and Mr Bennie remain at Lovedale and teach there; I do not say that Mr Bennie is bad; it is good. Mr Laing is my Teacher—all the Teachers are as my wives—teach the word of God well but they are angry. Mr Laing is not angry, he does not speak bad words. As the Sabbath is appointed to be observed so I say that Mr Bennie is not to come. If the Teachers will not

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[140]Cory Library, MS 9038: Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, 2 February 1843, p.262.



Figure 8: "Blo[c]k Drift alias Tyumie Vale alias Lovedale, from a sketch by A.G. Bain, Esq." Sepia wash painting of Lovedale by Charles Davidson Bell, circa 1846. *Source*: Courtesy of the Bell Trust; University of Cape Town Libraries, Manuscripts and Archives division, Bell Collection BC 686, C82.

> hear me by sending Mr Laing back, I say that no other Teacher is to come into Mr Laing's place.[141]

Interestingly, Maqoma shared Sandile's view of Laing. This is clearly reflected in a letter written by James Read Junior in Blinkwater to James Kitchingman in Bethelsdorp on 5 December 1841: "The conduct of the frontier Brethren is very shameful. Macomo says it is their jealousy—he says that there is not one of the Caffreland missionaries he would like to have here if I do not remain excepting Mr Laing, one of the Scotch missionaries. Laing, it must be allowed, is a very pious man, and this shows that even Macomo can appreciate the character of a good and disinterested man."[142]

But, ignoring Sandile's injunction, the Presbytery stood firm, doubtless with the survival of Lovedale in the forefront of their corporate mind. Laing continued at Lovedale until February 1855 when he was asked by the Presbytery to return and rebuild the station at Burnshill following the 1851-1853 Frontier War.

However, 1843 was a significant year for the Scottish church at home and abroad, and particularly for the missionary effort in Southern Africa. The Free Church of Scotland was established in that year, splitting away from the Church of Scotland and absorbing the activities of the Glasgow Missionary Society.

The twelve years James and Isabella spent at Lovedale were interrupted by the War of the Axe (1846-1847) during which they were evacuated to the Kat River Valley in March 1846, returning to Lovedale on 5 November of the same year.

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[141]Cory Library, MS 9038: Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, 22 May 1843, p.270.

[142]Basil A. Le Cordeur and Christopher Saunders (editors). *The Kitchingman papers: missionary letters and journals, 1817-1848 from the Brenthurst Collection, Johannesburg* (Johannesburg: Brenthurst Press, 1976), p.222-223.

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By decision of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, Laing returned to Burnshill on 7 February 1855, and resumed his missionary activities there until his death in 1872. This period was marked primarily by two things. The first, were his annual evangelizing forays into the trans-Kei interior, each lasting about three months, on many of which Isabella accompanied him. The second was his role as Moderator of the Kirk Session of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, a position he held until 1870.

In May 1860 he was elected to represent the Presbytery of Kaffraria at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This required him to leave the Eastern Cape for the first time since his arrival. During his absence, Isabella did much to sustain the mission at Burnshill till his return in January 1861. Her life and her role in the development of the missionary effort in the Eastern Cape is a subject worthy of future study.

During his time in Scotland, Laing was able to secure funding for a printing and bookbinding department at Lovedale as well as the appointment of a teacher for the English department at the same Institution. Ironically, despite Laing's earlier battle mastering the language, he was partially instrumental in seeing through the translation of the entire Bible into isiXhosa in 1865.

With fluency in their language, came Laing's gradual acculturation into the societal microcosm he shared with the amaXhosa. Laing, like many of the other missionaries, internalised much of the essence of the "other", consciously and subliminally. The full impact of the subliminal depths of this acculturation is evident from one of Laing's obituaries in which the writers describe a delirious Laing lying on his deathbed in January 1872, fancying he could see all his friends ranged around him. He babbled volubly to these

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friends— presumably all amaXhosa—in isiXhosa. Laing, born a Scotsman, may be said to have died (on 28 January 1872), at least linguistically, an umXhosa.[143]

His biographer in the *Dictionary of South African Biography* describes Laing as "a man of equable temper, gentle and genial, quiet and simple, patient and persevering. He is said to have preached with a simplicity and plainness and to have charged his missionary duties with fidelity".[144]

Laing was no firebrand but he lit instead a small flame of peace, justice and gentleness with which to coax his small sector of a volatile Eastern Cape society. A King William's Town newspaper wrote a few days after Laing's death that in the region of 1500 people attended his funeral at Burnshill. A gathering of this magnitude and the fact that his portrait still hangs in Burnshill today may signify that community's continuing tribute to Laing's efforts towards the establishment of a lasting conciliation of the peoples of the Eastern Cape.

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[143]Obituary by James Stewart, *Kaffir Express* 2, no. 17 (1 February 1872), 1; Govan, *Memorials*, 309-314.

[144]*Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 459.

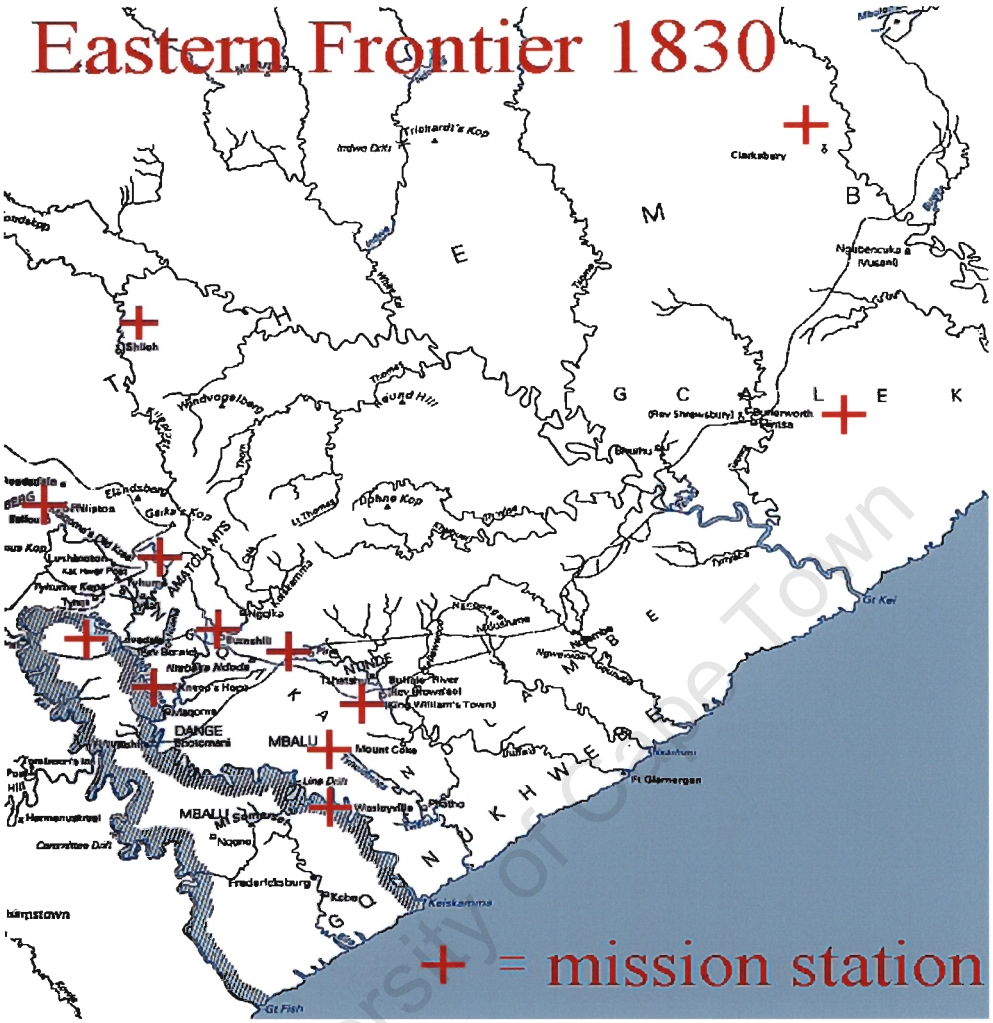


Figure 9: Map of the Eastern Cape in 1829 showing mission stations. *Source*: Adapted from J.S. Bergh and J.C. Visagie, *The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone, 1660-1980* (Durban: Butterworths, 1985): 41.

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Chapter Four

Laing's contribution to Eastern Cape history

Xhosa roots

By the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Xhosa-speaking peoples inhabited the area from the Umzimvubu River in the north east to the Keiskamma River in the south west. They did not constitute a single political entity but were divided into independent polities including the amaXhosa, abaThembu, amaNtinde, amaMpondomise, amaBhele, amaZizi, amaHlubi, the amaBhaca and the amaGqunukhwebe. Each of these nations was, in turn, divided into several large chiefdoms.

The complexities of oral history and currently contested tradition will always confound the scholar seeking a stable genealogy of the amaXhosa. A multiplicity of traditions shadows their origins but, arguably the most entrenched of these, traces the roots of the amaXhosa to the amaTshawe, descendants of the king Tshawe—believed to have ruled some time before 1675—and traditionally the royal family of the amaXhosa. Xhosa clans and sub-groups were not necessarily homogeneous in origin, some claiming roots among the Khoekhoe, others among diverse southern African polities. As Jeff Peires points out, the heterogeneous entities were unified not through genetics but through political loyalty: "[t]he limits of Xhosadom were not ethnic or geographic, but political: all persons or groups who accepted the rule of the Tshawe thereby became Xhosa."[145]

[145]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 19.

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Fixing the early progenitors of the amaXhosa in a certain chronology is not possible until the era of the Xhosa king Phalo (c.1715-1775). These, according to Peires, are the earliest confirmed dates for a ruler of the amaXhosa and even here the date of Phalo's birth is open to question. Little is certain about Phalo's reign but Peires believes he eventually settled west of the Kei River on the Izeli, a tributary of the Buffalo River.[146]

During 1836, Laing conducted several interviews offering important new insights into the origins of the amaXhosa, and particularly of the descendants of Ngqika amongst whom he lived at Burnshill. Curiously, these interviews took place between 1 February and 9 December 1836, some five years after Laing's arrival on the Eastern Cape frontier, indicating that something must have triggered Laing's interest in Xhosa roots and history at this time. His experiences during the 1834-1835 Frontier War, particularly his unhappy period bivouacked in Grahamstown where he conflicted with the Governor, the Civil Commissioner, Robert Godlonton and the white populace in general on their racist views of the amaXhosa, may have stirred him to interrogate the rich oral history of the Eastern Cape for himself. He had taken issue with Godlonton, bigoted doyen of the *Graham's Town Journal*, and by February 1836 had also read his recently published *Introductory Remarks to a Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes, into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, A.D. 1834-35*.[147] At best, Laing considered the colonists' views— epitomised in Godlonton's extravagant prose—"illiberal". At worst, he condemned them as downright racist and feared that these views had a damaging influence.[148] Laing clearly returned to the

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[146]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 13-19.

[147]Robert Godlonton, *Introductory Remarks to a Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes, into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, A.D. 1834-35*, parts I, II & III (Graham's Town: Meurant and Godlonton, 1835-1836).

[148]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 3 December 1835.

frontier determined to develop his own understanding of the amaXhosa and particularly of the amaRharhabe and amaNgqika.

These interviews would bear further investigation, particularly with regard to the honouring of sites of Eastern Cape forebears. A good example of a site deserving more attention is Ngqika's grave which lies less than a kilometre from the site of the Burnshill mission station. Ngqika played a crucial, if controversial, role in Eastern Cape history in the early nineteenth century but, although his grave has been declared a national monument, the site is poorly sign-posted and probably seldom visited. Moreover, Ngqika's grave is only some thirty kilometres from that of his Great Son, Sandile, in the Stutterheim region, and these two sites could be linked in a heritage tour of what was, in Laing's period, the land of the amaNgqika.

In March 1836, Nyelenze, "one of the oldest and best informed people in the country" shared his reminiscences with Laing regarding Phalo's place of birth and residence, the burial place of Tshiwo, Phalo's father, and the place of Ngconde's residence. Laing recorded this interview in some detail in his journal entry of 17 March 1836. Nyelenze told Laing that as a young boy he had seen Phalo, Ngqika's great-great-grandfather and that he would have been eight or ten years old when Phalo died. According to Nyelenze, Phalo was born on the Ciniha [Qinirha] where Mhala was living in 1836 and had a kraal on the Inqesha stream beyond Debe Neck. Nyelenze held that both Phalo and his father, Tshiwo, were buried on the Nxarhuni [Nahoon] River and ventured still further back generationally, siting Ngconde, Tshiwo's father, somewhere between Burnshill and Bhotomane's homestead. According to Laing, "There is a place there still called Conde's [Ngconde's] place".[149]

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[149]James Laing's journal, Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, 17 March 1836. For Laing's account of this interview, see Appendix: Laing's oral interviews.

Nyelenze, who would have been about 61 years old at the time of this interview, confirms Peires' genealogy of the amaRharhabe with regard to the generations from Ngqika back to Phalo.[150] The location of the Inqesha stream, stated by Nyelenze to be the site of Phalo's kraal, has not yet been ascertained. The Qinirha River lies between the Gqunube and the Nxarhuni (Nahoon) rivers, flowing into the Indian Ocean at the place now known as Bonza Bay in East London. Bergh and Visagie place Mhala, chief of the amaNdlambe, on the Gqunube (Gonubie) River opposite Fort Waterloo in 1835.[151]

Nyelenze's memory that both Tshiwo and Phalo were buried on the Nxarhuni (Nahoon) River would appear to be contradicted in an interview Laing held on 9 December 1836 with Ntsusa, the first born of Rharhabe's children. Ntsusa was the only Xhosa woman to be a chief in her own right. When Rharhabe and his Great Son Mlawu were killed in battle against the abaThembu, Mlawu's two young sons, Ntimbo and Ngqika were both underage. Ntsusa was appointed chief for a brief period until the succession was decided. An old woman in 1836—Laing estimated her to be 100 years old at the time of this interview— she told Laing she was born on the Buffalo River and as a young girl had lived with Phalo on the CweCwe [Cwengcwe], a tributary of the Buffalo. According to Ntsusa, Phalo was buried on the Cetwa [possibly Gcuwa] on the eastern side of the Kei River.[152] Ntsusa remembered that the

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[150]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 48-49.

[151]J.S. Bergh and J.C. Visagie, *The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone, 1660-1980* (Durban: Butterworths, 1985), 49, map 17.1.

[152]According to John Henderson Soga, "Phalo loved Rharhabe very much; he crossed [the Kei River] together with him, leaving Gcaleka established between the Kei and the Mbase rivers ... Another homestead of Phalo was below the Amathole mountains, close to the origin of the Buffalo river ... Afterwards, Phalo does not feature much in the history of the house of Xhosa, because the authority of chieftainship was already with Gcaleka. Phalo died in 1775 at Thongwana." in W.G. Bennie, *Imibengo* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1935): 114-115 [translated from the original Xhosa article entitled "UPhalo" by Jeffrey Peires]. The Thongwana is a tributary of the Gcuwa River near Cunningham Mission in the Butterworth district. According to this account, although Phalo crossed the Rabula and lived at Izeli (i.e. close to the sources of the Buffalo River), he nonetheless died at his old Great Place at Thongwana. This goes some way towards explaining the apparent contradiction in Ntsusa's testimony, that she had lived with Phalo west of the Kei but that he died East of the Kei. I am grateful to Jeffrey Peires for this explanation

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amaXhosa had reached the Kat River by the time of Phalo's death but was not certain if they had also crossed the Fish River at that time.[153]

Amidst these uncertainties, contingent on the frailty of human memory, what can be confirmed is that Phalo's sons, Gcaleka and Rharhabe clashed for supremacy and in the subsequent split became the progenitors of the two major Xhosa chiefdoms, the amaGcaleka and the amaRharhabe.[154]

Gcaleka was succeeded by his son Khawuta, who ruled from 1778 to 1794 and whose Great Son, Hintsa, Peires describes as "easily the most impressive figure in the whole history of the descendants of Tshawe."[155]

Rharhabe and his Great Son Mlawu were both killed in an engagement with the abaThembu in 1782 leaving leadership of the amaRharhabe contested by Mlawu's two young sons, Ntimbo and Ngqika. The latter was supported by Rharhabe's second son, Ndlambe, and gained the support of the powerful Gcaleka king, Khawuta. Ngqika, however, was a still a child at the time of his father's death and Ndlambe ruled as his regent—though for a brief time, Rharhabe's eldest daughter Ntsusa, ruled as chief in her own right. In time, Ngqika rebelled against his uncle's regency and succeeded in subduing Ndlambe. In 1807 Ngqika arranged for the abduction of Thuthula, one of his uncle's wives, an action which understandably sparked further contention between Ndlambe and Ngqika. Ndlambe struck

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through his personal communication, 21 February 2004.

[153]For Laing's account of this interview with Ntsusa, see Appendix: Laing's oral interviews.

[154]Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds., *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* 2 ed. (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), 425; Peires, *House of Phalo*, 59.

[155]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 62.

back and defeated Ngqika but movement of loyalties from Ndlambe to Ngqika diluted this defeat and Ndlambe eventually conceded Ngqika's supremacy.[156]

Laing's curiosity concerning Ngqika and the amaRharhabe fell largely within genealogical parameters and regrettably he does not appear to have evinced any particular interest in the complexities of Xhosa political history. This is a little strange in a man of an otherwise active and ever-enquiring mind. He does however, through the medium of his journal, throw further light—and some penumbras—on the lines of Xhosa descent and their early migrations across the southern African landscape.

By illustration, Laing's interview with Mbonjana on 14 March 1836 contributes further detail regarding Ngqika and Mlawu, though Laing took issue with some of Mbonjana's reconstructions. Mbonjana was one of the oldest men in the country so his information could have been warped through the vagaries of an ageing memory. But his recollections also had to be communicated with Laing through the agency of Charles Henry Matshaya, the Burnshill Teacher or Reader, opening up possibilities of inadvertent transmutation through translation or interpretation. As ever, reliance on the agency of an interpreter brought with it the risk of intrusive or deflective personal agendas. It is perhaps a moot point whether or not Laing was wise to these dangers.

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[156]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 49-53.

Mbonjana maintained that Ngqika was born on the Rabula, a tributary of the Keiskamma River,[157] that his father Mlawu had died sometime before, and that Rharhabe was the first Xhosa chief to cross the Kei River. This, remarked Laing, was a mistake.[158] "It is well known by many that there were other Kaffer Chiefs on this side of the Kei before [Rharhabe]", commented Laing.

Historians J.S. Bergh and J.C. Visagie affirm the uncertainties regarding when the amaXhosa first settled in the area between the Fish and the Bushman's Rivers known as the Zuurveld. However, they assert that "the Xhosa crossed the Fish River towards the west between 1752 ... and 1778, after which year they moved across the Fish River in ever larger numbers."[159] Historian Hermann Giliomee confirms Laing's information, writing that at some stage between 1750 and 1780 the amaGqunukhwebe had moved westwards as far as the Zuurveld area bounded by the Bushman's and the Fish Rivers. They were followed by the amaMbalu under Langa and his sons Umlawu (also known as Nqeno) and Thole, the amaGwali under Tsatsu [Tshatshu], the imiDange, and the amaNtinde. According to Giliomee, after the major mid-eighteenth century schism between the amaGcaleka and the amaRharhabe, the amaRharhabe began moving westwards towards the Fish River. Rharhabe himself moved west of the Kei some time after 1760 but still remained east of the Fish.[160]

Running on from the interview with Mbonjana, Laing gives the information that Nukwa was

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[157]The Rabula River is also spelled variously "Habula" and "Kabula". The accepted form "Rabula" has been used in this study.

[158]For Laing's account of this interview with Mbonjana, see Appendix: Laing's oral interviews.

[159]Bergh and Visagie, *The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone*, 10.

[160]Elphick and Giliomee, eds., *The Shaping of South African Society*, 2 ed., 425-427.

a son of Rharhabe and the father of Gasela. According to Laing, he was still alive in 1836.[161] In fact, according to Peires, he lived for a further twenty years, dying in 1856, so Laing's comment is unremarkable. However, he then gives new information in naming Maswi as a further son of Rharhabe adding the detail that he was living near Debe Neck in 1836. Maswi is not listed by either Peires or John Henderson Soga, indicating that he was probably the offspring of Rharhabe and one of his junior wives.[162]

Laing also drew on the memories of Katso, an old blind man at Burnshill, on 1 February 1836. Katso confirmed that Ngqika had been born on the Rabula River. Katso remembered that Mlawu, Ngqika's father, had died about the time of his birth, i.e. 1782. He also remembered that Rharhabe was killed some four or five years later, i.e. 1786 or 1787, and that Rharhabe had "had cattle places about the Kat River and Fort Beaufort". Nqeno's relatives, continued Katso, were living on the west bank of the Fish River when he, Katso, was a young man. He was a contemporary of Kapai, one of Rharhabe's sons. He also told Laing that Phalo was the first to venture across the Kei River.[163]

John Ross and Laing visited Suthu, Ngqika's Great Wife and Sandile's mother, on 15 February 1836, and asked her, *inter alia*, where Ngqika and Rharhabe were born. She confirmed that Ngqika had been born on the Rabula River. An old man who was putting the questions to Suthu on the missionaries' behalf, claimed that Rharhabe had been born on "the

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[161] According to Collins, Nukwa, father of Gasela, was a full blood-brother of both Ndlambe and Mlawu (Ngqika's father). Richard Collins, 'Journal of a Tour to the North-Eastern Boundary, the Orange River and the Storm Mountains' in Donald Moodie, *The Record; or, a Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa*. [1842] (Reprint, Cape Town and Amsterdam: Balkema, 1960, part V, 1808-1819), 50.

[162] Peires, *House of Phalo*, 49; John Henderson Soga, *The South Eastern Bantu: abe-Nguni, aba-Mbo, ama-Lala* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1930), facing page 81, ama-Xosa [genealogical chart].

[163] For Laing's account of this interview with Katso, see Appendix: Laing's oral interviews.

mountain near Pirrie" and Suthu added that Rharhabe had his gardens on the Gaga River and cattle places on the Kat and Koonap rivers.[164]

Charles Henry Matshaya, who was, in Laing's calculations about fifty years old at this time, had his own memories to relate which Laing recorded in his journal entry of 12 March 1836.[165] Matshaya told Laing that as a youth he had known that Ngqika lived on the Rabula River, a tributary of the Keiskamma and then when he was about eight years old he had seen Ngqika who would then have been about sixteen years of age.

Laing noted on the same day that "All the oldest people in the country were born here. Old Ganya must be about 70 or 80 and has resided all his life on this side of the Kei. A man who was sent to U-yese [Yese] (who ought to know) states that her son Gaika was born on the Habula [Rabula River]".[166]

Matshaya's recollections and Laing's calculations regarding Ngqika's year of birth and death accord with Peires' genealogy of the amaRharhabe/amaNgqika.[167] According to Laing, Ganya had lived east of the Kei since his birth between 1756 and 1766.[168] This would be possible, taking Giliomee's information that at the end of the seventeenth century, when the amaXhosa were still residing west of the Mbashe River, the first of two major splits divided Xhosa society. Several minor chiefs left the paramountcy and set up their own geographically remote chiefdoms. By 1750, writes Giliomee, "these chiefdoms, which included the Ntinde,

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[164]For Laing's account of this interview with Suthu, see Appendix: Laing's oral interviews.

[165]An Ndlambe Teacher or Reader, who had been appointed to the Station in July 1830.

[166]Ngqika's mother. For further information on Yese, see particularly Part Two, James Laing's journal, 6-8 December 1831.

[167]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 49.

[168]Ganya was a councillor and a member of the amaNgwevu clan.

Gwali, Dange and Gqunukhwebe, were located between the Kei and the Keiskamma Rivers".[169]

Both Matshaya and Yese, Ngqika's mother, confirm that Ngqika was born and lived in the area of the Rabula River. Nyelenze offered further details relating to the amaNgqika in his interview with Laing on 17 March 1836. According to him, Ngqika's sons were the seventh generation after Ngconde. Commenting on this, Laing wrote:

> Allow 30 years to a generation and it will be 210 years since we know that the Kaffers settled in this part of the country". In Godlonton's Account of the Kaffers he states that Tinde [Ntinde] and Keitshe [Ketshe] sons of Togu, Conde's [Ngconde's] father, was [were] the first to cross the Kei.[170] As to time this account would agree with that of Nyelenze. It is remarkable however that Mr Godlonton says that Zwedi [Zwide] of the 14th generation from this time and from whom all the chiefs claim descent "probably lived two centuries or two centuries and a half ago".[171] Allow 30 years to a generation and it will appear to be 420 years since his reign.

Colonel John Maclean, one time Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, places Zwide at the head of the genealogies of all the Southern Nguni.[172] According to Peires and Soga, Ngqika's sons would have been sixth generation from Ngconde, not seventh.[173] Without further work to establish whether or not there is indeed a missing generation between

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[169]Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society* 2 ed., 425.

[170]Godlonton's text to which Laing refers reads: "At the period of their settlement on the Kei, the chief *Togah* was the acknowledged head of the Amakosa; and it was at his death that his two sons *Tinde* and *Keitshe* passed that boundary, and located themselves in the country between the Kalumna (or properly Krumna according to Hottentot etymology,) and Buffalo Rivers". Robert Godlonton, *Introductory Remarks to a Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes, into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, A.D. 1834-35*, parts II & III (Graham's Town: Meurant and Godlonton, 1836), 206.

[171]Godlonton, *Introductory Remarks to a Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes*, 209.

[172]"Genealogy of the Kafir Chiefs, 1858" in *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs, including Genealogical Tables of Kafir Chiefs and Various Tribal Census Returns* compiled by J. Maclean. (Mount Coke: Wesleyan Missionary Press for the Government of British Kaffraria, 1858), 168 ff. (foldout chart).

[173]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 45-49; Soga, *The South Eastern Bantu*, facing page 81, ama-Xosa [genealogical chart].

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Ngconde and Sandile, it is impossible to postulate certainty in this case. According to Nyelenze and Laing's generational calculations, the amaXhosa had settled west of the Kei "in this part of the country" by 1626. Soga confirms that Ntinde and Ketshe were sons of Togu and brothers of Ngconde.[174]

It is interesting to note the discrepancy relating to Godlonton's statement that Zwide would have been the fourteenth generational forebear "from whom all the chiefs claim [linear] descent", as Laing states.[175] Godlonton went further to state that he, Zwide, "probably lived two centuries or two centuries and a half ago" i.e. some time between 1586 and 1636. This means that Godlonton would have to have been using a biologically impossible generational period of 10 to 14 years to arrive at this date range. Laing— allowing 30 rather than the accepted 25 years per generation—calculated that Zwide would have reigned about 420 years previously i.e. *circa* 1416, pre-dating Godlonton's earliest date for Zwide by some 170 years. The standard 25 year generational calculation would place Zwide's reign around 1486. To add to the confusion, according to Soga, fourteen generations would trace the amaXhosa back to "Xhosa", a progenitor whose existence Peires regards as suspect.[176]

This cumulation of detail gleaned from Laing's various informants, brings valuable new information to the complex task of documenting and confirming Xhosa genealogy.

Clearly, Laing found himself in a bewildering land that was historically, spiritually and

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[174]Soga, *The South Eastern Bantu*, facing page 81, ama-Xosa [genealogical chart].

[175]Godlonton's text reads: "Considerable research has been made by Missionaries resident in Kafirland to trace their national history; but we believe the farthest era to which it can be carried with any probability of accuracy is to the time of the chief Zwedi, from whom all the chiefs claim lineal descent, and who probably lived about two centuries or two centuries and a half ago". Godlonton, *Introductory Remarks to a Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes*, 208.

[176]Soga, *South Eastern Bantu*, facing page 81, ama-Xosa [genealogical chart]; Peires, *House of Phalo*, 13.

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culturally distant from Scotland and his familiar Christianity. It was also an environment frequently hostile to settlers and foreign missionaries in general and to their religion.

Frontier relations

Since the Frontier War of 1779-1881, relationships between settler and black had rapidly deteriorated. The initial 'open' phase of frontier relationships had come to an end in 1812 with the expulsion of the amaXhosa from the territory claimed by the Colony in the Frontier War of 1812. Attempts by the amaXhosa to regain their lost territory during the Frontier War of 1818-1819 had only resulted in the further loss of the territory between the Fish and the Keiskamma rivers.

Tensions on the frontier had been exacerbated further from about 1823 by the influx of groups of refugees from the north east. The conflicts or pressures that caused these migrations (termed *Mfecane* in isiXhosa and *Difaqane/Lifaqane* in seSotho) have been the subject of strenuous historical debate following the controversial interpretation of the phenomenon by historian Julian Cobbing. Cobbing rejected the accepted interpretation of aggressive Zulu ascendancy, positing instead that the mass migrations were in response to colonial labour procurement and slave-raiding.[177] Jeffrey Peires and others responded rigorously to Cobbing's hypothesis in an extensive examination of evidence and interpretation in anthropologist Carolyn Hamilton's publication on the Mfecane debate.[178] Davenport and Saunders suggest that the origin of these terms could illuminate this enigmatic period of South African history. They posit that the word "Mfecane" could be attributed to a

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[177]Julian Cobbing, "Mfecane as alibi" *Journal of African History* 29, 3 (1988): 487-519.

[178]Carolyn Hamilton, *The Mfecane aftermath: reconstructive debates in Southern African history* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press; Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995).

version of the Xhosa word *ukufaca*, meaning 'to be weak, emaciated from hunger' and Difaqane/Lifaqane signifying the concept of "forced removal".[179]

Several historical threads relating to this phenomenon of the 1820s have been explored, but the full skein of complexities has yet to be fully unravelled. Laing, however, like other missionaries, certainly believed the refugees to be fleeing from the aggression and expansionism of Tshaka and his Zulu forces, whether this was based on state centralisation or slave raiding.[180]

Laing made only oblique references to the phenomenon of the Mfecane, mainly through his mentions of the amaMfengu, and, on 13 January 1835, using the term 'Ficani'. This appears to be the third recorded usage of the term, William Shaw having described the 'Fikani' in his diary on 31 August 1827 as "intrepid in warfare, very numerous, and very cruel". The Presbytery of Kaffraria used this term in their Minutes dated 29 June 1831.[181]

Groups of Sotho-speaking refugees known as the 'Mantatees' fled into the Colony and were seized on as a convenient source of labour by the colonists.[182] The efforts of the colonial authorities to maintain segregated societies east and west of the colonially-appointed border lines were rendered ineffective because of this wave of refugees. Among others, the Zulu-speaking amaNgwane led by Matiwane fled westwards then southwards from what was

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[179]T.R.H. Davenport and Christopher Saunders: *South Africa: a Modern History*. 5 ed. London: Macmillan, 2000, pp. 14-20.

[180]For Laing's comments on the 'Mfecane', see, inter alia, Part Two, James Laing's journal, 7 August 1832.

[181]"Fetcani ... (Fecane, Fetekane, Fikani, Fi(t)icane) ... 1827. W. Shaw Diary. 31 Aug." *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles: South African Words and their Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 227; Cory Library, MS 9037, Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, vol.1 (29.6.1831), 179. For Laing's use of the term 'Ficani' see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 13 January 1835.

[182]Laing uses the term"Mantatese [Mantatees]" only once in this text to describe an incident at the start of the 1834-1835 Frontier War, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 26 December 1834.

believed to be Tshaka's offensive, triggering destabilisation en route through attacks on resident groups, cattle-raiding and expropriation of land, in their attempts to settle. The amaNgwane were ultimately defeated at the battle of Mbholompho on 27 August 1828 by a combined army of colonial, Xhosa, Thembu and Mpondo forces. Laing makes no mention of the battle of Mbholompho, nor its ramifications, in his journal. By the time his interest in Xhosa roots and history was stirred in the wake of the 1834-1835 Frontier War, there were more recent matters of polity and policy which engaged him.

Many of Matiwane's followers, disenchanted with his leadership, and with the fabric of their society unravelled or destroyed, remained amongst the abaThembu and the amaXhosa. They, together with other groups of refugees, became known as the 'Mfengu' (amaMfengu) from their repeated refrain "*siyamfengusa*" meaning "we are wandering about looking for a home and food".[183] Their status in the host chiefdoms was relatively servile for an initial period until they had served a form of apprenticeship and could be recognised as fully-fledged members of the group amongst whom they had settled.

On 19 December 1831, Laing commented on the status of the amaMfengu as being "in general poor and servants to the Kaffers. They were driven out of their country by enemies and took refuge in Kafferland". He expands on their expulsion in his entry for 7 August 1832: "[t]his oppressed people came from the interior 6 or 7 years ago [i.e. 1824 or 1825] having been forced out of their own country by an enemy still more interior." On an evangelising note, he remarks wryly on 30 January 1832 that, despite their oppression by the

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[183]Information from J Z Vena of the Cory Library. The *Dictionary of South African English* gives the etymology as from the verb *[ukum]fenguza*, meaning "to seek service" which is the derivation used by Davenport and Saunders in *South Africa: a Modern History, 65*.

amaXhosa, the amaMfengu were no "more inclined than their Masters to the Gospel".[184]

Contact between the colonial authorities and Ngqika, the most powerful chief in western Xhosaland, combined with Ngqika's own lust for property and power, led to a collaboration between Ngqika and Governor Somerset's forces against the other Xhosa chiefs, principally Ndlambe and Hintsa, with naturally divisive results among the amaXhosa. Far from being rewarded for his collaboration, Ngqika suffered the loss of his own territory between the Kat and Keiskamma rivers when Somerset expropriated about 4,000 square miles of this territory as part of his planned buffer zone between the amaXhosa and settler territory. This was Somerset's price for colonial assistance to Ngqika, who was permitted to relocate his people on land between the Keiskamma and Tyhume rivers where the mission premises of Burnshill were to be established a decade later. Laing's interest in Ngqika appears to have been limited to the genealogical and to the activities of his progeny as he does not comment on Ngqika's role in frontier history in his journal beyond the odd reference to Ngqika's determined rejection of the missionaries, Christianity and western culture.

Ngqika's spirit was considerably dented by this unexpected perfidy and his power reduced through his own double-dealing. However, he continued to collaborate with the colonial authorities while his sons, Maqoma and Tyhali grew in influence and political stature amongst the amaXhosa. Ngqika was required by the colonial authorities not only to surrender his land but also to control cattle-raiding which, nonetheless, in consequence of the territorial seizure, increased considerably. colonial response, in the form of retaliatory commando raids, only served to accelerate reciprocal depredations in predictable chain reaction.

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[184]Laing cites two specific and graphic instances of cruelty towards an umFengu by the amaXhosa, see Part Two, James Laing's journal,26 December 1831 and 7 August 1832.

In the meantime, Maqoma grew increasingly powerful, particularly amongst his own amaJingqi. The amaJingqi had been drawn from loyalist fellow *abakhwetha* from the time of Maqoma's circumcision who pledged themselves as his followers and named themselves after a magnificent bull presented to Maqoma first by elders of the amaJwarha immediately prior to his circumcision and again, on emerging into male adulthood, by his proud father, Ngqika.[185] At this coming-out ceremony, Ngqika also unofficially identified Maqoma as his heir apparent. Maqoma, with his amaJingqi, moved to the Kat River and set up his own homestead.

However, as Ngqika's star waned, he recognised the need to re-establish his potency through an alliance with the powerful abaThembu to the north. Accordingly, he married Suthu, the daughter of Mvaxeni, a Thembu leader (also known as Tshatshu) of the Mbombo clan. As Suthu is recorded as being a newly-wed at the time of the Battle of Amalinde, the marriage must have taken place shortly before this altercation between Ngqika and Ndlambe in October 1818. Estimated to have been about 23 years old in 1818, Suthu would have been born circa 1795. Being the daughter of a Thembu royal house, Suthu automatically assumed the role of Ngqika's Great Wife. Her first-born son, therefore, following the laws of Xhosa succession, would be acknowledged as his Great Son and rightful heir.[186]

This, of course, eliminated Maqoma's chances of assuming Ngqika's mantle on his death. As Ngqika's Right Hand son, he had the right to establish his own fiefdom but would remain forever secondary to Suthu's son, Sandile, born in 1820. Maqoma's resentment grew as he

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[185]Timothy Stapleton, "Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to the Advance of Colonial Hegemony, 1798-1873" (Ph.D. dissertation, Dalhousie University, 1993), 27.

[186]William D. Soga, "'Imbali ye Nkosikazi u Sutu" *Isigidimi samaXosa* 25, no. 197 (1 December 1885): 94-95. I am indebted to Zweliyanyikima Vena for his translation of this important article.

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watched the frail Sandile, who had been born with a withered leg, grow to boyhood. By 1829, the pride and affection Ngqika had felt for his Right Hand Son at his circumcision had dwindled through the years of burgeoning enmity and distrust between father and son. Ngqika feared Maqoma's growing power and influence. Maqoma nursed his resentment at his loss of succession, and despised what he regarded as his father's weakness and cowardice in co-operating with, and acceding to, the demands of the colonists. By 1829 Maqoma was reputed to have over 16,000 subjects spread over more than thirty-three large kraals and headed what Timothy Stapleton refers to as "the fastest growing Xhosa polity in the region".[187]

Ngqika, by contrast, declined in influence and sank into an increasing dependency on liquor. Interestingly, William D. Soga records in his tribute to Suthu after her death in 1885, that Ngqika tried to unseat Suthu as his Great Wife in his later years. Presumably in an attempt to re-establish his former power and influence, he decided he should marry the sister of Ngubencuka, the Thembu king. Ngqika declared that as his new wife was from a royal house that was senior to Suthu's, Ngubencuka's sister would become his new Great Wife. He had all Suthu's belongings removed from her dwelling and installed them instead in the dwelling of his new, more exalted wife.

According to Soga, Ngqika did not stop there. He took the matter to Hintsa, Paramount Chief of the AmaRharhabe (Phalo's house). However, in 1829, while Hintsa was still reeling from Ngqika's radical decision to reverse Suthu's seniority, Ngqika suddenly died, reputedly of tuberculosis and alcohol addiction. Despite his final desperate attempts, Ngqika was still devoid of power and the respect of his people at the time of his death and Hintsa had no

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[187] Stapleton, "Maqoma", 80.

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hesitation in returning Suthu to her former status as Ngqika's Great Wife.[188]

His Great Son Sandile, who was a mere nine years old at the time of his death, could obviously not rule alone and would only assume power after his circumcision. In the meantime, a regent would have to be appointed. Tensions seethed as Suthu and Ngqika's sons vied, particularly Maqoma and his half-brother Tyhali, for the regency. Sandile lived with his mother at Ngqika's Great Place close to Burnshill on the Keiskamma River and it was agreed he should remain there and be reared by Suthu. Leadership of the amaNgqika was split three ways among Suthu, Maqoma and Tyhali in an uncomfortable power triad.

Laing first met Maqoma in July 1831, shortly after arriving in Xhosaland. In recording his first impressions of the man whom he considered to be the "chief ruler in the country around" on 1 July 1831, Laing conveyed something of the physical presence of Maqoma:

> Today in company with Messrs R[oss] and B[ennie] visited Maqoma. He has more of the gentleman about him than any Caffer I have seen. Yet in point of dress he does not much surpass the common Caffers. He had nothing on his head. All his clothing consisted of a catskin caross. While we were in audience with him his wives stood behind him and several of his men stood beside us without any order. They conducted themselves with propriety and did not give vent to their begging spirit. He made no demands himself but we made him a present of a few things which would be useful to him. He was anxious to know if the commando which has been spoken of for some time was coming into his country. He is a good looking man. He has an attractive appearance—well, sometimes his eye displays a little cunning. He is now in the Keiskamma.

Between 1823 and 1825 Maqoma had permitted the amaTshatshu clan of the abaThembu, led by Bawana, to settle on his territory in the Kat River valley. Towards the end of 1828, Galela, leader of the amaGcina clan of the abaThembu, believing that Bawana was receiving colonial

[188]Soga, "'Imbali ye Nkosikazi u Sutu": 94-95.

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support, attacked the homesteads of Bawana's people. Maqoma entered the fray on 24 January 1829, killing numerous members of both clans and many of the panic-stricken survivors fled into the Colony. This clash gave Andries Stockenström, the Commissioner-General of the Eastern Districts, the excuse to expel Maqoma from his lands in the Kat River valley. Stockenström had doubtless itched for an excuse to remove Maqoma from this section of land in the "ceded territory" which he manifestly wished to establish as a buffer zone between settler and amaXhosa. Stockenström was convinced that only a system of total "apartheid" would ensure enduring peace on the frontier. His original decision to expel Maqoma had been taken as early as November 1828 but the absence of a convincing reason and fears of consequent reprisals stayed his hand. For Stockenström, Maqoma's act of aggression was both fortuitous and timely and with Maqoma gone, he was able to implement the next stage of his plan. [189]

A gathering humanitarianism within the Cape Colony during the 1820s focussed primarily on the iniquity of slavery and the inequity of the Khoekhoe people under colonial law. The slave trade had been abolished throughout the British Empire in 1807 and by 1828 the movement for the abolition of the institution of slavery was gathering momentum, though it was another ten years before it was fully realised. In the meantime, efforts to obtain greater legal freedom for the Khoekhoe culminated in the passing of Ordinance 50 in 1828 by the Council of Advice. Under the Ordinance, which addressed only "Hottentots and other free Persons of colour" within the Colony, the Khoekhoe were no longer required to carry passes, their contracts of hire and apprenticeship were severely regulated and their land rights clarified. Excluded from this legislation, of course, were the other autochthonous peoples beyond the

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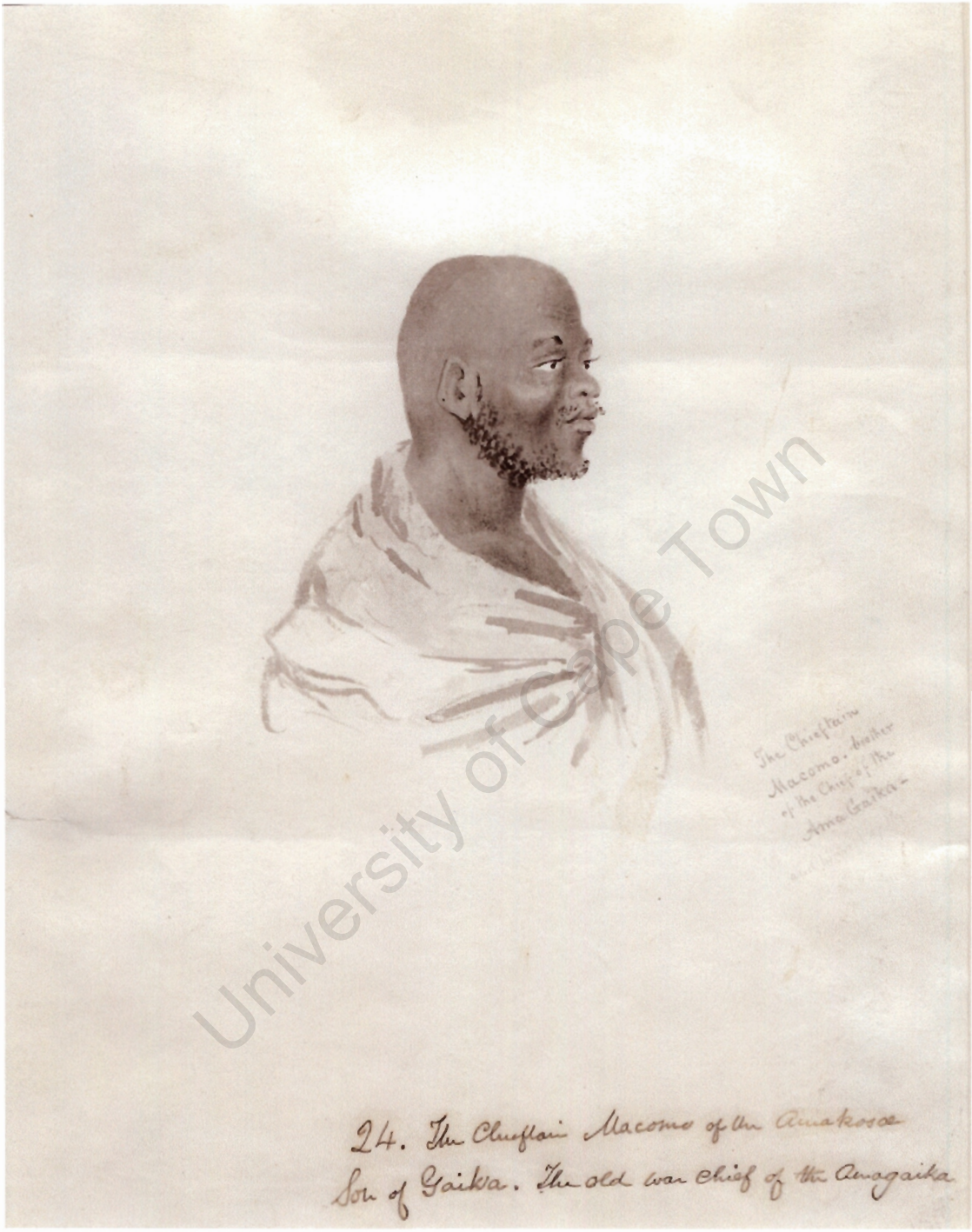
[189] Peires, *House of Phalo*, 89; Elphick and Giliomee, *Shaping of South African Society*, 483-484; Timothy Stapleton, "Maqoma", 73-78.

frontier. While the effect of the abolition of passes was immediate, Khoekhoe acquisition of land was to take a little longer.

Stockenström was able to deliver a first, small gesture towards this following his expulsion of Maqoma from his birthplace. The vacuum created by Maqoma's departure made way for the settlement of a relatively small number of Khoekhoe in the Kat River valley as smallholders.[190]

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[190]Peires, *The House of Phalo*, 89-90; Elphick and Giliomee, *Shaping of South African Society*, 43-49, 484; Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson eds., *The Oxford History of South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969; reprint 1975), 297-305; Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: a Modern History*, 135.



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Figure 10: "The Chieftain Macomo of the Amakosa, son of Gaika. The old war chief of the Amagaika." Sepia wash portrait of Maqoma by Charles Davidson Bell, circa 1846. *Source*: Courtesy of the Bell Trust; University of Cape Town Libraries, Manuscripts and Archives division, Bell Collection BC 686, C54.

Over a number of years, Maqoma and his people were quietly accorded the use of the Kat River lands again, principally because the colonial authorities feared greater reprisals should they refuse and because Henry Somerset, Commandant of the Frontier and the former Governor's son, appreciated their need for this pocket of fertile and well-watered land at a time of severe drought. Laing held Maqoma in high regard and certainly acknowledged his supremacy amongst the amaNgqika referring to him as "the highest of Gaika's sons".[191] Laing appreciated the protection afforded to himself, his family and the Burnshill people by Maqoma and his people and he opined that Maqoma might have been more open to the Christian message than most of his siblings. However, Laing's good opinion of Maqoma was not drawn from self-serving motivations alone. He clearly liked Maqoma as an individual and could not approve of his treatment at the hands of the colonial authorities. He clearly regarded Maqoma's expulsion from the Kat River valley as, at best, destabilising for Maqoma personally and by extension for the entire frontier as he reflects Maqoma's understandable unhappiness quite freely and sympathetically. On 7 July 1831, Laing recorded that Maqoma had visited them that day, remarking that "[h]is usual gentleness of manner was apparent". Laing noted that Maqoma had previously voiced the wish to have a teacher or missionary at his place but, as had been pointed out to him, a missionary could only be sent to him when he was able to settle permanently. Laing concluded "Since he was driven out of his country on the Kat River he has been without any fixed dwelling place".[192]

A disappointing feature of the journal is that at one critical juncture where Laing had embarked on what promised to be an extensive commentary on Maqoma, a leaf of text has been cut or torn away. This excision may have been made by Laing himself, by Govan his

[191]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 11 February 1832

[192]For Laing's comments see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 7 July 1831.

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biographer, by the binder or still later by an unscrupulous reader. It seems unlikely that Laing would have wished to censor his own views on this important topic but as there is no evidence to the contrary, this must remain one of the possibilities.

The jitteriness of Maqoma and his people at the prospect of further colonial aggression following his expulsion from the Kat River lands is evident in Laing's journal entry for 15 July 1831 when he records rumours of a commando in the vicinity and seeing a party of armed amaXhosa moving down the river—"[t]hey dread the coming of the commando very much".[193]

Commando raids had been instituted as a reprisal system for the reclamation of stolen colonial cattle, a system which was frequently abused. The raids were deliberately unpredictable and frequently launched armed attacks on innocent households, often at daybreak, taking with them cattle that were the legitimate property of the sleeping amaXhosa. As Peires points out, it was not surprising that the Xhosa "fled at the passage of a commando, even one not meant for them."[194]

On 9 November 1831 Laing again reflected Maqoma's sense of dislocation but adverts to the possibility of Maqoma settling permanently close by on the Keiskamma River, 6 or 7 miles downstream from Burnshill.[195]

However, in 1833 Acting Governor Wade acted on the existing order, expelling not only Maqoma but also his brother Tyhali. This evidence of colonial inconsistency, together with

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[193]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 15 July 1831.

[194]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 91-92; John Milton, *Edges of War: a History of the Frontier Wars, 1702-1878* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta, 1983), 98-99.

[195]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 9 November 1831.

the system of reprisals employed by commandos against the amaXhosa in the claiming or reclaiming of cattle, led to intensely volatile relations on the frontier.

The situation erupted when colonial forces shot Xhoxho, brother of Maqoma and Tyhali, wounding him in the head. In angry retaliation, the amaXhosa invaded the Colony in December 1834, marking the start of the Frontier War of 1834-1835.

The first mention Laing makes of the impending conflict is in his entry for 17 December 1834 when he had been working on the water course leading water from the Keiskamma for irrigation purposes. Suthu sent a message that they must postpone work on the course because of the "the issue of the present disturbances between the colonists and Kaffers. Heard this morning that yesterday on the Gaga, 4 Kaffers were wounded 3 of whom died, and that 4 soldiers were also wounded. One of the kaffers wounded is the son of Gika". Laing continued that he had also heard that the amaXhosa had killed four soldiers and had taken all the horses belonging to the Cape Corps stationed at Fort Beaufort. Suthu warned Laing that she intended moving because of the disturbances and could no longer guarantee protection for the new trader in their vicinity. Laing remarked that he had not found the peace of the frontier so threatened since he had arrived in Xhosaland and that he had not yet discovered the causes of the conflict. With hindsight, the causes are obvious, but Laing, at this early stage of the war, could see only trees, not wood.[196]

Within days Laing did receive some insights into the reasons hostilities had intensified into war when he received a message from Maqoma confirming that the injustice of the commando system was one of the causes of the war but that the direct cause was the shooting

[196]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 17 December 1834.

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and wounding of Xhoxho.[197]

Thereafter, until his evacuation to Grahamstown during the Frontier War of 1834-1835, Laing's daily entries seethe with reports of consternation, confusion and conflict. On 19 December 1834, Laing wrote that he "might have started partly to explain the origin of the above commotions, that about the second current [2 December 1834] there was an ensign wounded by a Kaffer near Fort Willshire".[198] This was Ensign Sparkes, who led a patrol into Tyhali's territory on 2 December 1834. Sparkes' soldiers seized some of Tyhali's cattle and, angered, Tyhali's men pursued the patrol, wounding the Ensign in a skirmish during which they foiled Sparkes' attempt to secure the cattle. Somerset was enraged and sent Lieutenant Sutton to renew the attack on Tyhali in a second attempt to seize his cattle. It was during the ensuing fight that Xhoxho was shot and wounded in the head.[199]

Laing also learned that the amaXhosa had been expelled from the neutral territory. He remarked that he regretted "that matters have come to this at the time of the Governor's appointment. If the Kaffers do not be very cautious they will greatly injure themselves".[200]

Laing tried to keep the work of the station thrumming and was anxious to resume work on the water course. Suthu, however, was understandably still angered by the wounding of Xhoxho and the killing of three others. Laing advocated peace and advised the amaXhosa to try to negotiate matters with the Governor. Suthu would have none of it.[201]

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[197]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 26 December 1834.

[198]Stapleton, *Maqoma*, 116.

[199]Stapleton, *Maqoma*, 116.

[200]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 19 December 1834.

[201]Ibid.

The next day Laing was alarmed at the war talk of a group of amaXhosa passing the mission station. After attacking the Colony, they told Laing, they would return and attack the mission stations. While Laing was confident that Suthu and Maqoma would fulfill their promises to protect Burnshill, he was aware that Maqoma's brother, Tyhali, was "unaccommodating and cries for war" despite his, Tyhali's, ongoing negotiations with Colonel Smith.[202] Somerset retaliated by expelling Nqeno's people over the Keiskamma River. Tyhali's men were understandably incensed and the next day, 21 December 1834, attacked Stephanus Buys' farm on the junction of the Kat and Koonap rivers during which Buys was killed. Hostilities were on the boil.

Laing was clearly keenly aware of the intensifying hostility between the amaNgqika—under the leadership of the brothers Maqoma and Tyhali—and the colonial forces. However, his information was that they did not have the unequivocal support of their own elders and from the leaders of other Xhosa polities to the north and east, as he indicates in his entry for 22 December 1834. He had heard that Maqoma and Tyhali had aligned their forces, that the amaRharhabe elders were opposed to war and the chiefs based further east believed that Maqoma and Tyhali had no justification for making war. Moreover, he had heard that the chiefs believed that Maqoma and Tyhali were concerned that they would lose their influence when Sandile came of age and that they were taking precautions to maintain their power ascendency. Laing perceived Tyhali to be the wild card in the amaRharhabe pack and believed Tyhali intended launching attacks on the local traders.[203]

With these whispers of war in the wind, Laing was understandably concerned about his own

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[202]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 20 December 1834.

[203]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 22 December 1834..

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family's safety at Burnshill, as well as the safety of his fellow missionaries and traders in the vicinity. Continuing his entry for 22 December 1834, Laing commented that he was concerned that even if the missionary stations were to be spared, as promised by Suthu and Maqoma, their situation would be far less secure if the traders were to be attacked "as it will be in revenge that such an attack will be made". Laing wanted to write to the colonial authorities asking them to suspend hostilities "until they know that the traders and missionaries are safe". However, he soon found that it would be impossible to write to the authorities confidentially as the amaRharhabe insisted that they have sight of any such letter he wrote. He was appalled, as he had never hitherto had to expose his private letters to public scrutiny. However, he decided that he would read out his letter to them rather that not write at all. Above all, he wanted the suspension of hostilities, though any letter he did write would, as it transpired, be in vain. The mechanisms of war were under way.

Maqoma and Tyhali, with the shadow approval of Hintsa, led the amaNgqika into the Colony the same day, 22 December 1834. They were joined by the amaNdlambe under Mhala and, less readily, by the imiMdange and the amaMbalu in a broad swathe of attacks within the Colony, destroying about 456 homesteads and seizing some 276,000 head of cattle, sheep and goats. Conflicting figures are given in the literature. According to John Milton, the colonists lost "... 115 000 head of cattle, 162 000 sheep and goats, 57 000 horses. Four hundred and fifty-six houses were burnt down, 300 pillaged and 58 wagons lost. All in all the losses were estimated to amount to £300 401.10s.0d. Between 22 December and 12 January, 32 colonists were killed by the Xhosa."[204]

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[204] John Milton, *Edges of War: a History of Frontier Wars, 1702-1878* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta, 1983), 114; Elphick and Giliomee cite 456 households destroyed and 276,000 stock seized, Elphick and Giliomee, *Shaping of South African Society*, 489.

During this period Laing's journal provides an invaluable daily commentary on the intensifying war. All communication with the Colony having been severed, he drew his information solely from what he experienced at Burnshill and what was reported to him by the amaNgqika and others in the vicinity. He presents one of the few, extant, first-hand, written Africanist versions of the war—and from the particular vantage point of Burnshill, a mission station favoured and protected by the amaNgqika, not only because it was the site of Ngqika's Great Place and home of Suthu, his Great Wife, but also possibly because of the special regard in which Laing was held by the amaNgqika leaders and their people. When Laing finally fled, it was not to another, safer mission station, but to Grahamstown, beyond the limits of the frontier, and then only on the advice of, and with the protection of, his amaNgqika friends because of the increasingly violent confrontations between amaNgqika and colonial forces in that territory.

Laing recounted several instances during the month of December where traders in the frontier region were plundered, robbed and, in some instances, murdered. Three traders arrived at Burnshill and were given asylum by James and Margaret Laing.[205] Burnshill had become became a place of refuge for fellow missionaries and for traders and their families, under the protection of Suthu, Maqoma and Tyhali.

Laing and his fellow missionaries felt themselves totally dependent on this protection and Laing was clearly relieved to be able to write on 26 December 1834 that they had received assurances from Maqoma concerning their safety and he received similar assurances from Tyhali's councillors though Tyhali himself could not be found. According to these councillors, Tyhali wanted Suthu to continue her protection of the traders who had taken

[205]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 22-23 December 1834.

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refuge at Burnshill. Laing was relieved and wrote: "The chiefs then appear to be for us".[206]

Maqoma himself appeared to be concerned for his own family and possessions as he arranged for three of his horses to be taken from Pirie to Burnshill for safe-keeping. The next day, on 27 December 1834, he sent a parcel of his goods to Burnshill and expressed his wish that his wife and children be sent to the station.[207] Laing commented on this turn of events saying that whilst he was happy to observe that Maqoma considered Burnshill to be a safe refuge, that the missionaries were "placed in very critical circumstances, in reference to aiding the Kaffers. How far we may aid them, seeing we are protected by them, is a casuistical question of some difficulty".[208]

Laing's journal during these fearsome days is an important primary source on the moral conflicts experienced by Laing and other missionaries in a turbulent frontier situation where power and land were the principal driving forces. Laing appears confused. He was conscious of conflicting and yet contingent loyalties between the amaNgqika, who were ensuring that Burnshill was as safe a haven as he could hope for, and his Eurocentric loyalties. This consciousness conflicted with his experience of shared fears of war with the amaNgqika on a daily basis. He had not yet made a total identification with either party and his principle aim was to survive with some moral sense of duty. Laing's journal is a record not only of a battle for geographical but for intellectual space.

Laing's relief at their continuing safety was cautioned by his perception that the chiefs were not necessarily in total control of their subjects. He was feeling increasingly vulnerable,

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[206] See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 26 December 1834.

[207] See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 27 December 1834.

[208] See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 27 December 1834.

despite the repeated assurances of the amaNgqika leaders, that the missions, and Burnshill specifically, would not be harmed. He admitted in his journal that at Burnshill, they were "speaking both of flight and resistance but we have not as yet decided what we shall do".[209]

Laing requested and received Maqoma's assurance for Rev. Friedrich Kayser's safe conduct from Knapp's Hope to Burnshill and Kayser and his family arrived on 1 January 1835. On the same day, Maqoma visited Laing and asked him to write two letters for him: one to the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban and the other to Colonel Harry Smith. Laing complied, but had little confidence that Maqoma's letters would influence the colonial course of action.[210] It is interesting that Maqoma was aware this early of Smith's appointment as military commander of the Eastern Frontier. Smith left his Rondebosch home for his new command on horseback, a ride which would take him six days, arriving in Grahamstown on 6 January 1835. On his arrival he declared martial law. The new Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, arrived in Grahamstown at the end of January 1835 to assume supreme colonial power at the height of the war.

Coinciding with the date of Harry Smith's arrival in Grahamstown, Laing wrote in his journal of his concern that mission-based aggressions against the Colony could scupper colonial support for frontier mission stations as well as any hope of Xhosa settlement within the Colony.[211]

Suthu and Matwa both advised Laing that Rev. John Ross, his wife Helen and their family should be brought to Burnshill. Matwa set off to fetch them and escorted them from Pirie

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[209]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 26 December 1834.

[210]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 3 January 1835.

[211]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 6 January 1835.

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arriving at Burnshill on 12 January 1835.[212] Accommodation at Burnshill was stretched to its limits.

Laing's journal at this time reflects an air of tense anticipation tempered with a quiet if nervous appreciation of their continued protection by the amaNgqika leaders. However, this brief hiatus was disrupted on 16 January 1835 when he recorded instances of increased aggression by the colonial forces. A commando of Boers had been at the Tyhume and Lovedale stations and was last reported to be on a river Laing refers to as the "Rera" but more likely the Gaga River above Lovedale, setting fire to homesteads as they passed. Laing was surprised. On the one hand, he could not see how this incendiarism could possibly benefit the colonists and on the other, he feared that the commando's actions would inflame the amaXhosa against the missionaries and traders. The amaXhosa, for their part, had not countered these attacks.[213]

The next day Laing heard that the amaXhosa were retreating in the face of colonial aggression. A letter from Colonel Smith, addressed to Tyhali, arrived at Burnshill stating "what anyone might have anticipated, that, before His Excellency [Sir Benjamin D'Urban] can listen to terms of accommodation, the cattle taken from colonists must be restored, compensation made for the property taken or destroyed and the expenses of the present war paid by the Kaffers".[214]

On 20 January 1835, Laing recorded that he, Ross and Kayser had written to Lieutenant Colonel Harry Smith regarding the dangerous situation of the traders and missionaries and

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[212]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 12 January 1835.

[213]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 16 January 1835.

[214]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 17 January 1835.

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asking for his intervention to secure their safety. They included in this letter a plea to Smith that the amaXhosa who had not taken hostile action against the Colony be treated sympathetically by the authorities.[215]

On the morning of 21 January 1835 Laing learnt that the missionaries from Tyhume had taken refuge in the Colony and that those at Mount Coke and Wesleyville were at risk. He remarked that "[n]o station in Kafferland seems to have enjoyed so much peace as ours" and commented the next day that they were being guarded by the adherents at the station which he considered "kind" but added that they would not prove effective in the face of any sizeable attack. Laing noted with resignation that he believed that "the missionaries in this part have had all their horses taken. So long as they only steal from us we shall not complain".[216] However, a few days later Laing did complain—in his journal entry for 25 January—that "near this place they took Mr Bennie's 2 horses from 2 Kaffers who stole them at Lovedale. Cattle at this station are daily taken by thieves or robbers. What is edible in the garden is also stolen. In a short time the people here will be without the means of subsistence, unless the hostile natives alter their proceedings ... All our property out of doors the Kaffers seem determined to take from us.".[217]

Added to his worries that he would not be able to feed the enhanced numbers at the mission, Laing continued to fear that not all the amaNgqika were committed to preserving the safety of Burnshill. After breakfast on Sunday 25 January 1835 Laing heard that "Anta and some others in power had given counsel that this station could be *destroyed* but that Sutu, *with*

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[215]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 20 January 1835.

[216]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 21 January 1835.

[217]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 25 January 1835.

tears, opposed their counsel. God will shew us the result of these counsels. [Laing's emphases]".[218]

Laing's fears grew daily and sent word to Suthu asking for her assessment as to the danger of their predicament. She assured him on 27 January 1835 that she was still determined to do what she could to protect the people at Burnshill.[219]

Relief arrived the same day in the form of a body of horse and foot commanded by Major Cox on the orders of Harry Smith, acting for D'Urban. The Burnshill people prepared to evacuate the station. Heavy rain was falling and they delayed their departure till the next morning. The road was a quagmire and their oxen were in poor condition.[220]

It was a long, slow and muddy journey to Grahamstown, from Wednesday 28 January to Monday 2 February 1835—a six day journey covering a mere 100 kilometres at a rate of 16 kilometres a day, an agonisingly slow progress of less than two kilometres per hour. Soon after their arrival in Grahamstown they were introduced to Lieut.-Col. Harry Smith who, Laing recorded, was solicitous and helpful. The Burnshill people—missionaries, traders and adherents—should have felt safe. But their time in Grahamstown presented a new chain of stresses and vexations.

In the meantime, the swiftness and intensity of Maqoma and Tyhali's attacks had drained their reserves so that by the middle of January 1835 they had found it necessary to retreat to the strategic protection of the densely thicketed Amathole mountains. Daunted by the

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[218]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 25 January 1835.

[219]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 27 January 1835.

[220]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 5 February 1835.

geographic spread of the Amathole range and the density of its vegetation, the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, drawn to the frontier by the hostilities, ordered that his troops should direct their energies towards Hintsa who, the Governor believed, was responsible for the onset and continuance of the war. Having misconstrued the complex relationship between a nation's king and his chiefs, D'Urban demanded that Hintsa's people forfeit 50,000 cattle and 1,000 horses, and that Hintsa should command the chiefs of the amaRharhabe chiefs to capitulate.[221]

Matwa and Qilashe accompanied Laing to Grahamstown and were cordially received by D'Urban, as were Laing and his fellow missionaries.[222] Twenty four other missionary adherents were permitted to travel with Laing, initially only as far as Fort Beaufort, where they remained while D'Urban, having made arrangements for their welfare, considered their situation. Laing was clearly bewildered when D'Urban decided that it was not convenient for the Burnshill people to remain at Fort Beaufort and ordered that they be brought to Grahamstown. D'Urban instructed that they be placed under Laing's care and referred him to Captain Duncan Campbell, Civil Commissioner for Albany "for advice as to a proper place for these people to settle in. I have seen the place which Cap[tain] Campbell pointed out and consider it to be as suitable a place as we shall obtain in the vicinity of Graham's Town".[223] Several of the Burnshill people, mainly the women, took up temporary positions as domestic workers, others gathered firewood and sold it in the town to buy clothing and additional food.

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[221]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 109.

[222]Qilashe, or Gilashe, does not feature in any of the standard genealogies of the amaRharhabe. There is a suggestion in Laing's journal that Qilashe may have been a brother of Matwa's though his can not be confirmed. If indeed a brother, Qilashe may have been Matwa's sibling from a minor union through either his maternal or paternal line, the children of which union do not appear to have been recorded.

[223]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 3 March 1835.

The Tyhume mission adherents, who were perceived to have collaborated with Maqoma in aggression against the Colony, had been sent to Grahamstown as prisoners. However, a number of them were found to be blameless and were accommodated with the Burnshill people and, "that no injury might befall the men, Captain Campbell as Civil Commissioner furnished each of them with a pass".[224]

At the end of April 1835, Hintsa rode into the British camp on the Zolo River to negotiate a satisfactory settlement for his people but, after initial overtures of peace and friendship by D'Urban, found himself held prisoner and to ransom, despite prior assurances of safety.

The amaMfengu, in the meantime, had decided to throw in their lot with the British who escorted them over the Kei to the area around Peddie where they were to be granted British patronage and protection. With them the amaMfengu took cattle, sheep and other livestock, many of which belonged to the amaGcaleka and left behind them a trail of bitterness and reprisals. D'Urban attempted to get Hintsa to order his people to stop their attacks on the westward bound amaMfengu in their efforts to retrieve their expropriated stock. Determined not to betray his people, Hintsa attempted to escape but was shot and wounded in the back and leg and then fatally shot in the head by George Southey as he floundered helplessly, crying for mercy and help, in the waters of the Nqabara River.[225] After his death, his body was grossly mutilated, his ears, cheeks and beard being sliced off and retained as trophies by his assassins.[226]

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[224]As indicated earlier, the scrapping of the rules regarding the carrying of passes accorded to the Khoekhoe under Ordinance 50 of 1828 was not extended those authochthonous peoples forced by the colonial authorities to live beyond the divide of the Fish River.

[225]George Southey was commander of the Corps of Guides. Other colonial troops at the scene of Hintsa's assassination were Lieutenant Arthur Balfour, John Bisset (aide-de-camp to Harry Smith), and Guides William Southey (George's brother), Edward Driver, William Shaw and Abel Hoole. Milton, *Edges of War*, 123.

[226]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 109-112; Elphick and Giliomee, *Shaping of South African Society*, 489.

Laing's journal constitutes a fresh primary source on this ignominious moment in South Africa's history. Three people related their versions of the killing to Laing: Klaas, the interpreter at Burnshill and two eye-witnesses who were soldiers of the 72nd Regiment (Sergeant Moffat and [Sergeant?] Wilson). Klaas believed that a terrified Hintsa had tried to escape because he had been threatened. Klaas told Laing on 29 February 1836 that Southey had told him that he had heard Hintsa calling for mercy while he was lying in the river. "*Taru*!" cried Hintza, "*Taru amapiki*!".[227] Klaas saw the body of Hintsa after he was killed and confirmed that both ears had been cut from it. He told Laing that Southey had taken Hintsa's ears and put them in salt to preserve them. Not surprisingly, Klaas' account—given to him by July and Nicholas, two Khoekhoe soldiers of the Cape Corps—did not agree entirely with Southey's.

Sergeant Moffat of the 72nd Regiment told Laing that when Hintsa was killed not only his ears but also his beard "were cut off and that some of his teeth were taken out". Moffat had heard that Abel Hoole, one of the Corps of Guides, had seen one of the Southeys in the act of cutting off Hintsa's ears.

Some months later, during the official investigations into Hintsa's death, Laing's journal reflects the tensions surrounding the evidence being submitted to the enquiry. He relates how E. Jeffries, a neighbouring trader, had also believed that Hintsa called for mercy before he was shot. Speaking to Laing on 5 September 1836, Jeffries said "there was much talk about the mutilation of his body and about his having called for mercy among the guides and others in the expedition, until it was known that the Governor strongly disapproved of the conduct

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[227] Laing translates "*Taru*" as "Show mercy" in this journal entry. According to Albert Kropf, editor of *A Kafir-English dictionary*. 2 ed. (Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1915), p. 332, the singular version of the word, "umpiki", means literally "lovers of contention or strife; lover of an argument". According to J Z Vena of the Cory Library, "*Taru amapiki*" could mean: "Show mercy, stubborn ones", personal communication, 31 August 2000.

of which some people had been guilty at that period". Jeffries was concerned that "so great a matter has been made of Hintza's death, no people will now be found either to tell that he sought quarter or that his body was mutilated". Laing's final entry relating to the death of Hintsa in his journal seems to confirm Jeffries' fears that evidence might be withheld or distorted. Sergeant Wilson of the 72nd Regiment, had "freely communicated" statements regarding Hintsa's death to Laing and Alexander McDiarmid at Burnshill. However, when Laing read the *Graham's Town Journal*'s account of Wilson's statements he found these statements differed from Wilson's original story—"It is Wilson himself who makes them".[228]

D'Urban published his conditions for peace in a Proclamation dated 10 May 1835 setting out the terms of his settlement.[229] In terms of this Proclamation, D'Urban redrew the colonial border, moving it eastward as far as the western bank of the Kei River, and proposed expelling the followers of Maqoma, Tyhali, Nqeno, Botomane, Ndlambe and other amaXhosa from their existing lands to new areas beyond the Kei. D'Urban named this newly expropriated territory between the Keiskamma and the Kei rivers 'Queen Adelaide Province', honouring the wife of the British monarch, William IV. According to Jonathan Lancaster, D'Urban would determine the allocation of land within this territory and then only for "those clans which had remained at peace with the Colony, together with those members of the aggressor clans who had disowned their chiefs, and the Mfengu whom he believed he had released from the slavery of Hintsa".[230] On 29 May 1835, Laing wrote from Grahamstown that subsequent to this proclamation, "[t]he missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society

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[228]For Laing's accounts of Hintsa's murder, see Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, Laing journal, inter alia, 29 February 1836, 5 September 1836.

[229]*British Parliamentary Papers*, 279 of 1836, p.41.

[230]J. C. S. Lancaster, *The governorship of Sir Benjamin D'Urban at the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-1838*, Archives Year Book 1991/II (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1991), 114.

in Graham's Town have sent a petition to His Excellency the Governor praying for land in the new province for the friendly natives, and for such of them as may be pardoned for their crime in this war against the Colony".[231]

In the same entry he remarked that "Buhu [Bhurhu], brother of Hintza, has been brought to Graham's Town as a hostage".[232] According to Laing, Bhurhu was held hostage in Grahamstown until 31 July 1835 during which time, so it was rumoured, his beard turned grey with grief. Laing was much relieved at the news of his release as he believed this action would help convince the amaXhosa that the colonial forces had not planned the same murderous fate for him as suffered by his brother Hintsa. Soga enlarges on this saying that Bhurhu, Hintsa's Great Son Sarhili and Bhurhu's son Mapassa were all initially taken hostage with Hintsa and held in the British camp near the Nqabara River. When Hintsa was killed, Soga writes, Bhurhu returned to the camp, and was detained for a further two months though he does not mention his transferral to Grahamstown.[233]

Laing, by all accounts, was a reticent man but he was also a principled man with a strong sense of justice. At no other time during his journal are these attributes as evident as during this period in Grahamstown. On 6 June 1835 he attended a meeting "held for the purpose of supporting His Excellency the Governor in his measures regarding the Kaffers". Several resolutions were put to the meeting and Laing found he could agree with some of the resolutions; on others he had no particularly strong opinion. However, there was one

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[231]See journal p. 434.

[232]Bhurhu (1785-1857), Right Hand Son of Khawuta, loyally and energetically supported his brother and Khawuta's Great Son, Hintsa. Harry Smith dismissed Bhurhu as "a vulgar sort of fellow compared to Hintsa" in a letter to Mrs Sargant, 7 May 1835, G.M. Theal, *Documents relating to the Kaffir War of 1835* (London: Cowes, 1912), 154. For Laing's accounts of Bhurhu, see journal p. 434, 441.

[233]Soga, *South Eastern Bantu*, pp. 194-197, 236-238.

resolution with which he took strong exception. The resolution called for endorsement of D'Urban's expansionist policy and the alienation of existing Xhosa territory between the Keiskamma and the Kei Rivers. Laing was quite happy to see the Colony grow but he had an important proviso: "provided it were appropriate to the use of the native people i.e. Hottentots, Kaffers and Fingoes". The clause of the resolution to which he objected so vociferously called for, he understood, their "indiscriminate and complete extermination". At the very least, D'Urban's plan made uncertain provision for non-aggressors amongst these groups. Laing was prepared to entertain the notion that these non-aggressors could be accepted as colonial subjects, a notion that would hardly have been gladly or willingly received by the people themselves. However, the concept of total, indiscriminate extermination appalled him and he help up his hand in protest.[234]

Laing's opposition during this meeting of 6 June 1835 may have marked him as a dissident in the eyes of the colonial authorities. He had shown himself openly critical of D'Urban's plans to expel the "hostile" amaXhosa from the newly constituted Queen Adelaide province, which he considered to be "harsh and unjust".[235]

He was not only critical of D'Urban's land policies but also of his deprecatory generalisations regarding the amaXhosa which he considered equally harsh. Laing, who generally expressed himself in cautious tones in his journal, was particularly outspoken against the racist language used by D'Urban, particularly in his official documents, in which he invariably denounced the amaXhosa as "savages". Laing deplored this term as applied to any people, allowing that it might only be applied in the most extreme circumstances and

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[234]For Laing's description of this episode, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 8 June 1835.

[235]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 13 July 1835.

then only to the "lowest and most cruel of mankind". It certainly could not, he believed, be applied to the amaXhosa. He contended that by using this extravagant and abusive language, D'Urban was manipulating the colonists into accepting his policies; that if he could persuade them into believing these calumnies, they would be less horrified by the concept of the extermination of the autochthonous peoples. "Care must be taken", Laing wrote, "to shew them in their true light".[236] Moreover, Laing had strong words for the racial prejudice which he observed among the colonists in Grahamstown generally, writing that "[t]he feeling in this town against the black and yellow people is bad indeed. Surely people so much under the influence of prejudice are unfit for the enjoyment of that power which they seek".[237]

Laing came into still further conflict during this period in Grahamstown, this time with the Civil Commissioner for Albany, Duncan Campbell—and by extension with D'Urban himself—over the question of grazing rights for the cattle belonging to Matwa and his people and an unjustified charge of cattle theft.[238] Following a heated interview with Campbell on 4 August 1835, which Laing reported in his journal with a rare display of anger, he was imprisoned briefly on 6 August 1835 by a drunken sergeant of the Graham's Town Volunteers, along with Alexander McDiarmid and James Weir after they had visited Matwa.[239] In April had Laing recorded that Matwa and his family had moved to a place near the Civil Commissioner's office. The drunken sergeant was presumably guarding these official premises and would have known Laing from his ongoing altercation with Campbell.

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[236]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 1 June 1835.

[237]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 5 June 1835.

[238]For Laing's detailed account of this altercation, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 5- 7 August 1835.

[239]For Laing's account of his brief imprisonment, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 7 August 1835.

There were two things that particularly infuriated Laing in this clash with Campbell. Firstly, the Civil Commissioner insisted that he had been directed by the Governor to examine Laing "relative to a change of place which had been made with regard to a few of the Kaffers and Fingoes under my spiritual care". D'Urban had directed Campbell to summon Laing and question him "regarding the removal of the Kaffers. The instructions, said he, required his immediate attention, and His Excellency was waiting for a deliverance upon them which he wished to obtain with as little delay as possible". Laing found it incredible that, under the present circumstances, D'Urban could devote time to a matter of such minor importance. In uncharacteristic wrath, Laing wrote:

> It is wonderful that a Governor, and the Governor of this Colony, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the good Sir Benjamin, should have left his great and pressing question of peace or war and here spurred the Civil Commissioner to seize and interrogate a missionary about the supposed theft which had not been and was not likely to be proved.

"It would seem", continued Laing, "that he has little important business to transact, when such extraordinary stress was laid on a matter of so small moment".[240]

Laing's second grievance lay in Campbell's duplicity. Laing had three passes signed by Campbell himself "allowing the requisite number of natives to proceed to graze their cattle" on the premises designated. Still Campbell insisted that he had never agreed to allow the relocation of the Burnshill people's cattle and that he could not give Laing a copy of his letter asking permission to take the Burnshill people to new premises "because said letter had been mislaid or destroyed". Laing responded that he would persist in demanding a copy of the letter he had written and that he "did what I could not without a dereliction of duty have

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[240]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 5 August 1835.

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avoided in doing what in me lay to perceive a place for them capable of affording pasturage for their cattle." Eventually, on 3 October 1835, Laing was able to report that the "case of cattle stealing with which some of the people under my care were unjustly charged, appears to have been rejected by the Attorney General at Cape Town as it has not been brought before the Civil C[ourt] which is now sitting here". And there the matter rested.[241]

This unhappy period in Laing's life is studded with illuminating detail in his journal of D'Urban's plans for the amaNgqika, colonial opinion, the missionaries' tussle with the authorities for the rights of the amaNgqika and their own desire to return to their mission stations.

Implementation of D'Urban's scheme proved impossible in practice and the Governor had to agree to allow the amaNgqika to re-occupy their territory in the Amathole mountains. In September 1835 peace was agreed at Fort Willshire between D'Urban and the chiefs Maqoma, Tyhali, Mhala, Nqeno and other representatives of the amaNgqika, the amaNdlambe and the amaMbalu.[242] Laing reported on 19 September 1835 that in these peace talks at Fort Willshire, D'Urban had conceded that the amaNgqika could return to their land (now designated as within the new Province) under British rule but re-distributed according to his own dispensation. Maqoma was to live at Lovedale and to act as chief magistrate among the amaNgqika. Tyhali was allocated a place on the left bank of the Tyhume, with Matwa on the right bank of the same river on the site of the Tyhume Mission. Nqeno and Botomane were to live along the Kabuse and the Mgwalana rivers. D'Urban had not yet decided on Suthu's exact location, though he allowed the amaNgqika Great People to remain

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[241] See Part Two, James Laing's journal, entries between 5 August and 3 October 1835.

[242] *Cape Parliamentary Papers*, G27 of 1857.

on their land adjacent to Burnshill. Laing was remarkably sanguine in his remarks regarding D'Urban's arbitrarily dispossessing the people and then re-allocating them their own land—under his, D'Urban's, own terms—stating: "Few governors have done so much for native tribes as Sir Benjamin has done. I hope and pray, that these humane but just deeds will be attended with the happiest results".[243]

However, those "happiest results" were far from being realised. The amaNgqika, while overtly accepting D'Urban's terms, were deeply unhappy and resentful. The gentle Laing was now ambivalent about D'Urban, and was ready to make allowances for his actions. In a sense, he reversed the motivations and influences of D'Urban and the colonists, writing on 28 October 1835 that D'Urban had "too readily received the exterminating views of the colonists, but on further consideration he in a great measure layed these aside, and acted on such as appeared to me to be more mild and more just. He has allowed the Kaffers to remain in their own country". Laing continued that D'Urban "would have done well to have listened more to the Missionary than he has done in regard to the state of the frontier and in this case he would not have involved himself in the difficulty of having been obliged to make such a change as he has made. He is a governor whose character and talent command respect".

During his period in Grahamstown, Laing was frequently at odds with the editorial policy of Robert Godlonton's *Graham's Town Journal* and wrote, for example, on 6 November 1835: "The present number of the *Graham's Town Journal* shows a spirit of no ordinary stupidity, or of no ordinary dishonesty. I wonder that the people here are so easily duped".

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[243]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 19 September 1835.

Later that year, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, appalled at the brutal death of Hintsa and unable to find justification for D'Urban's summary declaration of the Province of Queen Adelaide, ordered D'Urban to renounce British claims to sovereignty over the newly acquired territory and to announce that British occupation of it would be resigned by the end of 1836.[244]

In 1836, Andries Stockenström, who had earned the respect of the British Government both as a humanitarian and as an able administrator on the frontier, was appointed first Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts. Stockenström set about devising and implementing the system that was to control relations between black and settler for the next decade, based on a series of treaties concluded with the chiefs of the amaXhosa.

He overturned D'Urban's ill-conceived land policies and restored partial land rights between the Fish and the Keiskamma rivers to the amaXhosa. Although the eastern boundary of the Colony was now drawn along the western bank of the Keiskamma River, the amaXhosa were allowed to return to their homes on the land between these two rivers "as a special mark of his said Majesty's grace and favour ... as a loan". The chiefs were to promise that they were "at no period ever to lay claim to the possession or occupation of any other part of the territory, known by the name of the ceded territory, except such part as shall be allotted to them in the manner herein above stated."[245]

Stockenström based his treaties on the assumption that the chiefs of the amaXhosa, as sovereign rulers, could be party to and bound by such bilateral agreements, a conviction not shared by Sir Benjamin D'Urban. He believed, too, that stock theft could only be reduced by

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[244] *British Parliamentary Papers*, 279 of 1836, 26.12.1835, 41.

[245] *Cape Parliamentary Papers*, G27 of 1857, 62.

the co-operation of both the colonists and amaXhosa through their appointed representatives, being the *amaphakathi* (or chiefs' counsellors) for the amaXhosa on the frontier and diplomatic representatives acting for the colonists in Xhosaland.[246] He regarded much of the theft as the result of carelessness in stock management on behalf of the colonial farmers and that in many cases the frequency and numbers involved were exaggerated in order to gain greater compensation than was due. Stockenström hoped to control these excessive claims through the treaties but the logistics of their implementation proved too complex. The farmers were expected to protect their herds through their own efforts. Monitoring the full length of the frontier was not a practical option with the resources available.

In addition, the need for cheap agricultural labour to herd and tend settler livestock within the Colony resulted in ever larger numbers of amaMfengu (and some amaXhosa) crossing into the Colony to become labour tenants on settler farms. A proportion of the stock theft attributed to the amaXhosa based beyond the colonial frontier could now be laid at the door of these labourers. Moreover, the settlers objected to Stockenström's stipulation that cattle herds be armed for protection against potential stock thieves.

Stockenström's problems were swelled by the increasing hostility of the settler population within the Colony towards him who regarded his evidence to the Aborigines Committee in 1836 and the principles of his treaty system as inimical to their own aspirations. To promote the settler cause and to discredit Stockenström as thoroughly and as publicly as possible, the settlers invoked the medium of the local newspaper, the *Graham's Town Journal*. Through the virulent pen of its editor, Robert Godlonton, the public vilification of Stockenström ran its course, culminating in an energetically reported case of libel brought and lost by

[246] Basil A. le Cordeur: *The politics of Eastern Cape separatism 1820-1854* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1981) 86-87.

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Stockenström against the Civil Commissioner for Albany, Duncan Campbell in 1838.[247] Campbell, along with Donald Moodie of Graaff-Reinet, John Centlivres Chase of Cape Town and Godlonton had initiated the collection of affidavits in support of an accusation that Stockenström had shot an unarmed Xhosa herdsman in 1813.[248] Although an enquiry, presided over by the incoming Governor George Napier, totally exonerated Stockenström of the charges levelled against him, local pressures to have him removed from office aligned with British nervousness, resulted in his being offered a baronetcy and a generous pension to soften the blow of his inevitable dismissal.

In Stockenström's place as Lieutenant-Governor, Napier appointed Colonel John Hare, whose military position was not matched by any great administrative talent. Hare's lack of personal ability, along with Napier's determination to limit the extent of the Lieutenant-Governor's power in consequence of Stockenström's uncomfortable independence, led to the decline in the role of the Lieutenant-Governor in influencing the political direction of the frontier, and the redefinition of the respective spheres of jurisdiction of the Governor and his Eastern subordinate.[249]

Soon after Hare assumed the Lieutenant-Governorship, he was visited by the ascendant heir to the chieftainship of the amaRharhabe, Sandile, who was young and crippled and resented by his brothers, Maqoma and Tyhali. Sibling rivalries manifested themselves in accusations that Suthu, mother of Sandile and Ngqika's Great Wife, was responsible through witchcraft, for Tyhali's early death in 1842. Charles Lennox Stretch, diplomatic agent at Block Drift,

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[247]Stockenström, Andries. *The autobiography of the late Sir Andries Stockenström* (1887; reprint, Cape Town: C. Struik, 1964), volume 2, 146-147.

[248]Le Cordeur, *The politics of Eastern Cape separatism*, 95.

[249]Le Cordeur, *The politics of Eastern Cape separatism*, 101.

intervened and helped to prevent her death. This move, wise or not, strengthened Sandile's power and held Maqoma's ambitions in check. Maqoma had long been contemptuous of Sandile's disabilities, both his withered leg (which was physically evident) and his reputed mental incapacity which was not borne out in records of his speech and actions. Sandile relied on his brother Anta and his councillor Tyhala, both of whom lived with him close to Burnshill, to guide and support him in his leadership of the amaNgqika. He was aware that he lacked both physical presence and the respect of many of his people. He was also anxious to court the favour of the colonial authorities to the extent that he was prepared to support them in battle against Tola, a petty chief of the imiMdange, accused of cattle theft. This action took place on Xhosa soil in 1843 and through it he lost still more credibility, not only amongst his own people, but also amongst the authorities with whom he had hoped to find favour.[250]

Hare now firmly believed that the treaty system had failed in controlling stock theft and that the only solution left was a military one. Governor Napier would not support Hare in the use of force but he was due soon to relinquish office. In his place as Governor was to come Sir Peregrine Maitland, a man who, through ignorance and a determination to deal firmly with the situation was to repeal Stockenström's treaties, sow an atmosphere of greater distrust and animosity between the amaXhosa and colonial authorities and who would see the eruption of the Frontier War of 1846-1847.

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[250]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 130.



Figure 11: "Lukesi, or Gaika's Kop: the Amatola mountains from a sketch by Lieut. W.F.D. Jervois R.E." by Charles Davidson Bell. *Source*: Courtesy of the Bell Trust; University of Cape Town Libraries, Manuscripts and Archives division, Bell Collection BC 686, C81.

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Chapter Five

Laing's contribution to Eastern Cape ethnography

Laing's journal proliferates with observations and detailed descriptions of Xhosa ethnography and his reasons for this meticulous documentation could have been several and diverse. His innate curiosity alone would have spurred him to observe and enquire.[251] But he was also shaped by a Christian missionary world-view to which many of the Xhosa customs and ceremonies would have been antithetical. He may have been attempting a deeper understanding of the motivations and manners of his co-habitants in Xhosaland. He was certainly writing to record and inform, possibly to create a source of reference for himself in the first instance, and certainly as an explication for the Directors of the Glasgow Missionary Society in Scotland.

Significantly, Laing submitted a "Paper on the Kaffer Customs" to Sir Benjamin D'Urban on 26 October 1835. This document does not appear to have been solicited and serves rather to caution the Governor in the wake of the implementation of his injudicious land policies. Laing enjoined D'Urban "In this age of light and liberty, it is not to be expected that unjust and unnecessary restraint should be put on such uncivilised tribes as may be taken under British protection and placed under British law. Our Rulers in prohibiting such of their customs as are at variance with the letter and spirit of our laws would only consult the good of these barbarians."[252] Laing expounds on eight features of Xhosa mores *viz.* circumcision,

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[251]See, for example, his enthusiasm for learning navigation aboard the brig *Aquila* on his voyage to the Cape, Part Two, James Laing's journal, 11 October 1830.

[252]For the full text of this document, see Part Two, James Laing's journal, 26 October 1835.

the paying of a bride price linked with the abuse of women, polygyny, the exploitation of women, the status and powers of the chiefs, male nakedness, sorcerers (*amagqwirha*) and rainmakers. His thinking in this paper is for the most part surprisingly liberal and visionary—tempered perhaps by his call for the imposition of stern, additional colonial laws in the new province of Queen Adelaide immediately thereafter. The new measures he advocated included the promotion of temperance, specifically through a prohibition on canteens and the strict enforcement of laws preventing the desecration of the Sabbath. Laing modulated his views on different customs, accepting some, opposing others and condemning still others in the strongest possible terms. What emerges from this document with his added recommendations is offered as a partial blueprint on Laing's standpoint on Xhosa ethnography in the context of his missionary ethic.

Xhosa polity

Each nation, chiefdom or sub-chiefdom was headed by a chief who held rank by hereditary right though not necessarily by primogeniture, with sovereignty over his own greater or lesser domain, supported by a group of senior councillors or *amaphakathi* who acted for him, advised him and implemented his orders. Each of these councillors was the head of his own homestead and many of them were senior members of their "clans" or family units.[253]

In 1832 Laing questioned Matwa, a junior son of Ngqika but a chief of the amaNgqika nonetheless, regarding the relative status and power of the chiefs. Matwa's evidence is basically consistent with the traditional role of Xhosa chiefs but is at variance on one or two points, perhaps reflecting contemporary practice among the amaRharhabe specifically. While

[253]Peires, *The House of Phalo*, 27-36.

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"the Chief is absolute at his own kraal, not so much at the kraals of his subjects. There when he would punish an individual he calls a council and is guided by what is therein said", writes Laing, quoting Matwa. "He can do many things by his power of chief-ship. He can punish offenders and no-one can call him in question for what he does". Laing comments on this last point, adding in parentheses "(this seems contrary to calling a council etc.)". According to Matwa a chief could "punish on a slight report without calling a council and perhaps may have caused the report to have been raised on which he proceeded to punish" indicating the potential for an active role for the chief in identifying and prosecuting a charge rather than simply responding to an existing charge by meting out due punishment.[254]

Laing follows this passage with an illustrative discussion of relative chiefly powers using cattle theft by both colonial authorities and by the amaXhosa as exemplar. He suggests that chiefs and commoners might have different expectations and responses in instances where Xhosa cattle had been stolen by colonial forces. While the chiefs, he was told, might be inclined to believe that these cattle would be returned, their people were less convinced of such colonial probity. The chiefs might consider entering into an agreement with the Colony whereby colonial cattle stolen by the amaXhosa would be returned to their owners—*if* they were confident that the Colony would reciprocate in like manner. "The chiefs would enter the treaty", continues Laing, "but their people would not keep it and the chief could not very well enforce it".[255]

Three years after this interview with Matwa, Laing submitted his "Paper on the Kaffer Customs" to D'Urban. Clause five of this document related to the role of the chiefs and Laing

[254]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 10 September 1832.

[255]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 10 September 1832.

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advocated that due respect be paid to the chiefs. Indeed, he regarded this as "highly proper" and that "[r]eason and revelation concur in teaching us that their rank should be respected". "But", Laing continues with that overtone of colonial dominance that persisted in South Africa through the worst years of apartheid rule in the latter part of the twentieth century, "they must in no case use a power which would lead to the transgression of our laws. They must be made to see that it is their duty and their interest to promote the interest of the colonial Government". Laing concludes this clause with a carrot on the end of this authoritarian stick—redolent as it is with the whiff of bribery—that "perhaps a small salary might be allowed them the more surely to secure their co-operation".[256]

D'Urban's policy in the short-lived Queen Adelaide Province was contingent on those amaXhosa he had permitted to remain west of the Kei submitting to colonial rule. Laing falls into line with this proviso but it is probable that he would have held to the same recommendations had the amaXhosa been permitted to resume their right to their own land under their own laws. His concept of the indivisibility of church and state, borne of his experience of the Established Church in Scotland, would have governed his thinking in the Eastern Cape situation. For him, the law of God would have held sway over all earthly, secular law—in all times and in all places.

Xhosa chiefs were revered as much after death as in life and the land surrounding the sites of their graves was regarded by the amaXhosa as sacred ground. On the death of a chief, one of his councillors was selected to watch his grave, an honourable appointment rewarded with cattle. During the watching period which stretched over one to two years no-one was

[256]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 26 October 1835 for the full text of clause five of Laing's "Paper on the Kaffer Customs".

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permitted to pass too close to the grave. To do so would constitute a serious and punishable violation of the area.

Laing recorded two instances of this practice in his journal covered in this study—one of which was critical in the development of his understanding of Xhosa polity; the other, many years later, was more tangential to his Burnshill experience but nonetheless important in his acculturation.

The first of these cases was to confound and perplex him as it inhibited what he believed was something of great potential benefit to the amaNgqika community as well as to the inhabitants of the Burnshill mission station.

Despite the fact that the land between the Fish and the Kei is watered by numerous rivers and streams, the largest being the Keiskamma and the Buffalo, few of these run continuously throughout the year. Many are reduced to sandy beds during the frequent periods of drought that afflict the area, while hot, dry berg winds bleach the veld and crisp the vegetation into lifelessness. The uncertainty of the South African rainfall and the need to provide for a more regular water supply were soon realised by the missionaries. An early priority on each mission station was the leading out of a furrow or water course from the river on which the station was established and, where possible, the construction of a small dam. Through the water courses and dams, mission and neighbouring lands could be irrigated with obvious agricultural benefits. Potentially the greater reliability of water supply through the water courses could be used by the missionaries in their attempts to counter the dependence of the amaXhosa on their rainmakers.[257]

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[257]Peires, *The House of Phalo*, 8; Donovan Williams, *The Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony 1799-1853*, 64-70.

The Burnshill mission station, as has been noted, was situated on the Keiskamma River and no more than two and a half kilometres from Ngqika's grave. Soon after settling at Burnshill in June 1830, William Chalmers and Alexander McDiarmid decided that a water course should be cut for irrigation purposes. An appropriate point on the Keiskamma was selected from which to lead the water out and cutting of the course began. However, the path of the water course, which was to be a mile and a half [2.5 km] in length, was about to cut too close to Ngqika's grave which, according to Xhosa custom, was considered sacred.[258]

When work on the water course was suspended after it had been continuing for almost a year, Alexander McDiarmid and James Weir called on Matwa for clarification. McDiarmid recorded in his journal that Matwa replied that "he and his brothers could not say any thing in it;—that his grandmother [Yese] (Geika's mother) and Suza [Ntsusa?] were the persons that knew the custom ... Matwa said he thought we might go on, but he would not give us liberty ... He said he would go and state to his grandmother what I [McDiarmid] had said and would let me know her answer." Yese, Ngqika's mother, was still held in considerable esteem by her grandsons and the amaNgqika, as is borne out in William Chalmers' account of the siting of Burnshill in June 1830. According to the Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* of 1832 the "principal widow of Geika [Suthu] proclaimed the whole ridge, on which Geika was buried, sacred. It was on no account to be dug or turned up." Maqoma, in his capacity as regent for the young heir, Sandile, was certainly empowered to halt or allow work on the water course

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[258]Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, 122; Soga: *The AmaXosa, Life and Customs*, 321-3; Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1831): 26-7.

himself, but would have been influenced by the will of the matriarchal Yese, especially in the realm of amaXhosa tradition and custom.[259]

On 8 December 1831, Laing and McDiarmid visited Yese to ask if she would give her consent to the water course. Her answer came as a surprise: it was Maqoma who had the final word in this matter and, by abnegating her opportunity to object, she was giving him the leeway to decide as he wished. Laing was relieved as he and McDiarmid had "little fear that Maqoma will say anything against so evident an improvement as the leading out of the water to this mission".[260]

It must be remembered that in 1831, Sandile, Ngqika's Great Son and heir apparent, was still a child and his brothers, Maqoma and Tyhali and his mother Suthu, governed the amaNgqika jointly in his stead. In the absence of a single overlord, it is understandable that normal chiefly decisions were difficult and that direct lines of authority within the context of this uncomfortable power triad were murky. Exactly what role and relative power Yese had in the governance of the amaRharhabe is unclear. As Ngqika's mother and Sandile's grandmother she was certainly revered as their matriarchal figurehead but could she, had she wished, have over-ruled the regency triad?

On 2 February 1832 Laing and McDiarmid visited Maqoma and, *inter alia*, discussed the matter of the water course.[261] On a chilly day in June 1832, four months after this conversation, Maqoma, clad in a green cloak and leather trousers, called on Laing. "When

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[259]Extract from William Chalmers' journal, 2 June 1830 in Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Paper* 7(February 1831):7; Extract from Mr McDiarmid's journal, 31 May 1831 in Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Paper* 9 (November 1831):13; Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1832):26-27.

[260]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 8 December 1831.

[261]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 2 February 1832.

spoken to about the water course," wrote Laing in his journal that evening, "he said he wondered how any could take it upon them to stop such a work and that he was willing it should proceed".[262] Two months later, on 23 August 1832, Laing wrote that they had begun to clear the water course and work resumed.

This water course episode, during Laing's first year—his novitiate—at Burnshill, signals the tangled filaments of amaRharhabe power in the years of Sandile's minority and could serve to make Laing's initial confusion regarding Xhosa polity a little more understandable.

Years later, the second of these instances occurred, in July 1838. During a visit to some hamlets in the vicinity of Burnshill, Laing approached the grave of Ntsusa but "was told that it was unlawful to pass near it, and that those who did so were deprived of their property". Laing respected this injunction saying "that there was no evil in going within the consecrated ground, but that I would not be guilty of the intrusion which he [Laing's Xhosa companion at the grave site] deprecated". In his journal entry for the same day, Laing recalled the incident of the water course and Ngqika's grave, adding that "[a]fter about a year the ground was again considered as common".[263]

Gender relations, polygamy and lobola

The determination of the heir to the chieftainship was governed by complex laws in a polygamous society. Clause three of Laing's "Paper on the Kaffer customs" reveals one of his more liberal views on Xhosa customs. While recognising that polygamy was "contrary to British law and ... highly punishable by it", he recommended that the law should be

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[262]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 3 June 1832.

[263]Rhodes University, Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, Laing journal, 11 July 1838.

prospective, not retrospective. He was not clear if British law extended to the colonies on the point of polygamy, but that if it did, "it follows that the law allowing a plurality of wives cannot be tolerated among the Kaffers who may become subjects of our gracious Majesty" but that "[s]uch as have already married more wives than one ought to be allowed to retain them, until the power of religion operating on their minds would lead them to abandon polygamy as contrary to the injunctions of Christ".[264] He would not sanction the violation of existing polygamous relationships knowing that this would damage societal structure. But he did advocate the proscription of the practice in a future Xhosa society under British colonial rule in the new province of Queen Adelaide.

In Laing's Burnshill experience, he found polygamy to be a "delicate and difficult matter". His entry for 5 August 1834 provides one example:

> Charles Henry was out and found the people willing to be instructed. One of Matwa's wives left the station with the view of residing at Pirrie [Pirie]. Sometime ago being convinced of the unscriptural nature of polygamy, he determined to abide by one wife. The one who he retained was she to whom he first married. The other is the one who has been mentioned in this Journal as having suffered in a certain degree for righteousness sake. She stated to us that the people here had advised her to reside at another station, as their proceedings regarding past conditions would be less likely to be excited. I understand that the separation was mutual, and that the late husband approved of her departure to Pirrie [Pirie]. We were not applied to for advice in this (Note: Mr R[oss] has received her into his house).

Whilst a chief might have as many as twenty wives, economic means, realised through the ownership of cattle and the custom of paying a dowry or *lobola* ("bride wealth") in cattle to the father of each wife, limited commoners to a maximum number of wives to one or two.

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[264] Historian Natasha Erlank correctly avers that the missionaries on the frontier considered that there was no "proper place" for the practice of sexuality outside the bounds of marriage. Indeed, in her article on missionary views on sexuality, she cites a censorious Laing on more than one occasion. Laing's small measure of tolerance as evinced in his "Paper" is therefore interesting, the more so perhaps as the instances of polygamy which he encountered were implicitly adulterous and therefore doubly threatening to the sanctity of matrimony. Natasha Erlank, "Missionary views on sexuality in Xhosaland in the nineteenth century", *Le Fait Missionaire* 11 (September 2001): 14-17, 41-43.

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This dowry varied according to the means of the prospective husband but generally constituted between three and ten head of cattle, though the wealthier men including the chiefs were known to pay up to 50 head. These cattle were shared amongst the bride's male relatives and constituted not simply a purchase price on the head of the bride but an investment for her security and that of her children. In the event of her husband's death she and her children were entitled to assistance from any who had benefited from her dowry. Nonetheless missionaries, including Laing, regarded the practice of *lobola* as a degradation of the status of women by reducing them to marketable chattels.

Laing gave his views on this custom in his "Paper on the Kaffer Customs":

> The degrading practice of buying wives for cattle prevails among the Kaffers. In reference to this custom, it would be sufficient to enact that no man on taking a wife should be obliged to give a price for her. If any should beat their wives on the ground that they are their slaves, this brutal conduct would come under the cognisance of our law.

According to Laing, then, even if the compulsory payment of *lobola* were abolished, there still remained an attitudinal and behavioural problem. If men's attitudes towards women were such that they regarded them as slaves and treated them violently, then further laws should be envisaged to protect women from violent crimes such as wife-beating.

At a later point in his journal (12 October 1838) Laing comments further on his perception of the debased status of women and instances of violence against them: "These degraded Kaffer females that are sold for wives—for slaves—that are made to work like beasts of burden, and that are often unmercifully beaten by their husbands, sometimes until death follows, that are not allowed to eat with males, may be brought into our schools, and raised from their

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degradation and made industrious, intelligent, Christian mothers by the blessed influence of Christian education."[265]

It is interesting to note that Soga considered that the custom of *lobola* had been instituted to "protect womankind" and went on to write "[i]n no country civilized or uncivilized is there any custom so powerful, I believe, to secure the status of the married woman, and to protect her from physical abuse." Clearly he had no sense of *lobola* as degrading the status of women nor of it modifying male attitudes towards women and even potentially sanctioning violence towards them. Soga contends further that *lobola* is a "friendly contract, with no recognized time limit, and no fixed value in numbers. It is, therefore, not a form of purchase—the woman is not bought. If the Bantu woman were 'bought', 'purchased' or 'owned' as some assert, her subservience would be complete, her spirit would be broken. But the spirit of the Bantu woman is not broken; far from that, she is proud, has a high sense of her independence, and makes here influence felt in the home and in the tribe." Soga cites the instance of Suthu, Great Wife of Ngqika and mother of Sandile, "who by her wisdom and ability was raised to the position of Regent of the tribe during the minority of her son."[266] However, as Peires points out, women "had no formal voice in the disposition of cattle as inheritance or bridewealth, or in the political and legal areas where the role of cattle was crucial. In short, women remained jural minors subject to male control throughout their lives."[267]

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[265]Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, Laing journal, 12 October 1838.

[266]Soga, J.H., *The ama-Xosa: life and customs*, p.271.

[267]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 41.

Laing comments several times on the exploitation of amaXhosa women by amaXhosa men as in this passage from his entry for 4 June 1834: "The Kaffer women are in the habit of bringing fuel to the station for sale. Sometimes their husbands come with them to aid them in selling it, or to see what they obtain. The load of wood which the females thus bring is often very heavy, but you never see the men *helping* them to carry it [Laing's emphasis]. In the same manner you see the women often carrying hides to the traders for sale and the men walking at their ease before them. So much for a little of the oppression of the females in this country."

Because marriage was as much a contract between two families as a relationship between two peoples and often concluded at the behest of the chief or on the advice of either the *amaphakathi* or the man's friends, missionaries tended to interpret the union as lacking in personal, mutual affection. Under Xhosa law, a man was, in theory, not forbidden adulterous relationships, though in practice his punishment was far more severe than that meted out to the woman. In fact, the only crime for which immediate, personal retribution could be meted out, without recourse to the chief and the *amaphakathi* was in the case of a husband discovering a man committing adultery with his wife. In these circumstances, Xhosa law bestowed on him the right to kill the adulterer. In practice, he more often claimed half the number of cattle paid by the offending party to the chief by way of compensation.

Writing about Mama Henry, Charles Henry (Matshaya)'s daughter, on 6 September 1834, Laing comments not only on her and her partner's adultery but also on the reversal of *lobola* thus ending an existing marriage contract.

> She [Mama] is far advanced in pregnancy. We have also had a report which we fear is true that the unlawful intercourse between her and the other individual had begun nearly a year ago. We held a meeting of Session, ... and

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> then separated her from the church ... We cannot recommend marriage with her partner in sin. We cannot say that he is wholly free from former matrimonial obligations. He was formerly married, and may nearly be said to have done what was equivalent to the putting away of his wife. His wife had not committed adultery. He was too long in attempting a reconciliation, which however he did at last in vain attempt. In process of time his former wife was given in marriage to another man. He then took away from her father the cattle which he had given for her. Thus he broke the marriage bond according to the law of the Kaffers and according to the same law was at liberty to marry again. But I am not certain that according to the law of God he is at liberty to marry 1 Corinthians 7.11.[268]

Rites of passage

Male and female children, on reaching puberty, were required to undergo rituals and ceremonies admitting them to adulthood. For male children, this initiation took the form of circumcision. When boys reached the age of about 15, they were sent to the clan chief for a period ranging from three to six. These initiates or *abakhwetha* secluded themselves in a large hut erected some distance from the chief's own residence for the period Peires describes as from "the seed-time to the harvest".[269] The *abakhwetha* were given a final ceremonial feast after a beast, usually an ox, sheep or goat, was sacrificed to appease the ancestral spirits and to invoke their blessing on the *abakhwetha* during their initiation and thereafter. They then discarded their existing clothing and donned a prepared sheepskin kaross. The boys then washed themselves and an *incibi* (Xhosa surgeon) performed the process of circumcision itself.

Between the act of circumcision and their appearance in society, the *abakhwetha* kept their bodies smeared with white clay and were instructed in the art of war and in developing their physical fitness and strength. During this time they were expected to visit neighbouring

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[268]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 6 September 1834.

[269]Peires, *House of Phalo*, 20.

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kraals to demonstrate their dancing skills. This ritual circumcision dance, the *umtshilo*, required ceremonial dress comprising a headdress and a short skirt fashioned from dried palm leaves. The leaves were strung together in a long line which was then wound round the waist of the *umkhwetha* creating several layers and a tutu-like effect. The leaves comprising the headdress were strapped in a dense swathe around the head, completely obscuring the face and protruding cockscomb-like some distance above the head. The dancing was rhythmic and vigorous and accompanied by ritual circumcision songs and music. Soga identifies three of the principal songs as *umyeyezelo*, *umqolo wenamba* and *ingoma kaMhala*, the last of which honours Mhala, Great Son of Ndlambe.

In the final days of their seclusion, the *abakhwetha* had their heads shaved and after a few days were taken to a river where they washed off their white clay, greased their bodies with fat and red clay and donned new karosses. Their ritual karosses, their palm-leaf dancing clothes and their circumcision huts were then ceremoniously burned marking their final transition into the fullness of Xhosa male society.

The subsequent coming-out ceremony was marked by the gathering of the clan for general feasting, the drinking of *inqombothi* (specially brewed beer) and the giving of gifts (*ukusoka*) to the young men which afforded them the economic means to establish themselves in independent homesteads of their own as full adult members of their community. The expansion of Xhosa territory occurred as each chiefly son reached manhood and moved away to his own new chiefdom and territory.

Xhosa circumcision has frequently been compared with the circumcision rites of other cultures, principally Muslim and Jewish. Soga suggests that "the Bantu adopted the custom from the Arabs, who, from very early times had stations all along the shores of the Indian

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Ocean where it meets the East Coast of Africa. It may be assumed as a certainty that such Bantu tribes as have embraced the custom of circumcision have had an East Coast connection."[270]

Although Laing interpolated his prejudices about the rituals of circumcision, for example, the circumcision dance (*umtshilo*) which he considered "indecent", he more importantly provided first-hand accounts of the ceremonies from which the historian and anthropologist might derive benchmark descriptions.

Significantly, in his "Paper on the Kaffer Customs"alluded to above, Laing endorsed the rite of circumcision as a practice which "does not in itself militate against any of our laws and may be allowed to be practised". Further, he regarded it as an essential rite of passage in Xhosa society without which a young boy would not be "considered a fit person to be admitted into society, and he might without this rite materially suffer in his worldly interests".[271]

Female children, having reached menarche, were separated from the rest of society in a specially constructed hut and were prepared for womanhood through the ritual of *intonjane* which kept them apart from their community (with the exception of a group of peers who had not yet reached the same stage of development) until their first menses had ceased. They then washed themselves and covered their bodies with fat and red ochre. When they emerged from the *intonjane* hut, they strewed red ochre before them and were welcomed into the society of womanhood by the group of unmarried women awaiting them. They were then considered eligible for marriage.

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[270]Soga, *Ama-Xosa*, p.247.

[271]See Part Two, James Laing's journal, 26 October 1835.

The missionaries in general deplored the dances and ceremonies accompanying these rites of passage, regarding the gestures movements and prurient and immoral. William Shaw, for example, refers to the women singing the *abakhwetha* song, the *ukuyeyezela*, "accompanied by libidinous allusions and indecent gestures".[272] Shaw in fact believed the entire practice of circumcision should be "overcome". He did allow, though, that the amaXhosa should be instructed that, without forbidding the rite outright, the "unchaste and heathenish practices connected with it" were incompatible with the Christian religion.[273]

Further, noting the apparent absence of belief in a unitary, omnipotent deity amongst the amaXhosa, the missionaries came to the conclusion that "they lived 'without God, and without hope in the world'".[274] Xhosa religion was steeped in a cosmology of ancestor veneration and the belief in nature spirits which were believed to govern fortune and misfortune in earthly activities. The missionaries, in general, refused to dignify these beliefs with the name of religion and dismissed them as mere superstitions.

Rainmaking

Into this realm of interaction with and manipulation of the forces of the unseen, fell several practices with which the missionaries took particular issue. One of these was the role of the rainmaker, who was entrusted the responsibility of invoking rain in a periodically drought-blighted countryside. Missionary objections were rooted not only in the practices employed, which invariably led to the blame for the lack of rain being laid on one individual who would

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[272]William Shaw, *The Story of My Mission in South-Eastern Africa, comprising some Account of the European Colonists with Extended Notices of the Kaffer and Other Native Tribes* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1860), 457.

[273]William Shaw, *The Story of My Mission*, 460.

[274]Communication from Rev. William Shrewsbury quoted in Kay, *Travels and Researches*, 426.

be required to offer retribution in the form of a cattle-price or even with his life, but also in the fact that the power of their own faith and prayer was thereby implicitly challenged.

Laing believed that the rainmakers stood "nearly on the same ground as the sorcerer[s]" (see below) and that they should not be permitted to "bring punishment of any sort on anyone who has, according to his false system, prevented the rain from falling." He believed it was inappropriate for the Colony to legislate against the offices of rainmakers (*amagqirha lemvula*) or sorcerers (*amagqwirha)* but that they should be punished "in the most signal manner" if their directives led to any cruelty or injustice levelled at any individual. He felt that if this was done, and innocent people were no longer be deprived of their cattle as a result of these directives, that "their power would in a short time be entirely destroyed." (26 October 1835). Laing had frequent engagements with both the *amagqirha lemvula* themselves and with the individuals they had targeted—either those who sought refuge at Burnshill or whose predicament was called to his attention by people loyal to the mission.

Witchcraft

The missionaries experienced the same challenge to their faith manifested to an even greater degree in the broader application of magic and witchcraft, particularly in the practice of the "smelling out" of witches, or witch-finding. The amaXhosa regarded the *amagqirha* (or diviners) engaged in witch-finding as doing good, but the witches themselves as malevolent. The missionaries tended to sympathise with the victims of witchcraft accusations, rather than with their accuser, a tendency which the amaXhosa interpreted as a missionary desire to side with the witches themselves.

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As Peires records "[t]he missionaries' primary targets were some of the Xhosa's most treasured social institutions, and they met with a resounding snub. Their attack on 'witchcraft' was in fact an attack on witch-finding; for the Xhosa this was like denying the existence of a disease or suggesting the elimination of the medical profession."[275]

Laing expressed himself clearly on the subject in his memorandum to Sir Benjamin D'Urban (26 October 1835):

> One of the most atrocious customs of the Kaffers, is that which leads them to punish such as they presume to use witchcraft to bring sickness and death upon others. We usually call the individual whose business it is to discover the guilty person a witchdoctor. Perhaps a more appropriate name would be sorcerer. It is evident that his services with the Kaffers and Fingoes must in a great measure be dispensed with. No-one must be injured in his character, person or property because a witchdoctor determines that by witchcraft he has brought sickness on his neighbour.

In his entry for 10 July 1833, Laing draws an analogy between this custom and that of the Druids who sacrificed a human victim if a chief became ill or in the event of a range of other calamities. He points out that, unlike the amaXhosa, the Druids were not concerned if the person sacrificed was the person accused of causing the affliction. "Among the Kaffers", writes Laing, "it is affirmed that those who are tortured and put to death have used charms to cause sickness and the witch or wizard as they call them are punished because they have made some others unwell."

On 29 October 1830, Laing was allowed to observe ceremonies following the death of a young woman in childbirth. Her family and community had asked an *igqirha* to identify and name the person who was believed to have bewitched the young woman and thus caused her

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[275] Peires, *House of Phalo*, 75

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death. Laing tried to intervene before the ceremonies began, asking permission to speak to the assembled crowd but he was forbidden to do so. However, he was allowed to remain throughout the ceremonies. Writing in his journal on 30 October 1833, Laing records a minutely detailed eye-witness account including details of the *igqirha*'s costume and body markings and of the ritual dance performed by both men and women.

This particular account perhaps exemplifies the value of Laing's contributions towards the ethnography of the amaXhosa and, more especially, of the amaNgqika. Throughout his journal, Laing provides many such illuminating first-hand accounts of Xhosa customs and ceremonies which may prove of considerable value to historians and anthropologists.

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Part Two

James Laing's journal

On board the brig *Aquila*

11th October 1830 to 31st December 1830

On board the brig *Aquila*[276]

Liverpool Bay

Monday October 11th 1830

To Patrick Falconer, Esq.

Glasgow[277]

Very Dear Sir

As I may have leisure I purpose making a few memorandums of the voyage. These I mean to send to you. They may not be of much interest—but should I deem them so uninteresting as to afford you little pleasure in their perusal I shall have it in my power to destroy them or retain them in my own possession. When I have a particular friend before me to whom I can make my remarks I am more likely to attend to propriety than I would be were I to write only for my own inspection. The inward feelings of my soul may not thus so openly appear; but every Christian knows that every other Christian is daily looking to the Saviour for *pardoning mercy and sanctifying grace*. The work of our salvation whatever we may say about it is a *secret work between God our Saviour and ourselves*. Neither speaking nor writing about religion will make us religious—we must *look* with the eyes of faith to Christ for pardon and for power to overcome sin. Mrs Laing, Miss Shand and myself left our

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[276]The *Aquila*, a small brig of 130 tons, was built at Scarborough in 1829. Owned and captained by Captain J. Taylor, the *Aquila* plied regularly between Liverpool and the Cape despite the fact that she was little larger than the average tug and that brigs, the "small workhorses of the western seas", were doubtless more suitable for coastal creeping and short voyages, as in the Mediterranean, than the lengthy trip to the Cape. *A Register of Shipping 1832-3*; *Encyclopaedia of ships and seafaring*, p.44-46, 202; *Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, Supplement*, (7.1.1831): 4, Cory Library MIC 209].

[277]Patrick Falconer was one of the Directors of the Glasgow Missionary Society and a personal friend of James Laing. Laing's second wife was Isabella Mirrlees, a niece of Falconer's.

lodgings this morning about 20 minutes before six o'clock and were on board by six.[278] It was a beautiful morning—the Sun shining on the sea with much brightness. Nearly at the same time when we left port many other vessels had left it, some for one part of the world others for other parts. Their appearance around us was very grand. I staid on Deck a good part of the day and had a good deal of miscellaneous conversation with our Captain. He is a well informed and a liberal man but I cannot yet tell what his religious sentiments are. I wished to learn as much from him as I could of sea affairs. He is well able to inform me having paid much attention to the study of navigation. I shall get a book from him on this subject and learn something of it.

Nothing remarkable during the day occurred. The wind was in our favour and drove us on speedily in the right direction. We saw Wales on our left (or larboard side) though very indistinctly. In the evening about sunset Anglesea was very easily and distinctly discerned.

I have heard of some Missionaries having had the worship of God in their own Cabins or part of Cabins assigned to them. This could not with propriety have been done in the State Room—as it is called assigned to Mrs Laing and myself. It is so small that I can only turn myself in it. We feel no inconvenience from this as we and Miss Shand (see page) have the cabin very much to ourselves. The Captain's lady is with him and as there are no other passengers the inhabitants of the Cabin are only five. Mrs Taylor as yet has kept mostly on deck so my party have almost entirely occupied the Cabin.

Wishing to read the word of God and to pray to him I thought that the Captain might have some objections to these things being systematically done in his cabin. I asked him and was happy to find that he had none, so before going to bed we read a portion of God's word and united in prayer to him. Mrs Taylor had gone to bed. The Captain was on deck and the only addition to our number was the steward of the vessel, an obliging and well-intentioned young man.

About this time the up and down motion of the ship was considerable and I felt desirous of getting to bed, where one can bear the movement better than when sitting or standing.

Tuesday October 12th 1830 I slept well during the night though the motion of the vessel was very great. She was lying very much to the one side—so much that one could with difficulty stand erect. The wind was blowing fair on our larboard and so pressing of the sails as to

[278]Elizabeth Shand, married Rev. George Morgan of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, Somerset East (later of St Andrew's Church, Cape Town) shortly after her arrival at the Cape. She died a mere two years later, aged 27, at Somerset East on 3 November 1832. William Govan, *Memorials of the Rev. James Laing*, p.6; death notice in *Graham's Town Journal* (15 November 1832): 1; Dreyer, *Gedenkboek van die Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk Somerset-Oos*, 21.

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depress the starboard side of the deck quite to the water. We who had nothing of the ship's duty to attend to were late in rising. The bed indeed was the best situation. I found it more difficult to manage myself when up than before, yet I felt the sea sickness but somewhat indeed when going to bed—but I had not been long there till it was quite off.

I hope we shall be able to have worship in the morning—today we had none—late in rising—and so situated in the vessel that it would not have been easy to have kept ourselves in the proper position sufficiently long.

When I rose in the morning I could scarcely have written—our floor was so obliquely situated—now 12 o'clock it is nearly level. Our ship is in St George's Channel. I have been just requested by the Captain to go on Deck and see Ireland which is very near. I shall go. The mountains of Wicklow are very clearly seen. Our direction shall now be nearly South West—nearer to Ireland than Wales which we are not likely again to see. Now all is still—none in the Cabin to disturb me—no noise anywhere to distract the attention. May the outward peace be also felt within.

Wednesday October 13th 1830 We are still in St George's Channel. We want to go S[outh] West but the wind is against us. So much does the ship lie to the one side that if I were not to hold my desk on a sofa at the side of the cabin it would soon fall off. A book will not lie on the table. None of us have been so affected by sea sickness as to be unable to walk about and sit up. The ladies as yet stand the voyage well. When fairly out to sea the manner of life on board is very different from what it is on land. We have no calls and we make none. The same faces are continually before us. The same objects are always in recurrence. There is need for kindness being mutually exercised among us since our comfort so much depends on being disposed to accommode. I am happy to see all so attentive to the individual comfort of the rest. There may be a good deal of this obliging spirit where there is no Christianity. But wherever there is Christianity there will also be a spirit of sincere benevolence ready on all occasions to come forth into active operation.

If you have been much at sea you will be aware of the plans adopted on certain occasions for securing the meal apparating on the table. You will have some idea of the unsteadyness of our ship when I tell that for the last five meals the dishes have been kept on the table by thin pieces of wood laid across it and tied firmly down.

The Captain's Lady has of all of us been much under the influence of sickness. She is an agreeable young woman and has I perceive read a good deal of "Mrs Judson's life" which I

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put into her hands soon after sailing[279]. I shall endeavour soon to learn what her views of religion are.

My time will not hang heavily on me while on board. I have many excellent books with me and the study of Dutch will occupy me considerably[280].

Thursday evening October 14th 1830 Our ship has made a considerable way since yesterday we are now fairly into the Atlantic as far South as the Land's End and perhaps a hundred and twenty miles from Cape Clear. Since I wrote the wind has kept the starboard (the right) side of the vessel quite down to the water. The sea I observed when on deck often covered a part of the lea side. Now my desk is only kept on the table by the crossbars hooked to it for keeping the plates, cups etc from being capsized when at meat.

The reason why the vessel is so unsteady I am told is that she is loaded at the bottom with the light goods and with heavy ones at the top. Had the heavy ones been lowest she would not have rocked so much. Mrs Falconer and you will now have got your tea over; and you will be retired to your study perhaps devising some scheme for the benefit of the poor Jews. I wish you may succeed in getting them to Christ. They must feel an earnest desire for the salvation of their souls else they may enquire long enough to little purpose. Among those I saw at your house I could not see any that appeared to me to be anxiously enquiring "what shall I we do to be saved". But they may have been doing this though unobserved by me. The enquiry with them seemed to be "what shall we eat, what shall we drink and where with all shall we be clothed". These are natural questions and are such as must concern us while we are in this mortal body. But they ought not to engage anything like a principal part in our consideration—and I hope they do not entirely engross the attention of the[se] your friends the Jews. You no doubt will have seen the best of their minds. To have anything to do in the conversion of a single soul is a matter of such amazing importance as claims the approving attention of the angels in heaven. I myself would consider that I was conferring a greater benefit on the world were I to be honoured to convert Jews than I would do were I only to convert Gentiles. Not that I consider a Hindoo [Hindu] or a Caffer soul of less value than that of a Jew; but I am fully persuaded that there will be no general Conversion of the Gentiles till

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[279]Laing is probably referring to the *Early life of Mrs Judson* (London: London Religious Tract Society, c.1830) concerning Ann Hasseltine Judson, first wife of Adoniram Judson, a leading American Baptist missionary to Burma. Ann Judson died in Burma in 1826.

[280]See the passage on learning Dutch in the Introduction, p.170.

"all Israel shall be saved"[281]. Then their salvation "shall be to the Gentile would as life from the dead".

I do not by any means wish it to be understood that our exertions in helping of the heathen are to be relaxed; because Scripture says that the Heathen world is to be so much enriched by the return of the Jews from their infidelity. I do not know how much of the world God will turn to himself before the Jews shall be converted and I as little know what information he may wish the nations to be possessed of before the beneficial exertions of the Jews begin to appear. Such is God's undoubted will that exertions for the salvation of Jew and Gentile must go on at one and the same time.

I have been reading today in Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*.[282] His pious earnestness exc[eed]s anything with which I am acquainted. Were the clergy of the world truly devoted to God what great things might be accomplished by them! What manner of persons ought they especially to be in all holy conversation and Godliness! Their preaching is often ineffectual and powerless because they preach by their words and not by their lives. They do not deny themselves and take up their cross and follow Christ.

The sun has shone brightly all day. The wind has blown rather unfavourably and somewhat strongly on our side. I am now accustomed to the motion of the ship and feel but little inconvenience from it. Going at this season of the year we shall miss winter but we have not got away from the cold as yet.

Saturday October 16th 1830 Yesterday we sailed South West in the same uncomfortable manner as before. The vessel shakes more and not less. In the cabin as well as on deck everything not lashed was tossed to the lower end of the ship. Those of us who had not been accustomed to the sea found ourselves in jeopardy when not holding by something to keep us from being driven down. We are now opposite to the Bay of Biscay—that place so much

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[281]Caffer/Caffre/Kafir/Kaffir/Kaffer are variant spellings of the Arabic "Kafir" originally meaning "ungrateful". As historian Robert Shell explains, "by association, those who did not believe in Allah were ungrateful. All non-Jews, non-Christians and non-Muslims—people 'not of the book'—were thus considered "Caffers". Because the Arab Muslims came into contact with many African pagans, there arose an association in the Muslim mind between caffers and pagan African. This association was exported to the Indonesian archipelago by Arab and Gujerati traders. The Portuguese, and later the Dutch, picked up the term...In the nineteenth century, the British ... reintroduced the term, this time applying it to all Africans on the Eastern frontier." Robert C.-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage: a social history of the slave society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995): 189-190. The term, commonly used in the 19th century to describe the Xhosa speaking peoples, their language and their land, did not have the pejorative sense then that it has today.

[282]Richard Baxter (1615-1691) was a prolific religious author whom Laing read and clearly admired. *The reformed pastor, or, Duty of personal labours for the souls of men* ... New York, American Tract Society, *preface* 1829.

dreaded—but are further West than in ordinary cases, the wind permitting us to get in our wished for direction only by keeping a South Westerly course. Any books that I lay out to read are driven from one side to another and I am in danger of following them unless I hold by something to keep me steady.

For a long way beyond the South of Ireland the sea is not so deep as to be unfathomable but last night about nine o'clock we came to the place where the soundings cannot any more be made. The Captain was of the opinion that the Atlantic has no bottom at all but extends to the other side of the globe. This admits of doubt; though I believe it would not be easy to tell how much of the interior of the earth is really a solid substance.

You are aware that along with the "Confession of Faith" there are various directions given as to the proper conducting of Public worship—and some other documents now but little attended to[283]. All these I shall consider. I took down my "Confession" today—but if it is to meet with such treatment every day it will not long stick together. When I had read some time in it and had laid it aside a violent heave of the ship drove it with such violence to the lower part as to injure it considerably. Well it is, that, according to the directions of Mr B[unyan?] it was firmly bound else it would have but poorly stood this rough passage. One observation which occurs to me when reading the "Confession" is that *the language should be modernized.*

I shall say nothing more of this at present but wait to see what may be the further result of my reading. I have been looking through my tracts and have given some of them to the sailors. The ladies have read some of them. Among others M. MacGavin's on the Deluge—an excellent tract and like all his writings perspicuous and sensible[284].

Monday October 18th 1830 Yesterday and today our progress has been but little during the last 24 hours we have only made 20 miles in the right direction. The rolling of the ship has increased on the whole; though it is now going more smoothly. We have now been a week at sea—and have spent one Sabbath on board. The state of the weather yesterday was such as to make it improper to have any service on deck. Should it be more favourable next Lord's day the crew will be assembled and I will have an opportunity of speaking to them. The Captain when at sea has been in the habit of reading prayers to his men. The hour for preaching to the

[283]The *Confession* was drawn up at Westminster between 1643 and 1646 and constituted "one of the most influential creeds of Calvinism, a creedall standard for all Presbyterian churches". *New international dictionary of the Christian church.* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1974), 1039-1040.

[284]Laing cites this and several other examples of similar religious tracts for distribution on board or ashore at the Cape. They were produced in bulk by the London, American and other Religious Tract Societies.

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sailors must be the one which will least interfere with time allotted to them for repose and for the necessary management of the ship. To take them from their rest might make them discontented, and to make them neglect their duty would be doing what religion will not sanction.

You, my dear Sir, would yesterday enjoy the unspeakable priviledge of hearing the gospel faithfully preached in all calmness and composure.

I am tossed on the unfathomable ocean, and though I have the same means which you have of waiting on him without distraction. There are no doubt many prayers ascending to heaven today for our safe conveyance over the mighty deep. One of my prayers ought to be that God would answer them.

I have been reading the Bible and Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*. Few human writings move one so much as Baxter. O for the time when our Clergy shall be animated by a spirit like his!

Wednesday evening October 20th 1830 Since I last wrote we have had such a severe gale that I could not have written had I been so inclined. It does not now blow so hard but still it is with difficulty that I can use my pen. I wish however to record a few things. During the whole of yesterday the wind was so high as to make it necessary for the safety of the ship to take all the sails down except one. I and the ladies went on deck about the middle of the day to witness the appearance of the waves. They indeed presented a magnificent prospect. It would not be easy to convey to you anything like an adequate idea of their appearance. It is a common expression to speak of the sea as running mountains high. It may be used without much impropriety. The waves did appear like hills coming with rapidity towards our ship as if they would bury her under them. Yet she went over them quite easily. When the waves were within a few yards of us they seemed as if they would certainly overwhelm us but scarcely any of them touched the deck. Our ship is small but she is an excellent one for all weathers. I was told by the Master who has sailed a good deal that most ships would have been deluged by the waves which assailed us so harmlessly. The situation of some of the sailors at the time I was on deck seemed to me to be peculiarly dangerous. They were perched in all directions on various parts of the rigging. Not less than seven of them were at one time in a row bent over a cross beam which projected into the sea, and had they fallen they could scarcely have been saved. They were tying up a sail the time they were so situated, and though their feet rested on the beam, it was wonderful that they were not thrown down as they were rapidly swaying through the air. Constant habit makes them overcome these difficulties with seeming ease.

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I do not mean, my dear friend to attempt to describe the aspect which the surface of the sea presented. If I did I would certainly fail. One high wave like a long hill came rolling on behind another and for a little prevented us from seeing to any distance before us. When we looked on the other side towards the sea it presented an uneven surface generally black—but mixed everywhere with white on the top of the wave. The whole day could be called nothing but a storm—moderate indeed, in comparison to some but so severe as to cause us to think that our situation was by no means secure or comfortable. Bad, however as it was we soon found that it might become worse—not from the storm becoming more severe but from another and unexpected cause. Captain Taylor went on deck about 10 o'clock last night and found all the men at their posts. He had [a] head-ache and came down to his state room but had not been 5 minutes there till cries from his own and another ship made him run to deck to see what was the matter. He saw at once that the danger was imminent. The ships were in danger of sinking—and except the man at the helm there was scarcely one of his own men to be found. There were none of our sails set except one. We heard the cry "Square the main yard", roared at the helm. By doing this the ship would be turned so as to avoid the other. For some time it was doubtful what would be the consequence. The two ships were in danger of coming in contact and so rough was the sea that our concussion may have been dreadful. One or both of the vessels would likely have gone down. Ours would have with its bow struck the other and our Captain said would have split it in two—so he said ours, though it might have been disabled would not have sunk. In the course of 14 years he has not seen anything like this. We might have been unexpectedly buried in the deep. God has for the present preserved us—and we ought to be filled with gratitude. So near was the other vessel that one from ours might have leaped into her—but this was when there was no danger of striking. The Captain is now saying to Mrs Laing that if a concussion had taken place the other vessel would have gone down and that we would have been so disabled as to be incapable of proceeding any further on the voyage.

I say no more of this at present. The wind is still quite contrary and for the last 3 days we have not made 20 miles on our way. We hope however that the weather will now be better.

Thursday October 21st 1830 For some days the wind has been blowing very strongly from the South that is from the quarter to which we wish to steer. We can make almost no progress—any that we make is by *tacking* from East to West and from West to East. The vessel which we met was coming in the opposite direction wishing to get [out of the way?] as well as we and taking the same method viz. *tacking*. We were going East the other vessel was going West but both going slowly which was much in our favour. Had either of them been running before the wind, and a concussion taken place both must have sunk from the violence of the shock.

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The three ladies in the time of the danger were very much affected. Mrs Taylor heard what the cause of it was and ran to the door of the cabin to arouse the mate but he had heard and was at the post of danger. I wished to know where the danger was but before going up I got Mrs Taylor seated at the side of the cabin. When I went to the head of the cabin stairs I saw a ship close on our bow. The sailors were endeavouring to move our ship to the left so as to make it pass the other. The men in the other ship were equally prompt in turning their ship to the right of ours. They passed within a few yards of each other. As soon as I had seen what was the cause of alarm I came down and informed the ladies. In a minute we heard the agreeable cry that all was right. I went up again and the ship was close to our stern. When there was time to ask whither she was bound her name and surname was not heard—but she was bound for Gibraltar.

That such a meeting should have taken place near a harbour where there is always a number of ships going out and coming in would not have been wonderful; but none on board had ever witnessed a like meeting in the open ocean.

In cases of this kind there are none who are not disposed to make some acknowledgments to God for his providential care. But this feeling of gratitude is over with many as soon as the danger which excited is fairly past. We have all needed to pray for the pardon of our unthankfulness. It appears to me that ingratitude to God is the commonest of all sins. It is only now that men have it in their power to raise their grateful aspirations to the giver of every good and every perfect gift. They will not even desire to do it in hell. The carnal mind will then be for ever against God. The employment of the redeemed in heaven will consist in singing songs of gratitude and praise to God for ever and ever.

The weather is much better today—but the sea is still high and the wind is against us.

Friday evening October 22nd 1830 The best day we have had (except the first) since we came from Liverpool. This morning we were no further South than we were 4 days ago. Since then we have, with the wind pretty favourable steered in the right way South West. I have no longer to complain of the shaking of the vessel. She is going so smoothly that I can scarcely feel the motion. Our present situation is a perfect contrast to what it was three days ago. Much gratitude do we owe to God for our present comfortable circumstances and for the reasonable prospect of future prosperity which we are permitted to entertain. The sky is clear, the wind is gentle taking us on in the direction of the Cape. The sea through which we are passing is scarcely ruffled by the genial breeze. All things are agreeable to our wish. How [miserable?] will we be if aspirations of gratitude be [not] ascending to our heavenly Father for his distinguishing mercies ?

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Monday October 25th 1830 The weather continues very favourable for our voyage. We are now quite clear of the Bay of Biscay and are moving quickly along the coast of Spain—yet we are not in sight of land. It will be pleasant sailing should the ship sail as well as she is now doing. Yesterday (Lord's day) I made a few remarks to the sailors from John V, 39. "Learn the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me". I know that sailors are not very apt to be patient under long sermons and I was short. The whole of the services were within the hour. The whole of them conducted themselves with much propriety—a good example was set them by their Captain. He shews not a little respect for religion. He joins with us every night in our worship, and listens to God's word with becoming attention. I have not had much to do with the English—any thing which I have had has led me to look on them as very obliging. My intercourse with all on board has confirmed rather than weakened this opinion. The sailors from the highest to the lowest are obligingly kind, modest men. The most of them, when I was conversing with them, I found could read. One only I am doubtful cannot. I would willingly teach him if he could find time.

You are aware that I have some Dutch scriptures with me for distribution—but I have no English. This is a want not small. It might have been easily remedied. *Let no missionary henceforth leave the shores of his native land without some Bibles to give or sell to those who can read, and who wish to read, but who do not possess them.* In the generality of trading ships there are few men. Half-a-dozen Bibles would have supplied all on board who have none. Might not good consequence have followed had men in possession of the Bible been urged to examine it at the peril of their everlasting well being? Especially had they been formerly living without having had their minds directed to the important realities of eternity. I have given all on board some tracts. I know they will read them—and may God bless them to some. I have read some of them myself and find them excellent. You sometimes hear an outcry raised against tracts—not all but some, as injudicious. I have read a good many and highly approve of them all. It is not the wrong but the right gospel which they preach. The English not less than the Scotch tracts do this.

Our ship is small and requires few men to manage her. There are only ten apart from the passengers in all 14 on board. Three of the crew are boys. The ships according to their tonnage must take with them a proportional number of boys that the race of seamen may always be kept up. There must be a boy for every hundred tons. It not unfrequently happens that sons of very respectable people go to sea and serve a long apprenticeship, that they may know how to navigate vessels when they become masters of them.

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Wednesday October 27th 1830 We are now past the Latitude of Lisbon. The last day we have come 170 miles—should we go at this rate for two days more we shall reach Madeira. I already feel a difference in the climate but in a few days more it will be more discernible. Almost every day we see ships at a distance. Yesterday we spoke to one from Rio Janeiro bound to Leghorn.[285]

The ship now quickly and easily cuts the water—at the rate of 7, 8, 9 and sometimes 10 knots an hour. The wind is right behind for her sails are all set and cause her to appear to advantage.

Among other things I have daily read Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*. I wish all ministers and all who are preparing for the ministry were directed to that book. You, my dear Sir, who have intercourse with so many young clergymen could I am persuaded do not a little good by calling their attention to it. You readily adopt the likeliest plans of doing good. Might not the occasional distribution of a few copies of Baxter be productive of much spiritual fruit to the praise and glory of God. The ministers of this age require a devoted man like Baxter to open to them. Did they hear him telling them their duty—it is scarcely possible for them to neglect it. Some certainly would in the strength of God be led to exert themselves. The sooner in life mens minds are directed to any great undertaking the more likely are they to accomplish great things afterwards. It is too plain that many enter into the ministry without a sufficient idea of the importance of the work. What can such men be expected to do—if at any time they do come to have proper notions of the work in which they are engaged, their carelessness before will have been detrimental to religion. The clergymen in many instances will not urge on the Laymen to exert themselves for the best interests of their fellow men. Let the Layman not be backward to urge on the clergymen "Like people like priest and like priest people" will always be found to hold.[286]

Thursday October 28th 1830 Sailing at the rate of 8 knots. Weather very fine, a proper temperature. Latitude 35° 30'N. Longitude 14° 30'W. Expect to reach Madeira tomorrow.

Friday October 29th 1830 This morning the Island of Porto Santo came in view. Before evening we shall have a view of Madeira. Porto Santo though of considerable extent does not equal Madeira in fertility. By consulting your Geography you will find that the climate of these Islands is equal to any in the world. We do not intend to call at Madeira but we shall pass near it. The Thermometer in the shade is now at 71°.

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[285]Livorno, Italy.

[286]Probably an extension of the text of the Old Testament book of the prophet Hosea 4:9.

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We have now a very fine view of the hills of Porto Santo. They rise abruptly from the sea. They are peaked and more sharp than our Scottish mountains in general. They appear barren and incapable of producing much sustenance either for man or beast. I have not been able from any books on board to learn the dimensions of this Isle. In the descriptions it seems to have been overlooked and Madeira has claimed the chief attention. In every respect it is of inferior note. Madeira contains upwards of 100,000 inhabitants, Porto Santo not more than 1400. We pass it on the larboard or left side and sail between it and the African continent, which is a considerable way (out of view) to the eastward. The climate here is such as we would always desire to have it. We are cloud obscures the atmosphere. Purer the air of Italy cannot be.

Madeira appears on the back of Porto Santo but (unless by moonlight) we shall scarcely see it.

Saturday October 30th 1830 Yesterday in the afternoon as we passed along, the hills of Porto Santo to the North West began to sink in the horizon. About 8 sharp pointed hills rise one after another—then the Island becomes more level and the person on the sea near the land sees the ground gently rising for several miles toward the middle of the Island. The flat part on which the town of Porto Santo stands is succeeded by 2 ridges of low hills one much longer than the other, which extend to the end of the Island. There are other Islands around Porto Santo one to the South for some time I conceived to be Madeira. The end of Madeira where we passed lies more to the eastward. We only saw this last Island indistinctly—it being 10 o'clock in the evening before we passed it. Now we are going briskly on in a South West direction. This day has been warm. Thermometer 73 degrees. You shall hear I believe more of that afterwards.

When an opportunity occurs of sending anything to our Mission I will thank you to send me a small pamphlet on "Games of chance", an American publication with a preface by the Reverend William Symington, Stranraer.[287] Symington is a very able man, a Cameroonian but not much known. The sphere in which he moves is limited. Perhaps you have seen his sermon on the Jews.[288] I should like much to have it at the same time with the other. I intended to have brought both these publications with me but forgot them in the midst of other business.

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[287]William Symington, *Games of chance unlawful, extracted from an American periodical* (Glasgow: [W..R. McPhun?], 1828).

[288]Possibly William Symington, *The evil of ignorance, and motives to its removal a sermon preached on Wednesday April 11th 1821 in aid of the Stranraer Sabbath School Society* (Glasgow: Young and Gallie, 1821).

Mrs Falconer and you may at this time be thinking and speaking of me as I am thinking and writing about you. There are I believe many in Glasgow who are constantly praying for our safety. Tomorrow they will unite in thousands for this purpose. All who pray for me will pray for themselves, for what will it avail them to pray for others while they neglect the salvation of their own souls. So much indeed am I always concerned about my own salvation that I know not how to leave off petitioning for myself to petition for my friends. But many of them are so established in the faith that they will be earnest with God on my account. I know of no privilege which we here enjoy which can be laid in balance with the privileges of prayer. May we not neglect this unspeakably important privilege. If we have obtained any spiritual blessings let us be thankful. But let us be thankful for the greater blessings which we may yet obtain. None of us will ever be able to say that we prayed too earnestly and too much.

Monday November 1st 1830 We yesterday passed the Canary Islands. They were between us and Africa. We saw only one of them, Palma which is very high. I should think 7 or 8,000 feet. The weather is hot enough now, thermometer 74°. All the people on board except the one at the helm yesterday assembled in the Cabin and I addressed them from a text of Scripture. They conducted themselves with much propriety. The Captain and his Lady read one of the Tracts which I had with me. They approved of it highly and well they might. It was the "Golden Rule" by Dr Watts[289]. I desired the Captain to keep it in remembrance of me. I have made some attempts and I will make some more to engage in religious conversation with the sailors. You may do more good in this way to ignorant men than you can do by preaching. What a pity is it that the largeness of the congregations at home makes it utterly impossible for ministers to deal individually with their hearers and parishioners for the salvation of their souls, and what a still greater pity is it that many who have small charges are not inclined to press on their people in private the necessity of attending to the things of eternity. Town Ministers should all have helpers. Some should have more than one. Ministers will at last find that they had better lose a little money than lose the souls committed to their care. But there are surely as many good men in every parish as would be willing to contribute sufficiently for the support of one or two clergymen to assist the parish minister who is placed in a parish with a population greater than he can *oversee.*

Wednesday November 3rd 1830 The weather daily becomes hotter—morning, noon and night are all alike hot. The thermometer now I observe keeps at 76° or 77°. Before tomorrow we expect to cross the Tropic of Cancer.

[289]Isaac Watts, *The Golden Rule: abridged from Dr. Watts* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1830).

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Thursday November 4th 1830 We are almost becalmed. We only sail at the rate of two miles an hour. We see dolphins in great numbers swimming about the ship. They leap at a hook thrown out for them but as yet they have not taken it. A thermometer which today stood in the Cabin at 78° when placed in the sun rose to 110°. The sea is quite smooth and much lighter in colour than it was 2 weeks ago. We are only entered the Torrid Zone and have 23 degrees of Latitude to make ere we reach the Equator but the trade winds from the North East should take us speedily along.

Saturday November 6th 1830 Very hot—no wind—making only 2 miles an hour. We are now surrounded with sharks, dolphins, flying fish, etc.

Monday November 8th 1830 A month at sea. May expect to be more than another month in reaching the Cape. A gentle breeze is driving us farther to the South. Latitude 19° 30' N. The weather continues hot. Yesterday I addressed the sailors from a few verses in the beginning of the gospel of John. Two things I would wish them to see: (1) That they are great sinners (2) That they have a great—an Almighty Saviour. They cannot trust him till they see him to be trustworthy. After a month's experience I am able to speak of the nature of a sea life. We have been well attended to by Captain Taylor. The utmost harmony prevails among us. Every one on board seems more obliging than another. Of the three Ladies who are here Miss Shand's health improves most. Mrs Taylor is weakly but when well is an important addition to our number. Mrs Laing is on the whole rather stronger than when she was with you. She retains a grateful remembrance of Mrs Falconer's kindness and should God settle us in South Africa Mrs Falconer will hear from her.

Before I left Glasgow you heard me expressing a wish to obtain the "Record" Newspaper. Second hand would do for me. Perhaps some of your acquaintances may get it and make little use of it after they have read it. I will thank you to enquire. Mr Knox gets it but sends it [I] believe to South America so I need not expect his.

Evening—Everything is beautiful around. The sea is a fine light blue, spotted at regular distances on the top of the wave. Its noise is not too loud and very agreeable. For several days the weather had been inclining to calm, now we have wind sufficient to make us move gently along. Calms are considered, in some situations to be worse than storms.

Tuesday November 9th 1830 Most of the day saw the Island of St Antonio, one of the Cape Verd[e]s, was in view. The land from its great distance appeared indistinctly—it was very high[290].

[290]Santo Antão is one of the nine inhabited Cape Verde islands settled by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century.

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Wednesday November 10th 1830 Sailing well, at 6 or 7 knots an hour—Latitude 16° North. Several flying fish flew on board. They are about the size of a herring and by fins of the nature of wings they are enabled to rise though not high out of the water to avoid the many enemies which are constantly endeavouring to devour them.

Thursday November 11th 1830 High sea, strong breeze but driving us South. Ship laid more down than she has been since the bad weather about the beginning of our voyage. Though the wind continued strong all night yet the air was very hot. The thermometer was at 80° in the morning and it was no hotter then than it had been during the night. African winds are often no pleasure to the traveller in the desert. Before they reach us they have left the most of their sand behind.

Monday November 15th 1830 I have written little, my Dear Sir for some days. There is little variety before me. Nothing but sea is before me—my walk is confined to a few yards—my company never changes—fourteen are all the human beings with whom I have it in my power to converse. It is no great number and affords an opportunity of enquiring separately into the sentiments of each.

Daily we are advancing near our desired port. Now we are within 9° of the line. Five weeks we have spent on the water but five more will not land us at the Cape. We, if all things be well, shall then be on the eve of landing.

One of the finest sights at sea is its luminous appearance when the ship is sailing through it in the dark. The vessel going with force against the water shakes it considerably and then it seems to be all on fire. This fiery appearance is best seen where the ship cuts the waves—but the sea which was agitated runs along her sides and makes her appear to move through a stream of liquid fire. *Animalculae* with which the sea is full give it this beautiful light red appearance. Out of the tract of the ship you see the ocean sparkling as if filled with stars, but the water must be shaken to make it shine. A bucket-full was brought on deck and being thrown out it shone as the water through which we were sailing. God is incomprehensible. A drop of water shews him to be a being of infinite power for we see from this that nothing is too minute for notice. While he keeps all the worlds of the universe in regular order he attends with inconceivable exactness to the smallest of their parts.

The weather is rather too hot now.

Thursday November 18th 1830 In the last two or three days we have experienced various changes of weather. We have had some severe squalls or hurricanes—you see them coming, at least those do who have been in the habit of sailing in these Latitudes. Clouds of an awfully dark aspect are seen in the horizon generally in the eastern quarter. They approach

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gradually nearer—very black and dismal. You would think that the rain which they so plentifully contain would fall on you without any wind coming with it or at least without such hard blowing wind as constantly attends them. I say attends them but I should rather say goes before them—for though a few drops may come before there be much blowing—the wind blows a hurricane for some minutes before the rain in any considerable quantity falls and then the water comes pouring from the clouds in torrents. The ship must always be prepared for these hurricanes—else she would often have her masts carried away. I stood on the deck during the blowing and raining of one of these squalls. Prepared as the ship was—in an instant she was laid low on the side farthest from the wind—but she soon got up again and the rain *poured* down for an hour. The sailors don't seem to dislike these squalls. They know they will not continue—they have been idle in a great measure for some time before and the supply of rain water which they can obtain repays them for the additional trouble they may have to undergoe. These short storms are always to be expected between the North East and South East trade winds. We may not have many more of them as we are approaching daily nearer the Line. Our Latitude now is less than 5°—(I may as well stop speaking to you about squalls or anything. The lamp which normally burns in the Cabin gives too little light to enable me to write easily and though I had sufficient light—the heaving of [the] ship would make it impossible for me to write an easily read hand).

Friday November 19th 1830 I have the Sun for a lamp now but the heaving is not less—yet I am quite reconciled to it. What was scarcely tolerable at first has become easy and pleasant. For several days on account of the wind and rain the air has been cooler. But on the whole I have had less reason to complain than many of my countrymen who have been situated on *land* in similar Latitudes—without either the cooling sea air to refresh them or a drop of water to quench their thirst. Henry Martyn that holy man when travelling in the South of Persia was almost roasted by the sun while under a tree he mentions that the thermometer stood at 126° yet he was preserved at that time and lived to translate the New Test[ament] into the Persian language, and fearlessly to confess Christ before the deluded followers of the false Prophet. Much of my time here is spent in reading. I selected ere I left your house such books as I thought it would be most suitable for reading at sea. You may think it strange—but some books which I had read *before* I read again before entering on the perusal of some others perhaps equally excellent, Baxter and New I never weary of. Brown's *History of Missions*[291] I had read before but I am going over it again. Much may be learned from the

[291] According to the ledger of the Theological Class Library of the University of Edinburgh, Laing read "Brown's Missions, vols 1 & 2" during the session 1829-1830. Photocopy of ledger entries sent to the writer by Marjorie Robertson, Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library, 20.3.1987.

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experiences of missionaries who have already fought in the field against the Prince of darkness. Now at this late period of the world we should be well acquainted with his devices.

I am studying Dutch being able to speak which you are aware will enable me to employ myself to useful purposes on my arriving in Caffraria. What I learned of this language before I left Glasgow, with what I shall learn of it before reaching the place of my destination, will nearly if not altogether give me the power of speaking to the Caffers about their salvation as soon as I get among them. (Latitude 3° 48').

Monday November 22nd 1830 This is our 42nd day at sea. We are now on the even of Crossing the Line. We shall do so in the course of the afternoon. We are far enough Westward being in about 25 degrees of West Longitude. Navigators in general wish to cross farther to the East that they may not be taken too much trades are encroaching neighbours: they come North of the Line—but the North East ones never reach so far South by some degrees as the line. We have got these South East trade winds before going to the South of the Line. They will keep us away towards the Coast of Brazil. Our voyage hitherto has been prosperous and has to this middle of the earth been no longer than an average one from England. I have enjoyed good health. I wish I could say that Mrs Laing has done the same. She has been much troubled with a pain in her side.

Lately I spoke of the squally weather which we have met with here. I omitted to mention the vividness of the light[n]ing. It was frequent and brilliant. Mixed with the blackness and darkness of these parts a grand effect was produced. We have sustained no damage by it.

Friday 26th November 1830 We have had good sailing since I last wrote. I suppose we are fully 4 degrees South Latitude now. The trades are pretty strong and cause a good deal of motion in the ship—yet they are regular and directing us to the right point. I feel the heat less than I did some time ago. The breezes are more cooling and I am somewhat used to it. Still the Thermometer stands at 80. The freedom which I enjoy on board is particularly pleasing. Whatever I want I have only to mention—and there is every disposition shewn to serve me. Captain Taylor is a kind, well-educated young man. I have never heard him speak other wise than respectfully about religion. He daily hears some of the truths of the Bible set before him and they may be taken home to his heart with demonstration and with power. He is of an amiable good natured disposition and it is well it is so; for I can tell you that good tempers are fully as much needed on sea as on land. You never know all the time you are on your voyage what it is to bid one welcome who has been out of sight only for part of a day. We are imperfect beings at best and in proportion as we are more narrowly and constantly viewed by others our imperfections more appear. There was one man on earth, and but one, who would appear to best advantage when the every minutest thing, which he did were known. That was

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the man Jesus. The only perfect man who has trode our world. The disciples saw the private life of Christ; and must doubtless have been filled with admiration at such spotless purity. There have indeed been many who have brightly reflected the Divine image—but the best of these on many occasions have shewn that a part of Old Adam still remained in them. Place yourself with the best man you can think of and live some time observing all his movements and words and you will soon discover some defects. You could, had you observed Christ ever so narrowly—seen no defects in him. The more you [saw?] of him the more would the perfection of his character be displayed.

It is of this glorious character that we should learn. *We may seek and find the mind that was in Christ.*

We should correct our errors as soon as we know them. The one I am now going to correct is of no moment to you but should I not do it I might leave another of more importance uncancelled. Instead of saying that our South Latitude is 4°—today it is *6° 30'.*

Wednesday December 1st 1830 Unpleasant sailing for some days. The ship has turned a good deal. The South East trade winds have been strong and have kept us pretty much to the West. We have sailed as near the wind as possible. Today the wind comes more to the East and we are able to sail two points nearer East than South. We shall soon have the sun overhead. You are aware that this month he is as far South as he can be. At present he may be vertical 20° South Latitude. We are now in 16°. Our friends are doubtless constantly praying for us. We have need of their prayers. The sea I should think is not in general the best place for religion flourishing. You cannot retire. You have somebody always either hearing you or seeing you. If all were religious, things would be otherwise—yet I have cause to be grateful that I am so well situated as I am. I am applying daily to the Dutch.

Friday December 3rd 1830 It [is] amazing with what sharpness sailors notice land at a distance. The small Island of Trinadad has just been pointed out to me[292]. It appears like a dim cloud on the edge of the horizon. I could not have known it to be land unless I had been told. Should our sailing be good during the day we shall have a near view of this romantic uninhabited Islet before night. The weather has been fine for the last two days.

Saturday December 4th 1830 We passed Trinadad [Trindade] yesterday before it was dark—yet at such a distance that we could not discern objects on it distinctly. It may be about (I only write from guess) 600 miles eastward of S. America and about 1,800 miles westward of Africa. It is one of the few Islands which the Atlantic contains. Table Mountain will be the

[292]Laing is referring to Trindade, a small volcanic island in the South Atlantic 700 miles East of Brazil to which it belongs politically (Latitude 20° 30' South, Longitude 29°o 50' West) and not to Trinidad in the Caribbean.

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next land we shall behold. Today I saw what I never saw before—a vertical sun—your neck as well as your eyes are sorely distressed in looking up to him. The South East trade winds are done and we are nearly becalmed. In the meantime it is comfortable to have a little rest—though that be at the expense of our soon landing at the Cape. We would wish our passage speedy though somewhat inconvenient. (This is written with a steel pen). There is a wonderful variety at sea. Today all is still. The table on which I write is quite level, a thing I could not often have said before in all my sailing. Our ship in general has lain much over—sometimes at an angle of 30°. I shall try to finish my page. Our treatment continues good. Captain and Mrs Taylor are affable people. The three who form my company are now accustomed to sailing. Mrs Laing has not improved as yet by sailing. Miss Shand has improved much. May "*we be in the spirit on the Lords day*".

Tuesday December 7th 1830 My dear Sir. I here begin another sheet of my journal yet I am doubtful if anything I have written in those preceding shall be worth sending to Europe. If matters should be tolerably prosperous the sheet which I now begin will contain the account of my arrival at the Cape of Good Hope. You no doubt will long to hear of that event—and I trust there will be some ships leaving for Britain at the time of our arrival.

Today our sailing is both speedy and agreeable. The wind is what sailors call *right aft*—directly behind us—it blows a good breeze and takes the ship away 6 miles an hour. She goes quite upright. Two days ago we crossed the Southern tropic [Tropic of Capricorn] and entered the Southern temperate zone. We shall soon be in the Latitude of the Cape—but then we have to go East considerably. Today I have read a good deal of "Mason on Self-Knowledge", a book of which I highly approve.[293] I have been in the habit of lending good books to the sailors—among these is "Baxter's Call".[294] I hope it may do some of them good. It has done eternal good to many and the success which God has already made to follow from it gives us reason to think that he will yet continue to use it for the spiritual benefit of others. Have you read much of Baxter?

Monday December 13th 1830 Nine weeks at sea. Wind contrary, from the very point to which we wish to steer—has been so for some days. Last week the weather was not much better than it was in the Bay of Biscay. Wind to take us East is much wanted. We did not,

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[293]John Mason, *Self Knowledge, a Treatise shewing the Nature and Benefit of that Important Science and the Way to Attain it. Intermixed with Various Reflections and Observations on Human Nature*. 15 ed. (London: Law and Gilbert for J Mawman et al., 1809).

[294]Baxter first published his *A Call to the Unconverted; Now or never; and Fifty reasons why a sinner ought to turn to God this day without delay* in 1657. Laing was probably reading the edition published in Glasgow by Chalmers and Collins in 1825. This edition had an introductory essay by Laing's former mentor, Thomas Chalmers.

when we left England, reckon on getting to the Cape in less than 11 weeks; now two weeks of good sailing may put us far on. Nine weeks is a long time to be confined to a few feet of wood for your walk and to have only the trackless ocean for your prospect. Yet I believe God will soon land us in safety. Let us only trust in him.

Every Sabbath since I came on board (except one when the weather was bad) I have given a short sermon to the sailors. I know not whether I have done them any good but they have heard from me the leading doctrines of the gospel; and of course must give an answer for the use they make of that knowledge which they have received. I hope that God's word may prove to them the savour of life unto life. If it does not this, it will prove the savour of death unto death. Yesterday I spoke on the responsibility which *we* are under who profess the gospel. I know not whether they felt the obligation or not. Assuredly they will feel sometime—and how desirable would it be would they feel it now. I often wonder at my backwardness to warn sinners to avoid everlasting ruin. For anything I can tell most that I see are hastening onwards to perdition—and common humanity should be sufficient to induce me to tell them of their danger. It is not. Any grace that I have often is not. If I had more I would undoubtedly feel more for the best interests of my fellow sinners. If I were better myself I would be more unwearied in my endeavours to make others better. Godliness possessed by one will uniformly operate to make others godly. The holier a man and especially a minister is the more real good will he do. When the priests are clothed with righteousness it is then that God's people will sing aloud for joy.

I have sometimes spoken of the weather—how hot it was. I now feel no inconvenience from the heat. I believe the thermometer is no more than 70° though it be summer here. The reason of its falling is the coldness of the Southerly winds. We expect to land at the Cape about their warmest season—a little after midsummer with them, mid-winter (I think that is a new word) with you.

Tuesday December 14th 1830 We are now in the Latitude of the Cape, but about 36 degrees to the westward. Could we sail East we would do it but we can at present sail only South East a direction which if continued would take us much too far to the South of our desired port. The weather is fine, about a proper temperature—Thermometer 70° in the Cabin, but the wind still prevents us from going much to the eastward. The last month of the year is now nearly half spent: before it be finished I expect to be standing on S. Africa. You and the rest of my Glasgow friends will not hear that I have got to the Cape till three months of the new year have nearly elapsed.

Thursday December 16th 1830 I will tell you of my affairs when they are prosperous as well as when they are adverse. Since yesterday we have sailed in the right direction i.e. East. I

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wish that the change which this has produced on our spirits may be accompanied with gratitude to God. On sea as on land people are most pleasant when their affairs are prosperous. Yet the joy that is not regulated by the consideration of the relation in which we stand to God will soon come to nought. The temporal blessings which God bestows on men are enough to render them inexcusable for the ingratitude which they manifest. At no time does he leave them without a witness for he gives them fruitful seasons and fills their hearts with food and gladness.

It is now near five in the afternoon. The sun is shining brightly here, but you will, an hour ago, have had the candles lighted in Glasgow. We shall have daylight for about three hours longer—till near eight—but it is about our longest day and about your shortest.

Monday December 20th 1830 In the last two days we have sailed nearly 400 miles—a few such days would take us to our haven. This morning we do not sail so well. But we live on hope. Lately I read in a newspaper a short notice of a new kind of oats which had been brought from China to Ireland. It struck me, that it would be an excellent kind of grain for the Caffers, should their climate favour it. I shall copy the paragraph. "A new species of corn from China has been introduced into Ireland, a sort of skinless oats, the most valuable produced in any country. It has many advantages over other grain. When thrashed from the sheaf it is exactly like oatmeal, fit for immediate use, and free from any particle of rind or husk. The flavour is delicious, and it contains much farinaceous matter. The average produce is 26 barrels of 14 stone to the Irish acre. It is remarkably handy." Limerick paper[295].

I know that this species of oats is to [be] found in Dublin—but favourably of it. Were it the case that "when thrashed,—it is exactly like oatmeal"—it would suit a rude tribe like the Caffers exactly, for it will be some time ere they possess mills. I conceive that it will somewhat resemble barley—of course I mean barley ready for use; and by a simple process might easily be pounded into meal. Should you on inquiry find that the description now given is correct—I should like to make a trial of it in S. Africa. Some of your acquaintances are often going to Dublin and could easily procure a small quantity of the skinless oats for seed. The Caffer country might perhaps be too hot for them, but China is far from being a cold country—if they thrive there I think they should thrive in Caffraria. Its soil is good but they want rain.

Wednesday December 22nd 1830 Longest day. Not an hour ago I was planning how to get a letter sent to Britain: for a ship was steering directly for us, which we thought was bound for England. It proved otherwise. She was French, from Bourbon, to Buenos Ayres [Buenos

[295]Possibly the *Limerick Chronicle.*

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Aires]. The Captains of the two ships spoke to each other with speaking trumpets. They have only a minute or two to occupy, the ships sailing in contrary directions. A question always put is "What is your longitude?" The Frenchman spoke English not amiss. His ship appeared a grand object indeed. She was going right before the wind—and all her sails were set. She was not a large vessel—but having the wind on her stern she sailed quite uprightly and appeared to very great advantage. She passed between 8 & 9 o'clock in the morning, and seemed to have a numerous and merry crew. This is the second time we have spoken to any people out of our own ship since we left England. Three times if the roaring in the Bay of Biscay can be called speaking. You will remember the ships being in danger of being dashed against one another there.

For two days it has been nearly calm. Last night however a breeze sprung up. On Monday we had been 10 weeks at sea. I hope soon to write you from the Cape of Good Hope.

I read here with day light till 8 o'clock in the evening. The inhabitants of the Cape will never see later than we do now for we are as far South as they are. The days and nights in Caffraria will not differ much as to length.

Monday December 27th 1830 Yesterday I preached what I conceive will be my last—my farewell sermon to the sailors. It was made purposely for the occasion, and of course is entirely a sea sermon—composed at sea, preached at sea to seamen. The Captain's lady has begun to copy it, but I will assist her in doing this. A good deal of copying it will take, for it is not a very short one. It may do good by being afterwards read. I may perhaps present you with an extract from it.

Today we have been 11 weeks, (77) days on the water—but with a fair wind we shall land by Friday. It will be a wonderful transition which we shall then undergoe. We have for nearly three months seen only the people our ship contains. Then we will again be introduced into the busy haunts of men.

Thursday December 30th 1830 Still at sea but expected to land sometime this week. Of late I have been chiefly employed in writing out my sermon. It may be read by some in different parts of the world—and may do more good to them than it did to those who heard it preached. It is right in me therefore to make it as complete as possible.

Friday December 31st 1830 I have now finished my sermon. It has undergone several changes for the better, both in the way of adding and subtracting so that the second writing of it has cost one more labour than the first. In a few hours we expect to see Table Mountain and expect to land on New Year's Day. This is our 80th day at sea, but we have, on the whole, had a prosperous voyage. The weather, in general, has been very fine. You have heard me

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speak of the motion of the ship. It was to a considerable extent owing to the manner in which she had been laded. Light goods came first and were put lowest in the hold; afterwards heavy goods came which were placed above the light. This made her motion greater than it would have been if the heavy goods had been lowest. We have met with a very strong current which sometimes set us out of our way 30 miles a day. In all it has kept us back 300 miles. Had it not been for it, we would have been at the Cape ere now. This comes from the South East and is regular, I believe at all seasons. The weather is very fine—something like to what it was when we passed Madeira. Since I ceased to speak of the heat, it has not been too hot. Another year has fled. The measure of our days is fast filling up. Let us work while it is called today.

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First impressions of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth

3rd January 1831 to 19th April 1831

Monday January 3rd 1831[296] The last promise my Dear Sir, has not been performed. I could not send this journal so [readily] on account of its unwieldy nature, as I could a letter, and hearing that a ship was to sail on Monday morning I hastened to add several things to a letter to Mr Knox[297] which was more than half done when we came on shore. Moreover, I was under a promise of writing to Mr Knox the moment I arrived at the Cape. Yet you may receive this as soon as he does his; at least Captain Carew[298] who sails in a day or two, says, that he will be home, humanly speaking, before the ship which sailed this morning.

Now I shall continue. The hills which you first get your eyes upon are far from being likely to afford much nourishment to man or beast. In front of Table Mountain the way we approached there is a long mountain, which, not improperly, has been compared to a lion. The end of this mountain which was nearest to us, is called the Lion's Head, on which is a tapering peak, not unlike to some of the crowns which I have in some drawings seen on the heads of the Popes. The end of the mountain nearest to Table Bay is called the Lion's Rump. On this stands a signal post,[299] from which signals are made to ships 7 or 8 miles distant. A question, among others, which they asked us, was "What is the date of your latest Newspaper?". I should have mentioned that the Lion is lieing. On drawing nearer its side appeared to be adorned with very many neat villas. I saw a beautiful village in a rocky valley. Cape Town did not appear till we were close upon it. We saw the ships in the Bay long before we saw the Town itself. It is situated in a semicircular piece of land on the South East side of Table Bay. On all sides it is surrounded with mountains, except on the side nearest the sea. The road into the Colony runs North along the Shore. Another road runs South West to the few houses which are to be found South of Cape Town. This Town is more than 30 miles North of the Cape of Good Hope [Cape Point]. Looking from the sea the appearance of the

[296]Laing, Journal, Cory Library, MS 16, 579/1, 55-58.

[297]Probably Henry Knox, Treasurer of the Glasgow Missionary Society from 1829 until 1843, the year the Society ceased. Glasgow Missionary Society *Reports* 1829-1843, passim.

[298]Master of the *Clorinda*. *South African Directory Advertiser for the year 1831* (Cape Town: George Greig, 1831), 94-95.

[299]From September 1821, when a signal post was erected on Lion's Rump, (more usually known as Signal Hill) at the behest of Sir Rufane Donkin, ships entering Table Bay were able to send or receive signals using either the Marryat code of signals or the Colonial telegraph system. *The South African Almanac and Directory for1833* (Cape Town: George Greig, 1833), lxxv-lxxvii.

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Town is most strikingly romantic. Before you, on your right is the Lion's Rump. Looking along the ridge which corresponds to his back, your eye rests on the towering peak, which does not form his head, but stands like a crown upon it. To the left of this mountain there is a cut or valley, the Dutch call it Kloof, which divides it from Table Mountain. This towers above Cape Town upwards of 3,500 feet, and is not at the bottom half a mile distant. Indeed the ground rises gently from the sea to the place where the mountain more markedly commences. Still more to the left is Devil's Berg [Devil's Peak], separated from Table Mountain by a kloof, but a much less one than that which separates Table Mountain from the Lion's Head. Conceive a Town thus surrounded with lofty mountains with no passage through them—these mountains of the boldest characteristics—often having their tops covered with snow white clouds—when uncovered having tops perfectly unlike all others, and you will have some notion of the situation—the romantic situation of this place.

The road into the Colony is along the foot of Devil's Berg, close by the shore. I must leave my remarks on the town itself till some future opportunity. It is elegant in the extreme, has wide streets crossing at right angles and has houses in general of two stories, equal at least to three of ours. The houses are flat on top, and all plastered white.

I have not yet told you that we anchored in Table Bay ½ past one o'clock 1st January 1831. Soon after we left the vessel, and in a few minutes stood on the shore of Southern Africa. Here we were met by Mr Beck[300] who took us to his house and soon afterwards accompanied us to respectable lodgings.

Then he walked a long time with us shewing us the principal places. Mrs Beck[301] was so indisposed as not to be able to see us on first going and she still continues weakly. (Wednesday 5 January).

On Sunday I attended sermon in the Scotch Church[302]—where there were not above 20 hearers. On Monday I saw most of the people to whom I had letters of introduction and

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[300]Jan Frederik Beck (1782-26.7.1832), second son of Andreas Wilhelm Beck and Maria Cecilia van der Merwe, acted as the Glasgow Missionary Society's agent in Cape Town. He was married to Catharina Florentina Vos whose sister, Cornelia Maria, was married to Dr George Thom. He died in Cape Town on 26 July 1832. Glasgow Missionary Society, *Quarterly paper* 8 (August 1831), 15; Cory Library, MS 2637, Helen Ross to Grace Begbie, 6.10.1823; J.A. Heese, comp. *South African Genealogies*. ed. R.T.J. Lombard. (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1986-2004) 1: 171.

[301]Catharina Florentina Beck née Vos. Heese and Lombard *South African genealogies* 1: 171.

[302]St Andrew's Church in Somerset Road, Cape Town was opened on 24 May 1829. Frank Quinn and Greg Cuthbertson, *Presbyterianism in Cape Town: a history of St Andrew's Church, 1829-1979* (Cape Town: St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, 1979, 9; *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Cape Town: a centenary record* (Cape Town: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1929), 21.

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several others who were no less friendly. I cannot mention them in order or in whole. But as I know you will be glad to hear of several, I shall speak of a few.

I was told, ere I left the vessel by Dr Laing[303] who visits ships before they land, that Mr Jardine[304] had been enquiring for me some time before, and had been expecting me. I had no letter of introduction to him which was an omission. Mr Beck, however, said that he would take me to him on Monday, when he should come from the country.

Wednesday January 5th 1831, Cape Town, [*letter*].

Patrick Falconer, Esq.[305]:

I have this day finished the first part of my journal which I shall send to Britain by the *Clorinda* a vessel to sail soon. I expect to get this journal conveyed to you free of expense. Were that not the case I would hesitate to send you such a poor performance. I can occupy little more time in speaking of my transactions here. But I shall begin another journal which at some future period may also come into your possession. You will however tell me of the fate of this as soon [as it] arrives.

You were my first friend in Glasgow. You were my friend to the last. You will I believe continue to be my friend, though so many thousands of miles separate us from one another. We will not be allowed to forget that such beings are existing in the world when we read the lines which our fingers have traced. I ought ever to retain a grateful remembrance of your kindness, but when I am writing to you, I will consider you as more immediately present and so *then* hearing the things which you can only hear after many months have elapsed. Doubtless the same sentiments will often animate our breasts. We will often think of the same God alike present in all places: alike ready to hear your prayers and mine. To him let us recommend one another. To him let us present our requests for mutual blessings on each other's heads. We have the same Saviour to trust in for salvation. At the same moment you and I may have the same thoughts concerning him. At the same instant we may be admiring

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[303]Dr John Laing, surgeon and Officer of Health at the Port Office, Table Bay. *South African Directory Advertiser for the year* 1831 (Cape Town: George Greig, 1831), 118.

[304]Alexander Johnstone Jardine, a native of Dumfriesshire, Scotland, arrived at the Cape in 1823, possible as an indirect result of Dr George Thom's recruiting efforts for missionaries and teachers. In 1824 he was appointed sub-Librarian of the Cape Town Library (later the South African Library) after the resignation of Thomas Pringle. He became sole Librarian in 1828 when the institution became a subscription library. He died in the Library on 26.7.1845. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 2: 336.

[305]The author has made use of editorial prerogative to combine what were clearly two drafts into a single letter. Both, addressed to Falconer and dated 5 January 1831, were found at the back of the fourth volume of Laing's journal, Cory Library MS 9043/2.

the dignity and the goodness of his character—regarding him in all his ability and in all his willingness to save. We have the same spirit *too*, to look to for Divine instruction—to look to for spiritual comfort—to look to for sanctification. We have the same Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to place our confidence in. Let his love to us more and more constrain us to love him. Let us daily die unto the things of the world and daily live more to him; and let us to the utmost of our power advance his interests in this sinful world.

Your valuable Lady will likely read what I shall send. I ought gratefully to remember her kindness as well as yours. I am only sorry that I cannot furnish her with matters more deserving of her attention.

You may rest assured that I will thoroughly examine all you have said on the "Three Persons" as soon as I can find time. I cannot now send you any part of my sermon but may do so in a future journal. I hope you, and all the Directors will be more and more earnest in your prayers for the Mission and the Missionaries. Give my best compliments to them all. Mrs Laing joins me in kindest rega[rds to] Mrs Falconer and yourself.

Wednesday January 5th 1831[306] When your letter reaches me I expect I shall have jo[ined] my brethren in the field of labour. I shall not begin to [tell you] of fifty things of which I wished to have spoken b[ut] I shall at my leasure make a few notes of the more remarkable. We are very comfortably lodged where Mr Weir was when he came to Africa[307]. I have much reason to thank the giver of every good and every perfect gift for all his mercies to me since I parted with you at Greenock. I have never had my health better than when I was at sea. Mrs Laing was in general poorly, though much the same as when we were staying in your house. Her health has decidedly improved since we landed. We have landed when all things are coming to perfection. But I eat little of their fruits. On Saturday I ate two figs which I saw taken from the tree. Some of their fruits scarcely equal the English. The grapes will be ripe in 8 days. I think I shall like them better than most of the productions of this place.

You are at liber[ty] to shew my journal to any, either of your or my friends whom you choose. The circumstances in which it was written will be an apology for its incorrectness.

[306]James Laing to Patrick Falconer, Cory Library MS 9043/2. This letter is badly damaged with several words missing in consequence.

[307]James Weir was one of the first two industrial or artisan missionaries sent out by the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1827. By sending a layman to accompany each ordained missionary rather than pairing the latter together at each station, the Society hoped to be able to extend the spread of missionary labour on the Frontier. In addition, the artisan missionaries "could officiate as elders, act as school-masters, and make themselves useful as mechanics". Weir arrived at Lovedale on 4 December 1827 accompanied by his mother. He was stationed principally at Lovedale until 1884 and died on 11 November 1886. Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* 1827, 19; Shepherd: *Lovedale South Africa*, 521.

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Dr Thom has been afflicted with a disease which affected his mind to an alarming degree—but he is now [well]: this I wish not to omit[308]. The book which you gave me I [have] still in my possession. Some of your Tracts I used [dur]ing the voyage. Mr Moffat the celebrated Missionary [word missing] is in Cape Town at present[309]. I shall venture to give him one of [your]Books to take to that station.

Lords day January 9th 1831 I have preached twice this day. At no period of my life have I felt the weather so hot. Of course I never preached on so hot a day before.

Monday January 10th 1831 As I was walking with Mr Beck junior[310] we met Mr Innes[311] a professor in the South African College, who said he was going to the Library of which Mr Jardine is Keeper. With him I went to see Mr Jardine. I found him very pleasant and saw a library much more splendid than I expected. Mr Jardine has written or has the materials for writing the history of his visit to your Mission in Caffraria. I've requested him to execute his design. He looks on the destruction of the Balfour station as an unwarrantable act on the part of the Authorities.[312] What would you think if they were to take Chumie next?[313] This is not

[308]Dr George Thom (18.6.1789 - 11.5.1842), a native of Aberdeen and a Presbyterian, joined the London Missionary Society in 1809. In 1812, while en route to his missionary appointment in India, he disembarked at the Cape to help with the administration of the Society there. He established a Calvinist community amongst the soldiers of the 93rd Highland Regiment and carried out other pastoral tasks but, disenchanted with the London Missionary Society, he resigned from the Society in 1818 and was appointed minister of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk at Caledon the same year. On leave in Britain in 1820, and on the instructions of Lord Charles Somerset, he recruited Scottish ministers and teachers for the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk including Andrew Murray, William Ritchie Thomson and George Morgan, and is credited with the impetus for the commencement of the Glasgow Missionary Society's work in Kaffraria. However, in 1833, increasing nervous debility forced him to resign his ministry and he died in Cape Town in 1842. *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 2: 742-3; *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Cape Town: a centenary record* (Cape Town: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1929), 7.

[309]Robert Moffat (21.12.1795-8.8.1883), Scottish-born London Missionary Society missionary, arrived at Cape Town in 1817 and was stationed first in Great Namaqualand and later at Dithakong and Seoding among the Tswana people. He became proficient in the Tswana language and pioneered the translation and publication of the Bible and other religious and educational works in Tswana. He and his wife Mary retired to Britain in 1870 where he died in 1883. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 546-550.

[310]"Mr Beck junior" probably refers to Jacobus Johannes Beck (21.4.1808-10.7.1886), eldest son of Jan Frederik Beck and a minister in the Nederlands Gerformeerde Kerk. Heese and Lombard, 1: 171.

[311]James Rose Innes (11.12.1799-20.12.1873) was born in Banffshire, Scotland and studied at Aberdeen University, obtaining his M.A. in 1822. He was one of the first six Scottish teachers to be recruited by Rev. George Thom for placement in Cape Government schools. After an initial period of eight years at Uitenhage where he served also as a deacon in the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, Innes was appointed Professor of Mathematics at the South African College, which later became the University of Cape Town. He was appointed the first Superintendent-General of Education at the Cape in July 1839 in which post he remained until his resignation in 1859. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 397-9.

[312]Balfour, the third of the Glasgow Missionary Society stations, was established by Rev. John Ross and Alexander McDiarmid in March 1828. It was named after Robert Balfour, the first Secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society, and was sited 64 km North West of Lovedale on Maqoma's land in the so-called "ceded

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improbable. But should they make any further encroachments in that quarter the prospects of the Mission will be completely blasted. You need not look on this as what will certainly take place till further information.

Mr Pears[314] from Edinburgh, another of the professors called on me—a man possessed of a strong mind, and of philanthropic intentions. Not a little information did I get from him on the state of things here. Same day I called on Dr Philip[315] with a letter to one of his missionaries. He asked Mrs Laing and myself to dine with him next day. His proceedings here are bitterly spoken against. Though I had never heard a sentence from one on his side I would be disposed to think that the cause must be bad which requires such a defence. I am alike neutral to him and to his opposers except in so far as truth appears for either. He is right

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territory". The Colonial authorities wanted Maqoma off these lands so as to move groups of KhoeKhoe in to create a "buffer zone" between Colonist and black. The opportunity needed by the authorities to execute this plan came when Maqoma, apparently in collusion with Mapassa, a Thembu chief, seized cattle belonging to Mapassa's father, Bawana. The Colonial authorities claimed that this action, deemed legitimate politicking by Maqoma, gave them the excuse they needed to expel Maqoma from his lands as they claimed that the Bawana people would commit reprisal raids against the Colony in compensation for their stock losses. The expulsion was achieved in May 1829 during which all dwellings at Balfour were torched by commando units. Few lives were lost as the object was expulsion not slaughter but Ross viewed the Colonial action as reprehensible and lodged his objections with the Governor, Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole. Cole repudiated Ross's claim of Colonial injustice and a state of mutual enmity between Ross and the authorities prevailed. Mrs Ross gives an evocative account of the events at Balfour in a letter to her sister, 13.10.1829. Helen Ross to her sister, Cory Library MS 2738; Peires, *House of Phalo*, 89; Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* 5, 1829; *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 682.

[313] Chumie (Tyhume) mission station was established by Rev. John Brownlee, formerly of the London Missionary Society, on the banks of the Gwali River, a tributary of the Tyhume River, in June 1820. Brownlee was joined in November 1821 by William Ritchie Thomson and John Bennie of the Glasgow Missionary Society. The station was sometimes known as Gwali but should not be confused with the Mgwali Station established further north on the Mgwali River in 1857 by Rev. Tiyo Soga of the United Presbyterian Church. Donovan Williams, *The Journal and Selected Writings of the Reverend Tiyo Soga*, (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema for Rhodes University, 1983), 3-4, 202fn; Shepherd: *Lovedale*, 19ff; J.M. Berning (ed), The papers of the Rev. John Ross (work in process).

[314] John Pears was born in Scotland in 1790 and studied at the University of Aberdeen where he gained an M.A. and trained first as a teacher and then as a minister of the Presbyterian Church. In 1829 Pears took up the position of minister and teacher at Baviaan's River (later Glen Lynden), but his stay there was short. In July 1830 he accepted the post of Professor of Classics and English Literature at the South African College, Cape Town, where he remained until his resignation in 1836. Thereafter, he was appointed minister of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in Albany from 21.4.1839 until he succeeded George Morgan at Somerset East on 1 November 1841. *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 3: 678-9; A. Dreyer, *Kerksoewenier van die gemeente Albanie: 'n geskiedkundige oorsig van die honderdjarige bestaan van die plaaslike Nederduits-Gereformeerde Gemeente 1831-1931* (Cape Town: Nederduits Gereformeede Kerk, 1931), 26-32.

[315] Dr John Philip (14.4.1777-27.8.1851), another native of Scotland and a minister of the Congregational Church, was Superintendent of the London Missionary Society in South Africa from his arrival in Cape Town in 1819 until his death in 1851 . As an outspoken champion of civil and political freedom and equality before the law for the KhoeKhoe people, and a vociferous supporter of the emancipation of slaves, Philip emerged as a controversial figure frequently in conflict not only with the authorities but also with the colonists themselves. Laing's view of Philip is interesting as Philip is held by some to have damaged what was undoubtedly a good cause by making unsubstantiated assertions and strongly prejudiced statements. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 612-620; Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: a modern history*, 48-51.

in the main—he has done good but not in the best way. Some might have done it better but no human being would have done it perfectly. Had matters been conducted in a more faultless manner than they have been conducted by Dr Philip. I am not disposed to think that he would have been blamed less. The only perfect reformer has stood up to put an end to wickedness met with so much opposition nay with more than if he had shewn less of the purity of heaven in his strict condemnation of all iniquity. I had scarcely any conversation with Dr Philip on the Hottentot question, not a sentence I may say directly. At dinner a number of people were present and the conversation was changing and general. I have not to go to the Hottentots, and therefore have no personal concern in speaking in favour of Dr Philip. But I would not be a rational being did I not form some opinion respecting what I see and hear. You have no reason to be afraid of my entering into politics. Soon shall I be out of the bounds of a Christian Government altogether. Posterity will make an impartial decision respecting the present commotions.

To-night I gave an address at a prayer meeting in Dr Philip's Chapel.[316] I went through the work with much ease.

On Thursday last I had an audience of His Excellency the Governor.[317] Mr Beck advised [me] to pay my respects to His Excellency the Governor as a person lately come to the Colony. This he said was an attention which it was proper to shew. Previous to seeing Sir G[albraith] L. Cole I must signify my intention to Colonel Bell[318] his private Secretary. Accordingly I was introduced to the Colonel a very agreeable man. He knows well about the state of matters of the frontier. He said that the Missions had without doubt been productive of good among the tribes there, that the progress of civilization was already abundantly apparent among them and that their Christianization would be a work of time.

He knew of the Balfour transactions. He said the Missionaries might have continued there after it was taken possession of by the Government troops: but they chose to go to the Caffers. Altogether he was very pleasant, and told me, on taking leave to insert my name in a

[316]Union Chapel, Church Square on the site of the present Cape Town Civil Service Club.

[317]Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, born in Dublin 1.5.1772, was a professional soldier in the British Army attaining the rank of General in 1830. Following a career in active and staff service from 1794 to 1822, he was appointed Governor of Mauritius in 1822. On 9 September 1828 he assumed the Governorship of the Cape of Good Hope, an appointment which he held until 10 August 1833. He returned to England and died in Hampshire on 4 October 1842. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 3: 163-165.

[318] Col. Sir John Bell, C.B., was born in Fifeshire, Scotland on 1.1.1782. He was appointed Secretary to the Government on 20.12.1827, a post which he filled until 6 June 1841 when he returned to England. He died in London on 20 November 1876. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 65-66.

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book, with the place from which I came and the time when I should see His Excellency. I wrote in the book in an adjoining apartment "The Revd James Laing from Glasgow".

I went back at the time appointed. After waiting some time I was ushered into the presence of the Governor. I found him prepared about our Mission. He had been at Chumie. Mentioned Mr Thomson[319] and said that he approved very much of his conduct, and had lately given him a church in the Colony. Mr Ross[320] he did not at all approve of. He said that he was either very dishonest or very credulous. I observed that the last conclusion was the most charitable. In short he could scarcely view him as a good man. He said that Mr Ross had made some statements which could not be depended on and advised me to go to Mr Thomson first, and hear what he had to say before I saw Mr Ross. It was the Balfour business which he alluded to. You know how Mr Ross acted on that occasion, and will with all good men pronounce his conduct to have been praise worthy. I do so in as far as I know the matter. Mr Ross I believe to be as pious a man as belongs to the Mission—but he happened to stand in the way of His Excellency and has incurred his odium.

Tuesday January 11th 1831 The Governor spoke a little of the uncomfortable situation in which I might find myself when I should be placed among the Caffers. The desire of doing good might bear me up was a sentiment I was happy to hear him entertain. He knew that I was married (likely from the Newspapers) and on this account said that it would be

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[319]Rev. William Ritchie Thomson, born in Ayrshire, Scotland on 9.9.1794, attended Glasgow University from the age of 10 and was recruited by Rev. George Thom to assist Rev. John Brownlee at Tyhume. He was ordained as a missionary of the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1821, though the validity of his ordination was disputed in 1834 when he was admitted to the Cape Synod of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk. In addition to his missionary role he was appointed official Government Agent amongst the amaNgqika and his subsequent political involvement on behalf of the Colony incurred both the suspicion and the loathing of the amaXhosa. In 1828 Thomson asked to be relieved of his position and was appointed minister of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in the Kat River Settlement area though the station was only formally established in 1834. He remained an honorary member of the Glasgow Missionary Society and kept up contact with some of the Society's missionaries. Thomson suffered physically and emotionally in times of stress (as in 1828) but retained his loyalty to the Colonial authorities despite his local unpopularity. He retired to Balfour in 1869 where he died on 4 May 1891. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1:789-791; Donovan Williams, *When Races Meet: the Life and Times of William Ritchie Thomson, Glasgow Missionary Society Agent and Dutch Reformed Church Minister, 1794-1891* (Johannesburg: A.P.C., 1967), passim; Peires, *The House of Phalo*, 76.

[320]Rev. John Ross, the eldest son of a small tradesman on the outskirts of Glasgow, was born on 28 June 1799. He entered Glasgow University in October 1812 and graduated with an M.A. in 1819. In March 1823 he became the first minister to be ordained by a Presbytery of the Church of Scotland for missionary service in South Africa. He married Helen Blair shortly before embarking for the Cape and arrived at the Tyhume mission station on 16 December 1823. With him Ross brought the Ruthven printing press with which he was to pioneer printed Xhosa and which would launch the role of the Scottish mission press in the dissemination of the written vernacular. In 1830 Ross founded a station at Pirie and remained there for most of his missionary life. He and Mrs Ross were to feature strongly in the lives of the Laing family during their years on the frontier. His journals and papers, together with Laing's own, constitute the bulk of the surviving sources on the Glasgow missionary effort and are preserved in the Cory Library for Historical Research. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 681-3; J.M. Berning (ed), The papers of the Rev. John Ross (work in process).

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peculiarly disgusting to females to see the Caffers in their rude condition. He is a pleasant man: but some way or other has imbibed strong prejudices against Mr Ross. Mr Ross may comfort himself with thinking of the Saviour's words to his disciples when they were persecuted for righteousness' sake. The best men in all ages have had much evil spoken against them.

I am now becoming pretty well acquainted in Cape Town. The people here are very kind and exceedingly easy of access. There is a freeness about them which makes even a first sight of them peculiarly agreeable. I have seen various Missionaries who are here at present. Mr B. Shaw[321] the Wesleyan is an excellent man. You may see a good deal about him in the *History of Missions* by Smith.[322] He does not think it unlikely that all Caffraria may be taken into the Colony. Some of the Chiefs are favourable to the British government and would consider it a priviledge to be protected by it. *My* fear is that if the Colonial authorities here proceed from time to time to add to the bounds of the Colony that the Caffers will think that our missionaries have only gone there to prepare the way for their subjugation.[323] Mr Shaw said that this was not unlikely but that the way in which the affairs were transacted would very much direct the opinions and conduct of the Caffers. If, with their own consent, they come under British influence then all things would be peaceably settled. Mr Shaw has been here 15 years—but not all that time in Cape Town—for some part of it was spent in the interior. Mr Shaw has a large school of children of all kinds. I heard them singing—and such singing I scarcely ever heard before. It was interesting to see the little black faces of these children. Their well shaped arms all black struck me much. The children are not *all black*—some are half and some are wholly white. They are in general young and cannot be expected to have gained much knowledge —yet I would like at some future opportunity to examine them.

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[321]Rev. Barnabas Shaw (12.4.1788-21.6.1857), of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, arrived at the Cape on 13.4.1816 and founded the first Methodist mission in South Africa at Leliefontein in the Northern Cape in 1826. He worked largely in Little and Great Namaqualand and should not be confused with the better known Rev. William Shaw, also a Methodist, whose missionary work lay in the Eastern Cape. Barnabas Shaw was appointed to Cape Town from 1826-1837 where he built a school and several chapels. After several years in England and publishing his *Memorials*, he returned to the Cape in 1843 where he retired in 1854. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 709-711.

[322]Thomas Smith, *The history and origins of the missionary societies, containing faithful accounts of the voyages, travels, labours and successes of the various missionaries* (London: Charles Baynes, 1824-5). 2 vols. South African missions are discussed in 1: 205-238 and 2:126-213; 679-737.

[323]Laing exhibits a remarkable contemporary consciousness of the tensions surrounding the expropriation of Xhosa-held land by the Colonial authorities and of what was to be recognised more than a century later as the precarious role the missionaries were required to play in the complex frontier relationship between black and white. See the Introduction for a fuller discussion of Laing's opinion.

Mr Moffat from Lattakoo[324] is now here printing the Gospel of Luke in the Bechuana language.[325] He has set the types and pressed the sheets with his own hands. He carries a printing press with him by which he will be enabled to print as he translates the additional parts of the sacred volume. He is one of the best missionaries at present alive. His qualifications bodily and mental peculiarly fit him for his important work. Strong in body and strong in mind he is willing "to spend and be spent for Christ". Tonight I am to see Mr Freeman[326] a Missionary from Madagascar. I have had much information from him relative to that extensive island. There was a wonderful unction in his prayer as well as in Dr Philip's last night. It was then such another meeting as we had in Dr Dick's Chapel before I came from among you. My impression was that none but Christians could have prayed such prayers.

I might speak of the good people in Cape Town whom I have seen, one by one but time and space equally prevent me. In one respect they differ materially from the inhabitants of Scotland—and I am happy to say that they differ for the better. They don't put you to the inconvenience of seeking them—as soon as they hear that you are come they call on you and in the most friendly manner introduce themselves. This was a new custom but to me it was one which I by no means disliked. Some of the most respectable people in Cape Town have called upon me and invited me to their houses. I have also been invited to places in the country and have had the offer of carriages to take me to them. Wynberg, one of the finest spots in all the Colony, I expect soon to see—and to preach there for Mr Shaw.

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[324]Lattakoo (spelt variously Littakoo, Lithako, Lithakun and Takoon) was the principle town of the Tlhaping, the southernmost tribe of the Tswana. After changing location several times it was finally located near the eye of the Kuruman River and re-named Kuruman.

[325]Moffat was taught typesetting, printing and binding by the Government Printer, J.B. van de Sandt, who supervised Moffat's printing of this first printed translation of the Gospel of St Luke in seTswana on the Government press under the title: *Evangelia kotsa mahuku a molemo a kuariloeng ki Luka*. The title-page imprint date is 1830 and a copy of the original edition is housed in the Rare Book Collection of the Cory Library. Moffat returned to Kuruman armed with his press and his newly gained knowledge to initiate printing at the mission itself. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1:548.

[326] Rev. Joseph John Freeman (7.10.1794, London-8.9.1851, Germany), biblical translator, author and Secretary of the London Missionary Society, was educated at Hoxton Academy and was sent as a missionary to Madagascar in 1827. He was however, required to leave his missionary post there on two occasions. The first time, in 1829, was as a result of tensions between Freeman and his fellow missionaries and he settled in Cape Town until his return to Madagascar in July 1831. His second and final departure from Madagascar took place in June 1835 when the hostility of the island authorities towards Christianity drove off all the missionaries. Once again he settled in Cape Town where he deputised for Dr Philip and was an outspoken supporter of the Kat River KhoeKhoe and equally outspoken in his criticism of Harry Smith's frontier policy. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 2: 241; Lovett: *History of the London Missionary Society*, 681-698; James Sibree, *London Missionary Society: a register of missionaries, deputations, etc. from 1796 to 1923* (London: London Missionary Society, 1923), 28.

Mr Jardine, Mr Beck and myself have been proposing to visit some of the stations of the Moravians.[327] Should this take place you shall hear of it.

Friday January 14th 1831 I saw Mr Freeman at the time referred to. He is a good man and an able Missionary. It is often said and I believe with truth that the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society are not well qualified.[328] This cannot be said of him. He is a well informed man. I believe the Independents now find that learning both at home and abroad tends to make their preachers more efficient. An illiterate preacher may do more good, in many instances than one who has much learning: but *ceteris paribus* [all things being equal], the preacher will be the better for his learning. *The more learned of the Apostles was also the most laborious and successful of them all.* Let those who despise learning think of that.

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[327]A pietist Protestant movement in Germany whose first missionary to the Cape was Georg Schmidt in 1736. Schmidt was responsible for the establishment of Genadendal mission which, with the later stations of Mamre and Elim, would have been accessible to Laing from Cape Town at the cost of a horseback journey of at best (Mamre) nearly 7 hours and the furthest (Genadendal) about 14 hours. *Moravians in the Eastern Cape, 1828-1928: four accounts of Moravian mission work on the Eastern Cape frontier*, transl. F.R. Baudert and ed. Timothy Keegan. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2004), xviii-xix; *Itinerary of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, showing the distances in hours, between the principal towns, villages, etc. according to the different modes of travelling in use.* (Cape Town: A.S. Robertson, 1835).

[328]The criteria laid down by the London Missionary Society by which their aspirant missionaries were to be chosen depended to a greater extent on personal piety and commitment than on academic achievement. Richard Lovett, the chronicler of the LMS, cites eminent English preacher Dr Thomas Haweis when he writes that missionaries should be: "Men really moved by the Holy Ghost to devote themselves to the work, - ... Such are the instruments we must seek. Nor must we despair of finding them, if not in the schools of learning, or the seminaries of theology, yet among the faithful, in our several congregations". Lovett, still citing Haweis, continues: "A plain man,—with a good natural understanding—well read in the Bible,—full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost, —though he comes from the forge or the shop, would I own, in my view, as a missionary to the heathen, be infinitely preferable to all the learning of the schools; and would possess, in the skill and labour of his hands, advantages which barren science would never compensate". Laing's comment could have been two-pronged. Firstly, the missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society were frequently university products as were Laing and Ross. But perhaps the greater contrast lay in the more classless nature of Scottish education. In Scotland, if the trainee missionary came indeed "from the forge, or the shop" (or the pasture as in Laing's case) the prospect and benefits of higher education would not have been denied him on grounds of class. Richard Lovett. *The history of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895.* (London: Frowde, 1899) 1: 27-28.

Last night I was driven out to Newlands,[329] on the other side of Table Mountain. This place is beautiful beyond any other which I have ever seen. Mr Zeederberg,[330] to whom I was recommended by Mr Robertson,[331] did me the kindness to take me to the beautiful residence of his friend who not long ago had bought Newlands. He paid only 3,000 pounds for the land and the houses upon it: though I was told by himself that the buildings alone lately cost more than 70,000 pounds. This surely was a good bargain. I was shewn the gardens and groves and other remarkable things in the most obliging manner by the owner of them. I walked among groves of myrtle. I ate the oranges from the tree. I saw figs, apricots, peaches, and many other kinds of fruit growing. So many walks are there about this place that without a guide you would be in danger of losing yourself. From some points you may sight long vistas before you in this manner:

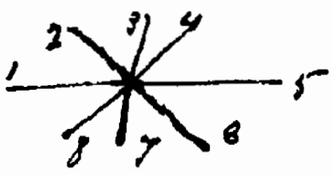


Figure 12: Laing's diagram of the Newlands walks. *Source*: Courtesy of Rhodes University, Cory Library, Laing journal, letter at the back of volume 4, MS 9043/2.

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[329] Newlands, earlier Nieuwe Lande, was the site chosen by Willem Adriaan van der Stel at the turn of the 18th century to supplement the centrally situated Dutch East India Company's garden when it was no longer able to supply the increasing numbers of visiting ships with fresh fruit and vegetables. It was laid out with plantations of trees, orchards and gardens over an area of ultimately 78 morgen and became the home of the Governor Ryk Tulbagh in 1751. After his death in 1771, it was intermittently the home of successive Cape Governors, lastly Lord Charles Somerset, who incurred considerable public wrath over the vast public expense he spent in its upkeep. When Laing visited it in 1831 it had been bought by Johannes Jacobus Cruywagen, a wine merchant. According to Joyce Thompson , Cruywagen's purchase price was £4,600. It is interesting firstly that his father-in-law Willem Isaac Louw had bought Newlands when it was auctioned in 1828 for £3,025. Harriet Low, a young woman visiting the Cape of Good Hope from America in 1834, wrote in her diary that she visited Newlands "formerly the residence of Lord Charles Somerset, while Governor here. Mr Cruywagen, the present owner, told me that Lord Charles spent £70,000 upon it, and that he bought it for £3,000". This tallies precisely with what Laing had been told. Joyce Newton Thomson, *The story of a house* (Cape Town: Howard B. Timmins, 1968), 88, 90, 93; *Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa*, 8: 153; *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* 23, no.3: 83-96.

[330] Roelof Abraham Zeederberg, Swedish born wine merchant and elder of the Lutheran Church in Cape Town. His second marriage was to Margaretha Elisabeth Louw. Zeederberg's son ran a coaching business which became renowned throughout southern Africa. Alan H. Winquist, *Scandinavians and South Africa: their impact on their cultural, social and economic development of pre-1902 South Africa* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1978), 30-31; *South African Directory Advertiser for the year* 1831 (Cape Town: George Greig, 1831): 136.

[331] Probably William Robertson, schoolmaster and minister in the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland on 13.7.1805. He was one of George Thom's recruits in 1821 and was sent to Graaff-Reinet as a teacher. In 1827 he resigned and returned to Scotland to study for the ministry following which he returned to South Africa where he was admitted to the ministry of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk and sent to Clanwilliam in 1832. He spent the bulk of his ministry at Swellendam and strove for the extension of educational facilities particularly for rural children. He moved to Cape Town in 1872 and died there on 24.11.1879. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 672-674.

Suppose each of these lines to be a walk—shaded with lofty trees (oak) on each side—and you will have [an] idea of what I saw. In these walks you may walk in the hottest day and feel no inconvenience from the burning sun. From Newlands you have a fine view of Table Mountain but it is the side furthest from Cape Town which you see. Both sides are very rocky and steep. It bears a kind of resemblance to [a] stack of hay without an inclination to a point—as wide at the top as at the bottom. The mountain no doubt must narrow a little at the top; but this does not appear much. The gentleman whom God has placed in what I may not improperly call a Paradise seems not insensible to *his* goodness. Mr Beck, the Missionary to the slaves in Cape Town, he told me, had been his friend from the time they both were boys and had impressed his mind with a sense of the importance of religion.[332] I told him that he had much more reason than others to be thankful, which he allowed was the case. Mr Zeederberg intends soon to take me back to see him. You will recollect of having seen Mr Zeederberg's son in your house. He called one morning along with Mr Beck and myself. He was under Mr Robertson's care in Edinburgh.

I have seen many people who know Mr Robertson. He is here, and indeed over the Colony, universally respected. He's expected next July: but I think he will come later. The Brig which was to bring the rest of our goods has not yet arrived, but she is daily expected. I have written to the Brethren at Chumie and will wait their reply. In the meantime I hope to be able to organise a Society, Auxiliary to our Mission, in this place.[333]

We landed here at the hottest season—the time most hurtful to health. When others come, did they arrive in winter they would find it better for them. Cape Town being nearly surrounded with lofty mountains is hotter on that account than it would otherwise have been. The inhabitants themselves feel this month to be the most sickly in the year.

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[332]Rev. J.H. Beck, Missionary and Lecturer in the South African Missionary Society, ran the English School in Shortmarket Street and was, in addition, a director of the Bible Union. *The South African Almanac and Directory for 1833* (Cape Town: George Greig, 1833): 137, 141, 208.

[333]Laing is undoubtedly drawing on the example of the Auxiliary Societies which had been formed by the London Missionary Society since 1807 and later by the Glasgow Missionary Society. These auxiliaries acted as collecting agencies for regular, if small, contributions from a cross-section of the community including the poor and were able to assist in publicising the work of the Society, principally through the distribution of its publications. Lovett: *History of the London Missionary Society* 1: 81-2; Le Cordeur and Saunders: *The Kitchingman papers,* 103.

I had a call from Dr Adamson to-day.[334] He regrets that he cannot now as [he did] formerly make his house the headquarters of all ministers from Scotland. His house is s[maller th]an the one he once occupied, and has now a family. He took me to the "Museum", and [showed me] the various collections which have been made. Dr Adamson will [promote] the interests of our Society among his people as much as he can. I have as yet seen but few of them, and fewer have I spoken to about the Auxiliary; but I hope to meet with encouragement.

Dr Thom you will, before this reaches you, have heard has been much afflicted with a mental disease. Some time he was confined in Cape Town. Now he is returned to his charge, and is well. Thither I sent your letter. Soon I received a pressing invitation from him to go to Tulbagh. I have not yet decided, but must do so soon as if I go at all I shall go with Mr Jardine who is going to see his lately afflicted friend. Dr Thom imputes his indisposition partly to the horrifying looks of the late Mrs McLachlan. I have myself been glad to turn away my eyes from the unmeaning looks of an idiot.[335]

Sunday January 16th 1831 Cape Town Lord's Day, half past twelve: So early in the day have I returned from preaching. Several Churches here open at nine in the morning, some not quite so early: the Scotch Church commences at ten. I preached in it. I partly read my discourse regularly turning the leaves. I wonder much that I can preach, and sinners like myself hear, with so much indifference. The things spoken and the things heard have a

[334]James Constantine Adamson (22.1.1797-16.7.1875), Presbyterian minister and cousin of Thomas Chalmers, was born in Fifeshire, Scotland. He arrived in Cape Town in 1827 where he was appointed the first minister of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church. Together with Dr Abraham Faure he headed the committee to establish the South African College (later the University of Cape Town). He was a member of the Board of Trustees of the South African Public Library intermittently from 1829-35 and Chairman from 1842-45. He was also a co-founder of the South African [Literary and Scientific] Institution which spawned the South African Museum with which he was closely associated for many years. He died at Green Point, Cape Town on 16.7.1875. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1:5-7.

[335]Rev. James McLachlan and his wife arrived at the Cape in 1827 in the company of William and Mary Chalmers, Alexander and Mrs McDiarmid and James Weir and his mother. Mrs McLachlan suffered "a deep and settled melancholy" within the first fortnight of setting sail which continued after their arrival and effectively precluded any active role in missionary life. On arrival at the Cape, Drs James Abercrombie and Johannes Knockers van Oosterzee were consulted on Mrs McLachlan's condition. Dr van Oosterzee advised that Mrs McLachlan was beyond the reach of medical science and recommended their return to Scotland, but Dr Abercrombie merely advised a change of environment locally. This view was accepted by her husband and by Dr Thom, who recommended that they go to Tulbagh so that she could "try the effects of quietude and change of scenery upon a mind fretted and broken, and which was the melancholy prey of its own undetected illusions."" However, her condition did not improve, and it was decided that they should return to Scotland after all. The Presbytery of Kaffraria had, in the meantime, examined the situation in some detail, hearing the testimonies of the men and women who had accompanied the McLachlans on the voyage. The minutes of the Presbytery meeting of 6 March 1828 recorded: "It seemed good unto us that it be stated to the Directors that circumstances have come to our knowledge which would have called for an Examination into the conduct of the Rev. James McLachlan had he come into Caffreland, but as he is about to go home we decline to enter thereinto." The major decisions regarding Mrs McLachlan were largely Thom's and he appears to have felt the effects of this responsibility heavily. Glasgow Missionary Society *Report*, 1827, 20; 1828, 20-22; 1829, 9; Cory Library MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria minute book, 13.10.1827-6.3.1828.

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bearing on eternity. When we have lived in the eternal world as many years as there are particals [sic] of sand in the solid part of our world or as there are drops of water in the ocean: the consequences of this day's preaching will ever then be felt. Now we are called to turn to God. We heed not the call: then we shall know much better than we know now the wisdom of listening to it, and the folly of turning a deaf ear to it.

I regretted to-day that I did not before entering the pulpit pray more for a blessing on the preaching of the word. It is only Christians that will and can pray for their own spiritual good, and for the spiritual good of others. Why then will they be so remiss? Preaching is to be made use of to convert the world, and will they not pray that preaching may be attended with more success?

Conversed a little with Mr Disant [Disandt].[336] He unblushing told me that instead of being at Church he had been writing in his office or rather the office of his employers. I said they were despisers of the Sabbath and ought not to succeed. Ships, he replied, sail on the Sunday and they must be ready. The conduct of others I said will not excuse us in sinning. If the sailing on Sunday causes others and even sailors themselves to break the Sabbath they ought not to sail on that day. I told him and those present that in some cases they might lawfully sail on the Lord's day; but in th[is] case I supposed they must have been for some days, and of course on the day before, prevented from sailing by contrary winds. You who break the Sabbath cannot expect to go to heaven for the Sabbath has no end there. Some of Mr Disant's [Disandt's] principles will not stand the test of truth. All that is false I shall while I have breath condemn. All that is honest, and true, and lovely and of good report I trust I shall ever defend and practice. To-day I had reason to state that you must not without an effort to prevent them, allow men to fall headlong to destruction. The intention with which we perform an action makes it either good or bad. Many of the actions which men perform have no merit in the sight of God. The love of praise causes men to perform many actions which appear to be good. The dread of censure prevents men from performing many actions which they would otherwise perform.

I purpose occasionally making a few notices of some things in my life which are of some importance. I would wish in all that I say to be short. I would not wish to destroy precious time in writing about things of little moment. All writing is meant to be read, if not by the public, at least by the individual who writes it. God should be kept in view in all that we do, and say and think. What I shall write will only serve its end in so far as it tends to advance

[336]Probably a son of Johannes Christiaan Disandt (1774-1814). The Disandt family had been involved in shipping at the Cape since at least 1806. D.F. du Toit Malherbe, *Family Register of the South African Nation*. 3 ed. (Stellenbosch: Tegniek, 1966), 245; CA: CO, v.3859, ref.416, part one.

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his glory. Every Christian must live to his maker. Every Christian promote his interests to the utmost of his power in this sinful world. May I live this. In my writing as well as in my speaking and general conduct may I aim at the spiritual good of myself and others. Now I have reason to call on God, not only for myself but for my dear wife who is now laying in bed under the heavy pressure of disease. To all appearance I shall soon lose her. Let me endeavour to prepare her and myself for entering into the unseen world. We shall enter soon into it and no time should be lost in making our calling and election sure.

Monday January 17th 1831 The weather is so hot today, as in a great measure to unfit me for active exertion. Cape Town from its situation is much hotter than the surrounding country. The following diagram gives an imperfect notion of its position. [Laing's sketch is not included].

These square lines are meant to represent Cape Town, which appears on all sides surrounded with mountains. These mountains are very high: 3,600 [feet = 1,097m] is the height of the highest. They prevent an ordinary breeze from being felt and so contribute to the sultriness of the place.[337]

I had a call today, according to the kind custom here, from Mr Ludovick Beck[338] a gentleman whom I never saw before. Had he been at home he said when we arrived he would have asked Mrs Laing and myself to stay at his house. His brother could not do so on account of the distressed situation of his family. It is now six in the evening, and if I do not improve the remaining hours of this day better than I have done the past ones, I shall have to say with the Roman Emperor "*perdidi diem*".[339]

Wednesday January 19th 1831 One of the uses which I intend this journal to serve is that it may be a kind of general depot from which I may write letters to my friends. Brevity is best here. Enlargements may be made, as deemed necessary, when I make out my letters. I may

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[337]Table Mountain is the highest point of land, standing 1,086m at Maclear's Beacon. Laing had obviously not yet experienced the south-easterly wind which blows up to 120 kph principally between October and February at the Cape. The average maximum January temperature measured over twenty years is 26,2°C [80°F] with an average minimum of 16,4°C [61°F]. *South Africa 1986* 12; Denis Conolly, *Conolly's guide to Southern Africa* (Durban, South Africa: Conolly Publishers, 1982), 9-11.

[338]Lodewyk Willem Christiaan Beck, younger brother of Jan Frederik Beck, the Society's agent, and grandfather of J.H. Meiring Beck, Union Cabinet Minister, had a retail shop at 20 Loop Street in 1831. He and his brother Jan Frederik both died in 1832. *South African Directory Advertiser for the year 1831* (Cape Town: George Greig, 1831), 246; *Heese and Lombard*: 1: 171; *Dictionary of South African Biography* 2: 42.

[339]"*Diem perdidi*" or "I have lost a day", is believed to have been said by the Emperor Titus when he had "allowed a day to pass in which he had done no gracious act". Hugh Percy Jones, *Dictionary of foreign phrases and classical quotations* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1929), 30.

leave out things which would be of little service or interest to them; other things I may add which have no place here.

Last night, at dinner with a few benevolent individuals, a proposal was made by Mr Innes one of the number respecting a Missionary publication being set a going in Cape Town.[340] All hailed the proposal with delight and agreed to do their utmost in its support. It was to be a general Record however of the Missions—a Register not of one, but of all Missions—chiefly of the Missions in Southern Africa. The good which it would do or which we thought it would do made us resolve to call some of the other friends of Missions at present in Cape Town together to take the proper steps for putting Mr Innes' proposal into execution. What the result may be I cannot tell. Now it appears (see page 20 then p.23) to me for many reasons a measure which would be attended with beneficial results.

Lately I have been reading the "Life of the Roman Catholic Missionary Xavier". I know of no Protestant Missionary who would not be the better for reading it, at least who might not learn something from it which would be advantageous to him. The life which I read is by Morgan a Wesleyan Minister. It is written in a homely style, but no person of sense will be displeased with it. I shall give a sentence or two from Xavier himself.

Thursday January 20th 1831 "I have often thought to run over, if it were possible, all the universities of Europe, and to cry aloud to those who bound more in learning than in Charity, 'Ah, how many souls are lost to heaven, through your default!' It were to be wished that those people would apply themselves as diligently to the salvation of souls as they do to the study of (the) sciences: to the end the[y] might render to Almighty God a good account of their labours, and the talents which he has bestowed upon them. They would then renounce their passions and trample under foot all worldly vanities; they would put themselves in condition for following the motions of the Divine will. They would say from the bottom of their hearts,—"Behold me in readiness O my Lord; send me wheresoever Thou shall please! even to the Indies if Thou commandest me".

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[340]Laing is referring to the *South African Christian Recorder* which was launched by a group of ministers of the Dutch, Lutheran, Anglican, Presbyterian, Wesleyan Methodist and Congregational churches labelled the "Orthodox liberals" by the secular press. In addition to James Rose Innes, those involved in its launch were J.C. Adamson who acted as sponsor and J.J. Freeman who was appointed first editor. Hitherto little has been known about the provenance of the journal and Varley does not identify the first editor. These and subsequent references by Laing provide some clarity. The first series of the journal ran from March 1831 to February 1832. A second series was published between June 1836 and May 1837. D.H. Varley, "A note on the *South African Christian Recorder*", *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* 13, 1 (Sept. 1958):12-15.

Xavier arrived in the Indies 1542. At Goa. The above was written soon after.[341]

Have lately had an invitation from the Revd Mr Pears one of the professors in the South African College to live with him during the remainder of my stay in Cape Town.[342] I shall endeavour as soon [as] possible to go but I cannot for a little remove Mrs Laing on account of her weakness. She is no doubt worse for the heat—yet at Mr Pears's she would find the heat much less than she now feels it.

Friday January 21st 1831 I find that the memorials which were presented to the Dutch East India Company, 1649-1651 praying them to form a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, "expressed hopes, that, in addition to the temporal advantages which would arise from forming a settlement, the moral improvement of the Aborigines would [might] be promoted by the diffusion of Christian principles". This was a noble design in the original projectors of the scheme for forming this Colony. I have so far as I have read of the men who expressed this praiseworthy intention, no reason to think that they did not seriously entertain it. How far the intention was answered let history determine. The Dutch instead of making the Aborigines better I am afraid made them worse. (See the *South African Quarterly Journal*, no. III, [April-June 1830], p.253). Jan van Riebe[e]ck[343] the founder of the Colony, appears to have been desirous of gaining God's approbation in what he did. Few conquerors have acted like him (*Id.* 255).[344]

Sabbath January 23rd 1831 Preached three times today, 1st at Wynberg, 2nd at the Barracks Cape Town, 3rd in Dr P[hilip]'s, Church Square. I thought when I was done that in Britain one might preach, and work double to what he can do here and not feel so much fatigued.

Tuesday January 25th 1831 Mrs Laing and I came to Mr Pears's. His lady is well adapted to attend to sick people. [She is] unremitting in her attentions to my wife. A meeting about the proposed periodical. Things looked well for its publication. Mrs Laing has been rather worse for some days.

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[341]There is no biography of St Francis Xavier by Morgan listed in the principal bibliographical sources and this is more likely a tract or similar publication than a major work. St Francis landed at Goa on 6 May 1542. H.J. Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St Francis Xavier*. 4 ed. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1927), 1: 119.

[342]Pears lived in Bree Street, Cape Town, near the beach. *South African Directory Advertiser for the year* 1831 (Cape Town: George Greig, 1831): 232.

[343]Johannes Anthoniszoon (Jan) van Riebeeck (21.4.1619-18.1.1677), first Commander at the Cape. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 2: 798.

[344]Laing has quoted verbatim from the *South African Quarterly Journal* 3 (April-June, 1830), with one minor error in transcription in writing "would" instead of "might".

Friday January 28th 1831 When I look on the great number of people here who are either the blind dupes of a fatal delusion, or without a form of religion altogether, I am grieved that no more is done to enlighten them. The white people have all the means of salvation in their hands. If they are willing they may be instructed in religion—the true religion. No provision [shorthand] is made for the heathens and Mahometans [Muslims]. They are going astray and there is nobody to bring them back. There are some efforts made for their spiritual good, but they are small and by no means adequate to the urgency of their wants. (I would like could I find time and materials to write a short view of the state of Society here. This would chiefly be done for the information of friends at home).

Mrs Laing is now much troubled with pains in her bowels. [Shorthand passage crossed out]

Tuesday February 1st 1831 Preached for Dr Adamson on Sunday in the morning. Heard Mr Freeman in the evening who before had been voted by the Committee for setting agoing the *South African Christian Recorder* to be its Editor. Matters now bid fair for its publication. Traill the author of the sermons on the "Throne of grace" had a brother of the name of James, a Lieutenant of the garrison in Stirling Castle. He [James] was my wife's great grandfather. She has various of his brother R[obert]'s sermons in manuscript.[345] Dr Lee, Edin[burgh] has some others [much of] which he bought for a few shillings from a person of the name of Fotheringham into whose possession they had come. I heard that the Dr would have delivered them up on being paid the sum which he gave for them. Ere I left Edin[burgh] I intended to get them but neglected to do it. I shall write to my brother there to ask for them.[346]

My principal work here should be learning Dutch. At present I am attending a very good Teacher Mr Marquard.[347] [Shorthand passage crossed out].

Saturday February 5th 1831 Yesterday was very hot. Thermometer in the sun 126°—in a room with windows shut 85°. At this season one cannot well go by sea to Algoa Bay. South

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[345]Robert Trail [sometimes Traill] (1642-1716), a Presbyterian minister and writer, first published his sermon *The Throne of Grace discoursed of, from Heb. iv.16* in 1696. In 1845 the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland published the *Select practical writings of Robert Traill* being further sermons that had remained in the hands of Trail's relatives. *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith, Elder, 1885-1901) 57: 150; *British Museum general catalogue of printed books to 1955* (New York: Readex Microprint, 1967) 25: 381.

[346]Laing was the third of four Laing sons. It has not been possible to ascertain to which brother Laing is referring here.

[347]Leopold Marquard (4.6.1787-22.6.1867), first official missionary of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk and a pioneer in the field of education in South Africa, was Professor of Dutch and German at the South African College in 1831. *South African Directory Advertiser for the year* 1831 (Cape Town: George Greig, 1831): 267; *Dictionary of South African Biography* 3: 583-584.

Easters so much prevail. The Cape winter is the best time for going—and likewise the best time to arrive from Britain. 1st of January is a good time to leave England.

Monday February 7th 1831 Saw the Hon. Cap[tain] S[tockenström][348] today for the 2nd time. He had been at our Miss[ion] St[ations] and had heard our Mis[sionaries] preach—sometimes in the Caffer language. He returns soon to the Eastern frontier. He is a kind man, philanthropic, a friend to what is good. He is one of those who have agreed to liberate all slaves' children after the 8th of April next. If (as I doubt) I have anywhere written that these emancipators were going to liberate all their slaves, I have erred. They only liberate the children, male and female.[349] [*Shorthand passage crossed out*].

Wednesday February 16th 1831 Yesterday I took an Article to the Editor of the *S[outh] A[frican] Christian Recorder*.[350] It was on the rel[igious] history of Africa, and was brought down [through] the Ch[ristian] Era. If God grant me health I propose continuing it. Two days ago we heard of the change of the Ministry in England. Those [who] come into power are the avowed friends of liberty and reform. We shall see whether they will act up to their principles.[351] [*Shorthand passage crossed out*].

Since I landed there has been one wet day. It has cooled the weather much. Mr and Mrs Pears continue very kind. In several respects Mr Pears bears a near resemblance to my *worthy* friend Muir.[352]

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[348] Sir Andries Stockenström, (6.7.1792-15.3.1864), formerly Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, held the rank of Captain and the post of Commissioner-General for the Eastern Districts at the time of this meeting. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1:774-8.

[349] The Cape of Good Hope Philanthropic Society for Aiding Deserving Slaves and Slave Children to Purchase Their Freedom was established in Cape Town in 1828 in response to the contemporary wave of pro-emancipation enthusiasm. Stockenström chaired the first meeting and subscribed to the Society until its demise in 1833. The declared intention of the Society was to achieve the emancipation of, firstly, female children through helping them to buy their own freedom. Laing seems to be referring to their intention of extending the efforts of the Society to include male children as well. Cape of Good Hope Philanthropic Society *Annual reports* (1829-30, 1833); Richard L. Watson, "Slavery and ideology: the South African case" *International journal of African historical studies* 20, no.1 (1987): 32-37.

[350] As the articles were not attributed, it has not been possible to confirm if the *South African Christian Recorder* published this submission by Laing.

[351] The Whig government of Charles Grey, 2nd Earl Grey, succeeded Wellington's ministry in November 1830. Grey was to take the first Reform Bill through its stormy passage to statutory acceptance in 1832 and ushered in the abolition of slavery in August 1833. Grey resigned in July 1834 at the age of 70 and died on 17.7.1845.

[352] Probably Rev. Dr John Muir who was elected President of the Glasgow Missionary Society for the year 1831/2. He was undoubtedly a personal friend of Laing's and moved a resolution at the 36th Annual Meeting of the Society on 14 April 1831 thanking God for the safe arrival of Mr and Mrs Laing on the shores of Africa. Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1831):3.

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Thursday February 17th 1831 I have this evening heard of an opportunity of writing to Glasgow by a Mr Williamson a sitter in St John's.[353] Dr Adamson and I went down to his lodgings when I found that he knew many people in Glasgow and would be happy to carry letters for me and any of my friends there. I am still in Cape Town—but have not been idle since I came here. I have preached once or twice every week. In the Scotch Church one every Sabbath. For about a month I have been attending a Dutch teacher which will cost me something; but you are aware that there are certain things about a language which you can only learn from a living instructor. I have already mentioned to you that Mrs Laing and myself were staying in lodgings recommended by Mr Beck. For these we paid high (6/- a day). Though they were quite plain. We were about three weeks ago invited by Mr Pears to stay with him during our stay in Cape Town where we would have nothing to pay and where we would enjoy the society of Christians. You know that my goods could not be brought in the *Aquila* and that another vessel was to bring them. That vessel has not yet arrived. I shall wait a few weeks more till she either does come or the reason why she has not come be known. I had a letter from Mr Chalmers[354], Chumie, some time ago in answer to one of mine. He says nothing about the mission but tells me how much they wished my arrival, and how they had been praying for me when they knew that I was on the sea. One pleasant fact it incidentally mentions—much rain had fallen about the middle of January in Caffraria.

The gentleman with whom I am staying is a Minister of the Church of Scotland and a professor in the South African College. He is an excellent and an able man. I have no reason to expect that he would have shewn me the kindness which he has done, being wholly unacquainted with him and having no recommendations to him. God has raised me friends wherever I have yet been. I would wish shortly to mention a few of my principal matters. I have mentioned Mr Moffat the M[issionary]. With him your Book proceeds to Lattakoo nearly a thousand miles from the Cape. I have given my sanction to a new publication to be set a going here called the *South African Christian Recorder*. At present I am engaged in writing something on Africa for it. Its object is to give information respecting the progress of Ch[ristianit]y generally, but particular attention it means to pay to S. Africa. It has been undertaken with prayer for its success.

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[353]One who regularly attended the services of a particular church was allocated a personalised seat, hence the term 'sitter'. Mr Williamson was a parishioner of St John's Church, Glasgow.

[354]Rev. William Chalmers, was born in Glasgow in 1802, educated at the University of Glasgow, and began mission work in South Africa as a catechist in 1827. He was stationed largely at Tyhume and was ordained in 1832. In 1837, at the time of the divisions in the Church of Scotland, Chalmers joined the Glasgow African Missionary Society whilst Laing and others remained with the Glasgow Missionary Society adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland. He died at Glenthorn on 8 February 1847. Cory Library, PR 1616, *The Caffrarian Messenger* 20 (May 1847); Long: *Index*, 298.

We heard three days ago of the great political changes which have taken place in Britain. Slavery will surely be abolished now.[355] Here the slaveholders are afraid that they are going to lose their (unlawful) property. The slave and the Hottentot questions have been distracting men's mind much of late. The Dutch are exasperated against the English and are threatening to take up arms to keep themselves in possession of their rights! They *will only threaten.*

I have not as yet got the Auxiliary Society formed—but shall use all lawful means to form it before [I] go out of Town. I mean to write at some length to Mr McFarlan, Renfrew[356], relative to the state of the Black population of Cape Town; but in the meantime I shall say a few things to you on the subject. Cape Town contains a population of more than 20,000. Upwards of the half of these are blacks who are free and slaves.[357] The majority of them are Mahometans [Muslims] only nominally—for they know very little of their religion. The next greatest division is heathen—the smallest Christian. The Mahometans make 10 conversions for *one* which the Christians make from among the heathen—why? They are diligent and the Christians are negligent. They look on their heathen neighbours as brethren the moment they embrace Mahomet and there is not the least doubt that the change which they do make is made for worldly considerations.[358]

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[355]The Whig government of Charles Grey, 2nd Earl Grey, succeeded Wellington's ministry in November 1830. Grey was to take the first Reform Bill through its stormy passage to statutory acceptance in 1832 and ushered in the abolition of slavery in August 1833 with the passing of the Emancipation Decree. The legislation became effective in 1834 and Grey resigned in July of the same year. Between 1834 and 1838 a period of "apprenticeship" was instituted to, as Saunders and Davenport put it, "cushion the shock" for slaveholders reluctant to embrace this new, liberal dispensation. But, on 1 December 1838, full emancipation became a reality and slaves were finally free at the Cape. Shell, *Children of bondage*, 415, 418; Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: a modern history*, 47.

[356]Probably Rev. Duncan Macfarlan of Renfrew, at this stage a member of the Glasgow Missionary Society and later long time secretary of the Free Church branch of the Society, the Glasgow African Missionary Society. The Macfarlan mission station was named after him. Glasgow Missionary Society *Reports* (1832), 3; Glasgow Missionary Society *Reports* (1835), 30; Hunter: *History of the missions*, 364; Govan *Memorials*, 324.

[357]Although no official census at the Cape was taken until 1865 and, by 1831, the annual *Cape Blue Book* did not distinguish between black and white free persons listing only slaves separately, by extrapolating from the 1828 figures which do make this distinction, an approximate figure for the number of Blacks in Cape Town in 1831 may be attempted. The total population of Cape Town in 1831 is given as 19,186 of whom 5,827 were slaves. Of the remaining 13,359, the number of Whites was probably in the region of 9,884 leaving 3,475 free blacks. These added to the number of slaves gives 9,302, a figure which accords quite comfortably with Laing's approximation. *Cape Blue Book*, 1828; 1831.

[358]The spread of Islam at the Cape from the late eighteenth century was phenomenal and it may be possible to attribute this as much to social and economic factors as to religious. Islam bridged the gulf between slave and freeman more effectively than did Christianity which imposed a European, largely middle-class model. Islam drew its adherents into a cohesive community and this sense of identity and solidarity attracted slave and free black alike. Laing's observations on numbers and the rate of conversion to Islam is borne out in the sources. Slave historian Robert Shell, citing the 1842 census, gives the number of Muslims in Cape Town as 6,492 which makes Laing's 1831 assessment perfectly feasible. Robert Carl-Heinz Shell,. "From Rites to Rebellion: Islamic conversion, urbanization, and ethnic identities at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797 to 1904." *Canadian Journal of History* 28, no. 3 (December 1993): 417.

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Altogether there are more black people unattended to in Cape Town than are in all the Missionary stations in the Colony and in the frontier. Some Missionary should speedily be sent to them. Mr Beck is the Missionary to the slaves; but I understand that though he preaches to those who attend him he also teaches a school for his own emolument. Some Society should fix a Missionary here to the Mahometans [Muslims] and slaves alone. Dr Philip and Mr Shaw are ministers to congregations of White people and take little charge of the Black. You will see this subject more largely spoken of in some others of my letters. We have had very hot weather here since we landed. Thermometer sometimes 80°, 85°, and 90° in the shade, sometimes 110°, 120° or 140° in the sun. My own health has been good. Mrs Laing's has been indifferent. She joins with me in kindest regards to yourself and Mrs Falconer. I am much esteemed friend, Yours sincerely, James Laing.

Tuesday evening March 15th 1831 Have taken my passage in the *Conch*[359] to Algoa Bay. Hope soon to begin my labours among the Caffers, and pray that Christ may really send me to them. Would [*shorthand*]. Lately read Dr Thomson's triumphant speech on Slavery.[360]

Tuesday March 15th 1831 [*Letters*] Could I find time before sailing, I think I might collect materials of sufficient interest for a letter. In a short time I expect to embark for Algoa Bay. Mr Beck and I went out to-day and saw the vessel in which I am to go. You and the rest of my friends in Glasgow may perhaps think that I have been rather tardy in setting off for my final destination, and certainly I could have wished to have joined the Missionary brethren ere now, but reasons of some weight made it proper for me to wait some time in Cape Town. I wished the vessel from Liverpool to arrive while I was here, as well on account of the other Missionaries as on account of myself. I cannot tell how far I acted properly in coming with the *Aquila* at all, since it could not take my goods. I now think that I ought to have refused to come with her, and at least to have waited in Liverpool till I could have heard from you. We cannot however undo what we have already done; and even from our neglect we may learn wisdom.

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[359] A colonial brigantine of 100 tons owned by Smith and Company and commanded by Captain T. Cobern. *The South African Almanac and Directory for 1833* (Cape Town: George Greig, 1833).

[360] Probably Rev. Dr Andrew Thomson, a prominent and outspoken critic of slavery who frequently denounced the practice of it in his sermons. John Harris, *A century of emancipation* (London: J M Dent & Sons, 1933).

Friday March 18th 1831 It is unnecessary for me to say more on the above topic: for the *Pretty Lass* arrived yesterday morning.[361] She has come in time to enable me to take all the goods along with me. Should the weather permit, they will be transhipped to-morrow. I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter relating to the shipping which I have lodged with Mr Beck. Today I received another, by the *North Briton*, from Mr Falconer, with eight of his Tract, no.4. Will you be so good as mention this to him?

Mrs Laing's health has been indifferent almost all the time we have been here, so much so that I thought it prudent to call Dr Abercrombie[362] to visit her soon after our arrival. He did not cease to repeat his visits for more than two months; and, by his Christian conversation, not less than by his medical directions, has been instrumental in effecting much good. He has good hopes of her health being completely re-established. She has not been so well since we left Scotland. We came here in the most sickly season, when the weather was becoming hottest, and likely to try even strong constitutions. I was also unwell for two days, and had the benefit of Dr Abercrombie's advice. I would scarcely have mentioned all this had it not been to furnish you with a proof of disinterested Christian benevolence. He would take nothing at all for his attendance, though, as medical fees rate here, he was entitled to no small sum. So much as he might have taken, may be considered as going to the Missionary cause, yet he said nothing to this effect, being one of those who seek rather to hide than to show their favours. He comes from Edinburgh, and belongs to the Scotch Church. At present I do not expect an auxiliary to be formed from its members; but of a few men who are like-minded with Dr Abercrombie I expect that a committee of correspondence will be composed.

I shall mention another instance of Christian kindness which I have experienced. Mrs Laing and myself, when we came, staid in lodgings where we paid six shillings a-day. The Rev. J.

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[361]The *Pretty Lass*, a brig commanded by Capt. W. Turner, docked in Table Bay on 17 March carrying letters and "cargo sundries" which presumably included the Laings' belongings. *Government Gazette*, 25 March 1831, Cory Library MIC 209J.

[362]Dr James Abercrombie (1797-1870), listed as "surgeon and accoucheur, 15 Strand Street" in the 1833 *The South African Almanac and Directory for 1833* (Cape Town: George Greig, 1833), was one of the first elders of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, a member of the South African College Council and a Director of the Dutch School. He played a prominent rôle in the cultural and political life of Cape Town being a member of the Cape Legislative Assembly 1854-1858 and of the Legislative Council 1866-1868. He retired from medical practice in 1867. On his death, the *Cape Argus* recorded in his obituary on 3 February 1870 that he had been "an accomplished physician and a generous, big-hearted and Christian gentleman". Laing's experience of him was clearly not unique. E.H. Burrows, *A History of medicine in South Africa up to the end of the nineteenth century.* (Cape Town and Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema, 1958), 110-111; Ralph Pilkington Kilpin, *The romance of a colonial parliament: being a narrative of the Parliament and Councils of the Cape of Good Hope from the founding of the Colony by van Riebeeck in 1652 to the Union of South Africa in 1910, to which is added a list of governors from 1652 to 1910 and a complete list of members from 1825 to 1910* (London: Longmans, Green, 1930), 127, 137.

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Pears, three weeks after our landing, invited us to come to his house, where we would have nothing to pay. For seven weeks we have lived with that excellent man, and enjoyed that happy intercourse with him which is only to be enjoyed with men of sentiments and conduct like his. I may add that the kind attentions of his amiable wife have been unceasingly experienced by us and have tended much to the comfort of us both. These acts of kindness now mentioned are the more deserving of being recorded as they proceed from Christian motives, from individuals who have the best interests of their fellow immortals deeply at heart. I could mention other instances of kindness which I have met with in other Christians in Cape Town; but I forbear. Yet you and I will rejoice that in a place so full of wickedness there are a few who have the "fear of God before their eyes".

I have not been idle since I came into this sinful town; but I cannot pretend to give you even a faint outline of my proceedings. I have paid a teacher to teach me Dutch more perfectly, and I would advise all to avail themselves of the aid of teachers, whatever they are learning rather than wholly to depend on their own unaided exertions. I do not deny that they may teach themselves many things, but they will be better taught by good instructors—and the instructions of others are never intended to set aside their own labours. I have preached regularly all the time I have been here—more than I have done in any place before—generally in Dr Adamson's Church, though sometimes in those of other denominations.

Thursday April 14th 1831, Port Elizabeth, Algoa Bay We anchored in this Bay last night about ten o'clock—ten days after leaving Cape Town. Our new voyage has been very pleasant. Our little ship is an easier vessel, as to sailing, than the *Aquila*, not laying over by any means so much. We may be said to have come in four days, for the rest of the time we were detained by unfavourable weather. But while the contrary wind prevailed we were safely moored in Houts Bay.[363] When we were within 80 miles of our port, we encountered, indeed, another S. Easter, which was sufficiently violent to keep us back while it continued, but not so violent as to occasion any inconvenience. We came on shore this morning, and

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[363]Hout Bay, a sheltered inlet 23 km from Cape Town on the West coast of the Cape Peninsula.

went to an Inn, where we are still staying.[364] I wish to stay as short a period here as possible. Mr Smith, of Uitenhage, will hear of my arrival to-day.[365]

Friday April 15th 1831 Mr Smith will not hear, as I have come to understand that he has gone to a meeting of Presbytery at Graaf Renett [Graaff-Reinet], and will not be back for three weeks. As I was detained nearly a month longer in Cape Town than I expected I thought that some of the Missionaries would be waiting for me at Algoa Bay. However I have not found any of them nor any instructions from them, as to how I ought to proceed. But I apprehend that they have been kept back by the swelling of the Lunday [Sunday's] River. Mr Thomson has also promised to send his waggon to assist in the transporting of myself and my goods, and it, in ordinary cases, might be expected about this time. I am writing in haste at present, and I regret that I am not able to tell you that I have already entered on the sphere of action. That would have been the news with which I should have liked best to have filled up my letter. My next to the Directors may communicate something respecting the Caffres. When I do arrive among them I must keep the object of my coming to Africa steadily in view, and suffer nothing to take away my attention from directing them to the great salvation of Jesus Christ.

Tuesday April 19th 1831 [*Letters*] Port Elizabeth. We landed here on Thursday, the 14th Instant, after an agreeable passage of ten days from Cape Town. It will be seen from the letter which I sent off to Mr Knox the day after coming on shore, that then nothing relating to the movements of my Missionary friends was known to me. I regret that I did not delay that letter a day longer, for had I done so, I could have told Mr Knox of the arrival of Mr M'Dermid [McDiarmid] at Algoa Bay.[366] It was pleasant to see him come from the field of

[364]Laing may be referring to Scorey's Hotel, previously the house of Captain Fairfax Moresby of the *HMS Menai*. Known variously as Hope Stoep Hotel, Scorey's Hotel and Markham House, it stood on the site of the present Markham Hotel in Military Road. J.J. Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth in bygone days*, (Wynberg: Rustica, 1947), 22, 157.

[365]Rev. Alexander Smith was amongst the first of the Scottish missionaries recruited by Dr George Thom and arrived to take up his appointment in the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk at Uitenhage towards the end of 1823. He remained at Uitenhage until he retired from active ministry on 14.3.1863. *Cape Statistical Blue Book*, 1831; W.J.S. Sellick, *Uitenhage past and present* (Uitenhage: the Author, 1904), 21, 30; G.M. Theal, *Records of Cape Colony*, v.16, 7-8; A. Dreyer, *Eeuwfeesd-album van de Nederduits Gereformeerde-Kerk 1824-1924* (Cape Town, Suid-Afrikaanse Bybel Vereeniging, 1924), 94.

[366]Alexander McDiarmid (December 1801-9.2.1875), accompanied by his wife, embarked for the Cape in 1827 as an industrial or artisan missionary in a Scottish party intending to join the first wave of missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society already stationed beyond the Colonial border. This party comprised one fully ordained minister, Rev. James McLachlan and his wife, who had to return to Scotland almost immediately, a catechist, William Chalmers, and his wife, and one other industrial missionary, James Weir, accompanied by his mother. In 1828 Alexander McDiarmid and Rev. John Ross founded the Balfour mission station which was destined to survive a mere 14 months before its destruction). On 6 June 1830 McDiarmid and Chalmers founded the mission station of Burnshill. McDiarmid remained at Burnshill for about 20 years (broken by intervals of war) alongside

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action in good health and spirits. He is altogether an excellent character, and well fitted to conduct us with our baggage to Caffraria. He came on horse-back, and told us of the approach of three waggons, which arrived this day, (19th April) and in which we expect to set off tomorrow. Two of these waggons belong to the Society, and one them belongs to Mr Thomson, Kat River, who wrote to me when in Cape Town, that he would send it to assist in conveying us up the country. With them are several Caffres and Hottentots. The Caffres are fine looking young men, and very modest in their demeanour.

The want of the letters which I complained of, has been fully made up. Yesterday I had a letter from Mr Chalmers, and to-day, two letters from Messrs Ross and Bennie.[367] It appears that Mr Bennie is not yet ordained, but his ordination is intended to take place about the beginning of June. I have no reason to complain of want of congratulations on coming to South Africa; nor could matters have been better arranged as to the time of Mr M'Dermid [McDiarmid]'s meeting us. He was only a single day later than we were. Had Mr M'Dermid [McDiarmid] not come for some days, it was my intention to have gone to Uitenhage, to have staid in Mr Smith's house, to which I was invited in his absence, by his sister-in-law, Mrs Burnett. But the near prospect which we had of seeing the waggons, made us lay aside the thought of going to Uitenhage.

This is the most awful place for drunkenness that I have seen. It is not uncommon to see 12 or 20 Hottentots entering the Brandy Shop at once. The consequences of the drinking are worse here than they generally are in other places; Mr Collins is much needed here.[368] There

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James Laing, who would serve the bulk of his missionary life there. In 1853, McDiarmid founded yet another station, Macfarlan, and remained there until his death. *Kaffir Express*, 1.3.1875, 4: Cory Library MIC/F 19; Glasgow Missionary Society *Report*, 1827.

[367]Rev. John Bennie (26.10.1796-9.2.1869) arrived at the Cape as a catechist of the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1821 with William Ritchie Thomson and settled at Tyhume with Rev. John Brownlee of the London Missionary Society. Bennie was ordained and raised to full missionary status in 1831 by the Presbytery of Kaffraria of which body he had been a founding member. Bennie is best remembered for his pioneering work as a Xhosa linguist and for his translation of secular and scriptural texts into the vernacular. He married Margaretha Magdalena Maré, daughter of Jacob Philip Maré of Graaff-Reinet, on 6 June 1827. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 68-69.

[368]The high incidence of drunkenness to which Laing refers is borne out in Redgrave's *Port Elizabeth in bygone days*, 157-9. The problem may be attributed at least in part to the increase in shipping at the port around 1830 leading to greater labour demands and a consequent rapid burgeoning in population including many Khoekhoe people seeking work. From the late 1820s to the 1834-1835 Frontier War, shipping authorities in Port Elizabeth drew their main source of beach labour from amongst the Khoekhoe. The liquor trade was virtually uncontrolled and Redgrave writes of "shady drinking shebeens" springing up in Strand and neighbouring streets close to the landing place where people of all races could be seen "at all hours of the day and night wallowing in the gutters and sinks, suffering from the effects of the dreadful 'Cape Smoke' [a rough and potent Cape brandy]". It is possible Mr Collins was a Scottish temperance worker known to Laing and the Society. J.J. Redgrave, *Port Elizabeth in bygone days*, (Wynberg: Rustica, 1947); E.J. Inggs, "Liverpool of the Cape: Port Elizabeth harbour development 1820-1870", M.A., Rhodes, 1986, 76.

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is a Missionary of the London Missionary Society, doing something to stem the torrent of immorality; but his efforts will not be sufficient to reclaim the Hottentots, so long as they can easily obtain so much Brandy.[369]

You will perhaps wish to have some idea of the village in which I am at present writing. It is small, irregular, and stands on sand at the side of a barren country. We have good accommodation in our Inn, which is kept by English people. There may be 300 or 400 inhabitants about Algoa Bay; but the houses are so scattered that it is difficult to form a correct estimate.[370] Last Sabbath evening, I preached to a respectable, and not small congregation, in the Chapel of the London Missionary Society.[371]

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[369]Rev. Theophilus Atkinson, the first missionary of the London Missionary Society to be based in Port Elizabeth and described by Ferguson as a "scholar and man of contemplative habit", had taken up residence there on 9 May 1830 but, perhaps understandably, had stayed only thirteen months. He was replaced in June 1831 by Rev. A. Robson. G.P. Ferguson, *CUSA: the story of the churches of the Congregational Union of South Africa* (Pretoria: CUSA, 1940), 103, 130-135; Sibree, *London Missionary Society,* 30.

[370]Population figures are given in the 1831*South African Almanac and Directory* for the district of Port Elizabeth as distinct from the town itself, but there is a reference in the 1833 *Almanac* to "a population of little more than 300, [of whom] about 80 attend" church services in the building used as an English Episcopal Church, now St Mary's Church. *South African Almanac and Directory for 1831* (Cape Town: George Greig, 1831), 169; *South African Almanac and Directory for 1833* (Cape Town: George Greig, 1833), 184.

[371]The Union Congregational Church in Chapel Street, which was begun in 1825 and funded by public subscription under the direction of the missionaries at Bethelsdorp, was opened in 1828. It was demolished in 1967. *South African Almanac and Directory for 1831* (Cape Town: George Greig, 1831), 169; *Looking back*, 4 (2), June 1964, 9; *Looking back*, 8, no.1 (March 1968): 19.

Algoa Bay to Xhosaland

2nd May 1831 to 29th June 1831

Monday May 2nd Chumie [Tyhume] 1831 Before I say any thing relating to affairs here, I shall mention a few circumstances relating to our journey. After much preparation, we left Algoa Bay on Wednesday evening, 20th April. We had never travelled in a waggon before, and yet from the care of Mr M'Dermid and the driver, we found this mode of travelling not altogether uncomfortable. We had in setting out a proof of the good will of a humble individual to the Missionary cause. One of our waggons required a little repair. A smith was requested to perform what was necessary, and when offered payment, would not accept of it. This was doubtless, because the business was Missionary, and deserves to be recorded, to shew that there are some, who so far from looking on Missionary work as an object of gain, deem it their duty to perform as much of it as they can, free of remuneration. We proceeded by the light of the moon for about 6 miles. On reaching the place where we were to stop for the night, we found a fire lighted, and in a short time we had a plentiful repast. The men in our train cooked a quantity of beef for themselves, and were soon asleep around the fire. On this, and on like occasions, our Caffres and Hottentots feasted almost entirely on flesh, and were well satisfied with it. We purchased some bread for them; but they think themselves well provided for when they have a sufficient quantity of beef. On the second morning of our journey, we met with a remarkable instance of God's providential care. Mr M'Dermid had come to the Bay with three horses, on which we might ride when tired with the pulling of the waggons, or when the road should be dangerous. We thought that we would ascend a steep on horse-back, and we had scarcely been out of the waggon five minutes, when the beam by which it is drawn, broke, and when it was seen running down the hill, and then turning upside down. Had we been in it, we cannot see how we could have escaped. The heavy goods in the bottom of the waggon would have crushed us under them. God saw meet to order it otherwise, and justly calls for our gratitude. We procured a new "Pissel-bom"[372] from a person in the neighbourhood, who did not treat us as the Christian Blacksmith, but whom we thankfully paid notwithstanding.

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[372]This is a mis-transcription, possibly by the typesetters of the Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* from which this section is taken, of the Dutch composite word "disselboom" meaning the shaft or pole of an ox-wagon to which the hindmost pair of oxen in the team are yoked and to which the heavy rope that carries the yokes for the rest of the team is stapled. *A dictionary of South African English on historical principles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 187.

I have never travelled so far without seeing a greater number of my fellow immortals. The country is almost without inhabitants, and often appears barren in the extreme. Yet we saw it at a favourable time; when vegetation was greater than it usually is. You may see in some of my former letters, several remarks as to the best time of sending Missionaries to the Cape. April and the winter months, are the best time for coming up the country. During summer grass is so scarce, that for want of it, the oxen are often so weak that they cannot draw an empty waggon; and for 20 or 30 miles you will look in vain for a drop of water or rain. You may lay all that I say on this subject together, and then you will see on the whole what season is best for leaving Glasgow. I am inclined to think that a little before or after new year's day, is, all things considered, the most proper season. I sailed from Cape Town to Algoa Bay with some individuals who left England at the time I have mentioned, and who had weather as favourable as that which we enjoyed. You may hear what others say about these things.

We reached Grahamstown on Monday—a place which has risen to respectability in the course of ten years[373]. You are not a little struck, on entering a neat and flourishing town after having travelled a hundred miles [160 km] without seeing any village, and without having had your attention taken off from the still scenery around, by any human habitations. We met with most of the other Missionaries in Grahamstown. I am not so easily overpowered as some whom I have seen, but I was much moved when I saw Mr Ross and Mr Chalmers walking up the street to meet us. They welcomed us to South Africa whilst we remained in the waggon, and walked by its side till we reached the door of Mr Monro's house (a Missionary of the London Missionary Society) into which we entered, and were kindly received.[374] We were now told that Mr Bennie was also in Grahamstown, but that he was somewhat indisposed with dysentery, a complaint not at all uncommon in this country, and

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[373]Grahamstown was founded in 1812 as the British military headquarters of the Eastern Districts. In 1830, the population of Grahamstown 1830 was 1,715 (417 houses), excluding the military establishment, *South African Directory Advertiser for 1831*: 176. By 1832 these figures had grown a little to 1,800 inhabitants and 512 houses "exclusive of the military and the barracks occupied by them", *South African Almanac and Directory for 1833*: 189-190.

[374]Rev. John Monro arrived as an Assistant Missionary of the London Missionary Society in 1821 and spent 1823-1826 as superintendent of schools at Bethelsdorp before moving to Grahamstown in early 1827 as Minister and missionary to the Khoekhoe in the district. His church, the Union Chapel, was built in 1827 on the corner of Bathurst and Dundas Streets, and it is likely that his house adjoined this property or was situated near by. Sibree, *London Missionary Society: a register of missionaries, deputations, etc. from 1796 to 1923*. (London: London Missionary Society, 1923), 22; *The story of a century: an account of Trinity Presbyterian Church, Grahamstown* (Grahamstown: the Church, 1927), 5.

which sometimes proves fatal. Medicines for its cure should always be in our possession. These are calomel and dover powder.[375]

On the day of our arrival in Grahamstown there was a meeting of the Grahamstown Auxiliary of the London Missionary Society.[376] Many of their Missionaries were present, and, with ours, formed an interesting spectacle. We had before been requested to assist them at their meeting, and when we all appeared on the platform a sight was presented to the respectable assembly present which can very rarely be beheld. There were not fewer than twelve Missionaries present, who we may say had a share in kindling the Missionary zeal in the breasts of the people of Grahamstown. Mr Chalmers had preached, on the preceding evening, a Sermon on behalf of the Missions; and he, Mr Ross, and myself spoke among our brethren of the London Missionary Society. I alluded to Dr Love's exertions for such Societies, and told them that he wrote the advertisement which called together its founders.[377] I alluded to the interesting circumstance that so many Missionaries were present, establishing Missionary Societies in those places where, a few years ago, there were no other habitations than those of wild men, and where wild beasts roamed in abundance. What might these twelve Missionaries do were they filled with the spirit of their Master. The Apostles did not excel them in number and yet they changed the religion of the world. When I speak of the Missionaries kindling the Missionary flame in Grahamstown I must not be supposed as overlooking the Wesleyans, whose exertions there exceed those of all others put together. I cannot speak definitely at present concerning their labours nor concerning the fruit of their labours, but I can say that they raise a much greater sum of money than the London Missionary Society does.[378] The Missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society have come

[375]Calomel (Mercurous chloride), is a powerful purgative but, in the 18th and 19th centuries, it was commonly though inappropriately teamed with Dover's Powder in the treatment of dysentery and diarrhoea. Two of the components of Dover's Powder, ipecacuanha root and potassium sulphate, have a stimulating effect on the gastro-intestinal system and would increase the laxative effect of the treatment. The third component, opium, would act as a painkiller but, ironically, has a constipating effect. Professor John Haigh, Associate Professor of Pharmaceutical Chemistry at Rhodes University, confirms that the principle of curing like by like was common in Laing's time and is in fact the essence of the vaccination principle. Professor Haigh has pointed out that the mercury in calomel is a potent poison and its over-use could result in death by mercury poisoning.

[376]The Grahamstown Auxiliary of the London Missionary Society was formed by Rev. John Monro on 10 March 1828. B.A. le Cordeur and C.C. Saunders, *The Kitchingman papers: missionary letters and journals, 1817-1848 from the Brenthurst Collection* (Johannesburg : Brenthurst Press, 1976), 135.

[377]Rev. John Love had been the first secretary of the London Missionary Society and was later a leading figure in the Glasgow Missionary Society.

[378]Rev. William Shaw, who headed the Methodist Mission in South East Africa was stationed at Salem near Grahamstown from 1820 as Superintendent of the Salem Circuit. From there he visited Grahamstown, then one of his missionary outposts in the Albany area, regularly. It was not until 1828 that the Grahamstown Methodist Circuit was established and the first resident Methodist minister came to live in the town. By 1831, a period of religious

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to a resolution to form "An Auxiliary" in Grahamstown. They think that the prospects for it are very fair. But of this more in another letter.[379]

Mr Monro's house being full we were invited to stay in the house of a Mr Nicol, of the Commi[s]sariat, to whom I had a letter from his sister, wife of the Rev. Mr Clapperton, Johnstone.[380] With him we remained till Thursday morning, when we followed our waggons, which had been sent off the night before. The same day we crossed the Great Fish River and slept about a mile from it, on the side nearest to Caffreland. The next night we slept near the banks of the Kat River, which was the last night of our sleeping in the waggon. When we set out on the last morning of our journey it was evident we were approaching the borders of Caffreland. We met with several Caffres; and when we stopped to rest the oxen, were surrounded by a considerable number of them. We bought some of their milk, which they bring in baskets closely woven and dispose of for tobacco, beads, etc. They were most importunate in begging tobacco, beads, etc, but made little by their importunity. They seem prepared for a refusal, and are not at all put out of humour by it. They are fine looking men, but wretched indeed, conducting themselves like children, though on the brink of the grave.

The old men were most solicitous to obtain trifles. Before leaving these Caffres they were collected together and heard a few things relating to their everlasting peace, through the interpreter, to whom Mr M'Dermid spoke in Dutch. This interpreter, I may add, drove one of the Society's waggons from the Bay, and is a very excellent young man. We had not proceeded far when we were again met by Messrs Chalmers and Weir: this might be about fifteen miles from Chumie. We went with the waggons for a few miles more, when seeing that they would scarcely be able to reach Chumie that night, we thought that we would proceed forward on horse-back, and accordingly we left them and arrived at this place a little after sun-set, on the last day of April, about seven months after leaving Glasgow.

While in Grahamstown I called the Missionaries together and asked their advice as to how I ought to employ myself at first. I told them that I would lay aside all considerations relating

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revival for Grahamstown Methodism, the church had a substantial local following drawn largely from families of the 1820 settlement. It is probable, then, that Laing is correct in his assumption that they were able to raise greater sums of money than the smaller and poorer London Missionary Society. L.A. Hewson, *They seek a city: Methodism in Grahamstown* (Grahamstown: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, 1981).

[379]It appears that this Auxiliary, like the one proposed for Cape Town, was never formed.

[380]Andrew Nicol, Scottish-born and well-educated, had set himself up in business in Scotland, Canada and finally Algoa Bay, but each of his ventures had failed miserably. Ultimately he accepted an office in the Commissariat Department in Grahamstown where he acted as Commissariat Issuer. He was found hanging from a beam in the Commissariat Store on 30 January 1834 after suffering severe head injuries in a fall from his horse. *Graham's Town Journal* (6.2.1834): 3.

to comfort and go where they deemed it best for the interests of the Mission. They thought that, permanently, I should reside at the new Station at Burnshill, but that for some time I ought to remain with one of the first Missionaries, to be initiated into the language and manners of the Caffres.[381] Mr Bennie is the oldest Missionary now in our Society, and I intend to remain some time with him to be benefitted as much as I can by his experience. In the mean time, until his recovery and return, I intend to visit the Rev. Mr [W.] R. Thomson, to whom the Glasgow Missionary Society is under no small obligation for the sending of his waggon to Algoa Bay, and for many other important services. From him I expect to hear some things which will be of consequence for me to know. His character, for wisdom and integrity, stands very high.

The Station at Chumie is finely situated. I have seen no such situation in Africa. The site has been chosen by one who knew in what place people would dwell; and surely to see 150 Caffres listening attentively to the Gospel was a sight which must in no small degree answer the expectations of the founders. I could fill up more paper in describing the Caffres in Church than I can at present find time to do; but I shall say this at least, that a more devout assembly I have rarely witnessed. The singing and prayers were in Caffre. Mr Chalmers officiated. He has made so much proficiency in Caffre as to preach sometimes in the language; but in general he uses the interpreter. He labours very much in the Church on all the days of the week. Four times on Sabbaths he meets with the people; twice for catechetical instruction, and twice for sermon. The catechetical exercises are continued twice on the week day, when considerable numbers attend; and a school of children is faithfully taught daily by himself. It will be obvious to every one who reflects on the nature of society among the Caffres that since the services are so frequent they ought to be short.

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[381]Burnshill, the fourth of the Glasgow Missionary Society stations, was established on 13 June 1830 by Rev. William Chalmers and Alexander McDiarmid, in the wake of the razing of Balfour and was named after Rev. John Burns, one of the founders of the Glasgow Missionary Society who ministered in the parish of Barony, Glasgow for almost seventy years. The station, on the banks of the Keiskamma River between Middledrift and Alice, was the site of the Great Place of the late Ngqika, Chief of the amaRharhabe who had died in 1829, and little more than a kilometre from his grave. Work on the mission was begun after consultation and agreement with Suthu, Ngqika's Great Wife, and his sons Matwa and Anta, since Sandile, his heir, was then only 10 years old. In view of Sandile's minority, the missionaries also sought and gained the permission of the Governor for the establishment of the station. William Chalmers, appointed to replace Rev. William Ritchie Thomson at Tyhume after his resignation and move to the Kat River district, left Burnshill on 24 July 1830. McDiarmid remained, accompanied by Charles Henry Matshaya, an Ndlambe Teacher or Reader, who had been appointed to the Station in July 1830, and an Interpreter. Govan, *Memorials*, 322; Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper*, 7 (February 1831): 1-10; Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1839); Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (14 April 1831): 25-28; Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria Minutes, 29.6.1831; J.B. Peires, *House of Phalo*, 49, 82.

I shall say nothing of the other Stations at present. You have no doubt heard that Mr Ross is acting pioneer again, and that he has begun a Station more eastward than any of the rest.[382] My principal work seems to be the learning of the Caffre language. I must set myself down with the docility of a little child to it.

I hope the Directors will continue to bear us on their hearts before the throne of God. Will it not animate them in their devotions to be told that the Caffres have been praying for me since I landed at Cape Town. It gives me new courage to know that these rude but simple people are making mention of me in their prayers. I wish much that I could address them in their own language, for I am fully satisfied that much good will never be done by means of interpreters.

[Letter],[383] Monday June 6th, 1831, Lovedale[384]

Rev. and Dear Sir:

Before entering into any details either relating to myself or the Mission generally, I shall present you with an account of the Ordination of the Rev. John Bennie, which lately took place here.[385] This I shall do, in the manner in which I have done it for insertion in the *South*

African Christian Recorder, a publication lately established in Cape Town, for the purpose of conveying information as to the progress of morality and religion in South Africa. I would be gratified to see some account of Mr Bennie's ordination in that publication; and I expect to see, if not my own, a preferable one from another quarter.

Ordination at Lovedale, Caffreland.

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[382]This station, situated some 18 km North West of King William's Town, was to be named Pirie after the Rev. Alexander Pirie, first President of the Glasgow Missionary Society. He was a member of the United Presbyterian Church and was related to Sir John Pirie, Lord Mayor of London in 1841. Govan, *Memorials*, 320. J.M. Berning (ed), The papers of the Rev. John Ross (work in process).

[383]"Extracts from a letter received from Mr Laing", Glasgow Missionary Society, *Quarterly paper* 9 (November 1831).

[384]In 1824, John Bennie and John Ross founded a second station on the Ncerha River about 20 km South East of Tyhume and took up residence there in November of that year. Initially called "Incehra", the station was renamed "Lovedale" in honour of Dr John Love after his death in 1825. Love had been the first secretary of the London Missionary Society and was later a leading figure in the Glasgow Missionary Society. The site of the old Lovedale was abandoned in 1836 in favour of one on the East bank of the Tyhume River some 7 km distant where the new Lovedale Mission was built and where the Lovedale Institution opened in 1841. R.H.W. Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa: the story of a century, 1841-1941* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1941), 64-102.

[385]John Bennie's ordination on 29 May 1831 was minuted by the Presbytery of Kaffraria, Cory Library, MS 9037, 19 June 1831, 179.

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It is generally known in the Cape Colony, that the Glasgow Missionary Society has, for a considerable period, been endeavouring to make the uncivilized Caffres acquainted with the purifying Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Its labours have been crowned with no inconsiderable measure of success. It has, at present, four stations, at which the native inhabitants are taught Christianity. Two of these, Chumie and Lovedale, have been long established; the other two, which are situated farther from the Colony, only a year ago.[386]

At Lovedale, on the 29th May, 1831, an occurrence took place, the like of which has been rarely witnessed in heathen countries, and never by the Caffres before. We refer to the ordination of the Rev. John Bennie, one of the Missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society, who has, for about ten years, with praiseworthy diligence, been actively engaged in pointing out the way of salvation to the ignorant and degraded Caffres. In addition to the Missionaries in connection with Mr Bennie, there were present, the Rev. W.R. Thomson of the Kat River, the Rev. A. Murray, A.M., of Graaf Reinet [Graaff-Reinet],[387] the Rev. G. Morgan of Somerset,[388] and the Rev. A. Smith of Uitenhage, all of whom ably afforded their assistance in conducting the solemn business of the day.

The little church was well filled with orderly worshippers. If their hearts were suitably affected, as we have no doubt some of them were, their external meanness was of inferior moment. The sincere worshipper, though covered with a kaross, is a more pleasing sight to God than the insincere formalist, however finely arrayed as to externals. While saying this, we do not wish it to be insinuated, that we are indifferent either to the civilization of the natives, or that none were clothed after the European manner. The three native teachers, R.

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[386]Balfour, in the Kat River Valley, and Burnshill, on the Keiskamma River.

[387]Rev. Andrew Murray, born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland on 26 May 1794, was one of Dr George Thom's recruits to the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* in 1821. He was ordained at Graaff-Reinet shortly after his arrival in 1822. He served the Graaff-Reinet community for nearly 45 years and died there on 24 July 1866. *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 1:573-4.

[388]Rev. George Morgan, another Aberdeenshire man and a Thom recruit, was born in 1798. A teacher and a minister in the Presbyterian Church he sailed for the Cape in 1825 and was inducted as the first Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk minister at Somerset East on 8.1.1826. He married three times, his first wife being Elizabeth Shand. *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 3:632; *Graham's Town Journal* (15.11.1832): 1.

Balfour,[389] J. Burns,[390] and Joseph Williams,[391] were decently dressed, as well as many others of both sexes. When the Caffres become Christians they uniformly desire to be clothed.

Rev. A. Murray preached the Ordination Sermon. The Rev. J. Ross, A.M., of the Glasgow Society's station, Im'Quarkwebe [Mgqakhwebe], proposed the usual questions to Mr Bennie.[392] The Rev. W.R. Thomson offered up the ordination prayer. The Rev. A. Smith delivered the charge to Mr Bennie, and the Rev. G. Morgan addressed the people. The whole of the services were performed with that regularity and decorum which became such a solemnity as that of ordination. The Society being constitutionally Presbyterian, they were of course conducted according to Presbyterian order. The singing and most of the prayers were in the language of the natives. The ordination sermon, the questions and address to Mr Bennie, and the address to the people, were in Dutch, and were translated into Caffre by an interpreter.[393]

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[389]Robert Balfour, whose Xhosa name was Noyi, was baptised along with Charles Henry, John and Elizabeth Love and a young woman named Mary Ann, on 29 June 1823 by John Bennie—the first baptisms performed by a member of the Glasgow Missionary Society in Xhosaland. At this early period, it was customary for the Glasgow Missionary Society missionaries to give their amaXhosa converts English names on baptism, mainly to overcome the problem of mastering isiXhosa pronunciations which many of them found difficult. The names were frequently selected to honour church and other leaders in Britain. Noyi was named Robert Balfour after the first Secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society and was subsequently appointed as a Teacher at Lovedale, the first such appointment in Xhosaland. Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1824):12; Shepherd: *Lovedale South Africa*, 61.

[390]John Burns, named in honour of one of the pioneers of the Glasgow Missionary Society at his baptism in 1826, was appointed by the Presbytery of Kaffraria as a Teacher at Tyhume from 1 January 1829. The Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* of 1829 credited him with manual dexterity, versatility, piety and a "germ of genius" but plans to send him to the Colony to further his education were thwarted by the needs of those who were dependent on him at Tyhume. Overseas support for John Burns came from the Glasgow Ladies' Association who contributed £5 per year towards his salary. Cory Library MS 9037: Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria (5.12.1828, 1.1.1829); Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1829): 16-17; Glasgow Missionary Society *Report (*1831): 29; Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Intelligence* 8 (Summer 1840): 1; J.M. Berning (ed), The papers of the Rev. John Ross (work in process).

[391]Joseph Williams was born on the Zinqayi River between Tyhume and Lovedale and his mother died during his infancy. He attended school at Tyhume Mission under Rev. John Brownlee. He became a candidate for baptism in or after 1823 and, whilst Laing asserts that by 1831 he was not yet baptised, an article in the Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly intelligence* 8 (1840):1-2 claims that he was baptised at the same time as John Burns in 1826. At baptism he received the name of "Joseph Williams" commemorated Rev. Joseph Williams of the London Missionary Society who established the first permanent mission station in Xhosaland in 1816. He married a female candidate for baptism and on 19 April 1831 he took up an appointment as "Reader or Teacher" at the newly established Pirie Mission in the charge of Rev. John Ross. His wife and child followed him to Pirie in September 1831. Cory Library MS 9037: "Minutes of Presbytery of Kaffraria" (29.6.1831), 180; Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly intelligence*, 8 (Summer 1840):1.

[392]Ross' mission station, later to be called the Pirie Mission, was situated on the Mgqakhwebe River.

[393]The use of Dutch in these circumstances was not unusual. The immigrant Scottish missionaries were required by the Glasgow Missionary Society to learn Dutch to enable them to confer with the Dutch colonists and the KhoeKhoe. In turn, some isiXhosa speakers, having come into contact with the Dutch both within and without

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Much praise is due to the colonial clergymen for their seasonable and disinterested services on the present occasion. They have given unquestionable proofs of their good wishes, for the success of the Missionary work among the heathen.

The greater part of the evening the ministers spent in prayer, in reading the Scriptures, and in exhorting one another. We would say, that when a considerable number of ministers are met together, there ought always to be an address from one of their number, bearing on the duties of the pastoral office. We hope that the mutual attempts now mentioned , which these individuals made for their mutual edification, will not be altogether fruitless; and that they will return to their spiritual labour with more ardent desires for securing the salvation of their own souls, and the salvation of the souls of all who hear them.

You will see from the date of this letter that I am staying at Lovedale, but my abode here is not meant to be permanent. Agreeably to my own wish, and that of my brethren, I came hither to study Caffre and Dutch under Mr Bennie's direction. He is best qualified, (as indeed he ought to be) to teach these, of any of the Missionaries.[394] I had always regarded, and still regard, a knowledge of Caffre as the primary study of our Missionaries; but I find it to be very difficult, so difficult, that I should not at all be surprised if I should never obtain a knowledge, or rather the power of its pronunciation. Yet, if God spare me, I shall use all diligence in endeavouring to acquire it. The klicks I can by no means pronounce; and though I have hopes of mastering some of them, there is one which, I fear, I shall not be able to

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the Colony, had some command of the Dutch language and were able to act as interpreters. As most of the missionaries spoke little or no isiXhosa and as most of the amaXhosa spoke little or no English, the use of Dutch as a communication conduit became common. In time the missionaries were to become more proficient in isiXhosa and the amaXhosa in English thus reducing the need for the agency of the interpreter and allowing more direct and accurate communication. An interesting adjunct to the knowledge of Dutch acquired by the Glasgow Missionary Society missionaries was that as Calvinists and spiritually akin to the established Dutch church of the Colony, several took up posts in the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, which already had a complement of Scottish ministers recruited by Dr George Thom. Williams: *The missionaries on the Eastern frontier*, 197-203; Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1823): 8.

[394]James and Margaret Laing left Tyhume after a two week stay and arrived at Lovedale on 17 May 1831 where they were to remain until 14 October the same year. During this period of initiation, Laing was to draw from Bennie a knowledge of the language and the customs of the amaXhosa. Bennie, of all the missionaries, had by this time best mastered isiXhosa. He had already written several works in and about isiXhosa including *A Systematic Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language in Two Parts: to which is affixed an Introduction to Kaffrarian Grammar* published at Lovedale in 1826. In 1830 he wrote *A Dictionary in Kafferse and English and in English and Kafferse;* also, *A Grammar of the Kaffer Language* and *An English-Kafir Dictionary* which, though not published, were used extensively by J.H.A. Kropf in the second edition of his *A Kafir-English dictionary* (Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1915). In 1832 Bennie completed a "Grammar of Xhosa" which also went unpublished. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1:68; R. Godfrey, Notes on Bennie's Dictionary in Kafferse ..., Cory Library, MS 8717; R. Godfrey, "Rev. John Bennie, the father of Kafir literature", reprinted from *Bantu Studies* (June 1934): 123-134.

master.[395] Eliot has told us that "prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing".[396] These memorable words I desire to bear in mind, and to overcome my difficulties by the same Almighty strength by which he overcame his. Without Christ we can do nothing. I hope you will frequently write to us. Such letters as we lately received from Mr M'Farlan and yourself are very refreshing, and admirably fitted to encourage us in the work in which we are engaged. They have been already attended with good effects.

Since I came, I have visited all the stations. Mr Ross's, on the Im'Quarkwebe [Mgqa-khwebe], I saw before I saw Burnshill. He has built all the houses, which are yet erected there, himself. He has, you are well aware, laboured much in the forming of new stations. He and Mr Bennie built the house in which I am now writing. Afterwards he laboured a year at Balfour; now he has gone 25 miles [40 km] farther into the country. At his new station there are, as yet, but few inhabitants. He has the fourth native teacher, Joseph Williams, from Chumie with him, who is said to be an excellent man. He has also an interpreter, who, though not yet baptized, is without doubt, an earnest and diligent enquirer. Im'Quarkwebe [Mgqakhwebe] is situated on a gently rising ridge, at a little distance from the River of the same name, which flows along at the side of an immense forest. With much labour and precarious aid, Mr Ross has cut a ditch, which will lay a good deal of the ridge under the influence of irrigation. I staid only one night with Mr Ross. He is visited by many of the Caffres, who come to see him from various causes. At the side of his house, on the morning before I came away, he desired two persons to sit, and began in Caffre to catechise them. They were soon joined by those who were passing, till a considerable number assembled. Mr Ross put his questions in a serious, yet engaging manner. They repeated each question and answer after him, which shewed him that they understood his pronunciation. Mr Ross has now only three children alive.[397]

I next visited the station of Burnshill, beautifully situated on the Keiskamma. Mr M'Diarmid and Charles Henry are here, with an interpreter, who drove one of our waggons from Algoa Bay. Burnshill is one of the most romantic spots that I have seen, and there are many people

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[395]Laing writes later at length and in detail about his difficulty mastering isiXhosa, including his efforts to achieve the isiXhosa clicks. See his entry under 14 November 1831.

[396]The British Museum catalogue lists several works on religious themes by authors by the name of Eliot but it has not been possible to identify the source of this passage, nor its author.

[397]The surviving Ross children in 1831 were Bryce, aged 5 years, Richard, aged 2 years and Margaret, who was a little over a year old; Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Intelligence* (Winter 1838-9):4.

in its neighbourhood, which is a better recommendation to it than its fine scenery.[398] Near this place, Geika died above 18 months ago.[399] Two of his sons are Chiefs here.[400] I lately saw Mr M'Diarmid at Lovedale, on his return from the funeral of an infant of Mr Thomson's, which never opened its eyes on the light;[401] and he told me that the ground, a considerable way around Geika's [Ngqika's] grave, has been consecrated; and that his water course, which would have passed through this, was for the present stopped. This interdict was not laid on till a year and a half after Geika [Ngqika] had been buried, during which time his grave had been watched lest any part of his body should be stolen as materials for bewitching. It is a pity that all the labour bestowed on the water course is thus brought to nought; yet, we believe that we shall yet be allowed to proceed with it.[402]

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[398]James Weir evidently endorsed Laing's view of Burnshill writing: "The situation [of Burnshill] appears to offer many advantages—a good soil for cultivation, superior pasturage, timber abundant at a short distance, and a river resembling in size and accompanying scenery, the Kelvin near Glasgow. These are, no doubt, secondary objects, as they are the great inducements for retaining a permanent population in the country, where they are to be found. The population in the neighbourhood, particularly a few miles up the river, is considerable; and the residence of the Chiefs within a mile of the station." Extracts from Weir's journal written at Tyhume, 10 August 1830, Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* 7 (1831): 3.

[399]Ngqika, born in 1778, grandson of Rharhabe and paramount chief of the amaRharhabe, died at his Great Place, Mkubiso, near what was soon to be Burnshill Mission, on 14 November 1829. He was the son of Mlawu (d.1782) and Yese (see footnotes to entries for 11 November 1831 and 8 June 1835 as well as Laing's interview with Mbonjana in Appendix 1). Ngqika had several wives of whom his Great Wife, Suthu is the best known. He is believed also to have married Nodous and two daughters of Ntsusa, daughter of Rharhabe and sister of Ndlambe. Ngqika had at least eight sons (Maqoma, Tyhali, Tente, Matwa, Anta, Xhoxho, Great Son Sandile and Dondashe, born the year before he died) and at least one daughter, Nongwani, who married Kama. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 590-593; Peires, *The House of Phalo*, 49. Laing uses both "Geika" and the more common nineteenth century spelling, "Gaika", in his references to Ngqika.

[400]Of Ngqika's eight sons, Sandile (1820-1879), Matwa (fl.1810-1847), Anta (fl.1810-1878) and baby Dondashe (b.1828) were living with Suthu, Ngqika's Great Wife, at Burnshill in 1831. Two further sons, Tyhali (d.1842) and Xhoxho (fl.1815-1869) were living in the vicinity of Lovedale at this time. Following his expulsion from his lands in the vicinity of the Balfour mission station by the Colonial authorities in 1829, Maqoma (1798-1873) moved south and settled temporarily on the north bank of the Tyhume River near Knapp's Hope though, as Laing notes later, he had no fixed abode at this time. Peires, *House of Phalo*, 82.

[401]The baby, a daughter, was buried at Balfour on 1 June 1831. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Paper* 9 (November 1831): 3.

[402]Soon after settling at Burnshill in June 1830, Chalmers and McDiarmid decided that a water course should be cut for irrigation purposes. An appropriate point on the Keiskamma was selected from which to lead the water out and cutting of the course began. However the path of the water course, which was to be a mile and a half [2.5 km] in length, was about to pass close to Ngqika's grave which, according to Xhosa custom, was considered sacred. On the death of a chief, one of his councillors was selected to watch his grave, an honourable appointment rewarded with cattle. During the watching period which stretched over one to two years no-one was permitted even to pass too near the grave, so the cutting of the water course would have constituted a serious violation of the area. Maclean: *Compendium of Kaffir laws and customs*, 122; Soga: *The Ama-Xosa, life and customs*, 321-3; Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1831): 26-7.

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I cannot say much in favour of the disposition which the Caffres have, in general, for the Gospel. At home, the desire is thought to be much stronger than it is. They hate the light, and will not come to it lest their deeds should be reproved. I hope that you will see R. Balfour's opinion of them in his letter to Mrs D. I think that this letter of Robert's will be an interesting communication for your *Quarterly Paper*.[403] Mr Bennie wrote it at the teacher's dictation, for though a teacher, he cannot write a letter himself; but the words are entirely his own.

I was much pleased the other day to see the people, who attend the church, coming with their offering of corn to the Society. (I mean at Lovedale, for it is there I am at present fixed). They have had this year an abundant harvest, and they have devoted part of it to the Lord. At Chumie there have been offerings, and a good quantity would there be given, as the people there are numerous. Young and old, men and women contributed; and to see them standing with sober thankful countenances all around, while we were receiving their offerings, was an interesting sight.

It is long, very long, ere we can hear from you, after reading a letter; but we must all pray more. We must not faint and become weary, but wait on the Lord, that he may increase our strength.

A very great number of young men have, this year, been circumcised.[404] You are, I believe, fully aware of the manner in which these young men live during some months after the operation; they are quite secluded from society. We saw a number of them the first day we entered Caffreland, painted white, and quite naked; and strange looking figures they were. Lately, they were all re-admitted into society. One, a little way from Chumie it is said, will not recover. Their doctor was asked what was the cause? He pointed to a man, and said he was the cause. The accused was quite innocent, and continued for some time to protest his innocence; but, at last, was seized, and cruelly strangled. He was indeed tortured in a horrid manner, which may not be described. This is one instance of the cruelties which prevail in

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[403]Noyi (Robert) Balfour's letter in isiXhosa with an English translation appeared in the Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* (November 1831). The letter and its translation were addressed to "Kosika'enkulu" and "Great Madam" respectively, so "Mrs D." is not identified, though she would presumably have been a member of the Dunfermline Ladies' Society which had pledged support for Noyi Balfour. In the isiXhosa version of his letter he acknowledges receipt via Laing of six white blankets, a detail which does not appear in the English translation. Typical of the letter is the following passage: "Many are there with our chiefs who do not love the Word. They love sin—they know not the true God—their joys are in wickedness—they are blind—they are careless and unconcerned respecting their souls—they are in the mist and the dawn—they are regardless of eternal life. Pray indeed—may they themselves pray—that their eyes may be opened, and their hearts and their understandings." Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* 9 (November 1831): 14.

[404]The rite of circumcision is discussed in some detail in the introductory chapter, q.v. See Peires, *House of Phalo*, 20-21.

the dark places of the earth; but it is by no means a solitary one. There are many, every year, burned for witchcraft, the supposed crime for which the person now mentioned suffered.[405] After I have been some time here, I may better notice some of the practices which prevail. But I would like to be sure of every thing I say, as many things are apt to be told, without due consideration. You might make inquiries, as to such things as you wished to be informed about.

I see Mr M'Farlan has wished a comparison to be instituted between some of the Caffre customs, and those of the Jews.[406] This may, in due time, be effected. His propositions, relative to Native Teachers, would require an answer from us as a body.[407] I am satisfied that you will bear us on your hearts at the throne of grace. May we all pray more for ourselves and others, than we have yet done. James Laing.

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[405]This issue is discussed in the introductory chapter. At the Presbytery Meeting of 6 October 1831, Laing moved "That we as a body present a Petition to Maqoma, praying him to refuse his *sanction* to any measures which may *authorise* his people to punish any individual for the supposed crime of witchcraft". The motion was passed and Bennie and Laing were appointed to draw up the Petition. Cory Library, MS 9037, Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria (6 October 1831), 188.

[406]One popular hypothesis regarding the origin of the black races of Africa held that they could be traced through biblical references as the descendants of Ham, cursed son of Noah, and that being expelled from Israel, they had dispersed down the length of Africa. Accordingly, attempts were made to prove a link between Jewish customs and those of the black groups. Soga, in his *The Ama-Xosa: life and customs*, attempts a comparison between several Xhosa and Jewish customs, the most obvious being the rite of circumcision which is common to both cultures though not without differences, principally the age at which it is performed—on the eighth day according to Jewish custom and at puberty amongst the amaXhosa. No evidence has been found that any report was sent to the Directors of the Glasgow Missionary Society as requested by Rev. Duncan Macfarlan. E.R. Sanders, "The Hamitic hypothesis: its origin and functions in time perspective", *Journal of African History*, 10, no. 4 (1969):521-532; J.H. Soga, *The Ama-Xosa: life and customs*, 8, 145ff; J.H. Soga: *The South-Eastern Bantu*, 1-11; S. Mendelssohn, *Judaic or Semitic legends and customs amongst South African natives* (London: The African Society, 1914).

[407]A letter from Rev. Duncan MacFarlan dated 20 September 1830 related to the feasibility and desirability of increasing the number of amaXhosa teachers at the stations and included a draft plan on which the Directors invited comment from the Presbytery of Kaffraria. In response, a Committee on Native Teachers comprising John Ross, John Bennie and Alexander McDiarmid was set up by the Presbytery at its meeting of 29 June 1831. The Presbytery also asked W.R. Thomson, by then stationed at Balfour as Government Agent, to co-operate with the Committee and to submit a report to them. The Presbytery minutes of 6 October 1831 record that a copy of the report sent to the Directors by Ross as convenor of the Committee, as well as the rough notes which Thomson had submitted to the Presbytery, were tabled. The Committee was re-convened to consider certain provisions raised in Thomson's notes. However, these notes seem not, in the end, to have been remitted to Glasgow as proposed by the Presbytery. Both Ross and Thomson felt that the Directors underestimated the problems the missionaries experienced in teaching people to read who hitherto had no experience of the written word, whether in their own language or that of the missionaries. The need for a centre where Xhosa Schoolmasters, Interpreters and Readers could be trained and where the missionaries' own children could receive some schooling was expressed in both Ross' and Thomson's recommendations which in essence constituted an early blueprint for the Seminary which opened at Lovedale 10 years later. Cory Library, MS 9037: Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria (29 June 1831), 182; (6 October 1831), 186-7; (5 January 1832), 194; (5 April 1832), 205; Cory Library, MS 17 137, W.R. Thomson, "Notes on the increase of Native Agency" (30 July 1831); Cory Library, MS 3126, John Ross, "Report on behalf of the Presbytery's Committee on Native Teaching" ([July] 1831); D. Williams, *When races meet*, 67-9; R.H.W. Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa*, 88-9.

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See the paper begun in Hout's [Hout] Bay.[408]

[Wednesday June 29th 1831] [I had to decide in] what relation I was to stand to them [the other Missionaries], but ere I could but see this, it was necessary that I should see in what relation they stood to one another. Mr Ross and Mr Bennie could not conscientiously agree to the Establishment, thinking that it was both inconsistent with itself and with Presbyterianism. The members of the Establishment on the other hand if they desired a union at all must either modify or set the Establishment aside.[409] It was evident that today they did desire union and they agreed to lay aside the Establishment altogether provided they should enjoy the same privileges which they had enjoyed when the Presbytery was formerly conducting the business of the Mission.[410] I see not how a union could otherwise have been effected and without it we must have been comparatively weak and irresolute. The privileges which I have just mentioned are the liberty of sitting and voting in the Presbytery. It was thought by some that the law in force in the Church of Scotland which restricts the number of Elders from one Church to one should hold also here—but as two from one place could only come for a short

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[408]It has not been possible to trace this paper.

[409]From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the supremacy of the rationalist Moderates in the Church of Scotland had been challenged by a vigorous new Evangelicalism, one of the leading proponents being Dr Thomas Chalmers, James Laing's teacher and mentor in Glasgow in the 1820s. This resulted in a split between those who believed firmly in the State establishment of religion and the "Voluntaries" who believed that religion was a personal not a State matter, that a church should be established only where there was an expressed need for one, where the people could pay for its maintenance and have a maximum degree of control over its management. As Laing points out opinion within the Presbytery of Kaffraria on this development was divided. The attempt to transplant the state Established Church of Scotland into the trans-frontier situation raised obvious problems, not least of which being the identification of the "state" under which the Church would be operating. Ross stood mostly alone in the Presbytery on these issues with McDiarmid, Weir, Thomson and Chalmers adhering to the concept of the Establishment. Ross's unhappiness with the Establishment is evident in the Presbytery Minutes at several points and on different issues. He opposed the imposition of the Church (through the founding of mission stations) in areas where the chiefs indicated their own opposition, as in the instance of the search for a site for a mission station in the land of the abaThembu. In this case he came into conflict with Alexander McDiarmid who urged the establishment of a station in the face of opposition from Chief Vusani. Further, and with even more far-reaching implications, Ross resisted vehemently the re-establishment of the station at Balfour, believing, together with the Directors of the Glasgow Missionary Society, that to do so was to alienate the amaXhosa to whom they had committed their missionary endeavour. He believed the amaXhosa would interpret such a move as confirmation of their suspicions that "Missionaries are connected with government or Military bands" in view of the destruction of the first Balfour by the colonial authorities and the expulsion of Maqoma. Henderson: *The claims of the Church of Scotland,* 105-108; Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the godly commonwealth in Scotland*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982, 205-207; Cory Library, MS 9037, Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria (1829-1830), 111-183.

[410]The Presbytery of Kaffraria, which met on 29 June 1831, had not met since 18 February 1830 in consequence of these disagreements and misunderstandings amongst the missionaries. Laing's arrival and the urgency of issues raised by the Directors of the Society concerning the structure and function of the Presbytery which required a united response, undoubtedly prompted the convening of this meeting. Cory Library, MS 9037: Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, (29 June 1831).

time it was thought unnecessary at present to call it into operation.[411] It may be that I have dissatisfied more than one by my conduct on the present occasion but I have done what I considered best on the whole and could not have acted otherwise without doing violence to conscience. I have been grieved to see some of the Missionaries somewhat estranged from each other and by all that I have done I have wished to unite them in heart and in conduct. May they and I be more and more united to Christ and then, if we should differ as to some unimportant matters, we will be the better prepared to bear with one another.[412]

Lately a Caffer called here whose life was threatened on account of witchcraft. His house was surrounded but he seized his assigaais[413], came out [and] effected his escape. Not so his wife. She was seized and nearly *burnt* to death by the application of hot stones to her body. She some way or other has got to Chumie where she is suffering much. Two of their children were also burnt but I have not heard whether they survived. Such things are common among the Kaffers!!!

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[411]The faithful, but indiscriminate, translation of Scottish principles and practice to the Xhosaland missionary field could not hope to be entirely successful. The practice of electing one Elder to a Presbytery (unless the congregation exceeded 150 members, in which case two Elders could be chosen) became meaningless in the missionaries' situation where there were only two ordained ministers and four Elders from which to form a Presbytery. The smallness of their numbers, their geographic isolation and their need for a united governing body would have mitigated against the strict application of the Scottish rule, and the omission of one or more Elders would undoubtedly have led to ill feeling and disunity. However, John Ross, whether on constitutional or personal grounds, challenged the right of Elder Alexander McDiarmid to sit in the Presbytery in the meeting of Presbytery of 7.1.1830, but this challenge was overruled by Presbytery majority. In the meeting of Presbytery of 29 June 1831, Resolution III declared "That, owing to circumstances, it is expedient, that Messrs William Chalmers, Alex[ander] McDiarmid and James Weir Elders do enjoy, as hitherto, all privileges in the meetings of Presbytery, provided that such shall not be considered, nor acted on as precedents, in any other case, for all time coming." Cory Library, MS 9037, Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria (1.1.1824, 7.1.1830, 29.6.1831).

[412]In addition to the disputes resultant on developments in the Church of Scotland and in the attempted implementation of the Church's practice in the missionary field, there were undoubtedly personality clashes amongst the missionaries and the missionary women. These divisions, aggravated by the tensions and pressures of their isolation, had exacerbated a spirit of disunity on the Glasgow Missionary frontier. Evidence of this is written in the Presbytery minutes which record an intensive examination of the missionary women as a result of gossip accusing John Bennie of "being too free with the Kaffer women" prior to his marriage. Laing commenced his life on the frontier in the role of peacemaker, being the catalyst in the reconvention of the Presbytery and in encouraging reconciliation amongst the missionaries. Cory Library, MS 9037, Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, (7.1.1830; 25.1.1830).

[413]Assigaais (more correctly, assegais or sometimes assagais), were national war weapons of the amaXhosa, and were either short for stabbing purposes or long for throwing. Soga, *Ama-Xosa*, 77.

Consolidation at Burnshill

1st July 1831 to 31st December 1831

Thursday [Friday] evening July 1st 1831 The man above mentioned wished the Missionaries to inform the white people what the Caffers had been doing to him. He thought that if they knew they would prevent the Caffers from acting in so cruel a manner. He found an asylum at the military post above Chumie.[414]

Yesterday I attended a meeting of our Missionary Presbytery at Chumie. All were present and acting in concert. This had not been done for some time before. The Board also met for secular business. Mr Bennie was chosen Moderator of the Presbytery with Mr McDiarmid President of the Board. I was chosen to sit as Presbytery Clerk.[415]

[Shorthand]: Mrs W[eir] had a dinner prepared for all. Wh[en] Mrs W[eir] asked Mr B[ennie] and Mr R[oss] to take dinner they would not. They will have no communication with Mrs W[eir]. I believe they have good reason. Mrs R[oss] [ ] [ ] f[ ] s[ ]r[ ] nld frnt [against] gnkv got against [ ] [ ] [ ].[416]

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[414]Probably Kat River Post, later Warden's Post, less than 5 km from Tyhume. J.S. Bergh and J.C. Visagie, *The Eastern Cape frontier zone 1660-1980: a cartographic guide for historical research*, (Durban: Butterworth, 1985), 41.

[415]The Reverends John Ross, John Bennie and James Laing, Messrs William Chalmers, Alexander McDiarmid and James Weir, Elders, were all present. Resolution I adopted at this meeting read "That, for the furtherance of the objects of the Glasgow Missionary Society, its business in Kafferland shall be conducted by its Missionaries constituted into the *separate* bodies of a *Presbytery* and *Missionary Board*: It being distinctly understood that the Presbytery shall manage all *matters* connected with the Mission which may be considered *spiritual* and that the Miss[ionary] Board shall take cognisance of its *secular* affairs." The Church of Scotland was governed by a system of graded courts on which both clergy and laity were represented. The supreme court, the General Assembly, was supported by provincial Synods, local Presbyteries and, on a parochial level, Kirk Sessions. The Moderator of a Presbytery was elected from one of the participating ministers. John Bennie was eligible for office following his ordination the previous month. Alexander McDiarmid, as an Elder and a layman, could head the secular Missionary Board. Laing's responsibilities as Clerk of the Presbytery included the taking of minutes of Presbytery meetings, the custodianship of Presbytery records and the extraction of records on the instruction of the Presbytery. James T. Cox, *Practice and procedure in the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1934), 64-74, 123-126; G.D. Henderson, *Presbyterianism* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1954), v, 53-111, 145; Cory Library, MS 9037: Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, (29 June 1831).

[416]The Presbytery minutes suggest that Mrs Weir, mother of James Weir, was, if not the initiator, at least the principle exponent, of the rumour surrounding John Bennie's purported relationships with amaXhosa women prior to his marriage. There was an attempt to implicate Helen, wife of John Ross. Although the Presbytery concluded that the incident could be attributed to a "misconstruction of language on the part of Mrs Brownlee", the Dutch wife of Rev. John Brownlee, the incident would have contributed to the rift indicated in Laing's shorthand passage. Unfortunately, it was not possible to translate the whole passage. Cory Library, MS 9037: Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, (7.1.1830, 25.1.1830).

Today in company with Messrs R[oss] and B[ennie] visited Maqoma.[417] He has more of the gentleman about him than any Caffer I have seen. Yet in point of dress he does not much surpass the common Caffers. He had nothing on his head. All his clothing consisted of a catskin caross.[418] While we were in audience with him his wives stood behind him and several of his men stood beside us without any order. They conducted themselves with propriety and did not give vent to their begging spirit. He made no demands himself but we made him a present of a few things which would be useful to him. He was anxious to know if the commando which has been spoken of for some time was coming into his country.[419]

He is a good looking man. He has an attractive appearance—well, sometimes his eye displays a little cunning. He is now in the Keiskamma.

Wednesday July 6th 1831 For sometime have been attending more to the Dutch than to the Caffer but have been much kept from my studies on account of [Mrs Laing's health]. Had the Caffer been an ordinary language I would never have thought of learning Dutch first. Mr Ross was here from Imqakwebe. He is a man who it is not easy to disconcert. There is an evenness about his temper which is very pleasant.

Thursday July 7th 1831 There was service in the Church today by Mr Bennie preparatory to the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. About 40 Caffers of the Institution and neighbourhood attended.

The Greenlanders seem to be excellently in command [of] their temper. They have few or no brawls.[420] Christianity can make men patient from proper motive. Its founder when he was reviled, reviled not again.

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[417]Maqoma (1798-1873), son of Ngqika, Chief of the amaRharhabe. Following his expulsion from his lands in the vicinity of the Balfour mission station by the Colonial authorities in 1829, Maqoma moved south and settled temporarily on the north bank of the Tyhume River near Knapp's Hope though, as Laing notes later, he had no fixed abode at this time. Peires, *House of Phalo*, 49; Bergh and Visagie, *The Eastern Cape frontier zone 1660-1980*,.41.

[418]While the kaross, a garment made of animal skins, was commonly worn by all amaXhosa men and women, only a chief, or someone designated by a chief, was entitled to wear one made of leopard skin (Laing's "catskin"). Alberti, *Account of the tribal life and customs of the Xhosa in 1807*, 30.

[419]Commando raids had been instituted as a reprisal system for the reclamation of stolen Colonial cattle, a system which was frequently abused. The raids were deliberately unpredictable and frequently attacked innocent households, often at daybreak, taking with them cattle that were the legitimate property of the sleeping amaXhosa. As Peires points out, it was not surprising that the Xhosa "fled at the passage of a commando, even one not meant for them." Peires, *House of Phalo*, 91-92; John Milton, *Edges of war: a history of the Frontier Wars, 1702-1878* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta, 1983), 98-99.

[420]There is evidence in Laing's student notes bound with his journal that he had studied the Moravian missionary effort amongst the people of Greenland from which he was able later to draw his comparisons between the amaXhosa and the Greenlanders. Cory Library, MS 16 579, Laing Journal, v.1, "Missionary notes", 14.

Laying of a Baptist Minister on his death bed quotes "I wish I had prayed more".

At present there are 15 children belonging to our missions including those of Mr Thomson, Kat River. He has 5.[421] Mr Bennie has 2.[422] Mr Ross has *three*.[423] Mr Chalmers 3.[424] Mr McDiarmid 2.[425] Six of these are boys. None of these can be above 8 or 9 years of age. They are all as they grow up becoming acquainted with the language of the country but if they are to be made as good scholars as their fathers they will require no small degree of teaching in as much as they must be taught many things concerning the manners of the people in Europe which those living there learn without any effort. To make them complete in their education it will be necessary to send them into civilized countries.

Some of the London Missionaries have children more advanced than any of the G.M.S. Mr Brownlee has one at least at the Academy at Salem in the Colony.[426]

Maqoma called today. His usual gentleness of manner was apparent. It was near evening when he came and brought into Mr Bennie's and my house a young friend of his. From Mrs Bennie and Mrs Laing they took tea and seemed to relish it. The young man with him was a

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[421]W.R. Thomson ultimately had 7 children (John, Hugh, Frances, Helen, Kate, William Rodger and Harriet). John, Hugh and Frances were among the five enumerated by Laing. Donovan Williams, *When Races Meet*, Appendix B, 160, 163, 211.

[422]The Bennie children were Sara Margaret, born 5.4.1828, and James born 28.6.1829. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly intelligence* (Winter 1838/9): 5.

[423]Bryce (5 or 6 years), Richard (2 or 3 years) and Margaret (baptised on 5.7.1830 by W.R. Thomson). Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly intelligence* (Winter 1838/9):4; Cory Library, MS 9037, Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, (29.6.1831), 179.

[424]Chalmers' three children were all girls including Eliza, the eldest, and Mary, who was born in July 1831. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly intelligence* (Winter 1838/9); John Aitken Chalmers, *Echoes of a ministry: sermons, preached in Trinity Church, Grahamstown, by the late Rev John Aitken Chalmers, with a memoir/ by Rev G W Cross* (Grahamstown: J. Slater, 1892), iv, xiii.

[425]The McDiarmid children in 1831 were John aged 3 years and Elizabeth Scott aged 2 years. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly intelligence* (Winter 1838/9): 5.

[426]Rev. John Brownlee of the London Missionary Society was stationed at this time on the Buffalo River on the site of the present King William's Town. Brownlee established the original Tyhume mission in June 1820 where he was joined by John Ross and John Bennie in December 1823. His eldest son, Charles, later the first Secretary of Native Affairs in the Cape Colony, attended the Salem Academy from 18 July 1830. The second son, James, attended the Academy from 28 August 1831. The Salem Academy was established and run by W.H. Matthews at the Methodist settlement of Salem, 26 km South of Grahamstown. According to Boyce, it was "of great importance, affording a suitable place to which the Missionaries [could] send their children for education, while they [were] prosecuting their arduous labours on the remote stations of the interior." Cory Library, PR 3512, Salem Sunday School Roll Book, 1830-1832; Bergh, J.S. *Die lewe van Charles Pacalt Brownlee tot 1957*. Archives Year Book 1981 (Pretoria: Staatsdrukkers, 1984), 32-34; William B.B. Boyce (ed.), *Memoir of the Rev. William Shaw, late General Superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in South-Eastern Africa* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1874), 210.

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son of a brother of one of his wives. Were Maqoma to become a Christian he might effect much good among the people as he is the chief ruler in the country around. When I visited him in company with Messrs Bennie and Ross he expressed a desire to have a Teacher dinis[427] with him. The answer given him on former occasions to this desire is that he should 1st settle and then a Teacher could come to him. Since he was driven out of his country on the Kat River he has been without any fixed dwelling place. Though he were fixed now, I know not if we could send him a Missionary but he might often have the gospel if he wished. He could go near some of the stations and he might request the Native Teacher to visit him.

As I have leasure I would wish to make a few notes on some things relating to the Caffers but at present as my knowledge is somewhat limited I must wait till I have acquired more. Only it may be well to take notice of anything that occurs and accumulate gradually a stock of information which may be useful to myself and others. It is a great pity that such things as Brandy, Gin, etc. are used indiscriminately. I hope that they never will in any great quantity be introduced into Cafferland yet their deleterious consequences have in part been felt there. Various of the chiefs who have frequented the forts have been repeatedly made drunk. And they having once felt the powers of brandy thirst for it afterwards as people do in all parts of the world. I make this note at present that I may afterwards see whether this evil practice will increase. At present it is by no means general. Nor while the Kaffers are so poor is it likely to become so. But poor as they are we know well from experience that they would part with anything for drink did they once acquire the propensity.[428]

At present they hold much to smoaking tobacco. They beg tobacco with much earnestness. As in Green[land] they take tobacco as pay for work.[429] For about a year I have smoked

[427]Possibly a phonetic approximation of the isiXhosa word "umfundisi" meaning teacher or minister.

[428]Legally, neither alcohol nor firearms could be sold beyond the colonial border, but illicit trade flourished nonetheless. Ngqika and other leaders developed an addiction to alcohol fuelled by supplies from the forts and traders. However, Laing is probably correct in his observation that most of the amaXhosa were too poor to be able to pay the price of the liquor available at this date. Alberti points out that the "inclination for alcoholic beverages" was strongest amongst the amaXhosa living closest to the colonial border—"They are extremely fond of it and drink to excess when they can lay their hands on it. In the case of those Kaffers who were further removed from the frontier, I found, to my delight, that to them the taste of wine and brandy was completely repugnant." In his *House of Phalo*, Peires examines the social impact of trade between the amaXhosa and the colonists and the inculcation of induced wants, amongst which one must count liquor. Alberti: *Account of the tribal life and customs of the Xhosa in 1807*, 25; Peires: *House of Phalo*, 100-8; Roger Beardon Beck, "The Legalization and Development of Trade on the Cape Frontier, 1817-1830." Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1988. PhD thesis, University of Indiana, 1987, 95.

[429]Wild tobacco, evidently more pungent than the cured western variant, was grown extensively by the amaXhosa to support a thriving trade with the KhoeKhoe and was smoked by both men and women. However, the amaXhosa acquired a taste for western tobacco from their early contacts with traders and travellers, whence it developed value as a unit of currency in trade as well as in payment for work. Laing's frequent use of the spelling "smoak" and "smoaking" derives possibly from early Scottish orthography. Peires: *House of Phalo*, 97; D. Moodie,

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myself. I have given it over for some time and hope I shall no more meddle with it. The time lost in smoaking was the main reason. Idle people like the Caffers have little to do with their time but I have much more indeed than I can well perform.

Sabbath July 10th 1831 The Lord's Supper was dispensed here by the Reverend J. Bennie. There were 12 communicants of the natives: 7 of this place, 4 from Chumie and 1 from Burnshill. These are all the communicants now at the stations except three. The deportment of these people was very becoming. Their inward condition I have little doubt was such as becomes sinners who look to great [acceptance] of Christ for acceptance with God. Mr Bennie conducted all the services in the Caffer language. I believe the like has not been done in *our* Mission before and if by any other Missionaries must have been very seldom.[430] I should suppose that the people understood well what was said but I shall ascertain this afterwards. I communicated with the Caffers and afterwards exhorted our Missionary friends in English and put into &c. The whole of the members, male and female, communicated except Mrs Weir, Mrs Bennie, and Mrs Laing and Mrs Chalmers and Mrs McDiarmid. Mrs Laing was so ill that she could not go out.

Same day Mr Morgan, Surgeon, came from Fort Willshire to see Mrs Laing.[431] He by no means appears to be deficient in medical knowledge.

Monday July 11th 1831 Mrs Laing had a letter from Scotland of 19th March. It brought good tidings from our friends—for which we should be thankful. Mr Ross by the same post received the sad intelligence that his mother on 6th February was burnt to death, her clothes (as was supposed) while reading, having taken fire. This is very trying but he knows to what quarter to turn for help.

The record; or, A series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the Native tribes of South Africa. Cape Town: A.S. Robertson, 1838 1:431; Alberti: *Account*, 25-6; M. Wilson and L.M. Thompson (eds.), *Oxford history of South Africa*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1969, 1:238.

[430]Given the missionaries' difficulties in learning isiXhosa and the accepted use of interpreters, this was certainly an early instance of a missionary conducting an entire service in isiXhosa. Whether it was the first such instance or not would be difficult to prove.

[431]Nathaniel Morgan (1793-1842), a British military doctor, was registered as a Hospital Assistant in 1814 and an Assistant Surgeon in the Medical Department from 28.9.1815. Whilst on half-pay he led a joint-stock party of settlers aboard the *Ocean* during the 1820 settlement of the Eastern Cape. Morgan and his party were located initially at Beauty Vale on the Blaauwkrantz River but by 1826 Morgan was back in temporary service as Assistant Surgeon in the Medical Department and stationed at Kaffer Drift. By 1831 he had been transferred to Fort Willshire where he was called on, not only by the troops stationed with him, but also by the missionary families in the surrounding districts. R.F. Kennedy, "I'Ons, F.T. Surgeon Nathaniel Morgan or Surgeon-Major Benjamin Swift", *Africana notes and news*, 19 (June 1971):237-240; Cory Library, MIC 170: *Cape almanac* (1826); *Army List* (1829):383; E.H. Burrows, *A history of medicine in South Africa up to the end of the nineteenth century*, Cape Town and Amsterdam, A.A. Balkema, 1958, 164; M.D. Nash: *A settler handbook*. (Place: publisher, date), 27, 94.

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Tuesday July 12th 1831 Mr Ross and family set off for Imqwa[rkwebe] [Mgqwakwhebe]. He is no doubt looking to his heavenly Father for comfort. I think him one of the best men I have seen in Africa. Mr Bennie and I accompanied him a little way. I shall now endeavour to do such things as are to further the work of the Lord in this country.

Received also yesterday Mr Struthers' letter of 22 March and *Q[uarterly] Paper* published a little before.[432] The *Quarterly Paper* contained some things which I cannot altogether approve of because they convey a wrong impression.[433] Christians who see them [*shorthand*].

Thursday July 14th 1831 Mr Kayser of the L.M.S. called today.[434] He lived at the same station with Mr Brownlee where there is also a native preacher called John Tshatshu.[435] This man preaches well and is also a mechanic. He was sometimes with Dr van [der Kemp] at Bethels[dorp].[436] Mr Kayser mentioned that he goes frequently out among the kraals. He

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[432]Rev. Gavin Struthers was one of the secretaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1831. Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1831).

[433]The *Quarterly paper*, 7, dated 25 February 1831, commences with an editorial statement entitled "The state and claims of the Glasgow Missionary Society". This summarises the situation of the Scottish missions on the frontier and includes a brief mention of the financing of the Laings' passage out to the Cape by the Society. Laing may be objecting to the detail of these expenses or, more likely, to the blandness of the description of what was a very bleak missionary situation. The *Paper* was naturally keen to encourage financial support from the Society's friends and supporters and to this end would have wanted to present as positive a picture of the Glasgow Missionary Society missionary endeavour as possible. Laing's innate honesty and sense of accuracy would have been offended by the gloss put on the state of affairs as he found them. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* 7 (February 1831):1-2.

[434]Rev. Friedrich Gottlob Kayser (4.1.1800-13.5.1868), was born in Mockau near Leipzig. As a young man he had become interested in missionary work and, after studying at Leipzig and Halle, was prepared for service in the East Indian mission field of Society for the Advancement and Propagation of Christian Knowledge. He was accepted as a probationer by the Society for the Advancement and Propagation of Christian Knowledge and sent to their London base in 1826 where he was examined by the Society. However the Society deemed that he did not have sufficient command of the English language nor of Anglican doctrine for their work. He was subsequently interviewed by the London Missionary Society which accepted him for a four year period of missionary work in South Africa. He married Christiana Maria Boehre on 9 January 1827 in London and arrived in Cape Town on 21 June the same year. As a missionary of the London Missionary Society he was stationed first at Bethelsdorp and then at Brownlee's station on the Buffalo River, on the site of the present King William's Town. At the end of 1833 he established Knapp's Hope mission on the left bank of the Keiskamma River in Maqoma's territory. H.C. Hummel, *Rev. F.G. Kayser: journal and letters*. Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman*for* Rhodes University, 1990, 1-26.

[435]Dyani Tshatshu (Tzatzoe, Tshatsu), (c.1791-28.2.1868), chief of the amaNtinde, was taken by his father in 1804 to Rev. J.T. van der Kemp at Bethelsdorp where he was baptised, taught to read and trained in the carpenter's trade. Tshatshu decided to do missionary work among his own people and helped Rev. Joseph Williams establish his mission on the Kat River. He acted as a lay preacher and interpreter first to Williams, then to Rev. George Barker at Theopolis on the Kariega, and still later to Rev. John Brownlee at the Tyhume mission. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1:247-249.

[436]Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp (17.5.1747-15.12.1811) was born in Rotterdam, served first as an officer in the Dutch army and later trained as a medical doctor. His interest in missionary work led him to the London Missionary Society with whom he became a missionary. To him fell the task of recruiting men in Holland

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finds the people very wicked and inattentive to the word. The women are more careless than the men.

Went in the afternoon with Mr Bennie to Mr Ross's at the station. Arrived there a little after dusk and found Mr Ross as well as could be expected considering the mournful intelligence which he has lately received.

[Friday July] 15th 1831 We spoke of naming Mr Ross's station Van der Kemp.[437] We heard of a general concern about religion at Wesleyville.[438] Many are wishing to be admitted into class.

Mr Ross is reckoned about 25 [miles = 40km] South East from Lovedale. Burnshill is about 12 miles [20 km] East from the same place.

... is called neutral territory. The officer who ordered him off said that unless he went away he would take him prisoner. Mukomu [Maqoma] is much offended at this proceeding. Three days ago he sent to Mr Bennie to enquire whether the commando was coming. There is a rumour of one coming into Cafferland at this time. Yesterday we saw a party of armed Caffers moving down the river. They dread the coming of the commando very much ...[439]

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to the Society through his organisation of the Nederlandsche Zendinggenootskap. Destined for the Cape, where he arrived on 31.3.1799, he helped found *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Genootskapter*. Despite his early cordial relations with the Colony, his natural eccentricity and individuality set him apart and won him a place in the hearts of many of the amaXhosa with whom he came into contact during his short mission in Xhosaland itself. He settled at Bethelsdorp amongst the KhoeKhoe. He died in Cape Town on 15.12.1811. Peires: *House of Phalo* 77; *Dictionary of South African Biography* 2:774-777.

[437]Mgqakhwebe was finally named Pirie in honour of Rev. Alexander Pirie, chairman of the inaugural meeting of the Glasgow Missionary Society on 9 February 1796. Glasgow Missionary Society, *Quarterly paper* 1 (1827): 1-23.

[438]Wesleyville, established in 1823 by Rev. William Shaw as the first in a chain of Methodist mission stations beyond the frontier, was situated amongst the amaGqunukhwebe on the Thwecu stream, a tributary of the Tyalomnqa (Chalumna) River. Shaw remained at the station until early in 1830 when he was transferred to Grahamstown and Rev. S. Young replaced him. The "general concern about religion" to which Laing refers may reflect a fear that without Shaw the mission might fail, or a hope that under Young it might grow in strength. The ambiguity remains. W.D. Hammond-Tooke, ed., *The journal of William Shaw* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1972), 10-12, 183.

[439]Regrettably, this page has been torn away, so the full text of Laing's description (possibly of Maqoma's expulsion from his lands around the Balfour mission station in 1829) has been lost. What does remain confirms that Maqoma was still angry at the actions of the commando involved in the expulsion and anxious about further commando raids. Milton records Botomane, imiDange Chief, as saying "Macomo's heart was very sore about the land; the subject always set him on fire". The "neutral" territory, or more correctly the so-called "ceded territory", refers to the land between the Fish and the Keiskamma rivers expropriated from Ngqika by Somerset in 1819. John Milton, *Edges of War: a History of the Frontier Wars, 1702-1878* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta, 1983), 95; Peires, *House of Phalo*, 79, 89-90.

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The premises at Lovedale are in a somewhat decayed state. They were built by Messrs Bennie and Ross eight years ago. Last week I assisted Mr Bennie a little in repairing some parts of them until he shall have new ones built either at Lovedale or somewhere else. We are not sure where they should be but think that we should at least consider well before a commitment be made. Saturday I sent to Chumie the letter on the union. [*Shorthand: "Came home again: found Mrs Laing a lot better. She is not taking this to heart her n??"* It has not been possible to decipher the last word in this passage].

A man, whom we had sent to Fort Willshire, when he returned stole Mrs Laing's hand[bag]. We knew it was in the chair in which he sat down. He was allowed to go into the kitchen before we thought or rather knew that he had taken it. We called on him to look if he had it. He came in and with many lies denied that it had been seen by him. Anna told him to take off his kaross and let us see if he was free.[440] He refused long but when he saw that we were determined to have the handbag he took off his kaross and I pulled it out from behind him—a specimen of Caffer character. We were treating him well when he acted thus ungratefully. This man is prop[erly] a stranger, an Omfengu.[441]

Wednesday July 27th 1831 Read for the 1st time to the people.

Friday July 29th 1831 Read something to the people which I had prepared.

Saturday July 30th 1831 Mrs Bennie's father came to see her from Graaf[f] Reinet.[442] It was pleasing to see the effect provided upon her by his approach. She ran to meet him and called to the girl to bring his grandchildren quickly too. I have little hope of meeting my father on earth. Mrs Laing's is dead but she could not refrain from tears when she saw Mrs Bennie running. I spared her the pain of declaring the cause knowing that she thought of her mother and perhaps her departed father too.

Among the Kaffers who called today was a man from Chumie who said that he was a relative of the young woman who is with us as a servant. He asked a present from me. I said that I would give him a present which he was to carry with him wherever he went and it was this "Labour not for the meat that perisheth etc." and adding at the same time a few remarks which he received in a becoming manner.

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[440]Anna, employed as a servant, was the wife of Thomas Hoé or Fortuin, the Interpreter at Lovedale. According to Laing, Anna was the daughter of an Irish father and a Khoekhoe mother. See Laing's entry, 30.9.1831.

[441]The origin and status of the amaMfengu is dealt with in some detail in the Introduction.

[442]Margaretha Magdalena Maré, who had married John Bennie on 6 June 1827, was a daughter of Jacob Philip Maré, of Graaff-Reinet. Heese and Lombard, *South African genealogies* 1: 220.

Sabbath July 31st 1831 For the first time I preached to the Kaffers. In the afternoon Mr Bennie conducted the whole of the service in the Kaffer language. This has rarely been done by any of us. We speak by interpreters.

Thursday August 4th 1831 Dr Morgan came from Fort Willshire to see Mrs Laing and was accompanied by Lieut. Edwards.[443]

Friday August 5th 1831 Mrs Laing much better but afflicted grievously with rheumatism in her head. She speaks as if the bones of her face would split.[444] She and I have much reason to improve the respite which she enjoys from more alarming trouble.

Wednesday August 10th 1831 Mrs Laing still a little better but not out of bed yet. She has suffered exceeding from Calomel. Her whole body is affected but particularly her head and neck which have swelled a good deal. A great part of the mouth is skinless and if not frequently washed with alum water seems as if a red hot iron were put into it. The pain is one of the severest which I think can be endured. Since the Calomel was taken she has [been] better than before as to the pain in her side which has much abated so that she can now lie on the side which is not affected. She and I are under no small obligation to Dr Morgan of the Army for his kindness in visiting us in our distress: but we must not forget the *Chief Mover* in all that befalls us. The Rheumatism mentioned above may only be a part of the consequences of the Calomel—but I am of opinion in addition to its effects that there was also rheumatism in some degree.

Of late have turned my time more to Dutch than to Kaffer and that because I see no likelihood of my being soon use[ful] in the last mentioned language.

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[443] *The South African Directory Advertiser for the year 1831* lists two Lieutenants of this name, but Laing is probably referring to Lieut. Thomas Maitland Edwards of the 98th Regiment, stationed at Fort Willshire in 1831. *The South African Directory Advertiser for the year 1831*: 111, 186; *Army list* (1829): 286; Johannesburg Public Library, *Catalogue of British regimental histories with notes on their service in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Johannesburg Public Library, 1953), 49.

[444] Facial pains were evidently not uncommon in the region as Laidler and Gelfand recorded that "Numerous missionaries, who worked strenuously and with some apparent success, resided in the [Fort Beaufort] district. Face-ache was prevalent ...". They do not give any cause for this phenomenon. Percy Ward Laidler and Michael Gelfand, *South Africa: its medical history 1652-1898, a medical and social study* (Cape Town: Struik, 1971), 291.

Have lately heard of the dissolution of Parliament in Britain[445] and of the commotions in Ireland.[446]

Saturday August 13th 1831 [*Shorthand: A year today since I was married: it has been a year of gains. Mrs Laing has of late been so ill that I did not expect her to live. There is a frst n kt ext frs frmm frmr year will a tntntion so btnt it was a strange invitation.* It has not been possible to decipher the entire passage]. In the middle of the night between Wednesday and Thursday last Makoma sent a man to Mr Bennie to acquaint him that a Caffer had fled to him from Boatman[447] who threatened to punish him for stealing cattle from the Colony and for killing the lord of the cattle. Makoma wished Mr Bennie to desire Colonel Somerset to punish the Criminal but about day break he sent [a message] to countermand the letter and said he had punished him himself by taking his cattle. Makoma's reason for sending at the unreasonable hour was that he did not wish it to be understood that he gave the least countenance to the thief and murderer in reality for though he did not go himself he sent his men to take the cattle and the killing of their keeper was a necessary price of the work.

Friday August 25th 1831 Went to and returned from Burnshill today. Matwa one of Gaika's sons, is going to take up his abode at the institution.[448] He has laid down a quantity of timber for building a house after the English manner.

[*Shorthand crossed out*].

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[445]Parliament had been dissolved after the Second Reading of and an opposition amendment to the first Reform Bill had been carried on 22 April 1831. The Second Reading of a new Bill was carried in the Commons of the new Parliament on 7 July but rejected by the House of Lords on 8 October. The closing months of the year ushered in the greatest political crisis seen in England since 1688. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. place, publisher, date, 10:920.

[446]Laing is referring to the beginning of an impassioned campaign by the Irish peasantry against the payment of tithes to an established church, the Church of England, to which few of them belonged. The "tithe war" lasted from 1830/1 till 1838 when tithes were merged in the rent charge. *Chambers Encyclopaedia* (London: International Learning Systems Corp., 1973), 7:725; *A dictionary of Irish history since 1800* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1980), 561.

[447]Botomane, grandson of Mdange and chief of the imiDange, was born in Victoria East in 1767. In the early years of his chieftaincy he maintained cordial relations with the colonial authorities but following the expropriation of Ngqika's lands by Somerset in 1819, he aligned himself with Ngqika and Nqeno in opposing the British. When Maqoma was expelled from his lands in the Kat River region in 1829, Botomane and Nqeno committed themselves to avenging his exile and took an active part in the 1834-5 War. *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 3:93.

[448]Matwa, a younger son of Ngqika, came from Igqibirha following Ngqika's death in 1829 to live at Burnshill, together with his brother Anta and Suthu, Ngqika's Thembu Great Wife, and her son Sandile. Peires: *House of Phalo*, 49, 82; Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly intelligence* 9 (Autumn, 1840): 1.

Have lately finished Ellis on the S[outh] Sea Mission.[449] He writes elegantly but has not a little unnecessary repetition by which his book is much increased in bulk. Some of his details are too long and of little importance but still he is a writer of no ordinary powers. The elegance of his descriptions, the chasteness of his taste, the minuteness of his observation all shew him to be a man of a superior mind. Had the book been made to breathe a more pious spirit perhaps it would not have been so extensively read.

Wednesday August 30th 1831 [*Notes*] I am now among as diabolical a people as Elliot's [Ellis'] Indians. I see in reading this at the distance of several years that there is an omission here—"in the Bible will supply the omission".

[*Journal*] It began to rain this day. Wind South. Since I came to Cafferland altogether there have not been above 8 or ten days of rain. I came 4 months ago. During that time the weather has been clear and by no means too warm. The thermometer frequently standing below 60°. I cannot pronounce the Caffer but sometimes [*2 lines of shorthand*].

Sabbath September 3rd 1831 Have returned this evening from Chumie where I preached today. Went thither yesterday from Burnshill to which place I had gone to baptize Mr Mc-Diarmid's young child.[450] We had a pleasant ride among the mimosa bushes. The fragrance arising from the various sweet scented shrubs was delightful. God has brought [me] home in safety— and he has permitted me imperfect as I am to speak [to] this degraded people a few things relating to their everlasting peace.

In the interval between sermons there were a number (50) children instructed by Mr Weir. They were orderly and answered well. Even through interpreters if God will he can change the hearts of this people—but so far as we see could we speak to them in their own language we would be more likely to succeed in our endeavours to arouse them from their indifference. The unusual difficulty of the language is a barrier which stands between us and their improvement. I lament that I do so little good to myself and others and that I am not more desirous to be more.

Wednesday September 6th 1831 The thermometer stands today at 54°. It is seldom colder in S.A. We landed at the hottest time, 1st January 1831, at Cape Town. There it was too hot.

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[449]William Ellis (1794-1872), *Polynesian researches: during a residence of nearly six years in the South Sea Islands; including descriptions of the natural history and scenery of the islands, with remarks on the history, mythology, traditions, government, arts, manners and customs of the inhabitants* (London: Fisher Son & Jackson, 1830), 2 vols. The length of the title suggests some validity in Laing's hint of Ellis' verbosity.

[450]Probably Catherine McDiarmid. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly intelligence*, 1838/9:5.

Since we landed at Algoa Bay in the middle of April the weather has been about a proper temperature.

Thursday September 7th 1831 Last night I finished the trans[cription] [*shorthand: as the Clerk of the Presbytery*]. Notwithstanding some differences of opinion in the notes by what I heard from the mouths of different writers, I have been able to make out a document which will satisfy all here and will, I trust, be cause of rejoicing to our friends at home. By that letter [i.e. the document mentioned above] it appears that there had been disputes among us concerning external matters. There should be a *union* as to the instructing of the people. This I trust has always been. It shall be my endeavour to keep as much as I can to the great things of the Bible but surely we [shall] all better come and offer our sac[rifice]s when we are at peace among ourselves. Though as liable to err as any of my brethren these remarks are applicable to the state of things as I found them among them when I came. Then there were some differences among them; but I found all ready and willing to explain and be recon[cile]d.

Tuesday September 13th 1831 Last Saturday the people at this place began to dig up their ground for sowing. The[y] skim with their spades on the top of the rich and deep soil. Some here have changed their wooden spades for iron ones.[451] The last rain that was did not long continue. Today there is a more genial and gentle rain. This will prepare the dry ground for the seed.

Thursday September 15th 1831 The rain continued two days on the last of which it fell very heavily with a strong westerly wind.

Friday September 16th 1831 Fine day.

Saturday September 17th 1831 Rained the most of the day.

Lord's Day September 18th 1831 Cloudy but little rain and very cold. Fewer people in the church than usual. Platje formerly mentioned has been most exact in his attendance of the gospel ever since he came.[452] I think he is really concerned for his soul. He is now in general still: but when the evil of sin is mentioned he is affected to crying.

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[451]Traditionally the amaXhosa fashioned sneezewood spades, flattened and sharpened at the digging end, with a rounded shaft. They were usually about 0,5m long and the digger sat to use it. Using this method it was only possible to scratch the surface of the soil. Iron hoes, which had considerably longer handles, could be used standing up, allowing greater pressure to be exerted and a deeper cut to be made into the richer subsoil. Soga: *The ama-Xosa*, 393-6.

[452]The earlier reference to Platje was probably written on the preceding page which has been torn away. As Laing writes in his entry dated 30 September 1831, Platje was a Xhosa man who came to the Station from the Fort Willshire area.

I know not whether I mentioned any thing of a woman who came to reside with the Native Teacher that she might hear the word of God. She has found according to her own account much benefit.

[*Shorthand crossed out*] This day is cold throughout.

Monday September 19th 1831 Mild, and wet in part. Mr Bennie told me that poor Platje has conceived the notion that he must be a rainmaker so I have thought him in a better condition than he really is. Jesus, he said, had told him that he must be a rainmaker and the Devil had told him that he must not any longer attend to what the believers say. Mr Bennie expostulated with him and shewed him the evil of the profession which he said he had been told to pursue and that Jesus never told him to become a rainmaker. What was worst, P[latje], said he loved Mr Bennie, but *not Jesus*. Mr Bennie thought that the Devil had a firm hold of poor P[latje].

Sabbath September 25th 1831 More than 50 people in the little church today. The men at the neighbouring Kraal wish the bell to be rung as loud as possible that they may know to come. It is well that the desire for the Gospel is increasing.

Friday September 30th 1831 [*Letter*][453] Lovedale, Kafferland:

To P. Falconer Esq., Glasgow.

Very dear Sir: Without any preface, I propose to give you a short account of the four Stations belonging to the Glasgow Missionary Society in this country.[454] In the course of my remarks, some indirect notices of the Kaffer people in general may appear, but I do not intend in what I have now in view, to make *their* condition the particular subject of consideration: I only wish to present to you a connected account of the state of the different stations of the Glasgow Mission among the Kaffers. I shall be short in what I shall say, and shall begin with Lovedale, at which place I am still residing, though my residence here will now be only for a few days.

The station of Lovedale was founded by Messrs Bennie and Ross in 1824, and shortly after the arrival of the latter in Kafferland. The Mission houses they either erected with their own hands, or superintended and assisted the natives in the erection of the more easy parts of them. The walls are partly composed of unburnt bricks, and partly of clay plastered on small sticks wattled to upright posts, and, though of no fine architecture, do no little credit to the industry and skill of those who built them. The roof is thatched with a long kind of grass

[453]Cory Library, MS 9043, Laing journal v.4. Letter from Laing to Patrick Falconer (30 September 1831).

[454]Tyhume, Lovedale, Balfour and Burnshill.

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which is sewed to small cross rafters. At this distance of time from their erection, it is no matter of surprise that houses so constructed should begin to give way—when we take into consideration the great violence of the rain in this country, we will not wonder that such buildings should by this time be scarcely habitable.

Of the buildings which stood in the form of a square thus, one part, which was used as a waggon house, has fallen altogether. The other parts though still standing are in many places of the walls in a decaying state, and, in the roof are so incapable of defending the inmates from heavy rain, that they may expect it to fall in most places within doors, when it is falling without. The two houses for the Missionary families compose the one side of the square—the church makes up the most of the opposite side, and other necessary houses compose the remaining sides. All however, are so much decayed that it is deemed best to build new houses in their room rather than to repair houses so quickly becoming ruinous. It will be no difficult matter with proper assistance to erect buildings which may stand long, and furnish comfortable lodging for those who shall in future years afford spiritual instruction to the Kaffers. There is an excellent quarry at no great distance from Lovedale, and abundance of stones may be found in it for the purposes of building.[455]



Figure 13: Laing's sketch of the layout of the buildings at Lovedale. Courtesy of Rhodes University, Cory Library, Laing journal, MS 16,579/1.

Though the trees in the garden are young they already furnish a good supply of fruit. The soil here is rich and very deep, and will nourish trees better than the soil at any other station of the Glasgow Mission. Fig trees seem to be most numerous, but many others are thriving well. Among these I may mention peaches, almonds, pomegranates, quinces, oranges, lemons, vines and shaddocks.[456] These are not all, but they may furnish you with a specimen of what this country can produce. The productions of this land bear no faint resemblance to those of which

[455]According to Helen Ross, the first houses erected on a mission station were regarded as temporary and were of wattle and daub or unburnt brick. The intention was that more permanent structures would be erected later. The houses at Lovedale were indeed rebuilt, but the Station was virtually destroyed during the 1834-5 Frontier War. The quarry to which Laing refers may not have been an active working quarry. Sandstone was certainly plentiful in the Ncerha area and Laing may be referring to the quarrying potential of an observed sandstone site. Cory Library, MS 2637, Letter from Helen Ross to her sister Margaret; *Glasgow Missionary Society Report* (1835): 11; (1837): 13-14.

[456]The shaddock is a citrus fruit of the grapefruit family but with a looser skin and drier pulp. Named after a Captain Shaddock who is credited with the introduction of its seeds into the United Kingdom it is also known in South Africa as pampelmoes or pomelo. Jean Branford, *A Dictionary of South African English* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1978), 178.

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we read in the Bible, and I have little doubt that most of the fruits and vegetables which Judea reared might, with facility, be reared here. To one familiar with the Bible the sight of so many of the productions mentioned there is peculiarly pleasing and brings along with it associations the full force of which are unknown to those who live in colder climes. At this time I see the fig tree budding, and I know that summer is nigh. Though the soil here be rich and deep, it is not likely to raise many vegetables from the scarcity of water. The supply of rain is in general far short of what the thirsty soil would require to moisten it, and the water in the adjoining rivulet is now always so limited that it cannot be led out in the water course in which for a short time it originally ran.[457]

Lovedale is situated 10 or 12 miles [16 or 19 km] to the South of Chumie about 14 [22 km] West of Burnshill, and about 25 [40 km] North West of Imqwakwebe where Mr Ross is labouring. The Chumie river, the present boundary of the Colony at this part, passes about 20 minutes ride on horseback from Lovedale Institution. Fort Willshire is situated about 18 miles [29 km] South and Fort Beaufort about 18 miles [29 km] West of Lovedale. Graham's Town [Grahamstown], is distant from Lovedale (nearly in the direction of South West) about 70 miles [112 km]; and, in the same direction at the distance of 80 miles more [128 km], lies Port Elizabeth on Algoa Bay. 70 [112 km] and 80 [128 km] or 150 [240 km] miles may be a near approach to the length of our journey by land. In the direction of Fort Willshire the sea is not distant from us so much as 40 miles [64 km]. I do not say these distances and bearings are quite accurately ascertained—I have not used a map in making them out and, though I had, I am persuaded that they would scarcely have been more correct as I have seen no map whose accuracy as to Kafferland can be depended on—what is here said will however give you a tolerably correct idea of the situation of the Lovedale Institution.[458]

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[457]Despite the fact that the land between the Fish and the Kei is watered by numerous rivers and streams, the largest being the Keiskamma and the Buffalo, few of these run continuously throughout the year. Many are reduced to sandy beds during the frequent periods of drought that afflict the area, while hot, dry berg winds bleach the veld and crisp the vegetation into lifelessness. The uncertainty of the South African rainfall and the need to provide for a more regular water supply were soon realised by the missionaries. An early priority on each mission station was the leading out of a furrow or water course from the river on which the station was established and, where possible, the construction of a small dam. Through the water courses and dams, mission and neighbouring lands could be irrigated with obvious agricultural benefits. Potentially the greater reliability of water supply through the water courses could be used by the missionaries in their attempts to counter the dependence of the Xhosa on their rainmakers. Peires, *House of Phalo*, 8; Williams, *The Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony 1799-1853*, 64-70.

[458]Mapping of the Cape Colony and beyond did not achieve any degree of accuracy on anything other than a piecemeal basis until the commencement of the Geodetic Survey of South Africa in 1879. Until then only isolated survey work of individual areas and varying accuracy had been done. When pieced together these did not always dovetail neatly with one another and the resultant gaps lent scope to the imagination of the map compilers. The only maps available to Laing in 1831 would have been those of early travellers, explorers, military engineers and perhaps the sketch maps of fellow missionaries. Cape of Good Hope. Parliament. *Report of the Surveyor-General*, G.30-1876, 101-2; Elri Liebenberg, *Topographical maps of South Africa* (Pretoria: Unisa, 1979), passim; Oscar

Much of Kafferland is mountainous. Lovedale is farther removed from the high mountains than any other of the Glasgow stations, and the scenery around it is less grand and striking than the scenery around the other stations. Though it be less bold and magnificent than the scenery around the other stations, it is not therefore less agreeable to some—and if it be not so likely to strike the mind with sublime conceptions it is more likely to lead it to the contemplation of what is calm and soothing.

Behind Lovedale to the East is a stony hill covered, for the most part, with mimosa and other thorns. All the wood upon it is fit only for the fire and cannot be turned to any useful purpose. Among the brushwood many aloe plants are allowed to grow and die without being regarded as of any service to man.[459] In front of the Institution and at the distance of about 200 yards [183 m] runs the brook Cera[460], on the opposite side of which runs a beautiful ridge partly covered with bushes.

To the South West of the Institution lies a very beautiful plain which after rain is said to be one of the finest in the country. It is not extensive however being only about a mile in length [c.1,5 km] and less than half a mile [approximately 0,8 km] in breadth. At the lowest extremity of this plain the low hills meet and the brook Cera labours among them till it joins the Chumie river.

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Norwich, *Maps of Africa: an illustrated and annotated carto-bibliography* (Johannesburg, Ad. Donker, 1983), 32-33.

[459]The Aloe, a large genus of succulent plants of the lily family of which more than 130 species are indigenous to Africa, grows in flame-coloured profusion in the Eastern Cape and Transkei regions. There is evidence to support the use of the aloe for medicinal and other purposes by several groups including the amaXhosa and the amaZulu. Andrew Smith cites the use of the root of *Aloe tenuior* by the amaXhosa as a purgative to counter tapeworm infestation and drops of the juice of *Aloe fera* in the eyes in ophthalmic cases. Children sucked the sweet juice of the red flowers which was said to have narcotic properties. Aloe juice was also used as a germicide to cure scab in sheep and was mixed with finely ground soot to fasten the heads of assegais onto the shafts. According to G.W. Reynolds, the dried leaves were ground into fine powder and taken as snuff by the amaZulu and amaXhosa whilst the fresh leaves were applied in the case of burns. Aloes have also been used by the baSotho to test for barrenness and by the Bushmen who would hollow out the branches of *Aloe dichotoma* to hold their poisoned arrows. Aloes even have their culinary purposes: the leaves of *Aloe ferox* may be used in the making of jam. Andrew Smith of St Cyrus: *A contribution to South African materia medica*, 2 ed. (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1888), 71-2, 81-2; *Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa*, s.v. "Aloes" (article by G.W. Reynolds); V.Z. Gitywa, "The arts and crafts of the Xhosa in the Ciskei: past and present" *Fort Hare Papers* 5, no.2 (Sept. 1971): 142; Brendan Lehane, *The power of plants*. London, John Murray, 1977:145; *Black's medical dictionary* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1987), s.v. "Aloes".

[460]The Ncerha River, a tributary of the Keiskamma River. Bergh and Visagie, *The Eastern Cape frontier zone 1660-1980*, 21.

When you look North from Lovedale you see further than in any other direction. About due North over the ridge on the other side of the Cera, you see the top of the Chumie mountain.[461] A little to the East of North, the heads of several lofty mountains are to be seen distant 20 or 30 miles [32 or 48 km]. During the time of my abode at Lovedale I have observed these at least six times covered with snow—on the whole the view from Lovedale is somewhat circumscribed— yet at the distance of half a mile [0,8 km] on the hill behind you see to the distance of 60 miles [96 km] in the direction of Graham's Town [Grahamstown]. At present the country around us is green and therefore beautiful. Frequently it is burnt red with the sun; but now after rain it has a refreshing aspect. Very little of the country either here or anywhere else is cultivated: a small irregular patch at the side of a stream, or on the side of a mountain may be seen under cultivation, but these bear not a 20[th] part to that extent of country which yet remains in the rude simplicity of nature. These remarks on the situation of Lovedale I believe would be uninteresting to most. Should you however obtain a drawing of the place they would a little serve to explain the more striking delineation of the artist.

Mr Bennie has been constantly residing at this place since it was founded. Sometimes he has been alone, sometimes one of his brethren has been resident with him. He has now for ten years made known the glad tidings of salvation to the Kaffers, and he still perseveres to distribute among them the *bread* of life. As it is the salvation of the souls of the people that is the end of the Mission, I shall now speak a few words concerning the change effected by the gospel on the immortal beings who reside at the institution.

But first I shall endeavour to set before you a view of their temporal condition, as that may serve to throw some light on my future remarks. At this place there are at present (of the natives) about 50 people resident. That number includes young and adult. These live in 10 houses all of which except Robert Balfour's are built after the Kaffer fashion. In the families of the Missionaries there are three natives not included in the former enumeration. Though some of these are Christians, and though all who are capable are regular in hearing the gospel, you may not, notwithstanding what you have heard, be able to form a correct notion of their external condition. When you see them in the little Church, you see the most of the adult people covered with clothes—even some of the children are neatly dressed yet these people with all the clothes they possess are by no means finely arrayed. The meanest dresses at home are not inferior to those of the Christianized Kaffers. They have as yet few means of obtaining clothing, yet the avidity with which they receive clothes that we would no longer wear shews that they wish to be clothed after our manner. Whatever is sent out from our

[461]Tyhume Kop, about 4 km West of Tyhume Mission, lay along the frontier of the so-called "ceded territory" as defined in 1829. Bergh and Visagie, *The Eastern Cape frontier zone 1660-1980*, 40.

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friends in Glasgow of the nature of clothing should be very strong. The danger lies more in sending too slight cloth to the females than to the males. To the former benefit not finery should be the main object, and the strongest *striped* cottons which are woven would suit them much better than what is sent.[462]

I have already mentioned the number of houses at this Institution. Their situation is quite irregular—but they are so placed as to surround the cattle and sheep or goat kraals.[463] I have never enquired into the number of the cattle which the people possess but they are very considerable, since two large kraals are required for the cattle and several smaller ones for the goats.

While speaking of the Kaffer houses and kraals I am speaking of things not familiar to the eye of a European, and therefore I should say a word or two by way of explanation. The Kaffer house is a very simple structure. It is no larger than an ordinary sized parlour and consists only of one apartment. It is *round*, has no opening for the smoak, and has a door so low that you must stoop when you enter it. Wood, thatch and dung are the materials of which it is composed. When going to make a house the people make a circle of the size of the house with cow dung. Then they take a long branch or twig about the thickness of one's thumb or a little thicker and striking it repeatedly into the ground on the dung, they at last leave it to remain. In their forcing the small and long piece of stick into the ground they wish the dung to enter with it as a means of keeping it from rotting. In this country wood stuck into the ground very soon rots, and the preca[u]tion which the Kaffers take to make it stand is highly necessary: if it is effective its simplicity is no disparagement. After fixing one rod in the manner described, they proceed to fix another and go round the circle in the same manner. When this is done the work has the appearance of a number of fishing rods put into the ground in a circular manner with the tops highest. Then they bind similar rods with a tough sort of bark across those standing upright. These cross ones they place in the inside and outside at regular distances, until they are about 5 or 6 feet high. This done they bring the points of the rods to the centre of the hut over one's head when standing in the middle of the

[462]Two possibilities present themselves in this reference to striped cottons. The first is that Laing is indicating a preference for cottons with a colour stripe as were commonly worn by labourers in Britain, or for cottons with a stripe in the texture of the weave like a repp or twill. This would have been a far sturdier fabric and this may be the reason for Laing's recommendation. In 1840 the Society appealed to its supporters for "stout Plain and Striped Cotton Cloth ... Red and blue are the favourite colours" and for "stout striped shirts" for the boys. D. De Marly, *Working dress: a history of occupational clothing* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1986), 76-104; *Glasgow Missionary Society Report* (1840): 43

[463]The Dutch term "kraal" has several meanings, but when used with a distinguishing epithet, as in Laing's usage here, denotes an enclosure for domestic or other animals. *A dictionary of South African English on historical principles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), s.v. "Kraal".

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floor. They bind all as before—and for the support of the roof, in the inside they stretch across two or three beams of the thickness of the handle of a spade, under which they place, to keep them close to the roof, as many posts as may be requisite, the lower ends of the posts resting on the floor. When the house is thatched outside and plastered with cow dung it is done. The thatching extends from the top to the ground. In the middle of the floor the fire is made and round this the people sit or sleep. The young men sleep in houses of their own. You may now have a sort of notion of a Kaffer house. It appears to us a poor and wretched habitation; yet they like it better than they do ours and find it warmer.[464]

Today Mr Bennie and I entered one of their houses to see how they were defended from the rain which since yesterday has fallen exceedingly copiously. They were quite comfortably seated around the fire, but the smoak was so thick that we could not endure it long. Yet this inconvenience they reckon one of their chief comforts. Robert Balfour's house is of the shape of ours, but he has not allowed the smoak to escape any more than any of his Kaffer brethren.

A sentence will be sufficient to make you see all that is meant by a kraal. It is a round enclosure of 30 or 40 yards in diameter, made of thorns very closely pressed together. Though the people here have clothes, they do not always wear them. They *lay them aside to save them sometimes*, and at other times they lay them aside from choice, thinking that their karosses are warmer than the clothes. Robert Balfour and one or two others always wear clothes.

I shall now speak a little of the people individually. Robert Balfour has long been a servant of the G.M.S. He is an excellent man, and a consistent Christian. He is very pleasant and obliging, and has more affability than many whom I have seen. His wife is also a communicant, but is by no means so free from Old Adam as Robert.[465] They have 6 children, the eldest of whom is an interesting young man: but his father thinks he is shewing but little,

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[464]This is an interesting early account of the construction of a Xhosa beehive hut, particularly in view of Franco Frescura's statement in his *Rural shelter in southern Africa* (1981) that he had been unable to record at first hand the construction and structure of these dwellings. Frescura drew on Walton's study *African village* for construction details, which Walton in turn gleaned from J.H. Soga's description in *The amaXosa: life and customs* and an oral interview with an old Ndlambe man in 1951. Laing's account accords very closely with Soga's description in particular. Mr J.Z. Vena of the Rhodes University Library suggests that the lowness of the doorway was deliberate to protect the inhabitants against unwelcome visitors who, by stooping to enter, rendered themselves more vulnerable than those inside the hut. Franco Frescura, *Rural shelter in southern Africa: a survey of the architecture, house forms and constructional methods of the Black rural peoples of Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981) 43; James Walton, *African village* (Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik, 1956), 131-132; Soga, *The amaXosa*, 408-409.

[465]Noyi (Robert) Balfour's wife had been baptised at Tyhume on 7 August 1825. *Glasgow Missionary Society Report* (1826): 9-10.

if any, inclination to be a Christian.[466] Robert Balfour when I came to the country rode with me to Mr Ross's and Burnshill, and from thence to Chumie where I was then remaining for a few days. You may perhaps have formed a higher notion of Robert's attainments in learning than you would find were you to see him. He cannot write: he cannot read even the Kaffer which is printed distinctly: yet he has a good deal of scriptural knowledge, and by hearing at one time and speaking at another it must be daily becoming more clear and more extensive.

For about two months an enquiring woman has remained in his house, under concern for her soul. He says that it is going well with her, and that she has attained to a considerable degree of light and comfort.

Robert, though a good man, has not laid aside his native indolence altogether. He might have a fine garden of fruit trees if he would, but though some fig and peach trees were planted to his hand by Charles Henry[467] his brother exhorter, he is so careless over them that he allows them to stand without the smallest vestige of a fence. In this he is the more blameable as there are [is an] abundance of thorns growing in the vicinity and he could very easily enclose a piece of ground. If the chief of the people be so inattentive to gardening it is not to be supposed that the rest will display a greater desire for that agreeable and profitable department of rural economy. Yet I must not make the Kaffers worse than they are, nor conceal that some of them have been requesting a few trees from Mr Bennie. They were rather late in making the request but if they make it in time next year they may obtain a considerable number of young trees from him. He wishes them to plant some of the excellent soil with useful trees. In many seasons the fruit which they would produce would make no unimportant addition to their bill of fare. There is so much ground unoccupied that ten times more might be obtained for gardens than the most industrious one will occupy.

One individual in the season for planting came and obtained some young shoots. This was the wife of Thomas the interpreter the next family which I shall mention. Thomas is a

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[466]Sangani (the eldest son), Stenge, John Beck, Hugh, Robertson and Seni. Laing, Journal, Cory Library, MS 16 579/1, 18 August 1832; *Glasgow Missionary Society Quarterly Intelligence* 13 , (Autumn 1841):3-4. I am indebted to Mr Vela Balfour, Magistrate of Butterworth, for the names of some of these— and later—children born to Noyi (Robert) Balfour and his wife.

[467]Charles Henry Matshaya, named after the Governor Lord Charles Henry Somerset when he was baptised by Rev. W.R. Thomson at Tyhume on 29 June 1823, was born in the vicinity of the Gwali River about 1790. After his father's death he lived for a time South of Grahamstown and later, with his wife, at Rev. Joseph Williams' station on the Kat River. In October 1826 he was appointed Teacher and Reader at Lovedale and accompanied Rev. John Ross and Alexander McDiarmid to Balfour when it was founded in March 1828. After the destruction of Balfour in May 1829 he lived at Tyhume station until he was selected to be Teacher and Reader at the newly established Burnshill in July 1830. Accompanied by his wife (who had been baptised along with Robert Balfour's wife on 7 August 1825) and their two children, he arrived at Burnshill on 3 July 1830. Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* 1824: 12; 1826: 9-10; Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Intelligence* 12, (Summer 1841): 5-8.

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Hottentot and Anna his wife is half Irish and half Hottentot. Her father had come, we know not how, from the Colony and had taken up his abode with Hintza's [Hintsa's] Kaffers where Anna was born. He appears not to have lived in a Christian manner in as much as he had two wives at the time of his death which was by burning, and, as Anna thinks, by enemies. In the night she thinks they set fire to his hut and put an end to his existence. The same night she was with her mother in another hut. Anna is a very interesting character, the most refined indeed of any I have seen [of the] natives of this land. She is I have no doubt a Christian too, and that makes her still more amiable even as to her outward carriage. She is usually clothed with some decent clothes. She can sew well. She can very nearly read the Bible in Dutch which she understands pretty well. Mrs Bennie had given her many lessons before I came. I have given her some since and she learns quickly. She can read the Kaffer which is printed much in the same way as she can read the Dutch Bible, but, as when she can read the Dutch fluently she has the whole word of God open before her, the learning to read in that language is of more importance than the learning to read in Kaffer her native tongue. When she has the truths of God's word in her mind through the Dutch language she can speak of them to others in Kaffer and in this way may do much good. Thomas the interpreter does not possess such a mind as Anna; yet nevertheless is a quiet and consistent character. He turns the sermon into Kaffer as it is spoken in Dutch by the Missionary and being a Christian may be depended on as giving a faithful translation.[468]

Mr Bennie in general prays in Kaffer but he does not in general preach in it though he sometimes does. Lately when the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed here, he conducted all the services in the Kaffer language. Considering the unusual difficulties of the Kaffer language it may be here be said that the proficiency which Mr Bennie has made in the Kaffer language is very deserving of calling forth the gratitude both of Directors and Missionaries who instead of repining that so *little*, should unite in thanking God should rejoice that so *much*, has been done in acquiring a language almost unattainable. Thomas and Anna have two fine girls alive—one is dead. She and her children are what may be called brunettes. You know that the Hottentots are not black but yellow.

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[468]Laing's description of this couple is supported by a detailed account of the lives of Thomas and Anna Hoé in the Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Intelligence* 12, (Summer 1841). The Presbytery of Kaffraria Minutes of 30 September 1831 give the surname of Thomas and Anna of Lovedale as Fortuin and the minutes of 3 April 1833 refer to Thomas G. Fortuin. Still later, the minutes of the meeting of 6 April 1842 refer to "Thomas Hoi or Fortuin", confirming that Thomas Hoé and Thomas Fortuin are indeed the same person. Hoé need not necessarily have been a surname. It could have been a corruption of "Khoi" or simply Thomas' KhoeKhoe forename. Cory Library, MS 9037: Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, vol.1 (5.1.1832):190; *ibid:* (3.4.1833): 233; Cory Library, MS 9038: Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, vol. 2 (6.4.1842):231; Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Intelligence* 12 (Summer 1841):10-11.

The next family which I shall mention is Samuel's, a Hottentot. He and his wife who is also a Hottentot were members of the Church of Christ with the Wesleyans at a station to the South East along the coast, and came about a year ago to reside here.[469] They are young people and younger Christians but so far as I know they [endorse] the doctrine of God their Saviour.

After those two communicants I shall mention James McKinlay who is [the] Kaffer blacksmith and lame to such a degree that he walks or rather crawls on his hands and feet. He moves in a sitting posture and not on all fours. In one hand he uses a staff and with the other he helps himself along. Though unable to walk upright he is strong and healthy. Among the Kaffers he was a man of considerable influence being the headman of a kraal which he left and took up his abode here that he might hear the gospel. He has some of his cattle here and some still among the Kaffer people. His profession before he became a Christian led him to make assigais [assegaais] and afterwards it was not thought that he was called on to refrain from making these instruments though a bad use be sometimes made of them. It is not my object at present to speak of the work of the Kaffer smiths. Their hammers and anvils are stones. Their bellows are skins fastened to ox horns which skins they cause men to lift up and squeeze against an ant hill through which a hole is made to the charcoal which is laid at the side opposite to the rude bellows. Assigaais [assegaais] are not the only instruments which James makes. He also makes Kaffer axes and needles or rather awls for sewing their karosses.[470]

I have now mentioned all the communicants: Robert and his wife, Thomas and his wife, Samuel and his wife and James MacKinlay. There are several others who though not received into the Church are yet perhaps not undeserving of the full privileges of believers. In

[469]According to the Presbytery Minutes, Samuel and Mary Cupido arrived at Lovedale on 22 November 1830 from the Methodist mission station at Butterworth where they had been communicants. Butterworth was about 200 km *North* East of Lovedale. The station to which Laing refers is probably Wesleyville or one of its outstations, where the congregations at this time included "English, Caffres, Hottentots, Fingoes and Ficani [Mfecane or "displaced people]". Laing is either mistaken or the Cupidos moved twice. Certainly, the report from Wesleyville tabled at the Methodist Albany District Meeting on 11.2.1830 records the admission of two members from other Circuits while the next year's Minutes report the loss of five members. These numbers could have included Samuel and Mary Cupido. Cory Library, MS 9037, Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, vol.1 (29.6.1831), 179; Cory Library, MS 15,907, Wesleyville Circuit Reports in the Wesleyan Methodist Albany District Minutes (11.2.1830); *ibid.* (8.11.1831); Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society *Report* (1832/3): 52.

[470]Smithery among the amaXhosa produced weapons for war and hunting, domestic and agricultural implements, and some metal ornaments and jewellery. According to Gitywa, a smith made assegais only to order and was required to screen his customers to ascertain the purpose for which the weapon was required. The only justifiable uses were in war or hunting. Where one of his assegais was used in an assault the smith could be held partially responsible and in this way, at least in theory, the use of weapons in society could be controlled. Laing's description of the blacksmith's art compares interestingly with Alberti's account written in 1807 and that of Gitywa, based largely on oral information, written in 1971. V.Z. Gitywa, "The arts and crafts of the Xhosa in the Ciskei: past and present". *Fort Hare Papers* **5**, 2 (September 1971):138-143; Alberti, *Account of the tribal life and customs of the Xhosa in 1807,* 73; Soga, *The amaXosa,* 405-6.

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particular James's wife may be mentioned as an excellent person, and one who has long and attentively heard the word. Had she expressed a wish ere this to be received into the communion of the Church I believe she would have been received; since Missionaries and members look on her as a sincere and desirous Christian. Till lately she has considered herself too great a sinner to place herself along with the other members but a few days ago she spoke as if she would wish to be admitted to the same privileges with the others. If she has been made better than some around her she knows that it is Christ who has made the difference.

Nomtshake and his wife are attentive and regular hearers of the word of God. They are both we have no doubt deeply convinced of the evil of sin and we trust are longing to be delivered from its power. Nomtshake the other day said to Mr Bennie, who can converse with the people in their own language, "that he could not pray and he wished Mr Bennie to pray for him that he might be able to pray for himself". This man's wife feels herself to be a very great sinner and it is to be hoped that she will soon see Jesus to be a Great and Almighty Saviour.

I have already mentioned the old woman who came some time ago to stay with Robert as being in a promising condition. The next person Platje whom I shall notice is one whose state is different from any of the others. He is a Kaffer and had for some time resided at Fort Willshire from whence he returned about two months ago in a state of derangement. It was Sabbath when he came, and his appearance was frightful. He was crying out in a manner which could not but shock every one who had any regard for divine things.[471]

(I forget that I am now at Burnshill and that I must date my letter anew).

(Saturday October 15th 1831 Burnshill. I shall now proceed with the account of Lovedale). The man of whom I was speaking soon became much quieter. Since he came he has been very regular in attending worship and very attentive to the word. His wife is a decent and peaceable woman—both Platje and wife dress after our fashion.

I believe I have mentioned Robert's eldest son as an interesting character. Two others may be mentioned as such. These are Hendrick, a brother of Anna's, and Tsuka, son of James McKinlay's. I have no doubt that one or more of these might be made useful to this community. These young men have been ready to ride [to many] of the stations when we

[471] The Presbytery minutes of 6 October 1831 record the arrival at Lovedale of a couple from Fort Willshire on 17 July 1831. By the date of the minutes, the man, "who seemed to be deranged, and who has sometimes been noisy during public worship, is now quiet and attentive." Cory Library, MS 9037, Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, vol.1, (6.10.1831):185.

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wished to send anything to the rest of our brethren but they have always been careful to secure payment for any work they have done. The Kaffers are as to the general a greedy people. They are beginning to see how inferior they are in point of [improvement] to civilized nations and this instead of lessening increases their greediness. I know not with what determination they solicit articles from one another but they are unwearied in begging from us. Indeed the[y have] an idea that they can never get enough from us—and this idea is still inherent in [those] at the institutions as well as in those who live more remote from the Missionary. Having many wants these desires are likely to increase, and being without due means of supplying them, they will endeavour to obtain (even by begging) articles of dress and other useful or necessary articles, for a considerable time to come.

(Monday November 14th 1831 Burnshill. Nearly a month ago I left the foregoing sentence unfinished; but shall now for a little resume the subject of Lovedale). What I have said regarding the Kaffer cupidity is still borne out by my additional experience since I last wrote. They seem inclined to take all and give nothing and have no idea that it is more their duty to support their teachers, than it is the duty of their teachers to support them. I do not consider the donating of corn which they have given to the Society as an argument against this, yet that shews that they have a desire for the spread of the gospel and that they wish others to be partakers of the same hopes with themselves. Another feature in the Kaffer character is that they are easily *elated* when any favour is shewn them or when any article of apparel is presented to them.

We had experience of this at Lovedale and learned from hence in what manner to conduct ourselves in future. Anna, whom I have already mentioned, is of all the natives there the fittest to be a companion to a European. She can moreover (being able to speak Dutch) hold intercourse with us in a way not soon to be arrived at with most others, and she soon became intimate with Mrs Laing and me. Indeed she became too intimate for so much did she count on Mrs Laing's favour that she asked for many [of] our articles, which [were] indispensably necessary to us but which she could make shift to do without as she has never used such articles all her life. We saw it necessary to deny her and that we had not been altogether free from blame in allowing her to go so far as she had done. But she was one of the best from whom we could learn the lesson to be cautious of admitting others to the same degree of familiarity; and notwithstanding her covetous propensity as I may call it, she is a very amiable character. Again, others of the Kaffers (and I speak of those at the institutions) would act much as a *spoiled* child would do were they not prudently dealt with. They do not know the limits of propriety, nor what good breeding directs to be performed and surely it is our duty to lay a little restraint on their manners and to prevent them as much as possible from the usages inconsistent with those of Christian and civilized Society. Meanwhile they

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are learning to imitate us, and we hope will come up to our standard rather than bring us down to theirs.

My principal reason for going first to Lovedale was to learn the Kaffer language from Mr Bennie. He now sometimes preaches in it and for a considerable time has been in the habit of praying in it. I had formed the resolution before I arrived in this country of devoting almost the whole of my time to its acquisition but I had very inadequately conceived of its difficulties, nor can any one from mere description fully conceive of them.

The language is difficult in its structure, but the insuperable difficulties to me lie in the pronunciation. When speaking of this I am reminded of the inability of the Ephraimites to pronounce Shibboleth, though its true pronunciation would have saved their lives. One would think that the uttering *sh* instead of s had been an easy matter but it is said of the Ephraimites "he *could* not frame to pronounce it right".[472] Where observe the difficulty is said to be of a physical nature. It is not said that he *did* not but that he could not frame to pronounce it.

So the difficulties of the Kaffer language are of a physical kind and I *cannot frame* to pronounce various of its sounds.[473] These the Missionaries have called klicks and before this time you have no doubt heard of them. They are consonants which are formed in the inside of the mouth with a *clop* of the tongue against the roof of the mouth or teeth e.g. **C** the consonant followed by a vowel say, **A**, is pronounced with a *clop* of the tongue against the inside of the upper teeth, and the sound of the Kaffer consonant **C** is pronounced simultaneously with the vowel, **A**, in the same manner that ***A*** is pronounced in the same syllable and moment with **B** in the syl[lable] ***BA***. You must not think that the **CA** which I have said is so difficult to pronounce is an English syllable, had it been so it might have been easily pronounced, but the **C** which has been written to represent the Kaffer sound which I speak of is no more an English letter than *icála* (side) is an English word. I cannot pronounce the syllable ***CA*** in the above Kaffer word.

I shall give another example to shew how difficult the Kaffer pronunciation is. *Utixo* is the Kaffer word for God. The syllable **XO** in that word I cannot pronounce. The consonant **X** is uttered or formed in the right cheek in the same manner as the sound is produced which is

[472]Shibboleth was the word used by Jephthah to distinguish the Ephraimites from the Gileadites in their confrontation on the banks of the Jordan. In the Ephraimites' local Semitic dialect, the initial "sh" sound was pronounced "s", and the Ephraimites were unable to produce the requisite sound thus clearly identifying themselves as Jephthah's enemy. The word is now used to denote a party catchword and is often used disparagingly. Laing's quote is taken from Judges 12:6. *Brewer's dictionary of phrase and fable* (London: Cassell, 1981), 993; *The new Bible dictionary* (London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1962), 1177.

[473]See A.C. Jordan's similar description of the physical actions necessary to produce these sounds. Archibald Campbell Jordan, *A practical course in Xhosa*, (Cape Town: Longmans, 1966), 14.

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made to make a horse increase his speed. The **X** in the above word is a letter which the English language does not know and though the Roman **X** is taken for it, it is not more like to its sound that it is to the sound of any other of the Roman consonants. Any other character might as well have served, to denote the Kaffer sound denoted by ***X***, as our English **X** itself.

Maqoma is a word I cannot pronounce. Two syllables in it I can pronounce as well as a Kaffer: the 1st and the last which make only one syllable **MA**—but the middle syllable I cannot by any means pronounce—**QO** is a syllable pronounced by striking the tongue against the roof of the mouth and at the same time, the *same moment* uttering the **O**.

Now these are some of the sounds which I cannot utter and I am afraid shall never be able to utter. Could diligence do anything towards the facilitation of the acquisition of these sounds I should endeavour night and day to obtain them; but though I were to sit *a day* and try to utter **XO** at night I should be no nearer it than in the morning and though I should endeavour for a whole year to attain to its pronunciation I have almost no hope that at the *end* of the year I should be any nearer the object of my wishes—yet I may do much in acquiring the language I may learn to speak all words which are free from such amazing difficulties and I may acquire such knowledge of the whole as to be able to understand it when spoken by others. You see then that I have one difficulty to contend with by no means small. It is I may say the greatest barrier which I see between me and the Kaffer people. But God can and does do good through the means at present used to enlighten these ignorant, degraded, covetous, cruel and sinful people.

I was interrupted whilst writing of the Kaffer language and I know not what more I intended to say of it—but it occurs to me that I intended to say something more. Some way, I think, I may say all of our Missionary friends have got over the difficulties which appear to me to be insurmountable—and there is a prospect of the Kaffers being preached to by Europeans in their own language. And whoever does this you may be well assured does what can only be done by an application that is almost incredible. At present I speak not of the klicks but of the general structure of the language which is altogether different from that of any language of which I have any knowledge. As the Missionaries of the G.M.S. do not in general preach in the native language they only do what the Missionaries of all the other Societies are obliged to do—none of them more than we have fully mastered the native language nor are we as I believe either less able or less willing to acquire it than they.[474] These remarks on the

[474]While John Bennie had published his *A systematic vocabulary of the Kaffrarian language in two parts* ... in 1826, members of the other societies, notably the Wesleyan William Boyce, were also actively engaged in writing and "codifying" isiXhosa. Boyce, stationed at Buntingville in 1831, published the first full isiXhosa grammar, *A grammar of the Kafir language* in Grahamstown in 1834. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1:109.

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language I should wish you to transcribe and give to Mr Struthers that at an early stage of my progress you may see how I stand in regard to it. I cannot think that I shall ever be able to pronounce it. If I am mistaken you will be happy to hear of my success.

This letter having been written in the midst of many interruptions is not so correct as to style as I could have wished: but I send it to you and hope that if you have not written before you receive it you will write soon after having received it. About *3* weeks ago I received your letter by Mr Robertson who arrived at Cape Town on the 28th September.[475] Mrs Laing joins in kindest regards to Mrs Falconer and you. I am, very Dear Sir, most sincerely yours, James Laing.

P.S. The number of late has been such as to shew that a considerable desire for the hearing of the gospel had been excited among the Kaffers in the neighbourhood of Lovedale.

P.S. continued. I have no remarkable success to take notice of relative to our mission. We want the spirit of God to make our labours successful yet to God's praise it is right to mention that we see some things which lead us to suppose that various of the Kaffers are well affected towards the Lord God of Israel. In particular Matwa, a son of Gaika, at this station Burnshill, regularly attends on the worship of God, and brings his wives, mothers, brothers and sisters with him. Having influence as a chief among the people, by his authority and example he induces various of them to come to hear the word. He intends now to live at Burnshill institution where a house is being built for him. He has been a good deal assisted by Mr McDiarmid in the erecting of his house. Now he regularly wears clothes like us. Lately he went to Graham's Town [Grahamstown] and purchased clothes for his wives taking an ox with him to sell for that purpose. I am not aware that any Kaffer has done so before.

Tuesday 15th November 1831 P.S. On the 1st Sabbath of the present month the Sacrament of the Lord's supper was dispensed by Mr Bennie at Lovedale. On the same day J. McKinlay's wife was baptized by Mr Bennie.[476] He conducted the service of the day in the native language and was well understood as the people declared. To the people already mentioned as residing at Lovedale, another family may now be added but I would have you to understand that I do not consider the smallness of the number of people at a Mission Station in Kafferland any disadvantage provided there be a sufficient number of people in the neighbourhood who would attend to hear the word. Lovedale is so situated there being many

[475] See footnote 47. William Robertson returned to Scotland in 1827 to study for the ministry and also studied briefly in Utrecht. He was admitted to the ministry by the Presbytery of Aberdeen in June 1831 following which he re-embarked for the Cape. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 673.

[476] Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery Minutes, v.1, 5.1.1832, 190.

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people near it who might hear the gospel if they would. In general the hundreds of people near about care less but of late I am happy to say they begin to come better. Mr Bennie a few sabbaths ago had so many that the Church would not contain them and he was obliged to preach to them in the open air. Though there were many more on that day than on most others yet ... (see P.S. next page.). [This continuation is written on the verso of the page which has been pasted into the volume making it inaccessible].

Saturday October 15th 1831 Burnshill. [*Journal*][477] Agreeably to a former appointment of the Missionaries, through the goodness of God, Mrs Laing and myself arrived here yesterday from Lovedale. We came on horseback but did not leave the waggons far. At the foot of the hill which you descend when you come from Lovedale, one of the waggons was quite upset and laid on its side. The goods were taken out, the waggon set up and reloaded without much delay. We found Mr and Mrs McDiarmid well. For the last 15 months Mr McDiarmid has laboured as spiritual and temporal instructor at Burnshill. By the appointment which fixed him here he was to labour as Missionary artisan, in conjunction with Mr Chalmers, who was to labour as missionary in spiritual things. In consequence of Mr Thomson leaving Chumie, Mr Chalmers was offered to that station and Mr McDiarmid was left alone at Burnshill. There he has done much in the way of commencing instruction to [the] Kaffer people for which he possesses an aptitude which is by no means inconsiderable.

We found a small house built of wattle and daub ready for us into which, after resting a little, we put our luggage and where it lies unarranged. Mr McDiarmid having been alone has had his attention very much divided between the instructing of the people and the erecting of houses etc. Had Mr Chalmers remained here much more might have been effected in both departments.

Matwa, a young chief, son of Gaika, came some time ago to reside here, but is now, according to Mr McDiarmid gone to Graham's Town [Grahamstown] to sell an ox to enable him to buy useful articles, such as clothing etc. Perhaps he is the first Kaffer who has ever set out on a similar expedition. With Mr McDiarmid's assistance he has got up the frame of a house, after the European fashion. This is another advance towards civilization. He always dresses in clothes given to him. A hat he bought with his own money.

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[477]The long descriptive letter preceding this entry, which Laing began Lovedale on 30 September 1831, has been left intact, despite some overlap in dates, in order to preserve narrative unity. Laing resumed his journal proper on 15 October 1831, the day after his arrival at Burnshill.

Mr McDiarmid employed in putting up a bed for us. I began to teach Charles Henry the Native Exhorter to read a little in Dutch. He is not young and will not very readily learn—but I think that by the time he is able to read the Dutch Bible he will also understand it: since he has some understanding of Dutch already, with a little explanation as he goes on, he may, in time, come to understand it to such an extent as to use the Bible with profit. He has been called a native reader—but this is a misnomer since neither he nor any of his brethren can read a verse of the Bible, in any language, fluently. The name should be changed in as much as it is calculated to mislead.

There are two houses at this station of wattle and daub, one of unburnt brick and one of the same material for Mr McDiarmid, is in progress, larger and more convenient than the small one he is now dwelling in. The building intended for a waggon house, is now used as a place of worship. In due time, a good church and good dwelling houses for the Missionaries are intended to be erected.

Sabbath October 16th 1831 There were four meetings with the people. Mr McDiarmid conducted the prayer meeting in the morning. Charles Henry the school in the interval of public worship [*sic*]. A number of strangers from the neighbouring kraals were present. About 50 persons capable of understanding what was spoken com[prise]d the congregation. Charles Henry was out yesterday and today speaking to the people in the neighbourhood and inviting them to attend church. The general respect for the Sabbath is remarkable. The strangers do not even come and speak to us, knowing that we do not wish on this day to be disturbed. Contrasted with their noisy demands on those days their quietness on the Sabbath is remarkable. An old woman began to work in Matwa's new garden today. Mr McDiarmid told her it was the Sabbath etc. and she readily desisted. In the evening there were several strangers at the questioning exercise. The people of the Institution answered much better than I expected and shewed, that, under those who had taught them, they had acquired not a little knowledge.

Monday October 17th 1831 Employed today partly in teaching the people, and partly in arranging our luggage. Our house is small, but it defends us from the rain which is now falling heavily. Mr McDiarmid has built the walls so well that I thought it to be of unburnt brick—but both his house and mine are of wattle and daub. The house used for worship is of unburnt brick; but the walls of the other two are almost as straight. Two of Gaika's widows called. The mother of the young lad who was properly Gaika's heir was one of them[478]. She

[478]Suthu, a Thembu of the royal house, had been Ngqika's Great Wife and was the mother of his heir, the young and crippled Sandile. The choice of a Xhosa chief's Great Wife was generally the result of diplomatic manoeuvering, but a daughter of the Thembu chiefs, being regarded as equal in status to the Xhosa chiefs, was

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and the rest of the Royal family are very little above the ordinary Kaffer in appearance. They dress in dirty skins and paint their bodies with red clay like the rest. Matwa always wears clothes. The mother of the young heir requested clothes for him from Mr McDiarmid, who said he would give him clothes if she would allow him to stay with him to be educated. This had been spoken of before, and she did not seem averse to Mr McDiarmid's proposal, could all friends be brought to agree to it.

Tuesday October 18th 1831 Employed in teaching, working, and reading accounts from Scotland brought by the Rev. W. Robertson. Had demands for tobacco from diff[erent] Kaffers.

Wednesday October 19th 1831 Employed in study. Mr McDiarmid since I came chiefly employed in assisting us with our house. One of his children much troubled with passing of blood. Charles Henry out a part of the day.

Thursday October 20th 1831 Thanksgiving day for the good seed time. Mr McDiarmid met with the people in the morning. Before sermon he went to the Great Place to invite the people to come to hear the word.[479]

Last evening spoke with the woman who is a candidate for baptism. She complains that she is without strength— has not a heart to seek Jesus. Does not seem to make herself appear better than she is. Spoke in the morning (Thursday) from Genesis VII, 20.21.22[480]. In the afternoon from Galatians VI, 7.8.9[481]. Mr McDiarmid catechised the people in the evening.

Friday October 21st 1831 Met twice as usual with the people endeavoured to shew them the two great lichts which God has given for the direction of the living of his rational creatures,

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usually preferred. Suthu never earned the affection or loyalty of the amaNgqika. This may have been because, according to Theal, Sandile was widely believed not to be Ngqika's natural son, though still legally his heir. Peires, *House of Phalo*, 29, 82, 129; Johannes Meintjes, *Sandile: the fall of the Xhosa nation* (Cape Town: T.V. Bulpin, 1971), 60-61; George McCall Theal, *History of South Africa* (Cape Town: Struik, 1964) 6:.51.

[479]While the chief had homesteads throughout his territory, which held political and administrative sway in that area, the "Great Place" was the chief's capital and as such was the centre of amaXhosa social life and government. Wilson and Thompson: *Oxford History of South Africa* 1: 264-5.

[480]"The water was fifteen cubits higher than the mountains which it covered. And all flesh was destroyed that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beasts, and of all creeping things that creep upon the earth: and all men. And all things wherein there is the breath of life on the earth, died." *Genesis* VII, 20.21.22.

[481]"Be not deceived: God is not mocked. For what things a man shall sow, those also shall he reap. For he that soweth in his flesh, of the flesh also shall reap corruption. But he that soweth in the spirit, of the spirit shall reap life everlasting." *Galatians* VI, 7.8.9

viz. the Bible and the conscience[482]. Have not as yet begun to teach the children generally, but are daily teaching Charles Henry and the interpreter[483] to read the Bible, (the latter of whom *can* already nearly read and understand it)—a son of Charles Henry's,[484] [and] two sons of the late Chief Gaika.[485]

Working at other times during the day. While going on visited by several Caffers, two of whom were very ill bred, mocking me when I spoke. They were young and fond of sport and I did not think it necessary to reprove them. Three or four Kaffers lay about the house all day basking themselves in the sun—quite idle. One of them I asked to work with me to free him from his listlessness. He agreed to work for pay and wrought well. While I was in the school and asking Kaffer words in the Kaffer language a stranger who had come in laughed at my manner of attempting to speak Kaffer. A good part of the day three of Gaika's widows sat near the house among the idle men. They were begging tobacco, as is usual with them. One of them is the mother of the proper heir of Gaika—but he being at present young, Makomo acts as regent[486]. Charles Henry was out among the kaffers and visited 5 kraals.

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[482]Laing is using "lichts" here to mean mental illuminations or doctrines. The word can refer to specific movements in Scottish church history, the "auld" and the "new" lichts representing, broadly, the divide between the conservative and the newer more moderate elements. *Scottish National Dictionary* 6: 61.

[483]In his entry for 28 October 1831, Laing gives the Interpreter's name as "Klaas" while the Presbytery Minutes of the meeting of 29 June 1831 state "That a son of John Love, a young man of promising ability was appointed as Interpreter [at Burnshill]..." and "... that lately he has been engaged to remain for another year." C.L. Stretch records that "a Caffre named Class, husband of Fetye" arrived at his camp at the Debe on 22 May 1835 bringing a message from Suthu who was at Burnshill. This was probably Klaas the Interpreter. Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery Minutes, (29 June 1831): 177, 182; Charles Lennox Stretch, *The journal of Charles Lennox Stretch* ed. Basil A Le Cordeur. Graham's Town Series 8. (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman for Rhodes University, 1988), 80.

[484]By this time Charles Henry had at least five children. The two eldest children were born on the Gaga River between 1812 and 1816. Three later children were baptised by Rev. W.R. Thomson at Tyhume on 20 July 1823 along with three children of John and Elizabeth Love and one child of "Mary Ann". Unfortunately John Bennie, who gave this information in a letter published in the Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* for 1824, listed all seven of these children without identifying to which family each child belonged. According to Bennie the baptismal names of these children were Harriet, Lockhart, Kidston, Campbell, Swanston, Falconer and Knox. Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1824): 13; Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Intelligence*, 12 (Summer 1841): 6.

[485]At least three of Ngqika's sons were resident at Burnshill at this time: Matwa, Anta and Tente. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Intelligence* 8 (Summer 1840): 13; *ibid.* 9 (Autumn 1840): 2.

[486]Sandile (1820-1879), Great Son and heir of Ngqika, was only 8 or 9 years old when his father died in 1829. His mother Suthu, Ngqika's Great Wife, and his elder half-brothers, Maqoma and Tyhali shared responsibility for him during his minority while Maqoma acted as Regent. James Read, Sen. to William Ellis, 3.7.1834 in Le Cordeur and Saunders, *The Kitchingman papers*,139; Peires, *The House of Phalo*, 130; Soga, *The South-Eastern Bantu*, 170.

In the evening catechised the people on the subject of the morning. This is the common practice with us. Mr McDiarmid absent at Chumie today on business connected with the Mission. In the evening taught the Kaffer girl who acts as our servant to read the English New Testament— which she reads and understands a little, and is willing to be, and capable of being, taught. She is from Chumie and had learnt a good deal there before she came to us.[487]

Saturday October 22nd 1831 Matwa returned from Graham's Town [Grahamstown] last night. Endeavoured to teach him to read along with 4 other men of the institution. In the evening a fuller attendance on worship than usual—likely through his influence. Working partly today— and while so doing assisted by two Caffers— who wrought for payment. Numbers of idle Kaffers, as usual, about the institution. Mr McDiarmid returned with three Hottentots to saw wood. The weather now feels rather hot, but till about this time since April it has been sufficiently cold.

Sabbath October 23rd 1831 Charles Henry out in the morning. Mr McDiarmid addressed the people in the morning and cate[chise]d them in the evening. I preached forenoon and afternoon— texts John I, 7.8.9[488]. In the interval Charles Henry conducted the Sabbath School. Matwa present at public worship and very attentive. About 45 adults at worship. Mr and Mrs McDiarmid, Mrs Laing and I had worshipped together after the Church was dismissed.

Monday October 24th 1831 Met with the people a little after sunrise. Mr McDiarmid all day in the adjoining forest with the Hottentot sawers. Writing, teaching and working. In the evening rain fell in considerable quantities.

Tuesday October 25th 1831 Have been teaching in the school and in the house, writing and working a little in the garden. Mr McDiarmid conducted the worship in the morning and evening. He was in the forest during the day procuring trees for the Hottentot sawers. Cloudy today with some thunder. There are about 6 people from Chumie at present, so that the number morning and evening at worship is considerably increased.

The Hottentots are considered in advance of the Kaffers in point of civilization. No Kaffers could saw wood as these with us are doing, but it is to be hoped that the Kaffers will soon come up to them.

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[487]Margaret. See Laing's entry for 26 October 1831.

[488]"This man came for a witness, to give testimony of the light, that all men might believe through him. He was not the light, but was to give testimony of the light. That was true light, but was to give testimony of the light. That was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." *John I*, 7.8.9.

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Wednesday October 26th 1831 Received today a letter from the Rev. G. Struthers of 24th June 1831 and addressed to Mr Bennie. Employed as usual. Much pleased with the teachableness and acquirements of M[ama], a daughter of Charles Henry[489]. Charles Henry and Matwa read in the house. Margaret our servant girl read the English Bible as she does every day and she reads without spelling much. The Candidate for baptism gave satisfactory answers to the questions proposed to her.

Thursday October 27th 1831 Teaching in the school, and writing letters and teaching Charles Henry in the house. Wet the most of the day. Mrs McDiarmid assisting one of Matwa's wives to make a gown which Matwa went all the way, 140 miles [224 km] going and coming, to Graham's Town [Grahamstown] to buy. It is a strong India print, and more suitable for a Kaffer than much of the cloth which our friends in Glasgow send out. They (the Kaffers) want not fine but durable clothing.

Friday October 28th 1831 In addition to the ordinary business, have written today to the Reverend Dr Adamson and the Rev. Mr Piers [Pears] according to the requirements of my missionary brethren to ascertain to what extent pecuniary aid may be obtained for the G.M.S. in Cape Town[490]. Find that the adults will frequently be absent from the School. One I am very desirous of carrying forward as he is on the point of reading and understanding the Bible in Dutch, that is Klaas the interpreter. Another can nearly read the Bible in English, *viz.* M[ama] a daughter of Charles Henry. In addition to what she receives in the school Mrs Laing teaches her in the house along with the servant girl who also reads well.

I saw today what I have read of, but what I have not before seen. It began to rain and a Kaffer instead of keeping his kaross about him to shelter him took it off, wrapped it up and ran with it into the house to save it from being wet. A kaross can be no comfortable covering at any time but less so when wet. One of Gaika's widows was begging tobacco and gowns.

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[489]Mama or Mamma Henry. See Laing's entry for 25 November 1831.

[490]It is evident from their published financial statements that the Directors of the Glasgow Missionary Society were experiencing a certain amount of financial difficulty and had begun to apply some pressure on the Presbytery to be more self-sufficient, hence the letter from Rev. D. McFarlan urging the training of Xhosa teachers and evangelists. The cost of increasing the missionary effort, the training of missionaries in Scotland, their fares and continuing upkeep, were becoming more than the Society's dwindling funds were able to support. In an effort to augment funds on a local level the Presbytery passed a motion that "a correspondence be entered into with friends in the Colony to obtain *some pecuniary aid* in behalf of the Glasgow Mis[sionary] Soc[iety]." To this end Laing had written to Rev. Dr Adamson and Rev. John Pears (not Piers) with whom the Laings had stayed during their time in Cape Town. Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery Minutes, 6 October 1831: 187.

Saturday October 29th 1831 Required Charles Henry today to go out among the people to speak to them. He comm[ented] that they would not hear because they were working in their gardens. Studying today. Very wet all day.

Sabbath October 30th 1831 Matwa and his friends in Church today. In the evening Mr McDiarmid catechised the people on what had been said. I preached on: "Repent ye and believe the gospel" and earnestly wished them to turn from their sins to God. It is really pleasant to see Matwa so attentive and so decently dressed. His example doubtless makes others more attentive and more disposed to conduct themselves with propriety. Cloudy, but fair.

Monday October 31st 1831 Charles Henry out today— he did not go on Saturday but went today and had some [encounters] in speaking with different Kaffers. Endeavoured to teach the Kaffer children English, in the hope, that in that language, they will ere long read the Bible and that some of them may become properly qualified native preachers. From the first I shall endeavour to make them understand the English words which they hear. I give them only the names of such things as they can see that they may not mistake. The adult school which I meant to hold after the children's, cannot now be depended on. So most of the teaching which they will receive must be in my own house. This will rather infringe on my time, but I would like much that some of them could read and understand the Bible which one can nearly do. The children of the station are almost the only scholars I have, and those of Charles Henry may be reckoned on as the most likely to attend. He is very desirous that his children should be taught and it would be a pity if they were not taught to read the word for themselves. In a short time, one of them, a young woman of about 15 will be able to read and understand the Bible in English.

After having been half a year in Kafferland I am uncertain whether I shall be able to pronounce various of the sounds, and may never be able to preach in the native language so as to be understood. But the obstacles in the way are physical not moral, and if I diligently try all lawful means to gain the language I shall be free from blame whether I succeed or not. The insuperable difficulties in the Kaffer language (I am speaking of myself) make it the more binding on me to do all I can in the way of teaching the Natives English and though the learning of a new language is also difficult to them, yet if any of them are to become native preachers it will be no unreasonable degree of proficiency in them to say that they should at least acquire one foreign language. My fear at present is, that with all possible exertions I

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shall not be able to give utterance to 4 of their letters[491]. I cannot by any frequency of attempt *frame to pronounce* them. This is hard and discouraging. Diligence here can do nothing. I can no more pronounce some of their letters than a person in another land who has some physical defect about some of the organs of speech can pronounce the letter **R**.[492]

Tuesday November 1st 1831 Employed in the school and in writing. Charles Henry read twice at length in the house, in the Dutch Bible. With explanation he was able to understand what he read and to turn it into Kaffer. The three Hottentots speak of returning to their homes for a little. When not engaged with them, Mr McDiarmid is still assisting Mrs Laing and me with making one thing or another for our house. I might have mentioned the cause of the Hottentots returning. They go because their saw is broken. The greater part of the afternoon there was a thunderstorm. The thunder was loud and frequent, and the lightning very vivid. I never saw lightning so well defined before. The rain was less violent than it usually is on such occasions. Our servant girl is now reading to Mrs Laing and she knows almost all the words without spelling. There are few of the Kaffers who can read better—not more than two or three. She has improved since she came to us, but could read not amiss when she came from Chumie, thus furnishing a proof that the school there is doing good. Charles Henry, of the adults at this place, is the slowest and the most persevering. His constancy and desire to learn will make him surpass those who are more quick in learning, but irregular in their attendance.

Wednesday November 2nd 1831 Charles Henry out almost the whole day. He mentioned that the people left off their work and came to hear him. Very wet and cold in the afternoon and evening; and yesterday it was so hot as to make any exertion difficult. Such sudden transition is this place of the world subject to. I think I have before said that, since we first came to Chumie in the end of April, the weather has not been too hot but sometimes too cold. With the exception of two or three days of late I can still say so.

Thursday November 3rd 1831 Last night and this morning we are trembling with cold. During the night the rain or sleet stopt, but the cold continued and now the high mountains in our neighbourhood are covered with snow. We are nearer to them here than at Lovedale and

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[491]In addition to the three basic click sounds of C, Q and X, Laing may have had trouble with consonant compounds like DL, TYH or NTL, or with the implosive B. The linguist A.C. Jordan describes the production of this latter sound: "... a little air is drawn into the pharynx, then the pharynx is lowered to create a vacuum. Then, with lips shaped as for an ordinary b-sound the sound is released. Because of the vacuum, there is an implosion instead of an explosion." There is nothing similar in English, and Laing would have found this a foreign and probably difficult sound to voice. Jordan, A.C. *A practical course in Xhosa*:10-14.

[492]Laing would have had little difficulty with the guttural Xhosa "R" as its sound is very similar to the Scottish "ch" as in "Loch".

perhaps that may make the cold more sensibly felt; but while I was there I have seen the same mountains, during the winter, at least six times white with snow. An hour after writing the above, in a room where there had been *fire*, I looked at the thermometer and the quicksilver stood at 48°. I thought I had felt it as cold at Lovedale, but I must have been mistaken for I never there saw the thermometer lower than 53°. What makes us feel the cold so much is that a little while before the weather was as hot as in July in Scotland. Continued cold all day and, though it was clear, and sun was shining, snow did not disappear from neighbouring mountain.

Friday November 4th 1831 Still cold: rain in the afternoon. Mr Blair and another gentleman from Graaf[f] Reinet arrived from Chumie.[493] Employed these two days as usual. Some part of the day occasionally working in the garden which, before I came, had been laid out by Mr McDiarmid who had planted a considerable number of fruit trees, and sown some useful vegetables in it. Spoke very seriously to three women on the importance of attending to the salvation of their souls. Mentioned that they would stand before Christ and be judged in the day of judgement. Spoke of the resurrection and said when done that if they would continue in sin they had at least been warned to flee from the wrath to come.

Saturday November 5th 1831 Rode to Lovedale to be present at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. Mr Blair and his friend accompanied me. Day very cold and *showery*.

Sabbath November 6th 1831 Present at Lovedale at the dispensation of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by the Revd. J. Bennie. Before the dispensation of that ordinance Mr Bennie baptized an old woman (wife of J. McKinlay, a communicant) who had long been a desirous hearer of the gospel—not to say a consistent Christian—which yet there is good reason to believe she is. Mr McDiarmid and Charles Henry came from Burnshill and Mr Chalmers and 3 communicants came from Chumie. With these and our other friends I commemorated the death of our Lord. Mr Bennie conducted all the services of today in the native language. This is the second time he has preached without an interpreter. Considering the unusual difficulty

[493]Robert Blair was one of a group of Scottish ministers and teachers recruited by Dr George Thom for work within the Cape Colony arriving at the Cape in 1822. Blair taught, not entirely successfully, at the Government School at Graaff-Reinet and under his tutelage pupil numbers dwindled alarmingly. This decline could be attributed in part to the effects of the early trekker movement, in part to the elimination of Dutch as the medium of instruction, but also in some measure to Blair's intolerant and impatient disposition. The man from Graaff-Reinet accompanying Blair on this visit to Burnshill is not identified. Ken Smith, *From frontier to midlands a history of the Graaff-Reinet district, 1786-1910* (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1976), 49; George McCall Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony* 14, 253; A. de V Minnaar, *Graaff-Reinet: 1786-1986* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1987), 100; Cosmo Grenville Henning, *Graaff-Reinet: a cultural history, 1786-1886* (Cape Town: T.V. Bulpin, 1975), 93, 117.

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in gaining the native language it is a matter for which both Directors and Missionaries ought to be thankful that *one* can now speak to the people of the dying love of Jesus in their own tongue. Mr McDiarmid, Charles Henry and I, in the afternoon, rode from Lovedale to Burnshill, over a verdant country. We found that Charles Henry had understood Mr Bennie well and that he was heartily glad that one of the "teachers" could speak in such a manner to the Kaffers.

Monday November 7th 1831 Mild today, but it was so cold during the most part of last week, that we could, with difficulty, keep ourselves warm. Part of the day assisted by Mr McDiarmid in putting up a case for books. At other times endeavoured as usual.

Tuesday November 8th 1831 Hot day. Employed in teaching, reading and working.

Wednesday November 9th 1831 Hot the most of the day. Thermometer 80° in the house. In the afternoon cloudy with thunder. Matwa called and requested medicine. I had sent him a little last night but he wished to make known his own case in person. He is a little sick and troubled with a frequent bleeding of the nose. What I have told him to do may tend to free him from that inconvenience. Yesterday Mrs Laing administered a little medicine to a Kaffer who came complaining. Today he said his medicine had done him good.

Yesterday Charles Henry visited Maqoma who said that he wanted a Missionary *this year*[494]. Charles Henry and he looked at the place on the Keiskamma where the water could be led out for irrigation, and where a station, as they thought, could be advantageously fixed. Maqoma has been unsettled almost since he was driven out of the country at the Kat River but now he seems inclined to remain on the Keiskamma, 6 or 7 miles lower on that river than Burnshill.

Employed the most of today in arranging accounts for a meeting of the Missionary Board next week. Received various articles from Mr T[emlett] a Kaffer Trader who has a store at

[494]In fact, the Glasgow Society missionaries were not able to meet this request. Charles Henry Matshaya was shortly to be accused of bewitching Matwa, Maqoma's brother, and was to flee from the Station. In addition, a group of missionaries, including James Laing, presented Maqoma with a petition asking him to condemn the punishment of those accused of witchcraft. Neither of these events could have endeared the Glasgow missionaries to Maqoma, despite his stated assurances regarding his belief in Charles Henry's innocence and his seeming concurrence with the tenor of the petition. He later turned to James Read and John Philip of the London Missionary Society who had befriended and supported him at the time of his expulsion from his lands in the Kat River valley in 1829. At the end of 1833 Rev. F.G. Kayser established Knapp's Hope Mission on the left bank of the Keiskamma in Maqoma's territory, close to the spot where Charles Henry and Maqoma had been searching for a site in November 1831. Ross: *John Philip*:126-129; Le Cordeur and Saunders: *The Kitchingman papers*: 139; Cory Library, MS 9037: Presbytery Minutes, Report of what Maqoma said on Charles Henry's case (5.4.1832):200-3; *ibid.* (6.10.1831):188.

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this place containing such goods as the Kaffers will buy.[495] These for the most part are beads, yellow bell buttons, white d[itt]o, knives, tinderboxes, brass wire and hand[k]erchiefs. Mr T[emlett] gives us these goods, which are indeed the money in use, very reasonably, and not these only but any articles which we require he brings carefully and cheaply from Graham's Town [Grahamstown].[496]

Thursday November 10th 1831 Much thunder and rain today. Mr McDiarmid a good deal distressed on account of the illness of his second child. Mr McDiarmid employed in seating the little Church.

Friday November 11th 1831 Wet today. Visited by the husband of Gaika's mother [Yese] who was earnest in soliciting presents.[497] He had two men with him as servants. Charles Henry introduced him and delivered my messages to him, from the word of God. He heard patiently and thanked me for the news, as he called the gospel.

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[495]James Temlett, an 1820 settler of Sephton's party, was licensed to trade at Fort Willshire on 16.4.1825. A committed Baptist, Temlett went on to build up a remunerative business in Grahamstown. Transfrontier trading was illegal until 1824 when the Colonial government permitted trading between colonist and Xhosa, but only at regular fairs at Fort Willshire and later at Ngqushwa ("Clusie") River. The failure of these fairs induced the Colonial government to lift the regulations and to open up trading beyond the frontier in terms of Ordinance 81 of 1830. Temlett, like many other traders, undoubtedly viewed the mission stations as ideal sites for their stores with a captive market in the missionary families and the station people. Beck: The *legalization and development of trade on the Cape frontier, 1817-1830*, 342; Peires: *House of Phalo,* 98-103; Thomas Stubbs, *The reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs: including Men I have known*; ed. W.A. Maxwell and R.T. McGeogh, Graham's Town Series 4 (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema for Rhodes University, 1978), 259; *Graham's Town Journal*, Temlett's obituary, 18.11.1862, 4.

[496]Beads and buttons constituted units of currency in trade with the amaXhosa who viewed them as the monetary means with which to buy further cattle, the visible evidence of a man's wealth and social status, from sources inland. Under the regulations governing the fairs, each transaction of beads and buttons had to include one of the utilitarian articles such as the knives, tinder boxes and handkerchiefs enumerated by Laing. This suggests that the pattern established under these regulations still held firm. The spread of trade beyond the frontier led to the readier availability of beads and their proliferation devalued them as monetary units. The inculcated demand for the more utilitarian British-made items, such as cloth and ironware, grew gradually in their place. Peires: *House of Phalo* 98-103; Beck: *The legalization and development of trade on the Cape frontier, 1817-1830,* 53-102; Soga: *The Ama-Xosa: life and customs*, 385-389.

[497]Ngqika's mother, Yese (sometimes uYese or Uyese), was a Thembu woman, and, according to Lichtenstein, the daughter of the abaThembu king (Ndaba). When Ngqika's father, Mlawu, died in 1782, she was sent back to her own people during Ngqika's minority, but returned to her son's side on his accession to the amaRharhabe chieftainship in 1795. She was a powerful and esteemed woman who exerted considerable influence over her son and grandchildren. For a while she was the mistress of the Boer adventurer Coenraad de Buys who had taken up residence at Ngqika's Great Place until he was ordered to return to the Colony by Governor Jan Willem Janssens in November 1803. The identity of the husband to whom Laing refers is not known. Cory Library MS 16 579: Laing journal, v.1, 28.1.1833, Laing gives her name as Uyese for the first time; Peires: *House of Phalo* 48-53, 83-85; Henry Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*; transl. A. Plumptre (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1928), 259-261, 359-366; *Dictionary of South African Biography* 2:163-165.

Saturday November 12th 1831 Studying part of the day. Reading a little in Brainerd[498]. Did we as earnestly desire the conversion of the Kaffers as he did that of the Indians we would surely see many of them turning to God. (Cold in the afternoon).

Charles Henry out at the neighbouring kraals and could find few to hear him. The interpreter and he read in the afternoon in the New Testament. Charles Henry must spell every word. The interpreter knows many little words and will soon be able to read freely.

Lord's day, November 13th 1831 Spoke to the people various of the sayings of Jesus—among others where he says of the last judgment. In the afternoon set before them some of the miracles of Christ—among others the raising of Lazarus. Matwa was present and was very attentive to the placing of those who came with him—men, women and children. There were more present today than in any of the days I have been here. May the Spirit of God take the word home to their hearts. Mr McDiarmid met with the people in the morning and evening as he usually does. He and Mrs McDiarmid, Mrs Laing and myself after the dismissal of the church, have a prayer meeting in our own houses.

Monday November 14th 1831 Yesterday there were 60 *adults* present at worship. Soon after the church was dismissed this morning, it began to thunder much. At the same time the lightning was very vivid. Rain soon came on very heavy and continues till now (1.00 o'clock p.m.). Our house is dry above, but for some time the under water came up in the floor. We diverted the course of the water coming around and above the house and since have been free from its annoyance. Yet this rain is a great blessing to this country, a blessing too which is more sensibly felt than in Scotland where rain is so common that its want is rarely found to be an inconvenience. In Judea its want had been felt in a similar manner to its want in this country—see 65th Psalm. This season has been much wetter than any for a long period. Rain continued all day.

Tuesday November 15th 1831 Fair and cold.

Wednesday November 16th 1831 Cold and showery. Thermometer 60° at 12 o'clock. Expect to see the other missionaries of this place today but the weather will likely prevent them from getting forward. The Keiskamma on Monday was very large and has not yet subsided. Heard today from Mr Ross who is sending a letter to the post at Chumie. Pirrie [Pirie] is further

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[498]Rev. David Brainerd (1718-1747) was an American Protestant missionary employed by the Honourable Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge amongst the Indians in Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He kept a journal for his Society, as did Laing and his colleagues, and a personal diary. Laing's student notes bound with his journal include references to Brainerd and his missionary work. Several accounts of Brainerd's life and various editions of his journal had been published before 1831. Laing could have been reading any of these. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1971) 4:90.

removed from the Colony than any of the Stations, yet it is within a day's journey of Chumie. Burnshill is nearer to the other three stations than any one of the rest, and is our central station. Various demands for tobacco as usual. Matwa called and took tea. I see that none of the adults formerly mentioned can be depended on as coming *regularly*. Above most others, I should like Klaas the interpreter and Matwa to learn to read, because they are young and might *live* to do good among their countrymen.

Thursday November 17th 1831 Cold this morning. (Explaining to the people the Lord's Prayer—Prov. 30.8. illus[trating] the 4th petition)[499]. Thermometer at 6 in the morning 60° but rising. The Kaffer girl with us understands not a little English. She seems to me to have a desire for improvement outwardly and inwardly; and surely those who see most of us and hear most from us should most of all have that twofold desire. Mr Morgan, *Surgeon* at Fort Willshire, came last night and staid all night. Different times has he afforded assistance to the Missionaries in distress *gratis*. At this time he is out in a professional way to ascertain the truth or falsehood of a report relating to the appearance of the smallpox on the eastern frontier of the Colony.[500] He was accompanied by Mr O'Connor of the Commissariat department.[501] Both concerned in thinking that the Kaffers between us and the sea were less covetous than those around us, and that as far as human foresight could judge they would embrace the gospel first. Mr Morgan has a very respectable share of general knowledge. One account he gave relative to the South Seas and bearing against the united testimony of men of all characters I could not credit. It was the account of Kotzebue, a Russian navigator, *and later* I said to Mr Morgan that his account must have been *before* the *great change* in the S[outh] S[ea]'s number.[502] Then he has erred either ignorantly or intentionally. Mr Morgan

[499]"Remove from me vanity, and lying words. Give me neither beggary, nor riches: give me only the necessaries of life." *Proverbs* 30:8. The fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer is "Give us this day our daily bread".

[500]In its inaugural issue dated 30 December 1831, the *Graham's Town Journal* carried the boldface headline "SMALLPOX" on page two. In the wake of a serious outbreak of smallpox on the Northern frontier, fear that the disease would spread into the Colony was rife. Dr W. Gill, District Surgeon of Somerset [East], was vaccinating people within the Colony and communication with infected persons was forbidden in terms of a Government Proclamation gazetted on 25.11.1831. The *Journal* concluded its article with the prediction that, in view of widespread vaccination, some by the people themselves using the awl with which karosses were sewn, as well as the prohibition on contact with infected persons, the disease would not make its way into the Colony. Nathaniel Morgan and presumably all other medical personnel stationed on the frontier would have been investigating the possibility of infection in their own vicinity. *Graham's Town Journal* 1, no. 1 (30.12.1831): 2.

[501]John O'Connor was stationed variously at Kaffir Drift Post, Fort Dacre and Fort Willshire between the years 1831 and 1848. E. Morse Jones, *Lower Albany chronicle (*Port Alfred: Lower Albany Historical Society, 1964-2002), v.2 73; *Eastern Province directory and almanac for 1848*: 22.

[502]Otto von Kotzebue (1787-1846), the Russian navigator, commanded two voyages of circumnavigation in 1815-18 and 1823-26, charted the Alaskan coast, is commemorated in the sound that bears his name, and discovered some 400 additional islands in the South Seas, especially in the Society and Marshall groups. Laing

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did not mention this opinion as a matter of joy but as a matter of regret. He is favourably disposed to Missions and has given many proofs of his goodwill to Missions. I had before lent him the first vol. of Mr Ellis's book which he had read and shall soon also lend him the second.

Friday November 18th 1831 Speaking to-day to the people on that trying passage: "Many shall say in that day unto me Lord, Lord".

Saturday November 19th 1831 Charles Henry out yesterday and today. People, according to him unwilling to hear yesterday. Hope today not so much so.

Sabbath November 20th 1831 Cloudy and inclining to rain so there were fewer people out than usual—about 40 adults were present at worship.

Monday November 21st 1831 A meeting of the Missionary Board was held here today for the purpose of receiving the accounts of the past year.

Tuesday November 22nd 1831 Hot.

Wednesday November 23rd 1831 Hot.

Thursday November 24th 1831 Cloudy. Employed a part of each day in teaching children and adults. Matwa occasionally receiving a lesson. He seems more and more decided in his determination to attend on the gospel. Today visited by Maqoma. He was more forward in seeking things today than I have seen him. Everyday more or less trying to acquire some knowledge of Kaffer but still have little hope of being able to pronounce it. May however learn to understand it when spoken and speak it so as to be well understood. So far as it wants clicks —and, some of the words which have these, may make such attempts to utter, as to make my meaning known.

Friday November 25th 1831 Cold rather than hot. Speaking of "the woman of [Samaria]".[503] The three best readers here are Mama (Charles Henry's daughter), Margaret (our servant girl) and Klaas the interpreter—yet none of these can read the Bible fluently. The two former receive lessons daily from me and so would the latter if he would attend. Of late various people have come seeking to work in the garden etc.

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appears to be challenging Morgan on the number of islands in the South Sea groupings. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1971) 13, 483; *New Columbia Encyclopaedia* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1975), 1499.

[503] John 4: 7-30.

Saturday November 26th 1831 Charles Henry out today.

Monday November 28th 1831 Yesterday, November 27th, there were various strangers present at worship. There might be about 60 people present exclusive of children. Speaking of "the sufferings of Christ". Today different people came seeking work, but when the Kaffers work what they call a day, they are long in beginning and stop before sunset. Their day's work in time and quantity would not make about half the day's work for an ordinary labourer. Charles Henry out among the people. Received advice and medicine from Dr Morgan, Fort Willshire, for Mrs Laing, who is unwell. To all the missionaries of the G.M.S. Dr Morgan is very kind when they require medical aid. To the missionaries of other societies he is I believe not less so.

Tuesday November 29th 1831 Wet. No people out today.

Wednesday November 30th 1831 Showery. Had a note from Mr Ross in which he informs us that a missionary is on his way to Latakoo [Kuruman] on the mode proposed by Mr Irving in his oration for missionaries after the Apostolical school. If he is a good man, I wish him all manner of success, and, if he has an Apostolical spirit, I believe he will not lack anything.[504]

A few idle people going about today and a few engaged in work for pay. I refrain from saying anything in reference to Mr McDiarmid's proceedings because he is fully able to give account of his own matters. In addition to conducting the temporal *work* at the station he renders material aid in instructing the people, and has an aptness to teach which makes his

[504]Edward Irving (1792-1834), the Church of Scotland cleric whose beliefs formed the core of the controversial religious movement known as "Irvingism", later to be known as the Catholic Apostolic Church. In 1824 he addressed the London Missionary Society on the apostolic ideal in the choice and motivation of missionaries. This oration, later published under the title *For missionaries after the Apostolic School, a series of orations*, hit hard at prevailing values, particularly materialism, within the Church. Irving held up the example of the original Apostles chosen by Christ as "men of no name or reputation, by science untaught, by philosophy unschooled". It is possible that the missionary on his way to Latakoo (Kuruman) was Rogers Edwards, the artisan missionary of the London Missionary Society who had assisted Robert Moffat in Cape Town in the printing of St Luke's Gospel. He accompanied Robert Moffat back to Kuruman, where, in addition to printing, his "knowledge and experience in carpentering and building, rendered him not only a very efficient labourer, but a seasonable assistant in the existing state of the mission". There is an element of irony in Laing's comments in which he is probably alluding to the spirit of the first apostles rather than espousing Irving's unorthodox millenarian and pentecostal doctrines which led to his excommunication by the London Presbytery in 1833. Henry Charles Whitley, *Blinded eagle: an introduction to the life and teaching of Edward Irving* (London: SCM Press, 1955), 43-44; Andrew Landale Drummond, *Edward Irving and his circle: including some considerations of the "tongues" movement in the light of modern psychology.* ([London]: J. Clarke & Co., [1937]), 107-108; Robert Moffat, *Missionary labours and scenes in Southern Africa.* (London: John Snow, 1842), 562-564; James Sibree, *London Missionary Society: a Register of Missionaries, Deputations, etc. from 1796-1923* (London: London Missionary Society, 1923), 24; Brown, *Thomas Chalmers*, 214-5; D. Roy Briggs and Joseph Wing, *The Harvest and the hope: the story of Congregationalism in Southern Africa.* (Johannesburg: United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, 1970), 57-8.

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services the more desirable. I am regularly engaged a short part of each day in teaching some boys and girls Kaffer and English. Did I keep them long in the school, I believe I should lose the most of them altogether. At least I should lose the boys who take care of the cattle and goats, and it is the boys which I am most desirous of instructing. Though from their more active disposition and inattentive habits, they are not so easy to teach as the girls. The reverse of what happens in India happens here. It is with great difficulty that girls can be instructed there but here they are more easily found than boys.

Thursday December 1st, Friday 2nd, Saturday 3rd 1831 Hot all these days but not so hot as it will be. In these [days] have had several visits of Kaffers, all anxious to obtain worldly things, but none came asking for the bread of life. Have been preparing at intervals something to say to the people. They say that the word is good but they do not live, nor try to live, according to it. Therefore they are *bad*. Charles Henry out on Saturday.

Sabbath December 4th 1831 Speaking to the people on the sufferings of Jesus. About 50 adults present. Matwa complaining of pains in different parts of his body.

Monday December 5th 1831 Visited him [Matwa] and thought him well, but he thought that he could not come to see me on account of his sickness.

Mrs Weir came from Chumie today to see Mr McDiarmid's daughter who is ill of dysentery. While at Matwa's spoke to the people on the folly of fearing man more than God. A woman there had said to Charles Henry who was with me that she was afraid to be reli[giou]s because of the fear of man. I was aware now that on other grounds it was expedient to speak on the sin and danger of the neglecting to come to Christ because men might ridicule those who would come. There and in my own house bore testimony, to the Kaffers, against the horrid system of punishing and torturing for the sup[posed] crime of witchcraft.

Tuesday December 6th-Thursday December 8th 1831 During these days weather hotter than it has been since I came to Kafferland. Many idle Kaffers daily visiting seeking tobacco etc. None asking "What shall I do to be saved?". Several Fingoes [amaMfengu] working at the Institution. On the last of these dates Mr McDiarmid and I visited the old woman, Gaika's mother [Yese] to see if she would give her consent to the water course being cut across the hill where Gaika is buried. Mr McDiarmid had heard from good authority that she had had a principal hand in putting a stop to that useful work, but she said today that Maqoma had the final word to say in the business.[505] Mr McDiarmid's journal[506] will show why a stop had

[505]Yese, Ngqika's mother, was still held in considerable esteem by her grandsons and the amaNgqika, as is borne out in William Chalmers' account of the siting of Burnshill in June 1830. When work on the water course was suspended after it had been continuing for almost a year, McDiarmid and Weir went to see Matwa for

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been put to the water course—but the Kaffers have acted inconsistently in allowing the work to go on when they knew the water course would pass not very far from the grave of Gaika. We have little fear that Maqoma will say anything against so evident an improvement as the leading out of the water to this mission.

We spoke to the people of 3 kraals before coming home. Considerable attention was manifested but some were disposed to laugh.

Saturday December 10th 1831 On the 8th cur[rent] a woman who had been blamed for witchcraft came to take up her residence at the mission (who had been blamed for witchcraft). Her husband and son had also been blamed but had fled. Their cattle, however, had been taken and that was too much to take from people innocent of the crime charged on them. The woman had been kept bound several days, but covetous Kaffers seem in this instance to have been satisfied with her property. The woman whom she is said to have bewitched is mother of the late Gaika and must be nearly 80 years of age; no wonder then that she is frail and feeble. The supposed criminal is a relative of hers and therefore was, at her request, more leniently treated than is usual on such occasions. She is now staying in Charles Henry's house. For the proper account of this matter see further on in the journal.[507]

The weather becomes rather hot. Various people seeking work, but none asking how they may learn the will of God. The most of these people who come to work are amam-Fengu [amaMfengu], or Fingoes, who have been driven out of their own country. Their poverty makes them work for goods with which they purchase food or the means of obtaining it from the Kaffers. They live about 4 miles [6.5 km] up the Keiskamma and come and go each day.

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clarification. He replied that "he and his brothers could not say any thing in it;—that his grandmother [Yese] (Geika's mother) and Suza [Ntsusa], were the persons that knew the custom ... Matwa said he thought we might go on, but he would not give us liberty ... He said he would go and state to his grandmother what I [McDiarmid] had said and would let me know her answer." According to the Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* of 1832 the "principal widow of Geika [Suthu] proclaimed the whole ridge, on which Geika was buried, sacred. It was on no account to be dug or turned up." Maqoma, in his capacity as regent for the young heir, Sandile, was certainly empowered to halt or allow work on the water course himself, but would have been influenced by the will of the matriarchal Yese, especially in the realm of amaXhosa tradition and custom. Extract from William Chalmers' journal, 2 June 1830 in Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Paper* 7(February 1831):7; Extract from Mr McDiarmid's journal, 31 May 1831 in Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Paper* 9(November 1831):13; Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1832):26-27.

[506]Regrettably, Alexander McDiarmid's journal does not appear to have survived in its original form, but sections were published in various issues of the Glasgow Missionary Society *Report*, *Quarterly Paper* and *Quarterly Intelligence*.

[507]In his entry for 13 December 1831, Laing corrects this statement saying that he had compounded two different cases.

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Matwa seems better and was in the church last night. We have reason to fear that some of those who have served the Prince of darkness longer than he has done, are endeavouring to turn him away from the truth. Spoke (as I do occasionally when I can find people) yesterday and today to some people who were idling away their precious time. They did not shew a lively desire to hear but some would rather go out of the way when the speaking of the word was proposed. I have actually seen them making quickly off when the speaking of the word was proposed. Some say they do not wish to hear it because it tells them of their sins. The generality *say* to us it is good. Their conduct shews that they trouble themselves little about it. Had more young people in the school today than usual. I shall try by my teaching to affect their hearts and *God can* make what they hear reach their affections and raise them from earthly to heavenly things.

Tuesday December 13th 1831 On Sabbath were present greater numbers than the small church would contain. In addition to a considerable number of boys and girls upwards of 60 adults were present.

Heard today that Mr Temlett was assaulted by a Kaffer near Pirie on Friday last. He says that the Kaffer seemed determined to strike with his assigai [assegaai] and kept his eyes on his head with great fixedness. The point of the assigai [assegaai] was kept for sometime near his body and when the hand of the Kaffer was withdrawn as if to strike, Mr Temlett pulled the bridle of his horse and got off. He missed his waggons and was coming the same way when he saw his enemy and two others determined to oppose his passage. He again ret[reate]d and rode quickly off—and hid himself in a bush at a little distance from his horse and a saddle which he had taken off. Next day it was found that the Kaffers had pursued and taken the saddle and bridle. Mr Temlett is an inoffensive man and deserves otherwise of the Kaffers. He deserves well of us for he is very obliging when we want anything from Graham's Town.

Today seems to be hot. In the remarks on the woman who came to take refuge here I see I have confounded two accounts. She had no cattle and no husband. Another man had fled whose cattle were taken for the same sickness in Gaika's mother.

Saturday December 17th 1831 The weather this week has been better than any since I came to Kafferland. Matwa is now really ill though not by any means so ill [as] the Kaffers would have us believe. He had intended to come to stay at the Institution—had made a round house near it and had brought his cattle, and had frequently slept there. Now, say the Kaffer doctors, he must remove with all his effects from the school as they call this Institution. During his present illness he has not lived in the house adjoining the Mission but in his house at the Great Place ½ a mile distant.

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The Doctors say that the ghost of Gaika says that Matwa must remove. We are not able to tell what Matwa's own views are. He is so much at present under the influence of the other chiefs, and widows of Gaika. I should, however, think that he does not believe what they say, though he has not courage to free himself from their hold at present. This morning Mr Mc-Diarmid and I went up to see Matwa and to speak with him on what the Kaffer doctors had said. He did not receive us at all and gave no answer when we wished him good day. We saw that then he was surrounded with his great friends, or rather enemies, and was not free to speak—and we waited till opportunity of speaking to him should occur.

Saturday December 17th 1831 evening Though Matwa lives at the distance of half a mile, we hear the sound of the people at his place [singing] etc. Charles Henry says that they are playing at Anta's place.[508]

I sent Matwa some medicine this evening but from the manner in which it was received and because he did not send the spoon which accompanied it with the messenger we conclude that he will not take it. We believe that the restraint laid on him will prevent him from taking the medicine. Charles Henry says that the Kaffers believe that Matwa's sickness is because he comes and hears the word; and because he calls on us; and they now wish him to stay away that he may [become] better. At present they are really taking that means which will make him sick and keep him sick. They wail over him, they break his spirits. They will not allow him to stir when he greatly requires exercise; and they will not allow him to be treated as to food and medicine as he ought. It seems to us very weak in him to allow others to proceed as they are doing, but the fear of man has in all ages operated powerfully against the religion of Jesus. Matwa has heard "whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words etc." Mark 8.38.

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[508]Anta (c.1810-1878), son of Ngqika, initially sited his kraal less than 300m from the Station but was prevented from completing it because of its proximity to Ngqika's grave. Anta moved his kraal "where it is likely all the people at the great place will soon remove ... a convenient distance for visiting them frequently on foot, and for children coming to school". Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Paper* 6(October 1830):13; *ibid.* 9 (November 1831):13.

Mr H[oward], a Kaffer trader, called today.[509] He and some others escaped when Farewell, etc. were killed.[510]

Have of late been preparing concerning the resurrection of Christ. Have not as yet had a letter from Glasgow to shew that they had heard of my arrival in Kafferland.

Monday December 19th 1831 Today Mr McDiarmid and I had much conversation with the Kaffers concerning Matwa's illness and diseases in general, which they suppose [were] brought on by enchantment. We had heard that they blamed the Institution for bringing the trouble on Matwa. They said that it might be that someone at the Institution had brought the trouble and they did not allow to us, that the word of God had occasioned his illness. They declared their belief in the ability of one person to bring sickness on another by witchcraft. They asked us what we would do if *one* took refuge in the Institution whom they knew to be a person who had used certain things to make Matwa sick. *Would we give him up* ? When we told them how sinful and absurd their doings were, they said it *is our way*—you have another way but this is ours. We answered all their fallacious arguments. We showed them that there was one way to heaven and that their way to it was the same as ours. That what they called their way was a false, sinful, unsafe and destructive way. The one who took the lead was a woman, but the three doctors at present engaged are all women.[511] We tried to make her *feel* the evil of what she was doing. A Mr Howard, K[affer] T[rader], who was with us and who

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[509]John Hassall [or Hassell] Howard of Fort Willshire was licensed as a trader on 6 August 1824 when he was about 21 years old. In February 1829 he applied for permission to trade beyond the frontier and left for Natal in August the same year in a party led by Francis Farewell. His wagon is believed to have been far ahead of the rest of Farewell's party when the latter was killed in September and he was unharmed. He returned to Fort Willshire to continue trading but went insolvent in December 1832. It is believed he died in Natal in 1864. Beck, R., *The legalization and development of trade on the Cape frontier, 1817-1830*, 337; E. P. Watt, *Febana: the true story of Francis George Farewell, explorer, pioneer and founder of Natal* (London: Peter Davies, 1962), 300; Cory Library, Correspondence with Patricia McMagh: 20.12.1987, 7.2.1988.

[510]Francis George Farewell (1793-1829), a sailor and later a pioneer trader in Natal, was killed, along with other members of his party, by Chief Nqetho whilst on a trading trip in Natal in September 1829. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1:286-287.

[511]A female doctor, or diviner, was known as an *igqirhakazi*. She was seen by the amaXhosa as practising what Alberti called "benevolent magic", was skilled in restoring or preserving health and played the role of inquisitor in identifying the person responsible for bewitching her client. She knew her community well and used this knowledge in the process of identifying the cause of her client's illness. Equally, the bewitcher who, motivated by envy and malice, worked towards the destruction of the health or well-being of others, needed to know her community well. The amaXhosa believed the *igqirhakazi* was inspired by the ancestral spirits and was believed to work for the common good of her society. Laing, as a Christian and a missionary, could not accept the validity of the *igqirhakazi*'s role in Xhosa society. Alberti, *Account of the tribal life and customs of the Xhosa*, 48-9; Cory Library, PR 4249: G. Euvrard, "AmaXhosa and amaGqirha", October 1977, 12; Peires, *House of Phalo*, 75.

knows something of medicine etc. examined Matwa when we went and when we came away. He and I before Mr McDiarmid came had told them to make ... [512]

... day coming to Mata's place. Maqoma and Tyali among the number.[513] The dependents of the chiefs are also coming in considerable numbers.

I call the man who is supposed to be blamed a poor Fingo [umFengu]. I understand that in the strict meaning of that word he is not poor though the Fingoes [amaMfengu] are in general poor and servants to the Kaffers.[514] They were driven out of their country by enemies and took refuge in Kafferland. The Fingo [umFengu] who is blamed on account of Matwa, however, has got above most of his countrymen, and has got a considerable number of cattle of which it seems he is envied the possession.

Mr Bennie today told us that some time ago he has begun wholly to speak to the people at Lovedale in the Kaffer language.

Mr McDiarmid and I walked up to Matwa's place in the afternoon, but spoke nothing to them. Charles Henry and Klaas said that they would not hear the word when they were intent in [their] own evil ways.

Wednesday December 21st 1831 Heard today from Charles Henry that the Fingo [umFengu] of whom I have spoken above made his escape on Monday night—the same night in which the doctress came to Mr McDiarmid and told him of his witchcraft. He has taken his cattle with him and I trust will go to the Colony as he is not safe in *any* part of Kafferland.

In his flight the Omfengo [umFengu] has shown honesty for some cattle of the wife through whom he is blamed and brought into this strait, he *has* left behind him. What favoured his

[512]Three leaves of text have been cut out of the journal at this point.

[513]Tyhali (pre-1800-1.5.1842), though son of a minor house, was nonetheless Ngqika's right-hand man and effectively ruled his father's people during his failing years. He nursed resentment that Maqoma, Ngqika's eldest son, was chosen as Regent during Sandile's minority, when he considered that the importance of his own role as adviser and companion to his father made him equally eligible for the regency despite the relative lowliness of his birth. His kraal in 1831was on the Tyhume River just North of the spot where the Mgwali River branches West. Peires, *House of Phalo,* 37, 81-2; Bergh and Visagie, *The Eastern Cape frontier zone*, Map 14.1, 43; *Dictionary of South African Biography* v.2, 755-757.

[514]The amaMfengu, while regarded on the one hand by the amaXhosa as swelling the ranks of followers, were also made to live out a time of servitude and inferiority in order to emerge as fully accepted members of amaXhosa society. Peires cites the following apt illustration of this situation in the sharing of food. The amaXhosa, in offering food to the amaMfengu, would position the food on the side of the fire opposite to the amaMfengu so that they had to reach through the flames to avail themselves of amaXhosa hospitality. Most amaMfengu who had arrived in the wake of the Mfecane minus cattle or other belongings were, at least initially, wholly reliant on the amaXhosa. However they brought with them agricultural skills and techniques which equipped them well for cultivation and survival. Peires, *House of Phalo*, 86-89.

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taking away his cattle with him is that he lived by himself and had not his cattle in a kraal along with those of others.

We expect that now the doctors will fix on some other person. Charles Henry does not think that the Kaffers who live at the institutions are out of danger,—*especially if they have cattle.* He himself is *rich* in cattle as times in this land are, and that may make him the more suspicious. *It is an easy thing to free himself of some of these incumbrances.* He may give away all the cattle which he does not require for his support. When the Kaffers are hard pressed they often or sometimes give up the *ubuti*[515], or bewitching matter, to save themselves from torture and death. The woman now living here did so and was *unbound.* Of course she was assisted by friends who heard what the doctor said was the *ubuti*, or bewitching matter, and who went and hid it in *the place which he spoke of* and then told the woman what they had done—and allowed her by *confessing* a *sin* of which she was *innocent* to save her life. She was to blame in this, and by so doing must have given countenance to these wicked people to *confirm* them in the *belief* of *lies.* I cannot say how many of the Kaffers act as she did when in a similar situation but we know that *some* of them *die, protesting their innocence.*

This is our mid-summer and the sun now rises 9 minutes before 5 and sets 9 minutes past 7.

Thursday December 22nd 1831 More openness among the Kaffers around us. They are now coming more freely to the Institution. Charles Henry's dog bit a man's leg. The man came with Charles Henry requesting me to dress it. At the same time various others came requesting tobacco. It is remarkable that the man whose leg I had dressed was *most importunate* for tobacco, handkerchiefs, etc. The more you do for these people the *more* they would have you to do.

Maqoma lives at the distance of 8 or 10 miles. Today he called on his way to Matwa seeking tobacco and a hatchet. He and the other Kaffers seem without much to do at present

[515] *Ubuthi*, the charm or poison by which the sufferer had been bewitched, was usually identified by the *igqirhakazi* during her interrogation of the affected person's family and friends assembled at the *igqirhakazi*'s home. During the divining process or *ukuvumisa*, the *igqirhakazi* asked a series of questions turned statements, to which, if correct, the assembled group clapped and replied *"Siyavuma"* ("we agree"). By these responses the *igqirhakazi* could assess her accuracy in identifying first the problem, then the person whom the group themselves felt may have been responsible and finally the *ubuthi* which the person had used. The person accused was usually someone disliked or envied, hence Laing's observation that the large number of Charles Henry Matshaya's cattle might arouse envy in others and lead them to the conclusion that this visible evidence of excessive wealth meant that Matshaya was an *igqwirha* or witch. As Laing points out, if Matshaya were to distribute some of his cattle amongst his family and friends, leaving only sufficient cattle for his own survival, the accusations would fade away. J.Z. Vena, Cory Library: Oral evidence, 15 September 1988; Soga, *The amaXosa: life and customs,* 169-172; Cory Library, PR 4249, G. Euvrard, "AmaXhosa and amaGqirha".

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respecting the *witchcraft*, for they hate the light and will not come to the light, lest their deeds should be reproved.

Mr McDiarmid, Charles Henry and I went to see Matwa. He is so well as to be able to go out when he has occasion. He spoke also but not to us. We were witnesses to some of their wicked impositions. A doctor wife applied her mouth to his thigh etc. a little above the knee, and pretended to take something out, which she pretended to swallow and make come out in the way of a stool. She then held it in her hand and it appeared a round ball of a dark coloured matter but nobody took any notice of it and she did not seem inclined to call their attention to what was done. She repeated the same experiment at least 6 or 8 times. One time she was more particular than usual in examining the matter which she had concealed under her kaross and it appeared to contain small pieces of iron. I never saw any deceit more *palpably* an imposition. She was sitting so as to conceal much more matter than she brought to light. No opening was visible on Matwa's thigh to which I was near. She very awkwardly and unnecessarily pretended to make all the matter pass through her, instead of putting it out of her mouth as soon as extracted from the thigh. But above all to do in reality what she pretended to do was an *utter impossibility*: for no human power could have effected what she *seemed* to do. I think there were 8 or 10 Kaffers in the house at the time the wicked woman was going on with her project. They seemed quite indifferent to what she was doing, and so far as I could see, did not even look at what she would have them to believe she had brought out of Matwa's thigh. Had I been able to reprove her in her own language I would more or less have done it. Charles Henry would not even, as our mouth[piece], do it. Mr McDiarmid thought that it was best to see the work fully done and give it a complete refutation afterwards. Charles Henry did not like the manner in which decent inquiries were received by Sutu and Matwa—he thought that they shewed personal dislike towards him. We knew we were not welcome at the time but they did not once ask us to go out. We did not think that they would have been so bold with their wickedness while we were observing them, but they meant to shew us how well they could extract bewitching matter from a sick man. They were most unfortunate in their endeavour, for a more *barefaced imposition* cannot well be imagined.[516]

In my hearing Charles Henry's daughter is reading in Genesis not amiss.

Maqoma called in the evening as he went home and sought and obtained a handkerchief.

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[516] *Amagqirha* and *amaqgirhakazi* were traditionally divided into grades, with each grade specialising in a particular field of divining. One of these grades was *igqirha aqubulayo*, who specialised in the extraction of supposedly harmful substances from parts of the affected person's body. Laing was witnessing the process of *uqubulayo*. Cory Library, PR 4249, G.Euvrard, "AmaXhosa and amaGqirha", October 1977, 17.

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Friday December 23rd 1831 We saw in the morning some men passing the institution and were told by Charles Henry that some one of the great men had said that he did not come to Matwa to *search out* people supposed to have made him sick, but to see how he did. We did not learn *who* had said so but it was good to think that, in the meantime, some stop was put to the wicked practices. It *may be*, however, that he who wishes to stop in the meantime, may only wish to take a *rest* that he may begin again with more vigour. Charles Henry thinks that this or something like this will take place.

Maqoma and 8 or ten men on horseback passed the Institution. Maqoma and 4 or 5 others were *armed with muskets*. We could not say or conceive why they were so armed, since we never saw them so armed before. Others came on foot but I cannot tell their number. I should think, however, that the *whole* men at any time at Maqoma's place is not above 150; but they come when I don't see them.

Saturday December 24th 1831 Charles Henry is very much afraid for himself this morning. Various friends of the Kaffers this week have come from Matwa's place and have staid at the Institution during the night. Both morning and evening they have sometimes attended worship in the church. From their manner of speaking and other things Charles Henry thinks that they have an eye to some individual's cattle or goods about the Institution. We hope that his fears may be groundless but *God alone* can *save* him or us from such covetous and unprincipled men. I must say, however, that I do not see the danger which Charles Henry thinks is near. In connection with this, Charles Henry mentions a trader, an agent for Mr Temlett, as being rather a hindrance than otherwise to the Word.[517] Charles Henry's wife has heard him mocking at the Word with some of Gaika's widows and it is certain that since Matwa became ill he (the trader) has *not* come to Church on Sabbaths as he was wont to do—and thus so far as we can see he is giving countenance to these wicked people in their opposition to the holy gospel. He buys *their* favours *too dear*, and that he will perhaps see even in this world. At all events the loss of his soul is not to be laid in balance with the favour of impure and adulterous Kaffers. (Whatever I may do with *all* the notices which I make, I feel it to be satisfactory to have a full account to refer to.)

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[517]Once trade beyond the frontier was permitted in terms of Ordinance 81 of 1830, traders proliferated in the interior where they set up stations and frequently employed agents to assist them in their growing trade network. AmaXhosa traders in the interior who, because of inferior means of transport and access to goods, were pushed out by the growing tide of their White counterparts, might have been induced to act as agents. Alternatively, there is evidence that Colonial traders employed assistants and agents drawn from the Colony. The identity of James Temlett's agent is not known. Peires, *House of Phalo*, 102; Beck, *The legalization and development of trade on the Cape frontier, 1817-1830*, 320.

Rained last night and it now (9 a.m.) rains a good deal. The Kaffers when you speak of the Institution having done Matwa an ill *seem* to wish us not to believe that they think so. Charles Henry who knows their dreadful ways better than we do, says that this is not a good symptom. Charles Henry would not care to [fly] out of the way somewhere. He overheard some Kaffers in this house speaking in a way which he did not like. So strong suspicions has Charles Henry had of the wicked intentions of the Kaffers that he has fled today about 3 o'clock p.m.

Before I was aware Charles Henry really intended to go out of the way on account of the Kaffers, he came prepared for flight, and in a lamentable condition by his fears which were great. He was not disposed to wait but after I had said that I could not see danger he said that there was much danger and he must go off immediately. I desired him to wait till I should bring Mr McDiarmid which I did in three minutes but when we came to my house Charles Henry was creeping along among his corn by the back of his house. Mr McDiarmid and I having spoken together—he went out to tell Charles Henry what we thought he should do since he *would* go—which was to go directly towards Balfour in the Colony in the direction of the Kat River. Mr McDiarmid saw him and spoke with [him] to this effect. While out it occurred to him that Charles Henry might be hungry on the road and he proposed to come to the house and take him a little bread. A hasty note to Mr T[homson] was also ready and Mr M[cDiarmid] went out a second time to see Charles Henry but he was not now to be found as he had hid himself in the adjoining wood.

We cannot see the danger so strongly as he seems to see it, but he is the best judge in this case. Certainly he would not have fled if he had not had strong suspicions. They (the Kaffers) seem now *more than ordinarily* averse to bring any blame on the institution on account of Matwa's sickness. Formerly they were very desirous of attaching blame to it and said that someone who heard the word night and morning might have evil in his heart, *i.e.* might have bewitched Matwa and might be a proper person for them to fix on. These things taken in connection with the question "Would we give up to them one who might be at the Institution should they seek him" contains some of the grounds for Charles Henry's fear so far as we can see, and they are such as to make it evident that they have set themselves to oppose us from one reason or another. The reason is Matwa attended on the word. Had they merely meant the giving up of a person who had fled from the neighbourhood, I think they would have been less careful to know what we would do in that case. They would then have got his cattle, and these would at least have satisfied them so far. Besides they proceed and have proceeded in their murderous desires without asking any such questions at any of the Missionary stations. But their projects now seemed to be new and they wished to know what we (Mr McDiarmid and I) would do should they come to the Institution. I may be mistaken—so may Charles

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Henry, but we only owe our preservation to God, if we are preserved. Even when we do not see danger *He* preserves us. Twelve or 14 men armed with assigais [assegaais] are now passing but they have not called at our house, nor made any stay at the place.

The few people who stay at the place have brought most of their clothes and other little articles into our house being nearer to their's than Mr McDiarmid's. Should the Kaffers be so disposed they could easily take all that we have. Charles Henry has my gun, but I don't think I would use it, nor, though I should, that I think that it would be any protection.[518] Maqoma has 5 or 6 guns with him.

Charles Henry will go as well as he can to Mr Thomson. Mr McDiarmid went out after he had departed to deliver to him some things which he would require on the journey: but he was not to be found. He had hid himself somewhere in the adjoining wood.

Monday December 26th 1831 On Saturday we heard that the Fingo who was blamed for Matwa had been *taken* when he had returned to take away his wife and brought to Matwa's place. He was bound with strong *thongs* or *riems* and the blood was ready to start from his fingers. I did not hear that his feet were bound, but when the person saw him who told us of him he was bound to a tree in such a way that he could not move. His head was bound to the tree in such a way that it was thrown backwards on one of his shoulders. In that miserable situation was the Fingo accused by the doctors of things of which he was innocent and it was likely that he would be beaten when he did not answer so as to please them. God often does defeat the devices of the wicked. After the tormentors had left the Fingo for the night, but with the intention of killing him next day, by some means he escaped from his bonds and eluded all search, nor has he yet (Monday) as far as we know been found. The trader who saw him bound says that *someone* must have cut the riems as he could make no exertion himself. Another Fingo or even a Kaffer might have done this from humanity; but it would be done secretly. The man was at a little distance from any houses, and left without a guard and the bushy nature of the ground even among the houses favoured his escape. This is the *2nd* time he has escaped.[519]

[518]It is possible that the Glasgow Missionary Society issued firearms to their missionaries as a matter of course for hunting and protection purposes but, equally, Laing could have purchased a gun after his arrival in the Colony. Clearly he was reluctant to use it against a fellow human being.

[519]Laing's description of the umMfengu's torture accords with that given in the section on "Kafir Doctors" in the manuscripts on African customs in the Grey Collection and with that given by John Brownlee in his account of an incident on the Buffalo River in February 1828. Once someone in the community had been identified by the *igqirhakazi* as having bewitched the sick person, he was interrogated and instructed to hand over the *ubuthi*, or bewitching matter. Various tortures were then meted out. These could include being stretched out on the ground and immobilised with stakes and thongs after which biting ants would be poured over the body. The accused would be told to produce the *ubuthi*, and heated stones could be applied to his body if he failed to comply. If, after this, the

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Maqoma and Gaika's mother [Yese] called yesterday. When we told them that it was Sabbath they conducted themselves accordingly. Maqoma when told that Charles Henry was absent looked on it as a matter of course. Mr McDiarmid went to M[atwa]'s place yesterday to read the word. I was with him and they would not let us come into Matwa's house. He was too sick to be seen or they wished to keep him quiet. We did not urge the matter but went to a number of people at a distance to whom Mr McDiarmid read a part of the word of God in Kaffer. They were very careless and were disposed to laugh before ever they heard a word. They were going on with their usual work though it was the Lord's day.

Today, Monday, all is quiet—and so far as we can see Charles Henry had no reason to flee—but we know God rises and turns the hearts of these wicked men whither so ever he will.

Thursday December 29th 1831 Yesterday Mr Kayser, Missionary, and family came from the Buffalo River Station. He says that there are about 80 adults residing there. Rained much last night and today. Heard today from Mr Thomson regarding Charles Henry. He arrived at Balfour on the afternoon of the day following the one on which he fled, in a worn out condition and under the impression that he has escaped when longer delay would have proved fatal. Charles Henry has more than once declared his resolution not to return to Kafferland because the chiefs had designs against his life. It seems that on the very day he fled, his brother at 15 or 20 miles distan[t] heard that he had been taken by the Kaffers etc. He came to inform, or see what had been done, but Charles Henry was gone. So it is evident that the Kaffers had been speaking of the matter, but more perhaps as to what they would wish to do than as to what they may have done. It is said by Charles Henry's friends that such a thing would first be spoken of at the place where Matwa is. Mr Kayser, Mr McDiarmid and I spoke with a man on the subject of witchcraft.

Friday December 30th 1831 Much thunder and lightning last night. Rain ceased this morning. Anta and his wife who never came often to church while Matwa was attending are now coming frequently. These and the widows of Gika are become more determined beggars than ever. The doctress is to appear[ances] desirous to learn the word of God. Even though it

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accused still failed to produce the required substance, he would be further tortured and could occasionally even be beaten to death. His cattle would certainly have been confiscated. How many of these procedures the umMfengu had endured is difficult to deduce. Given the fact that he was bound and released on the same night that Charles Henry Matshaya effected his escape, it is tempting to postulate that Matshaya himself cut the umMfengu free. Cory Library, PR 3530, South African Library, Grey Collection, "Manuscripts on African customs", 183-188; Basil Holt, *Greatheart of the border: a life of John Brownlee, pioneer missionary in South Africa* (King William's Town: South African Missionary Museum, 1976), 75-82.

be to mock at it that she comes to hear it, she must be taught all of it that we can. She may *so come and yet remain to pray*. Yesterday Mr Kayser, Mr McDiarmid and I were denied admittance to Matwa. *His* friends are very inconsistent for they come frequently to us. Part of Charles Henry's cattle went along with Mr Kayser's waggon today; but if the Kaffers hear why he is absent it is likely they may seize them. Though he *should* return his usefulness would be much diminished among the Kaffers. They would look on him as guilty because he fled, and to be guilty of witchcraft with them is to be guilty of the greatest crime. It is the only crime, so far as I know, which they punish with death. They look on a witch or wizard as we do on a murderer.[520]

When at sea I wrote to Mr Falconer respecting skinless oats as good for the Kaffers. Mr Hart in the Colony sent some to us soon after I came.[521] We looked at them tonight and saw that they were ripe. What good they might do to the Kaffers we cannot tell but though they were to be advantageous they would be *slow* in cultivating them. They are unwilling to leave their old ways either for temporal or spiritual improvement. They see that the Word is pure and will not tolerate sin and therefore they hate it.

Saturday December 31st 1831 The last day of the year. It is now a year since I landed in Africa.

More of Charles Henry's cattle were sent away today and as yet we hear of no attempts made to prevent them on the road. So wicked and foolish are the Kaffers as to say that Charles Henry bewitched Matwa in our house by stirring a cup of tea for him. We have had few of the great people visiting us today. Read today a good sermon of Dr Philip on Education.[522]

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[520]As amaXhosa law sought primarily to promote and maintain the equilibrium of amaXhosa society, capital punishment was seldom inflicted except in the case of witchcraft. Witchcraft was regarded so seriously because, although the initial target of the sorcerer was the victim alone or perhaps a family, it was felt that the very fabric of the community was violated by the action and the stability of society threatened. Eliminating the perpetrator was seen as the only expedient guaranteed to restore equilibrium and was an awesome deterrent. Soga: *The Ama-Xosa: life and customs*, 44-45.

[521]Scottish-born Robert Hart (1777-14.9.1867) came to South Africa in 1795 as part of the expeditionary force sent to occupy the Cape on behalf of the Prince of Orange. After serving at the Cape and in India for several years he was stationed in England for a time and returned to the Cape with his wife and children in 1807. He served in the Cape Corps under Col. John Graham and, after the disbanding of the Cape Corps was appointed superintendent of Somerset government farm at the foot of the Boschberg in 1817. In 1821 in recognition of his services he was granted a large piece of land nearby which he named Glen Avon. Glen Avon came to be regarded as a model farm and Hart as a leader in agriculture whose advice and assistance was sought and esteemed by many. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 2: 290-291.

[522]John Philip, *The importance of early instruction. A sermon, preached for the benefit of the South African Infant School Society* ... (Cape Town: printed at "*De Zuid Afrikaan*" Office, by P.A. Brand, 1831).

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He makes rather much of infant schools I fear. They are good but they are not everything yet as far as may be their distinguishing principles should be adopted into other schools.

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New Worlds, New Ways

2nd January 1832 to 31st December 1832

Monday January 2nd 1832 Yesterday also we had not more than 5 or 6 strangers. The wives of Gika and the people who stay with them have studied to keep away from the Word. Matwa, it is said by the Trader, has now agreed to go all lengths with the Kaffers in opposing the gospel. Yesterday the woman who took refuge at the Institution made off in a clandestine manner about sunrise. She has acted while at the place more like a spy than anything else. Yesterday he [Matwa] gave a specimen of his hatred to what is holy, for he slaughtered an ox in the morning and feasted his people who were also dancing a good part of the afternoon. The power of a petty chief is not great, but if he is doing violence to his conscience in all these sinful compliances he is much to be pitied, as indeed he is in any way to be pitied.

Charles Henry's cattle have been safely conveyed to Chumie and one part of them into the Colony the boundary of which is in the immediate vicinity of Chumie.

Rather cooler than usual. Charles Henry's wife is somewhat afraid that the Kaffers will seize her, in the absence of her husband. She is however affected on account of what the enem[ies] of the Gospel will say by their rem[oval] which I am happy to see. Among all the Kaffer con[ver]ts I have not seen a more serious character than Charles Henry's wife.

Tuesday January 3rd 1832 Very hot. Arranging papers for Presbytery etc. The people coming in greater numbers than formerly.

Wednesday January 4th 1832 Thunderstorm last night—lightning uncommonly vivid—a flash every two seconds—little rain. Hot today. Thermometer 80° in the shade.

Thursday January 5th 1832 A meeting of the Presbytery held here today. Charles Henry's wife advised to stay till we would ascertain from Maqoma if there was any reason why Charles Henry or she might or could not remain in safety at Burnshill[523]. She shewed too great an attachment to the world and would act contrary to the advice of 6 missionaries.

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[523]The Presbytery instructed the two Burnshill missionaries, Laing and McDiarmid, to visit Maqoma, to "mention to him for what reason C[harles] H[enry] had left the Inst[itution], and to endeavour to ascertain, whether his apprehensions of danger were well or ill founded. At the same time they were to give Maqoma to understand, that we [the Presbytery] consider the Ins[titutio]n under his protection, and not exposed to the Kaffers when they come to seize innocent persons residing there." Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes 5.1.1832, 194-5.

Friday January 6th 1832 A meeting of Missionary Board held today. Charles Henry's wife and children went off. To take their luggage—young children etc. they had the waggon to Chumie. Both these individuals have on this occasion been too much under the influence of the fear of man and have not put that trust in God which as Christians they should have done. Still we must judge charitably. They knew the danger better than the Missionaries. They have become rich in cattle, and they wish to secure a refuge, as they think, for them[selves] in the Colony. We intend soon to speak to Maqoma on the subject of Charles Henry's flight. A widow who is a candidate with her children remains[524]—one sick woman from Chumie also remains[525]. She is a candidate for Baptism too. Thus are we left without 9 individuals but there are 25 souls at the Institution still, including the members of the Mission.

Tuesday January 10th 1832 Last Sabbath I rode to Pirie to be present at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. Mr Bennie preached in Kaffer and Mr Ross conducted the services more immediately connected with the ordinance in the same language. Most of the Communicants were present from Lovedale. I staid all night and came home on Monday. In going and coming, I saw parts of Kafferland which I had not seen before; and very romantic they were.

Last Saturday Mr [Howard] brought us a Hottentot for a servant. She is an old woman but can speak a little Dutch and has some knowledge of household work. Thomas and Anna of Lovedale have come today with a girl of theirs whom we propose to educate. Many strangers present today hearing the Word of God.

At Mr Ross's on the Sabbath day, the strange Kaffers were called out of the Church, because it was said, an enemy was at hand. It afterwards appeared that one brother, a son of Slambie [Ndlambe], wished to seize another for the imagined crime of witchcraft, but he who was blamed was calling in aid, and determined to resist the unjust accusation by force.[526]

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[524]Possibly Nosalle. See entry for 25 January 1832.

[525]Possibly Nomanto, mother of Vimbe (John Muir). See entry for 25 January 1832.

[526] This incident is consistent with previous accounts of rivalry and intrigue amongst the amaNdlambe for the leadership of that people. Shrewsbury records an instance in December 1826 where one of Ndlambe's sons was accused of bewitching his elderly father and causing his illness, presumably with a view to inheriting the leadership on his father's anticipated death. Brownlee records that on Ndlambe's death two years after the incident cited by Shrewsbury, two of his sons Mhala and Dyani both claimed the chieftainship. Mhala contrived to fall ill and was deemed to have been bewitched by his rival brother who subsequently fled for his life. The incident reported by Laing does not appear to have been recorded elsewhere, presumably because the accusation was successfully resisted. Peires, *House of Phalo,*.82-84; John V.B. Shrewsbury, *Memorials of the Rev William J Shrewsbury* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1867, 1868), 244; Charles Brownlee, *Reminiscences of Kaffir life and history and other papers; with a brief memoir by Mrs Brownlee* (Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1896), 185-186; William Shaw, *The story of my mission in South-Eastern Africa comprising some account of the European colonists with extended notices of the Kaffer and other native tribes* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1860), 482-483.

Wednesday January 11th 1832 Thermometer 90^0 in the shade. Afternoon thunder lightning and rain.

Friday January 13th 1832 Received today from Mr Chalmers, Chumie, 17 copies of the 1st 8 pages of the 1st Epistle of John—printed at Chumie.[527]

Heard by Mr McDiarmid that Charles Henry is still of opinion that there was imminent danger in his own case and that the Reverend W.R. Thomson thinks the matter more serious than most of our brethren.

Saturday January 14th 1832 Very hot. Thermometer 92^0 shade.

Sabbath January 15th 1832 Wet. Sutu present at worship. The English Trader [James Temlett] also present. He is [righteous]. About 8 strangers present.

Monday January 16th 1832 Rained much last evening and during the night. Rains also this morning. Yesterday Matwa was much better and had no objections to speak with Mr McDiarmid and admit him into his house, when he went to inform the people of the worship and invite them to come. I am glad that the Kaffers are allowing him to get better.

Wednesday January 18th 1832 Yesterday a meeting of Committee on Kaffer Hymns and Psalms, etc. was held here consisting of Messrs Bennie, Ross, Chalmers and myself[528]. Mr Bennie had revised 10 old hymns and added 22 new ones. He also brought forward revised translations of the Lord's prayer and creed, all which were read and approved and ordered to be printed as soon as possible.

Received yesterday, 17th January, a letter from Mr F[alconer], Secretary to [the Glasgow Missionary] Society, which had come to Chumie the day [preceding]. Said letter is dated in August 1831. I think on the 24th.

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[527]By 1829 John Ross had completed a translation of the 1st Epistle of St John into isiXhosa, but it was not printed immediately. Texts were coming off the Society's press more slowly than had been anticipated but by October 1831 the press had been moved from Lovedale to Tyhume, where William Chalmers was based. On 6 October 1831, the Presbytery of Kaffraria instructed him to proceed with the printing of the Epistle. The minutes of the meeting of the Presbytery of Kaffraria dated 5 January 1832 record that the first 8 pages had been completed. Schutte, P.J. "Sendingdrukperse in Suid-Afrika: 1800-1875." D.Phil. thesis, Potchefstroom University, 1969, 13-14, 131-152; Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1829), 18; Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, 6.10.1831; *ibid.* 5.1.1832.

[528]This Committee was established as a result of a motion proposed by Laing during the Presbytery meeting of 5 January 1832. It comprised initially John Bennie (then Moderator), John Ross and William Chalmers. Laing was added to the Committee on the suggestion of Chalmers. The Committee's task was to examine the hymns, psalms and texts which had been translated into isiXhosa by one of their number of "in order to their being printed and published", acting effectively as a measure of quality control. Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, 5 January 1832, 194.

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Had only 8 children in school today and one grown up individual, a candidate for baptism. Since H[enry]'s family went away and since the children of the Great Place ceased to attend the school prospects are somewhat dark.

Monday January 19th 1832 Last evening the 2 candidates for baptism gave satisfactory answers to the questions presented to them. The one who was unwell is now so well as to be able to walk. Transcribing journal.

Friday January 20th 1832 Last night Klaas told us that Matwa had said to a messenger sent by Philip, Charles Henry's half-brother, "that it was a pity Charles Henry had gone away on his account. If they would kill him, let them kill him for another but not for him". He also said that he intended to remove from Keiskamma to the Chumie River.

Transcribed so far January 20th 1832. James Laing.

Saturday January 21st 1832 Various of Gaika's wives at morning worship. These and others at Matwa's place now come more frequently than about the time of Charles Henry's flight. I might have mentioned that all his family, cattle, goods etc. were allowed to pass on the road without molestation and reach the Colony in safety.

[Concluding] remarks: Such are a few notices of the principal events which have taken place since I came to Burnshill—wish they had rather been of a more encouraging nature and yet we must not repine, since they are such as God in his wise government of the universe will have to take place. He *can*, and *does*, bring good out of evil; —and while he is removing some of the chief supports of the missionaries in this land it may be either to fix them in a more firm foundation or to raise up others who shall be honoured in a more remarkable manner to sustain the war which is now waged against the powers of darkness.

Possibly Charles Henry may return and possibly the fear I have expressed may never be realised. It were well that this should take place as he is pious, and zealous, and, under God, might do much in turning the Kaffers from sin to [holiness], from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God. Should he not be again employed as an agent of the G.M.S. in this country we must not think that He with whom is the r[ecord] of the s[aints] cannot and will not, in his own time, raise up another who shall equal or surpass Charles Henry in making known the gospel to his countrymen.

We would still think favourably of Matwa, and believe that his better judgement cond[emned] the system of wickedness by which he has been constrained for the present to cease from attendance on the Word. He should have shewed more conviction and, if he had had it, his Christian f[ortitude] should have made him turn away from the wicked people by

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whom he is kept in bondage. But it must be stated that he cannot have much Christian knowledge, since he has heard the gospel only for a very limited time. It is not to be wondered at that he should be much influenced by those who from his youth have been in the habit of giving him counsel in his difficulties. He is *young* too and will be the more easily swayed by his counsellors. One thing very worthy of remembering in him, is the unhesitating condemnation which he gives to the proceedings or rather sayings of the Kaffers relative to Charles Henry's and it would be difficult to find words more expressive of his goodwill to Charles Henry; and his work than those which he uses, and of which a specimen has already been given. But we must not forget that many in the history of the [progress] of Christianity have promised much more than Matwa has ever done, and have yet apostatised forever. I wish I could say that the Kaffers manifested a general desire for the gospel. This would encourage all our hearts; but this they do not manifest. They hate the light and will not come etc. Is it wonder that our faith and patience should be tried? Far from it. We have rather reason to be astonished at the divine good that they are not tried more—for there is much impunity and imperfection mixed with all Missionary operations and these are extended through all ramifications both at home and abroad. We should be grieved that the heathen are not subject to Christ but we should, at the same time, be grieved and humbled on account of our unworthiness, thankful that God does in some measure use us for the spiritual good of others and prayerful that He would make us fitter in heart and life for the recovery of sinners from the error of their ways. J. Laing.

Monday January 23rd 1832 When Mr McDiarmid went to Matwa's place yesterday (Sunday), between the services of forenoon and afternoon, he called on Matwa, to whom and to a number of people in his house, he read a part of the Word of God. A little while ago this would have been prohibited in Matwa's house; but I believe not so much by himself as by the doctors, and others who are influenced is such that he cannot or dare not act as he sees to be right. This is what I would for the present think. Matwa, if this be his state, is certainly very much to blame. At Mr McDiarmid's request about 14 men came from Matwa's place to hear. Few of the people there have come of late. People stay away because it is the Lord's day. These men when told to wait on worship made quickly off. On an ordinary occasion they would have idled away their time, all day, perhaps. I asked a man who comes almost on all days except Sabbath why he did not come yesterday. He said the sun was too hot. He was unhappy in his reason for it was as hot today—and is as hot on many of the days in which he comes—[*shorthand: as on the*] Sabbath.

Made arrangements with Klaas to teach me the Kaffer—to begin tomorrow, 24th January 1832. Thermometer 84°. Thunder in the evening.

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Tuesday January 24th 1832 Much thunder, lightning and rain this morning, about and before daylight. Men seeking presents as soon as morning worship is ended. Mr McDiarmid conducts worship on Tuesdays and Saturday morning and evening in the Church.

The rain will do much good. God has sent much this season. It is a worshipping of the creature to call a man *Rainmaker*. That is a name only due to God.

The Kaffers of late have come with honey which they obtain in the forests for sale. This is not the best season for it; but sometimes it is excellent and brought in considerable quantities.[529]

There are two men present who are bareheaded. They are covered with dirty skin karosses. One has the tail of a hare stuck into the hair on his forehead[530]. The other has 4 beads attached to his right ear[531]. One remains. He is about 5ft 8 or 9 inches [172,7 cm or 175,3 cm] high. The other [has returned] and is about 5 ft 10 or 11 [177,8 cm or 180,3 cm][532]. Both have long but not thick sticks in their hands on which they lean. Their karosses cover from their neck, to below the knees. This is all the covering they have. They have nothing on their feet.

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[529]Honey constituted a secondary food source for the amaXhosa alongside their staple foods which included sour milk, meat, sorghum, Indian corn, pumpkins and other vegetables. It was also used to produce a fermented liquor which Kay compared to a type of mead. The amaXhosa evidently sold honey when it was plentiful and probably used it as a bartering commodity in much the same way as they did the milk from their herds. Alberti, *Account of the tribal life and customs of the Xhosa*, 24; Stephen Kay, *Travels and Researches in Caffraria: describing the Character, Customs, and Moral Conditions of the Tribes Inhabiting that Portion of Southern Africa* (London: John Mason, 1833), 123-124; "Mr Ayliff's remarks on the different kinds of food in use in Kaffraria" in John Maclean, comp. *A compendium of Kafir laws and customs, including genealogical tables of Kafir chiefs and various tribal census returns* (Mount Coke: Wesleyan Missionary Press for the Government of British Kaffraria, 1858), 152-156; Shrewsbury, *Memorials*, 234.

[530]The tail of an animal worn as a headdress usually indicated status or achievement. An abaThembu youth, for example, was entitled to wear the brush of a jackal he had hunted and killed as a mark of his skill and bravery. Mr J.Z. Vena of the Cory Library for Historical Research states that the *amafanankosi*, or chief's bodyguard, were entitled to wear the tails of antelope or jackal strapped to their heads to signify their superior status. J.A. Broster, *The Tembu: their beadwork, songs, and dances* (Cape Town: Purnell, 1976), 16; Albert Kropf, ed. *A Kafir-English dictionary*. 2 ed. (Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1915), 426; J.Z. Vena, oral evidence, 4 November 1988.

[531]The use of beads for ornamentation by both male and female amaXhosa was common but the significance of the beads worn on the ear as described by Laing is not clear. W.M.K Sobahle, "Xhosa beadwork from Victoria East and Middledrift districts", *Fort Hare Papers*, 6, no. 4 (September 1977): 266-292; Gitywa: "The arts and crafts of the Xhosa in the Ciskei: past and present", in *Fort Hare Papers*, 5,.2 (September 1971): 118-124; Gary van Wyk, "Illuminated signs: style and meaning in the beadwork of the Xhosa- and Zulu-speaking peoples" *African arts* (Autumn 2003): 12-94 (24 pages).

[532]An analysis of a small sample of passes issued to four "Mantatees" [baTlokwa], six amaXhosa and eight amaMfengu men in 1838 and 1857 produced an average height of 5' 7" [170,2 cm]. Of the sample, the shortest man recorded was 5' 5" [165,1 cm] and the tallest 5' 11" [180,3 cm] which suggests that Laing may have regarded these two men as taller than average. Cory Library, MS 2181-MS 2199, Collection of passes issued under Ordinance 49, 1828, dated 15.10.1838-13.12.1838 + 21.3.1857, assembled by Sir George Cory.

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(Transcribed so far 21st February 1832. J. Laing).

I made an *agreement* with Klaas to teach me Kaffer, because I could not depend on the uncertain aid I might obtain when teaching him. Neither could I depend on the precarious assistance of others, and I thought it no more than reasonable to pay for my instruction. Above all others, the Kaffers work best when paid. When we pay we may expect work to be well done. I fear that though I knew the Kaffer ever so well I will not be able to pronounce it; but it will be time to speak of that difficulty when I have gained a thorough acquaintance with its vocabulary and grammar. *Much rain* today.

Tuesday January 25th 1832 Made arrangements with Klaas to speak more frequently to the people who come to the Institution. Almost every day numbers are coming to us, ignorant of Christ and his great salvation. I hope now, through the Interpreter, more regularly to speak the Word of God to them than I have hitherto done. But I fear that the more they hear the Word the more they will withdraw from the Institution. 2 extra meetings of 10 or 12 today.

Yesterday I received a letter from Mr Thomson relating partly to Charles Henry. He is strangely inclined to think there was personal danger in his case (red. - [*shorthand phrase*] - see the letter"). "He seems quite fixed in his purpose of not returning to Kafferland".[533] Matwa's brother was in the school day before yesterday; but the children from his place have almost wholly absented themselves from the school since he became ill. Nosalle the candidate examined: answered satisfactorily. Nomanto the other candidate unwell—not examined. Vimbe, a young man, attends the children's school, and is quickly learning to read. When I came to Burnshill I was much pleased with his docility and scriptural knowledge and I am happy to find that he continues to answer the good opinion which I had formed of him.[534]

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[533]Laing is presumably quoting directly from Thomson's letter here. This entry in the original has several sections and words scored out and these have been passed over silently in the interest of clarity. It has not been possible to decipher the shorthand phrase.

[534]When W.R. Thomson, John Bennie and John Ross arrived at Tyhume Station in November 1821, Vimbe was about 10 or 12 years old and was living with his family on a tributary of the Kat River. Laing, writing in the *Quarterly Intelligence* of Autumn 1839, claimed that Vimbe's father was "of the Hottentot nation" but that he was "by profession a sorcerer, whose business it is to discover wizards and witches, that they may be punished for their crimes" which suggests that he was possibly amaXhosa rather than KhoeKhoe. Vimbe's family attached themselves to the Glasgow Missionary Society stations where Vimbe worked for the missionaries variously at Tyhume, Lovedale and Balfour before moving to Burnshill with Charles Henry in 1830. He tended cattle, made bricks, helped in the construction of the stations and had mastered the alphabet by the end of 1831. He was eventually baptised on 24 August 1834 and was given the name "John Muir" in honour of Rev. Dr John Muir of St James' Church, Glasgow. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Intelligence* 5 (Autumn 1839):1-6.

Thursday January 26th 1832 Few people coming about—spoke seriously [to] a few, among whom was Sutu who was the chief wife of Gaika. Two adults attended school—one is a candidate. Hear that Matwa is soon likely to remove to the Chumie river. If he goes it will be to avoid the Word and us. Not hot today.

Friday January 27th 1832 Besides the two meetings in the church had three meetings with visitors at the Institution. At one of these at least 30 were present. Some gave indifferent attention. Mr McDiarmid brought a Kaffer doctor [*igqirha*] in to morning worship. I was speaking in the 2nd chapter of the 1st Epistle of John in the ordinary course of expounding. A few minutes after I had begun I read "Love not the world". His atten[dant] in a little [while] went out and he soon followed. Whether they felt the Word to be a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart I cannot tell: but certainly the text is one very suitable to men like them. The doctor system is founded on covetousness. Thomas of Lovedale took away his little girl who was learning several useful things quickly. He spoke of sending her back again but, if he takes her away, without any good reason as he is doing, it is evident she can make no improvement. Various of the Missionaries have endeavoured to obtain native children to educate, but so blind are the Kaffers to the ultimate effects which might be produced by such an education that they will not accept of the offers of the Missionaries. The children, even of the converts, cannot be obtained, and this is the more wonder[ful] as they might see more than others the benefit which would result from Christian education. Boys among the Kaffers are much employed about the cattle[535]. Girls are reckoned valuable because they bring cattle to their parents or possessors when married. The husband *buys* the wife[536]. Could a boy be obtained he might become of great service to his countrymen after he had received a competent share of religious knowledge. (Not hot).

Saturday January 28th 1832 J. F., Mr Temlett's agent, went away today from the store in the neighbourhood. He pretended that Matwa would go away if he went, but when Mr Temlett asked Matwa if he intended to remove to the Chumie River he said he never intended any such thing. What J.F. did in the way of keeping the favour of the Kaffers when they were exasperated against the Institution is not to be com[mende]d. In honour he was bound all he could to disco[urag]e their wicked practices. His undermining manner towards his suc[cesso]r is not to be commended. He would have it to be understood, that no trade could

[535]In Xhosa society, where cattle played a role of pivotal political and economic importance, women were excluded from any involvement with the herd, even in the realm of husbandry. Accordingly, while Xhosa boys were tending cattle, Xhosa girls were allocated domestic and agricultural tasks around the homestead. Peires, *House of Phalo,* 41.

[536]The paying of a dowry in cattle is discussed in some detail in Section C of the Introduction.

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go on without him—a mere pretence. I will not affirm it, but I will say that I fear this young man has been hurtful to our Mission. Yet he came in general to Church on Sabbath. There is a new Agent at the storehouse now[537]. Thunder lightning and rain.

Monday January 30th 1832 More people at worship yesterday than have been since it was given out by the Kaffer doctors [*amagqirha*] that Matwa's illness was occasioned by his attendance on the Word. *50 adults present.* Various came from Matwa's place at the request of Mr McDiarmid. Some Fingoes [amaMfengu] came from their place of residence and were taken by surprize, as they do not in general come when they know it is the Lord's day; but on other days they come to work at the Institution. They prefer their bodily interests to those of their souls. They are oppressed by the Kaffers but that does not make them more inclined than their Masters to the Gospel. Mr T[emlett]'s new Agent was present forenoon and afternoon. A young man, a brother of Matwa, was also present. It is well that more are now coming to hear the gospel. Today, morning, misty and dark, with a little rain.

I wish to explain all the parts of God's Word transcribed into Kaffer, and also all subjects of a religious character such as Hymns before entering to any great extent on other parts of Scripture. None of the Kaffers so far as I know can fluently read even the pieces printed; but they soon get by heart the [missionary] catechism or even parts of the Bible, and it is desirable that they should thoroughly comprehend all those truths of religion which they retain in their minds.

(Transcribed so far 11 May 1832).

Tuesday January 31st 1832 Many Kaffers about, some of whom heard the Word. Mr Morgan arrived from Fort Willshire.

Wednesday February 1st 1832 Hot. Maize, pumpkins, figs, apricots, etc. are now ripe. At this station a considerable number of fruit trees have been planted by Mr McDiarmid, but they are young and will not bear much fruit for some years[538]. We have had some good

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[537]"J.F" may refer to John Ford, son of Edward Ford, who led a party of settlers in 1820. John was licensed to trade at Fort Willshire on 3.12.1824 at which time he was listed asa wheelwright of the farm Vallance. Not only were Ford and Temlett fellow settlers and co-religionists, both being members of the Baptist Church, but, in 1830, they were both signatories with 12 other traders at Fort Willshire to a complaint against an incidence of unlicenced trading in Xhosaland. It has not been possible to identify the new agent. CA, CO 3946, No. 222, Memorials received, 1830; Cory Library, MS 16 850.D, Grahamstown Baptist Church family register, 6; Nash, *The settler handbook* (Chameleon Press: Diep River, 1987), 23, 72; Beck, *The legalization and development of trade on the Cape Frontier,* 336.

[538]According to the Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* of 1831, Alexander McDiarmid had laid out gardens around the cottages at Burnshill and "a considerable number of fruit trees, sent over from Chumie, [had] been planted." Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1831):27.

potatoes this season. I mean to try them to grow throughout the year. Pumpkins are growing well. They might be here what potatoes are in Scotland, if the Kaffer would cultivate them; but they depend chiefly on milk for subsistence, and care little about adding to their bill of fare. They could, in their present state, suffer the loss of any sort of food better than that of their fermented milk [*amasi*]. The whole ground now occupied by our houses, gardens, etc. was lately covered with bushes, and these chiefly the mimosa. I have seen but little desire among the Kaffers to cultivate useful trees and vegetables. They are slow in improving either in temporal or spiritual things.

Matwa went away to the Chumie River, we believe to remain with Tyali his brother. Klaas says that this is not with the concurrence of the other Chiefs. The Kaffers no doubt wish Matwa placed at a distance from us. Matwa and Sutu also are said to be on bad terms.

Thursday February 2nd 1832 Thermometer 78°. (Thermometer 84° afterwards). Matwa has not called at the Institution since he was better, nor when he was removing. Yet he is more free to speak to us than when he was ill, at least he was so to Mr McDiarmid for I have not seen him. Now he will be nearer Chumie Institution than this; but he has left this place to be out of the way of hearing the Word or of having connections with missionaries. It was much the same with his father Gaika about the time of Williams[539]. Gaika gave more ground to hope well of him than ever Matwa has done; and much in same way was he induced to cease his attendance on the Gospel. The doctors know that if the people embrace Christianity their craft is at an end, and therefore they strain every nerve to uphold their system of darkness.

To the new Trader Matwa laid the blame on the doctors; but there is much insincerity among the Kaffers; and you cannot depend upon them, unless they have become Christians. By their willingness to say as you say, they intend to please.

Mr McDiarmid and I visited Maqoma (2nd February) to enquire whether Charles Henry had cause to go away in the manner in which he did. Maqoma very readily spoke on the subject. He had heard that there had been some talk about seizing Charles Henry, but it was indefinite

[539]Rev. Joseph Williams (1780-23.8.1818) of the London Missionary Society, arrived at the Cape in May 1815 and, with Somerset's approval, established a station at Ngqika's Great Place in 1816. Williams, however, annoyed the Colonial Government for refusing to report back to them on the activities of the amaXhosa amongst whom he lived. The Government's response was to formulate more stringent regulations to control those missionaries who were to follow Williams to stations beyond the Colonial borders. Ngqika in his turn was not prepared to embrace either Christianity or Western culture which he may have seen as synonymous and he responded to Williams' efforts forthrightly: "You have your manner to wash and decorate yourselves on the lord's day and I have mine the same in which I was born and that I shall follow. I have given over for a little to listen to your word but now I have done, for if I adopt your law I must surely overturn all my own and that I shall not do. I shall now begin to dance and praise my beast as much as I please, and I shall let all see who is the lord of this land." Williams died prematurely of fever a mere two years after he commenced his mission and was buried on his station by his wife Elizabeth. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 2:848; Peires, *House of Phalo,* 78.

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and had never come to a bearing. If there had been any real and authorized intention to seize Charles Henry he must have known it, as Charles Henry is one of his people, and could not be seized without his authority. But he added that if he had intended to seize him, he would first have made known his fault to the Teachers, and have shewed to them that there was good reason why he should be taken. The other Native Teachers and the people connected with the Institutions generally were all his, and before any of them could or would be taken, he must come and speak with their respective Teachers. He further said that there was no good reason why Charles Henry should have fled, and there was no good reason why he should not return. He would always protect him as he had hitherto done. He had not heard for what cause he was absent. He said that Charles Henry should have come to him, if he had dreaded anything, and have ascertained the truth. His family should not have gone away. We were well satisfied with what Maqoma said, and more with the freedom with which he spoke, i.e. his willingness and readiness to speak on the case. He shewed a friendly feeling throughout towards Charles Henry, and his declaration that there was no reason why he should not remain in safety and that he would protect him were all that we could wish.[540]

He would speak of the water course at Burnshill Institution i.e. the water course which Mr McDiarmid was prevented from executing because it passed too near the grave of Gaika.

Friday February 3rd 1832 Thermometer 90°. Spoke to 14 Kaffer people a considerable time.

Saturday February 4th 1832 The servant became tired, and set off. Pretended to be ill, in order to have an excuse for going away. Klaas reads his own language not so well as he does the Dutch. If he would apply himself to learning he might [be] of great use in assisting in the translation of the Bible in[to] Kaffer. We cannot speak of learned natives in Kafferland as is done by the missionaries in India.

Received the report of the G.M.S. for 1831 bearing internal marks that it was written by Mr Struthers. Edward Irving, a native Kaffer and communicant at Chumie, came to assist us in

[540]There is a fuller report of this discussion in the minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria dated 5 April 1832 which differs significantly from this account on several points of detail and emphasis. The Presbytery report records that Maqoma "knew of a report *widely* circulated among the Kaffers, that they intended to seize him [Charles Henry] on account of his having bewitched Matwa". More significantly, the Presbytery report extends the range of Maqoma's authority and protection over not only the black teachers and others at the mission stations but over the missionaries as well. Maqoma is also reported as having stated that Charles Henry was "under the missionaries", introducing the anomalous situation whereby Maqoma would treat with the missionaries as equals whilst they were nevertheless subject to his authority. There is a suggestion that Maqoma was articulating only what he considered the missionaries wanted him to say. In view of his journal entry dated 2.2.1832, Laing was not entirely unaware of this possibility. While the missionaries were hoping that Maqoma would condemn the punishing of people accused of witchcraft in response to their petition, there is no evidence that he did so.

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the absence of Charles Henry.[541] Mr Chalmers says of him in his note "you will find him to be a stern, faithful and diligent man". A stern man is much wanted at this place where the Kaffers are so much inclined to make light of the word of God.

Monday February 6th 1832 Yesterday, Sabbath February 5th, about 25 adult people in church. Monday, February 6th, hot. Irving in the school but he cannot read much. Teaching the Kaffers their own verbs. They do not learn quickly.

Tuesday February 7th 1832 Thunder etc. last night—wet today. Few visitors. Mr Chalmers came from Mr Ross's Station.

Wednesday February 8th 1832 Intending to go out—horses could not be got.

Thursday February 9th 1832 Out with Klaas and preaching to the people on the small river Amatole. Spoke 4 times to people living in contig[uous] Kr[aals]. 10 hearers on an average each time. All attentive. This itinerating and preaching among the Kaffers is certainly in accordance with the "go and preach" of our Lord. Preaching is the main work of a Missionary, and what he is bound to do more than teaching in the schools or even translating God's word. These last are good, but the first is not to be superseded by them; nor can the Missionary expect God's blessing on his other works if he preach not to all within his sphere *so long as they will hear*. We rode through bushy country, along the Keiskamma [River] which has a wonderful bend towards the North. On our right was a steep and wooded mountain with a form[ation] at the top in some places generally composed of rocky pillars. I must, if God grants me health, endeavour to make known as extensively as possible the knowledge of the way of salvation. The Kaffers must hear before they can believe and they cannot hear without a preacher. O that I could so shew them the greatness and goodness of the S[aviour] so that they would believe in him. Mr Ross itinerates and preaches more than any of our Missionaries.

Saturday February 11th 1832 Writing to the Students of Theology, Edinburgh Divinity Hall.[542] Kaffers less impor[tunate] in begging than usual. Cool and pleasant day. Edward

[541] Named after the Church of Scotland minister Edward Irving . Irving assisted in the affairs of the mission at Burnshill during half of the quarter ending April 1832. Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, 5.4.1832, 198.

[542] It was agreed at the Presbytery of Kaffraria meeting on 5 January 1832 that the work of the Glasgow Missionary Society missionaries would benefit from written contact with the missionaries of the Scottish Missionary Society in the East and West Indies as well as with the students of several of the Halls of Divinity in Scotland. Responsibility for making this contact fell to John Ross, William Chalmers and James Laing who were asked to form a committee of correspondence. The Minutes of the Meeting do not specify whether the missionaries anticipated that these benefits would be material or spiritual or both, but in the Minutes of the previous Presbytery Meeting of 31 October 1831, it was agreed that "a correspondence be entered into with friends in the Colony to

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Irving came again from Chumie whither he went on Wednesday. He is a serious man and has a more comely appearance than any of the baptised Kaffers whom I have seen. I know not whether I have noted that Matwa's mother and brothers have also gone to Chumie River.[543] They are gone and they too gave good hopes of speedy improvement in religion and useful knowledge. To be a Christian *among* the Kaffer kraals seems in the present state of things quite impracticable. To come to the Institutions would put it into the power of any one to live according to the rules of Christ, but this, it is very plain, will not be favoured by the chiefs, since they would then lose their reven[ue],arising from the seizing of the cattle of people supposed to have bewitched others. Maqoma, the highest of Gaika's sons, shews an outward respect for the word, and has taken all the Missionaries under his protection. Tyali his brother is an open scoffer and is wicked enough to blame the native Christians for bewitching the chiefs.

Kafferland is uncommonly beautiful now—everywhere verdant and fragrant. Its inhabitants are strong, and good looking; but they have no gra[titude] to give to him who fills their hearts with food and gladness. (Time is fast passing away).

Monday February 13th 1832 Perhaps 30 present yesterday. Noudous [Nodous], Kaffer doctor among the number.[544] Monday: rain, thunder, lightning.

Tuesday February 14th 1832 Cloudy in the morning. Some strangers at morning worship. Though there are few people residing at the Institution we are seldom without visitors from Chumie or elsewhere which renders the number of worshippers, morning and evening, much more considerable than it would be were we alone. Cool, cloudy day but no rain.

Wednesday February 15th 1832 Examined the two candidates on "Love to the brethren". They were modest and humble and I doubt not sincere in their answers. When their own personal feelings are considered they are cautious in speaking in which respect they resemble

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obtain *some pecuniary aid* in behalf of the Glasgow Mis[sionary] Soc[iety]" so their motive in initiating this contact with the Divinity students may have been at least partly material. They may also have been hoping to encourage further recruits to the Glasgow Missionary Society's mission field. Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria Minutes, 31.10.1831:187; *ibid.* 5.1.1832:195-6.

[543]Motompo, Matwa's mother, see Laing's entries for 11 February 1832, 3 October 1832, 15 December 1832, 6 January 1834, 23 June 1834 and 3 December 1835.

[544]In the *Quarterly Intelligence* of Autumn, 1840, Laing identified Nodous as one of Ngqika's wives who had been accused of bewitching him during his final illness in 1829. According to Laing's report, she had been tortured by having biting ants (*isaphompolo*) and red-hot stones applied to her body and had confessed. Laing was not certain whether she had been guilty of attempts to bewitch Ngqika or if she had confessed under duress despite her innocence. Whatever the case may have been, Laing recorded that by 1840 she had been employed for a number of years "to find out witches" and that she had "not learned to show mercy to others though she was visited with such a severe punishment". Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Intelligence*, no.9, Autumn, 1840, 1.

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not a little the Scotch who are backward to speak of their religious views and feelings. I should think they, [the] Kaffers, [are] fully as much disinclined to disclose their own state as they. (Hot).

Friday February 17th 1832 Yesterday went to Lovedale to attend the Committee on Translation. The History of Jos[eph] by Mr Bennie nearly in Scriptural language, the 10 commandments and the doc[trina]l Catechism all in Kaffer were examined and approved and ordered to be printed as soon as possible according to the Min[utes] of Pres[bytery].[545]

The petition against torturing and killing for witchcraft was today presented to Maqoma.[546] He received it with approbation and said that he wished to put an end to the cruel practices of torturing and killing for witchcraft if he had power. He wished to receive instruction from the teachers—considered the doctors false witnesses. Had much pain because the horrid work went on—wished Hintsa to use his influence (which was very great, greater than his) to put an end to the system of killing for witchcraft.[547]

After leaving Maqoma we concluded our business with prayer under the shade of a mimosa and were thankful that the Chief was so favourably disposed towards our object. We see that the belief in witchcraft is one of the main hindrances to the general [reception] of the gospel uniting the Kaffers.

Saturday February 18th 1832 Rain last night. Hot and sunshine today. Doctor M[organ] came to Burnshill. Could we put an end to the witchcraft pun[ishing] we might expect the

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[545]John Bennie convened the meeting which was attended by Committee members Ross, Chalmers and Laing. Bennie may have been translating the *History of Joseph* which expands the story of Joseph in the Book of Genesis and which forms part of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, but it is far more likely that Bennie was simply translating the Biblical story of Joseph into isiXhosa. Whichever the case there is no evidence that this history was ever published. Cory Library, MS 9037, 5.4.1832:202; *The Encyclopedic Dictionary of Religion* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia, 1979), v. 2, 182.

[546]Bennie, Ross, Chalmers and Laing presented the petition and Bennie was asked by the Presbytery to send a fair copy to the four Glasgow Missionary Society stations for their own use as well as to send a free translation of it to the Editor of the *South African Christian Recorder* for publication. Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, 5.4.1832, 202.

[547]As Peires points out, there was a degree of imprecision in the definition of the relative supremacy and subservience of the amaXhosa chiefs *vis à vis* the amaXhosa king. The king was identified as the chief most closely linked to Tshawe, in this case Hintsa, but as Peires further observes "No chief would take an important step without first consulting the opinions of other chiefs, both senior and junior." This spirit of consultation obtained from the king's direction as well, whereby he would not take any decision which would bind his junior chiefs unless they were present and they had discussed the matter. Certainly, in the case of something as integral to amaXhosa tradition as witchcraft, any unilateral rejection such as the missionaries were asking of Maqoma would not have been sanctioned. Maqoma's response may have indicated a simple abnegation of responsibility by referring the matter to Hintsa but may also have been consistent with amaXhosa practice. The further possibility, that he was merely humouring the missionaries, cannot be ignored. Peires, *House of Phalo,* 27-31.

Kaffers to listen to the gospel. Maqoma if he speaks the truth does not delight in torturing his subjects but he allows that it would require much power to put an end to the system. We should pray much for these poor Kaffers for they are placed in the most lamentable situation and we know that the gospel alone can raise them from their degraded state. We may fear that the love of gain would make Maqoma less desirous than he would otherwise be to put an end to the w[itchcraft] p[unishing] system.

On the road to Lovedale saw many kraals and regretted that I had not time to preach to their inhabitants. Were the people to obtain a theoretical view [*shorthand: of the*] main doctrines [*shorthand: of the*] Bible and speak about them we should hope that they would be affected by them.

Monday February 20th 1832 Fine day yesterday—upwards of 30 adults present at worship. When Edward Irving requested the people at the Great Place to come to worship they said they would come if the Teacher would give them food to eat. This is a condition which they often wish to make but which cannot be granted. The Kaffers this season have abundance of food. Fermented milk [*amasi*] is their staff of life. Today various of the Kaffers from the Great Place have come who did not come yesterday. They are eating Indian Corn roasted which they have received from the people of the Institution.[548] The climate is so fine that they lie about on the grass or sit by the side of the house. When the sun becomes too hot they retire under a mimosa bush where they make a fire on which they roast their flesh or meelies (Indian Corn) or with which they light their pipes; and thus they smoke, sit and sleep the most of the day. I write this from what I see under my eyes. The actors in these scenes are composed partly of people of the station and partly of strangers who come about. When the weather is cold as it frequently is in winter or when it rains as it has often done since I came, they retire to their warm, dry houses where they lodge comfortably according to their ideas of comfort. Their houses have no opening for smoke to escape; but the retention of the smoke is to them one of their chief comforts. As to worldly circumstances it must be allowed that the Kaffers are very easy and though their present condition generally appears to us very uncomfortable it must appear very different to them since they are contented to remain in it. Some individuals at the Institution have laid aside their karosses and have built houses after our mode. But these remarks as to dress and houses may, to a very considerable extent, [be] applied also to them. Their houses after our fashion are so made as to contain all their favourite smoke except what escapes by the doors etc.

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[548] The common name of *Zea Mays*, corn or maize indigenous to America, and known in southern Africa as "mealies" or "mielies". *A Dictionary of South African English on historical principles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, in association with The Dictionary Unit for South African English, 1996), 147.

During the day many people were going about. Some of these were engaged in working at the Institution. Spoke to a few among whom was Anta and his wife in a [statelier] manner on the ground before our house. Though as to dress, manners etc. there is little difference between the chiefs and people, the people have a respect for them and uniformly conduct themselves best when their chiefs are present. Speaking and examining on the Conscience from 1 John 3:20.

Thursday February 23rd These days have been wet. God has watered this country well this season and the Kaffers have abundance of food. They are not left without a *witness*. Employed this week in transcribing minutes of Presbytery for the Directors and in writing letters to friends in the Colony for forwarding to [the] G.M.S.

Mr Struthers mentions that the kaross is *undressed*. This is a mistake. It is dressed very much, scraped thin and soft with sharp instruments, but I have so noticed in a communication which I am about to send to the Directors. I saw a man today with a sheep skin kaross. It was made up of regular cut pieces of the skin generally 2 feet long and 1 broad neatly sewed together. The woolly side he wore next his skin but the other side had undergone a long and careful process of dressing. It must be much warmer than the skin of the ox. The karosses of the females have many buttons on them. This had none except one to button it at the forepart of the neck. Its shape was like a common cloak and came down to the ankles. The man could cover himself up in it when he pleased; but commonly he allowed it to remain open and loose. No- one at home could be more proud of any article of dress. The chiefs, and petty-chiefs, wear tiger-skin or wild-cat skin karosses. These they often buy from the traders and do not hesitate to give a good price for them. I believe an ox or cow is not considered too much for a good tiger skin kaross. When speaking of karosses it must always be kept in view that they are often made up of *pieces* of skins, I may say generally: and they have all been dressed but not tanned. The Kaffers of late have sold many of their skins to the traders which must make the supply for mantles much scarcer; and strange to tell they do not buy clothes with their skins but beads, buttons, brass wire, etc. 10 shillings they receive for a skin but that would not buy much cloth here and indeed they think the kaross warmer than clothes.[549]

Saturday February 25th 1832 A boy or a girl does not require more than one skin, sheep or goat for her/his kaross. A Kaffer man, while Charles Henry was here, came with a sheep skin

[549]Gitywa, in his detailed description of the preparation of karosses, bears out Laing's refutation of Struthers' statement that the hides were undressed by writing that the Xhosa "reached such a high standard in the preparation of hides as to command the attention and praise of early travellers and missionaries". Gitywa confirms, on the evidence of E.C. Godee Molsbergen, that the cloaks or karosses of the women were decorated with buttons whilst those of the men were generally left unadorned. Gitywa, "The Arts and Crafts of the Xhosa in the Ciskei", 111-116.

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kaross beautifully dressed for sale. Charles Henry bought [it] for about 1s-6d for one of his boys. The Kaffer woman wears a curious skin cap on her head much ornamented with small beads. This cap is made of the skin of the blue, wild buck.[550]

I never see the women naked like the men. They have always the greater part of their bodies covered either with the long kaross or with a sort of skin petticoat. Both the Hottentot and Kaffer women are differently shaped in some respects from European females. But the Kaffers of both sexes are much more handsome than [their] neighbours, the Hottentots, who are very homely in personal appearance. The Kaffers are very desirous of obtaining handkerchiefs for wearing on their heads. They work willingly to obtain these as pay. But they should be large and our friends in Glasgow should attend to this when they send them. 32 inches square is a good size. It matters not how coarse they are nor of what pattern if large and strong. Saving those at the Institution the Kaffers around work for trifles—beads, buttons, etc.—unless when they work for handkerchiefs. At the Institution people work for money and to all Kaffers a higher amount must now be given than when the missionaries came to the country.[551]

Yesterday *wet*. Today *wet*. Sometime ago we received the Report of the G.M.S. for last year. There is one error in it respecting my departure from Scotland, which was in the end of September 1830 not in the end of October as the Report says. It is the more necessary to notice this as the author of the Report says that my voyage to Cape Town was long; but it was not *long* if I came from Glasgow in the end of October. There is an omission regarding my ordination at Penpont on the 3rd August 1830. The writer of the Report mentions my being licensed and designated and certainly what he has omitted naturally came in along with

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[550]Women were required by custom to wear, in addition to the kaross, a bodice and a headdress, the latter often described by early writers as the most expensive and elaborate of all the items of female dress. It was customarily decorated heavily with beads, buttons, pieces of iron or copper or similar ornamentation. The cap was made of fine thin leather, usually from the blue buck (*iphuthi*), or the bushbuck (*imbabala*). The cap was an intricately fashioned item, of various design and construction, sometimes a long piece of leather wound round the head in a type of turban, sometimes stitched into a pointed cap from several pieces of skin, but invariably highly ornamented. Gitywa, "The Arts and Crafts of the Xhosa in the Ciskei", 114-115.

[551]From as early as 1822 W.R. Thomson had been urging payment in coin rather than in beads or buttons in trade and other transactions, his motives ostensibly being to establish a circulating medium for a growing trade economy and to foster Xhosa acceptance of their links with the Colony. The effect of this was to whittle away at Xhosa economic independence which they had been able to preserve whilst using beads and buttons but dependence on the Colonial economy was assured after the value of beads plummeted in 1829. The introduction of coin further strengthened the process of acculturation on the mission stations as the missionaries sought to recreate a western model of a Christian community around them. Peires, *House of Phalo,* 107-8; Donovan Williams, "The Missionaries on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, 1799-1853", Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1959, 239-240.

these notices. I say nothing of the Report as applicable to the state of the Mission in *this country* on that aspect something will be done by the whole of our number.[552]

Monday February 27th 1832 Fair yesterday. Few strangers present. Of late we have had several visitors from Chumie which has [rendered] the atten[dance] on the w[ord] gre[ater] than it usually is. *About 30* adults might be present yesterday *including* those of the place.

More people today than yesterday. These came to *work*: but not to hear God's word.

Tambookie land [Thembuland], according to information on which I can depend, surrounds the interior part of Kafferland bounding with the Colony: and afterwards enclosing Kafferland to the sea: so that Kafferland on the North and East is bounded by it. The Tambookies [abaThembu] speak the same language as the Kaffers. Their country is more extensive than that of the Kaffers but they are not so numerous as they (i.e. the Kaffers). Beyond the Tambookies are the Mambookies[553] and beyond the Mambookies are the Amapinda [amaMpondo] people, among whom the Wesleyans have a Missionary.[554]

More inland, but I should think parallel with these last tribes, are the Bechuanas [baTswana] who differ in language from the Kaffers whereas those along the coast to a considerable distance speak a dialect much the same as that of the Kaffers. 2 Kaffers of the place were *sawing* wood today.

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[552]Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* (1831): 29-30.

[553]The abaThembu were commonly known as Tambookies in the nineteenth century and in 1832 they occupied the territory to the North and East of Xhosaland. In the use of Mambookies, Laing is probably referring to the abaMbo people. It is possible that Laing is citing William Shaw's journal as reproduced in the *Wesleyan Missionary Magazine* (1829):.565 and that this was the "information on which [he could] depend". Shaw identified "four entirely distinct nations, who all speak the Caffre language, and occupy a belt of beautiful country extending along the coast from the colony to Port-Natal: —the Amakosa, commonly called Caffres; the Amatemboo, called Tambookies; the Amanbambo, called Mambookies; and the Amapondo." Certainly, the Wesleyan missionary William Shepstone, stationed at Morley in 1829, located himself in "Mamboo land", indicating a certain contemporary currency of the term. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, 168 (December 1829): 183. Laing could also have read any of the writings of the early travellers including those of Anders Sparrman who alludes to both "Tambukis" and "Mambukis" in his *A voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* .... Forbes, in his Van Riebeeck Society edition of Sparrman, attributes the final additional syllable in Tambookies and Mambookies to a borrowing from KhoeKhoe guides or informants who added to the names of the tribes the KhoeKhoe word for people *khoi* or *qua*, which the Dutch in turn interpreted by *kie*. Anders Sparrman, *A voyage to the Cape of Good Hope towards the Antarctic Polar Circle round the world and to the country of the Hottentots and the Caffres from the year, 1772-1776.*; ed. Vernon S. Forbes. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1975), 115.

[554]Probably the amaMpondo. In 1830 the Wesleyans had established a mission station about 112km North of the Umtata River amongst the people of the amaMpondo king Faku. This station, then in the charge of Rev. William Boyce, was the 6th in the chain of stations established by Rev. William Shaw, and later became known as Buntingville. Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society *Report* 1832/3:1834.

Friday March 16th 1832 Returned from Mr Ross's station at which I have been staying for the last 2 weeks. Went thither mainly for the purpose of going out among the Kaffers with him.[555]

He was working at a water course with some Amafengu [amaMfengu] when we (Mrs Laing was with me) went. During our stay he has for whole days been working at the same water course.

On the Sabbath after we went Mr Ross went to Lovedale to be present at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. I preached 3 times in the Native Teacher's house (used as a church) to attentive people. More were present all the three times than the house would well contain. Some waited from morning till the last service and shewed that they wished to be instructed. At Burnshill I have not seen the like of this except in the case of Matwa and his people. On the whole I think the desire for the gospel at present stronger at Pirrie than at Burnshill. Mr Ross labours much in many ways. He labours with his hands. He labours to teach those who visit his station something of religion. He goes to the places situated around and preaches the gospel. He labours in his family to the right ordering of his domestic affairs—and he does all with so much composure, ease and patience as to lead me to the conclusion that he is actuated in no small degree by the overcoming and peaceable spirit of our holy faith. In another paper I have taken notice of what took place while Mr Ross and I were out.

On the north side of Pirrie runs a high mountain the south side of which is covered with trees. Pirrie is situated on a gently sloping ridge or hill on which there are no bushes. But there is abundance of good wood very near it. The average [number] of hearers on the 2 Sabbaths past may have been 20.

God has brought us again to our own home. His mercies are many and great and we are bound by the strongest ties to love and serve him. We also visited Buffalo River Station and found Mr Brownlee finishing the walls of his *stone* house; a great undertaking for a single individual the greatest indeed which I have seen executed by one man since I came to this land.

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[555]The Meeting of the Presbytery of Kaffraria on 5.1.1832 agreed that missionaries should travel in pairs to parts of the interior where there was no missionary in order to preach the Gospel. Accordingly, Laing and Ross set off on two journeys, the first of which began when they set off from Pirie on 7 March travelling in an easterly direction. They crossed the Buffalo River and reached a furthermost point on a tributary of the Buffalo, possibly the Yellowwoods or Kameka River, stopping at several kraals along the way before returning to Pirie. On 9 March they set out again, this time in a westerly and south-westerly direction, and ventured as far as Botomane's place, who reportedly asked that they send him a Teacher as soon as possible. Ross and Laing reported to Presbytery on their return that they had visited 26 kraals and had preached to a total of 330 people during their three days' journeying. Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, 5.4.1832, 198-200.

While at Mr Ross's I read a volume and a half of Wodrow's History edited by Dr Burns.[556] All who wish to see what support religion can give in spiritual love and death should read that History and that is not the only lesson which it will teach.

Saturday March 17th 1832 Considerable numbers [of] people going about. Thermometer 78°.

Monday March 19th 1832 Yesterday few strangers were present. 15 might be the average of both strangers and people [*shorthand = of the*] station.

Today had a supernumerary meeting in the little Church with strangers and had upwards of 40 hearers. On "What shall I do to be saved?". Hot yesterday, today thermometer 84°. I might have mentioned that the people in our neighbourhood were yesterday absent from their homes at dances where marriages are celebrated.

Today these 40 hearers of the word were very tardy in coming into church looking on the little trouble they were to be put to in walking a few yards as a great inconvenience. When they had come in they heard with attention.

Tuesday March 20th 1832 Edward Irving went to Chumie today having assisted us since 4th *ult.* except during a week on which he was absent.

Wednesday March 21st 1832 Very hot, thermometer 84° and 86°. A hot wind pre[vailed]and rendered the day uncomfortable. Some strangers in the Church at morning worship.

Thursday March 22nd 1832 Cloudy and cool. Vimbe, a young man at the Station, answers remarkably well.

Monday March 26th 1832 About 20 people present yesterday in Church.—Cool, thermometer 68°. The Kaffers near us were eating beef and dancing and would not attend the whole day in any consideration, *nor* during part of the day. Fewer people visited the Institution because it was Sabbath.

Monday morning—pleasant. The candidate Nosale is gone to Chumie where she ought to be having a husband there who had used her somewhat harshly some time ago; but who now wishes her to *return*. Before she could have been admitted into the Church by baptism she

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[556]Robert Wodrow: *The history of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restauration to the Revolution, collected from the public records ... and ... well attested narratives.* With an original memoir of the author, extracts from his correspondence, a preliminary dissertation, and notes, by the Rev. R. Burns. 2 ed. (Glasgow: Blackie and Fullarton, 1830), 4 vols.

must have been spoken to about living away from her husband, but that is rendered unnecessary by a mutual compromise.

Tuesday March 27th 1832 Yesterday an officer at Fort W[illshire] with 18 men came seeking stolen cattle—and staid all night at the Institution. Thermometer 78° at 11 o'clock. Mr McDiarmid visits Chumie and Balfour today.

Received 2 letters from the Revd. Mr Struthers dated 28th November 1831, the one a public letter to the other missionaries in common with me, the other a private com[municated] to myself. Both highly acceptable being the 1st letters I have received in answer to any which I have written since I came to Kafferland. Writing a letter for the Presbytery to Students of the 4 Established Divinity Halls in Scotland. May it do good.

Wednesday March 28th 1832 Messrs Moodie and Maynard of Graham's [Town] came to the Institution in their journey from Hinza's country.[557] Pleasant, intelligent men.

Thursday March 29th 1832 Wet. Old Enno C.C. was present in worship at the Church and staid at the Institution all night.[558] We saw him at the Great Place in the midst of a large number of men seemingly holding a Counsel. To see 80 or 100 black faces all at once together was an interesting sight. I heard that the Cape officers had taken all the cattle stolen and 3 times the number in addition as a punishment and these ad[ ] g[ ] b[ ].[559]

Friday March 30th 1832 Messrs Moodie and Maynard left us today. Wet till 10 o'clock. Finished the draft of a letter to the Students. Of late many strangers visiting us, some of whom have been present at worship. Maqoma called today. Qeno and some of his people at worship the other night. Thunder lightning and rain evening.

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[557]Probably Donald Moodie (25.6.1794-27.8.1861), then "Protector of slaves for the Eastern division of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope", and either Charles or Henry Maynard, brothers and merchants of Grahamstown. The Maynard brothers traded *inter-alia* in gunpowder and elephant guns and were engaged, with Benjamin Norden, in trade with Port Natal, hence this journey from Hintsa's country through whose territory they would have passed on their return from Natal. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 2: 488-491.

[558]Enno or Qeno, more correctly Nqeno, (also known as Umlawu), minor son of Langa and grandson of Phalo. He died in 1846 but his date of birth is not known. Laing's abbreviation C.C. is not clear but could possibly be his abbreviation for "Caffer Chief". Peires, *House of Phalo*, 48; Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds. *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840.* 2 ed. (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), 427.

[559]Laing is citing an instance of the abuse to which the commando reprisal system was open whereby the patrols seized not only the cattle they suspected of having been stolen from the Colony but, at times, many more besides. Frequently these cattle were seized from innocent parties thus compounding the iniquity of a system that the colonial authorities were clearly incapable of monitoring. The difficulty of Laing's script, compounded as ever by abbreviations, has made it not decipherable at this point.

Saturday March 31st 1832 Planted some potatoes today. During the whole year it appears to me they may be planted. Perhaps September and October are the best months for this purpose. Thermometer 68°. Windy.

Sabbath April 1st 1832 About 10 hearers today in Church. Great People away from home. Pleasant day.

Monday April 2nd 1832 Enno and Maqoma were seeking Missionaries last week.

Tuesday April 3rd Heard that the Kaffers have killed last week two of the Hottentot soldiers who went past the station to seek cattle.[560] They were alone at the time of their death. Charles Henry arrived today and appears now free from fear. Mrs McDiarmid does not approve of the extravagances of the people at Mr Reid's Station [Philipton].[561]

Wednesday April 4th 1832 The Chief Matwa visited the Institution in a friendly manner.

Thursday April 5th 1832 Meeting of Presbytery held.

Friday April 6th 1832 Presbytery Meeting concluded. Meeting of Board held. I am sorry to see such a worldly spirit by some of the communicants—indeed the best of them having seen the benefit of money desire it very strongly. Cattle and goods they also love more than Christians should do. Improvement in the arts or in useful learning they care little about except as means of obtaining money. They will learn e.g. to saw wood for money but not for the sake of the benefit they might derive unto themselves by [doing this].

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[560]The *Graham's Town Journal* reported on 30 March 1832 that on the night of 16 March, two members of a Cape Mounted Riflemen patrol separated from the rest to follow a different track and did not return. A search party discovered the bodies of the two men the following morning. According to the report they had died of assegaai wounds and their horses and arms had been seized. The Cape Mounted Riflemen was formed by Lord Charles Somerset in 1827 as a regular cavalry regiment with white officers and white and KhoeKhoe other ranks. *Graham's Town Journal*, 30.3.1832, p.2, column 1; Patrick Joseph Young, *Boot and saddle: a narrative record of the Cape Regiment, the British Cape Mounted Riflemen, the Frontier Armed Mounted Police, and the Colonial Cape Mounted Riflemen* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1955), 173.

[561]James Read (senior, 3.12.1777-8.5.1852) and James Read (junior, 31.7.1811-4.6.1894), father and son, were both missionaries of the London Missionary Society. Read senior established his mission station at what would later become Bethelsdorp in 1802 near Port Elizabeth. In 1803 Read married Sarah, a KhoeKhoe woman, who bore him several children, among them James junior. The liberal Reads, who later established their station at Philipton in the Kat River Settlement, were generally regarded with suspicion by colonists and authorities alike. Read senior held James Laing in high regard as evidenced in his letter to James Kitchingman on 5 December 1841 already alluded to in the Introduction, q.v. *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 1: 666-669; Le Cordeur and Saunders, *The Kitchingman papers*, 222-223.

Saturday April 7th 1832 Wrote 4 letters to colonial clergymen on Presbytery business.[562] Fine day. 8 strangers in the morning at worship. Weather perceptively colder night and morning.

Monday April 9th 1832 About 25 at worship yesterday. This morning 2 men killed near us defending themselves from Tyali's attack on them for cattle. I believe Tyhali wished to take the cattle from them as a punishment because they had had some share in stealing from the Colony lately. An Omfengu was killed on Saturday for claiming his own. Wet in the afternoon today.

Thursday April 12th 1832 Mr Ross visited this place on public business connected with his station. Thunder storm, lightning uncommonly vivid. We believe that the Kaffers would more frequently come to stay at our Institution could they readily get away from their kraals and obtain their cattle to take with them. This we are well assured has different times been the case. We know further that not only have the Kaffers forcibly detained their cattle when they wished to reside at the Institution but have demanded back some cattle which they had succeeded in bringing with them.

They depend much on cattle for support and if they were to leave their kraals and come to the Institution they would find some difficulty in obtaining a livelihood. In a few instances they might be supported by the Missionaries but could not were they to come in great *numbers.* They might work and obtain cattle for their work or money with which they could purchase cattle. We wish we saw more of them coming even without all their worldly goods for the sake of Christ. As a Society our Directors would support us in making some provision for them.

Intend to notice something regarding what is done with Kaffers that visit us almost every day.

It is with pleasure that I see in the *Christian Instructor* the Resolutions of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod in regard to missions. Their scheme accords with that of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland but is superior to it. Our National Church does not sufficiently attend to the word "preach" in the com[man]d of our Lord. Having been appointed by the Presbytery of the Mis[sionaries of the] G.M.S. to write to the Students of the Established Halls of Scotland I consider that it will be my duty to direct their attention to

[562]Laing was instructed by the Presbytery to write to the Reverends W.R. Thomson, G. Morgan, A. Murray and A. Smith inviting them to participate in William Chalmers' ordination which was to take place at Tyhume on 3.5.1832. Laing was to ask George Morgan to preach the ordination sermon. Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery Minutes, 5.4.1832, 204.

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the principles on which the General Assembly are now acting, and in which the Reformed Presbyterian Synod propose to act.[563]

Friday April 13th 1832 Mr Ross left us this morning. Day cloudy. Some strangers have for the present taken up their abode at Matwa's old Kraal and attend daily worship in the Church.

Botuman called today. He is the chief with whom Mr Ross and I staid when out last month preaching to the Kaffers. Then and now he asked for [a] Missionary. This is well, but we must not believe that he and others who ask [for] Missionaries desire to obtain them from pure love to the gospel. In Scotland an impression prevails that the desire of the Chiefs for the Missionaries is for the gospel and for the gospel alone. Botuman and some others are favourably disposed towards Missionaries but they cannot desire the gospel for itself until they know better what it is; and they shew that they care but little for it by the small pains they take in coming to hear it preached at the Institutions.

Saturday April 14th 1832 Fine day. Employed in writing. The Kaffers have of late been in a very unsettled state in consequences of the Commandoes and rumours of them from the Colony. I suspect that on a late occasion many more cattle were taken from them then they stole. That is not so bad but I also suspect that the cattle were not taken from the guilty but from the innocent. This if true is not just. I should wish much to be in possession of the facts relating to the taking of cattle from the Kaffers that matters might be redressed if found to require redress. Our Mission to them may be much hurt by proceedings such as I have supposed. From want of knowledge I speak hypothetically at present but what I hear may well warrant me to make further inquiry.

Monday April 16th 1832 Yesterday many strangers present: 45 adults in the Church at one time—some of them travellers from a considerable distance. Upwards of 50 adding some present at another time heard the gospel yesterday. Today many strangers present in the Church at sunrise—40 or so.

Now the weather begins to be perceptibly colder. We felt the same change at Algoa Bay in the same month last year. Charles Henry arrived from Chumie. I hear he has some misgivings

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[563]The journal to which Laing is referring here is the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*. Resolution III, adopted at the meeting of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in April 1831, supported the efforts of existing churches and voluntary associations in sending preachers to the mission fields. In Resolution IV the Synod regretted that the Reformed Presbyterian Church itself did not as yet have its own missionaries in the field. Resolution IX emphasised that preachers should be sent out by churches rather than by "mixed and promiscuous assemblies" and that supreme control and direction of any Reformed Presbyterian Church missionary endeavour would be held by the Synod. *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* (August 1831): 598-599.

as to staying here but I shall hear, *D.V.*, more soon. He mentions his wife as being unwilling to return.

Thursday April [19th] Charles Henry still here. Says little either about going or remaining. Received from Mr Chalmers 10 copies of the third sheet of 1 John. Mr Chalmers has of late done our Mission good service in printing Psalms, Hymns and John's 1st Epistle.[564] Having these we are furnished with a stimulus to teach the people to read more fluently. Still they are slow in attaining to a knowledge of the value of reading.

See from the Newspaper that Temperance Societies are doing much good in this Colony. Even Port Elizabeth has reaped benefit from them and I can bear witness how much that place stood in need of them. In Grahamstown I am told that certain Tracts which I brought out with me were the cause of originating a Temperance Society which I am happy to say is respectable and efficient.[565]

Saturday April 21st 1832 Asked Charles Henry today whether he meant to return to Burnshill or not. From his own words I had reason to fear that he would not remain at the Station and this induced me to ask. He was much more unwilling to answer such a pertinent and plain question than an upright Christian man had ought to have been—and shewed an evident leaning towards the Hottentot country. I by no means pressed him to stay here as I am of opinion that no man ought to be pressed to take upon [himself] a spiritual charge. He said he would abide by the word which he spoke to the Presbytery which was that he would come and endeavour to assist as formerly. Yet I fear he shall be persuaded by his friends to take up his abode in the Colony.

Monday April 23rd Charles Henry today spoke with the doc[tor] w[itch] and was well satisfied with her manner. She denied wishing any evil to him—wished peace—turned away from the question "had she said that Charles Henry had bewitching matter in his possession?". Yesterday about 50 people heard the word here. Very few came of those whom I invited from the neighbouring kraals or Great Place as it is called. Hear of a comm[ando] at the Chumie River. The Kaffer harvest approaches. Charles Henry by his staying here shews that he too laid aside his fears.

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[564]The minutes of the meeting of the Presbytery of Kaffraria on 5 April 1832 recorded that Chalmers had printed 200 copies of the first 12 pages of the new hymns. Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, 5.4.1832, 197.

[565]The temperance issue enjoyed considerable currency in the Colony at this time and a lengthy meeting was held in Grahamstown on 21 January 1832 for the purpose of forming the Albany Temperance Society. *Graham's Town Journal* 30.12.1831, 3-4; 6.1.1832, 2-3.

Tuesday April 24th 1832 Thunder, lightning and rain last night. 25 adults in church. The Kaffer Doctor Nodous present. Charles Henry went off again today. He was considerably affected. Heard from Messrs R and R.[566]

Wednesday April 25th 1832 A good attendance on worship this morning. 25 present. Thermometer 70°. Writing of late.

Thursday April 26th 1832 Klaas the interpreter taking lessons in writing. He has a greater desire to learn to write than to improve himself in reading.

Friday April 27th/Saturday April 28th 1832 On the 1st of these days went to, on the second returned, from Lovedale. Took different routes both times, and preached to the intervening kraals. The people were kind and civil and with a few exceptions were attentive. I cannot tell how many I visited but should think the number visited 120 or thereabouts. These Kaffers were fully more inclined to hear than those whom I visited with Mr Ross. I came to a trader in a very unexpected place not far from Lovedale.[567] At his place were many Kaffers to whom I preached. The greater civility and kindness of these Kaffers, to some whom I have seen, is to be attributed to their intercourse with the missionaries. The nights are now cold, and the days are perceptibly colder than formerly. Rain last night. It is reported that there is another commando in the country today.

Monday April 30th 1832 45 people in Church yesterday. Many people, strangers at the kraal formerly belonging to Matwa, did not come to Church.

Tuesday May 1st 1832 I have now been a year in Kafferland. We have an instance of superiority of the Hottentots to the Kaffers in a Hottentot man who is now engaged by Mr McDiarmid to work at his house.

Wednesday May 2nd 1832 Thermometer 60° at 8 o'clock in the morning. Various strangers [presenting] at worship in the morning.

Friday May 4th 1832 Yesterday rode to Chumie in company with Mr McDiarmid to be present and assist at the ordination of Mr Chalmers. The matter was managed exactly according to the arrangements formerly made by the Presbytery. The Reverend Messrs Thomson and Morgan were present and assisted. Letters were read previous to the ordination from the Rev. Messrs Smith and Murray stating that they were unavoidably prevented from attending but breathing an affection[ate] spirit of goodwill in favour of us and the Mission.

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[566] Possibly James Read senior and James Read junior.

[567] This trader is not readily identifiable, nor is the "very unexpected place".

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The solemn services of the day were conducted in an orderly and impressive manner. Mr Bennie offered up the ordination prayer in the Kaffer language and various others also in the same language connected with the business.

Matwa was present during the whole of the services and dined with us when they were closed. For the last 2 Sabbaths he has attended Chumie Church, and has so far laid aside his fear of the doctors and chiefs. He is residing about three miles from the Chumie Station. I hope it will conduce to the good of the Mission that Mr Chalmers is ordained over the Church at Chumie which is the most important of all the stations.

Monday May [7th] About 25 people in Church yesterday. Mr McDiarmid visited some kraals in the neighbourhood and found their inhabitants willing to listen. Cool day this (Monday). 6 Amafengu [amaMfengu] have wrought today and have made preparations for building a small kitchen, the one we have at present being only a Kaffer hut with a low door and without a chimney.[568]

Tuesday May 8th 1832 Vimbe daily gives proof of deep attention to the Word.

Friday May 11th 1832 Matwa's father-in-law who has for sometime resided close on the Station came with two of his people and required to be instructed in the Word of God. I have often wished to see such instances; but this is the 1st I have seen in this country. I know not what his motives may be but I trust he will receive benefit. When speaking to strangers I have sometimes exhorted them to make inquiries at the Missions or at any who could give them information on scriptural subjects but I do not recollect having done so in the hearing of the above mentioned individual. For 2 days very cold.

Monday May 14 1832 Few people at church yesterday: 20 hearers. Sutu's people were hunting: and others in the neighbourhood were carrying corn. Mr McDiarmid was out at Kraals in the vicinity and found the people all desirous of obtaining earthly things. The Headman of the Kraals which Mr McDiarmid visited is unwell. Yesterday and the Sabbath before the people were somewhat averse to him being seen. In the case of Matwa we had instances of the same aversion. Perhaps the doctors were engaged with him. None would come to the Church with him.

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[568]The construction of this building is described by Laing in his entries between 7 May 1832 and 29 June 1832. The description accords with those of other missionaries and settlers but is of particular interest because of its deliberate detail. As Laing himself states, he intended the description to serve as a practical guide to future missionaries and others faced with the unfamiliar task of constructing their own buildings without the availability of bricks or stone. Similar descriptions from the journals of Thomas Pringle and Rev. William Shaw and which bear comparison are included in Ronald Lewcock's *Early nineteenth century architecture in South Africa: a study of the interaction of two cultures, 1795-1837* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1963), 133-135.

Monday, several of the people resident in Matwa's Kraals present at morning worship. Other strangers visited the Station in the morning and were told as well as I could in their own language about breaking the Sabbath.

For some days the weather has been very cold. Whatever others may write I must write that the Kaffers near to this Station are yet averse to the gospel.

Received a letter from Mr Falconer in which he says that in consequence of what I wrote to him that the G.M.S. have sent a quarter of a year of the *Record* Newspaper. I am glad at this, since I know of no newspaper which I so much approve of as of it. Visit of Maqoma today. Transcribed and sent to Glasgow so far.

Wednesday May 16th 1832 An Umfengu came today with a view to engage for some months to work.

Saturday May 19th 1832 Yesterday Anta and a considerable number of his people heard the Word but a supernumerary meeting in the church. For some days the weather has been wet and cold. Anta and his men are again here today.

Monday May 21st 1832 Yesterday was present at the celebration of the Lord's Supper at Chumie. The solemn service was conducted with much decorum. About 140 Kaffers not resident at the Station were present. Most of the Lovedale community attended. J. McKinlay, a decrepid old [man, was] among the number. It was surprizing to see him, since he cannot walk and is so deformed that one would think he cannot ride. Yet he had succeeded in coming slowly on horseback. How many who can easily come to the gospel do not come!! Wherever they live they will find a reproof in this lame man. I was going to say poor, but in regard to worldly substance he is not so. He has many cattle.[569]

Came home. Read the *Record* sent out by the Directors and was well satisfied with it.

Thursday May 24th 1832 Have been much gratified in reading in the *Record* newspaper the speech of Capt. J.E. Gordon again[st the grant to] the Mayworth Coll[ege] and not only with his but with various others on the same side. It is well that there are a few Christians in par[liamen]t.

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[569] James McKinlay, a crippled Xhosa blacksmith, is described at some length in Laing's diary entry of 30 September 1831.

Of late we have had cold wet weather here. I hear that there are 60 licenced Kaffer Traders who pay to government a licence of £3 each.[570]

Saturday May 26th 1832 Yesterday the Interpreter killed a Tiger but did not get it till today as it became dark. He first wounded it with an assigai and then with a Gun from the station where his cry was distinctly heard. It was not fully grown but equalled in size the largest dog. Every part of its skin was regularly spotted white and dark brown or black. It is called a Tiger, but I believe natur[alists] would give it another name such as ounce or panther[571]. It is evidently of the same species of animal as the Tiger. I have not heard of any approaching so near the Station as this has done. In Brown's *History of Missions* we read of a tiger attacking some Moravian Missionaries in South Africa[572]. I have no doubt that the one there mentioned was of the same sort as the one now taken. Almost every night we hear wolves.[573] Lions never; though not distant more than 30 miles.

The skin of this tiger is worth a cow: and the interpreter will get a cow for it from one of the chiefs or councillors.

Monday May 28th 1832 Yesterday we had but a limited attendance on public worship. Mr McDiarmid visited some kraals in the vicinity whose inhabitants heard him read pieces of God's Word. They were frequently for introducing worldly dis[cussion]. They were eating corn and milk and beef. He told them they should be thankful to God who had given all these things and such a supply of them too. "Must they also thank Him for the corn? They had *little* of it to be thankful for". This was scarcely correct for they this season have a good crop. On

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[570]All private trading licences had been revoked in December 1829 but trade by special permit and increasing illicit trade continued nonetheless so that by the end of 1830, Lowry Cole submitted to the Council of Advice that trade under certain conditions should be thrown open. Having secured the agreement of the Council, Cole promulgated Ordinance 81 of 1830, in terms of which traders could obtain a licence to trade beyond the colonial borders. This licence was valid for a year and cost the trader £3. The *Graham's Town Journal* recorded in April 1832 that there were 50 licensed traders operating in Xhosaland, a figure according closely enough with Laing's information of some six weeks later. Beck: *The legalization and development of trade on the Cape frontier,* 295-304, 320; *Government Gazette*, 24.12.1830, 2-3; *Graham's Town Journal* 13.4.1832, p.2, cols 2-3.

[571]The term "ounce" refers to the snow leopard (*panthera uncia*) a species which, like the tiger, does not occur in south-east Africa. The term is sometimes used to describe rather imprecisely various medium sized members of the cat family. What Laing has seen is probably a leopard (*panthera pardus*), a species common in the Eastern Cape. Roy Lubke, *Field guide to the eastern and southern Cape coasts* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1998), 313.

[572]Rev. William Brown: *The history of the propagation of Christianity since the Reformation*. The 2nd edition, in 2 volumes, was published in Edinburgh in 1823. *The Wesleyan-Methodist magazine* v.3 (3rd series), May 1824, 322.

[573]Hyenas (*hyaenae brunneae*).

account of the cold they have but little milk at present so the children get *corn only*. The women were not eating nor so far as I know do they ever eat with the men.[574]



Figure 14: Sepia wash portrait of Maqoma in western dress, by Charles Davidson Bell. *Source*: Courtesy of the Bell Trust; University of Cape Town Libraries, Manuscripts and Archives division, Bell Collection BC686, C52.

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Saturday June 3rd The few people who reside here presented today a small offering of Kaffer corn for the Mission. Of late the weather has been sufficiently cold. Maqoma called dressed in a green cloak presented to him by Mr McDiarmid and also in leather trowsers I believe presented by Mr T[homson]. When spoken to about the water course, he said he

[574]This is an interesting observation which may suggest a custom of this particular clan rather than of the amaXhosa generally. In his discussion on the preparation of food, J H Soga writes "In dishing up food in a family a woman will always first dish up either for the children or for the females, never first for the men. To reverse that order, and dish up for the men first would cause them to suffer from stitch in the side—*i-vubukululu* or *ihlaba*" Soga, *Ama-Xosa*, 255. Alberti, Maclean and Mtuze do not appear say anything about eating separately and Peires only hints at shared eating when he writes: "... [women] were not exploited in the Marxist sense because they were never deprived of the products of their labour. Women worked within the limits of their homestead and its garden, and what they produced was distributed and consumed in their presence. In return for their domestic and agricultural labour, they ate the meat and drank the milk of the cattle tended by the men, ..." Peires, *House of Phalo*, 41.

wondered how any could take it upon them to stop such a work and that he was willing it should proceed. Thermometer 65°.

Monday June 5th 1832 Yesterday several of the people on invitation came to Church from the Great Place. 25 or so present in all. When the Kaffers do not intend to come they yet say what will make you believe they will come to Church. In short they will promise to come to hear when they mean to stay away. It is so in other cases; they say one thing and mean another. This holds also in general in their dealings with each other.

Mr McDiarmid was out at the neighbouring Kraals and had various meetings with the people. Some women went on with their work not[withstanding] it was the Lord's day all the time he spoke to them and those with them.

Anta was in the Church with two or 3 of his men. He comes very seldom. Yesterday he refrained from hunting because it was the Lord's day but did not come to Church. However some of his men came. Cold and showery. Thermometer 60°.

Friday June 9th 1832 Received a letter from the Rev. W. Robertson, Clan-william. Read a letter from the Rev. G[avin] S[truthers] Sec[retary] dated March 1st 1832.[575]

Hear that the Cholera has reached Glasgow and that about the half of those who were seized have died. Happy to learn that they who fear God there are uniting in prayer to Him that he would be merciful in his judgements. Wet today. Sufficient rain has fallen during the time I have been in Kafferland. Reading Dr Burns's edition of Wodrow.

Saturday June 10th 1832 Cold, windy and wet. Thermometer 52° in a room with a fire. I have scarcely ever seen it so low in Kafferland. No Kaffers came *today because it was so cold.*

Monday June 12th 1832 Notwithstanding the cold there was a considerable number of Great Place people at worship yesterday. 30 might make up the congregation. Anta, son of Gaika, was present. He does not come often to Church but in the course of explaining, he heard a suitable text on men in authority enforced. *viz.* Psalm 2.10. He is young and was of about equal authority with Matwa when he was here. Neither however are possessed of much power.

[575]In his letter, Struthers, writing on behalf of the Directors of the Glasgow Missionary Society, thanked the colonial clergymen who had assisted at John Bennie's ordination. Laing read the letter to the Presbytery of Kaffraria at their meeting of 5.7.1832. Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, 5.7.1832, 211.

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For some days the mountains in our neighbourhood have been covered with snow. Thermometer 54° in the morning [at] 8 o'clock. I have as yet seen no snow at any of the stations, but once at Lovedale there was a tremendous fall of large hail stones—which covered the whole ground three or 4 inches; but soon melted. These hail stones were of the size of a walnut. Various of the Kaffers, indeed most of them, are ill prepared for the cold and consequently stir from their houses as little as possible during cold weather.

Thursday June 14th 1832 Returned from Lovedale whither I went yesterday to attend a meeting of Committee on translations.

Friday June 15th 1832 Very fine day. It appears there were strong suspicions for supposing that [illegible: a kinsman of Charles Henry] was poisoned.

In a wattle and daub house, after the size of the house [is] marked, only then are holes dug 1½ foot or so deep. Posts according to the height of the wall are next bored in the one end a few inches into the centre. Then a long piece of wood, not so strong as the posts, is bored according to the number of posts with a view of being affixed to them. This fixing of said long piece of wood is done by means of wooden pegs which pass through the holes in it, so far into the upright posts. These posts are not fixed firmly in the ground until the piece of wood which runs along their tops is placed on them. When that is done they are placed perpendicularly and made firm by earth. Before this care must be taken to make all the posts exactly of one height. The piece of wood on the top in a small house may be of one tree: in a long house it must be joined. All the sides must have this *wall plate* as it is called. After the sides are raised in the above manner joists are stre[t]ched from side to side which are at such distances as may be judged convenient. They also are attached by a peg to the wall plate. (To be continued).

Abundance of Amafengu [amaMfengu] working at the Institution. A cow of the Institution [taken] by the Kaffers.

Saturday June 16th 1832 The house [to] which reference has been made is a small kitchen and I make these notes concerning it to assist myself in case I should have to build without assistance for the place now spoken [of] is wholly Mr McDiarmid's. Should this journal fall into the hands of anyone who may have such work to do he may learn something concerning other methods than those he might pursue.

The house is about 21 feet long and 11 feet broad and has 14 posts. There is no post at one end because the fire place must be in a wall not of wattle and daub but of unburnt brick or something else. A small division at the opposite end of the house made by a partition requires the 14th post which is not requisite at the gable where the fire place will be. From the size of

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the house may be seen how distant the posts are from each other. Some of them are thicker than others, but the medium of their circumference is about 10 inches. The roof would have been in the pavilion shape had not a gable been necessary on account of the fire place. The other end is in the pavilion form and as much sloped as the sides. The inclination of the roof in general I cannot now mention. There are five couples, pegged together at the top and half way by means of a cross beam which is but small, between the ridge and the walls. To the wall plate these couples are fixed by the same means; but previously their ends are cut in such a manner as to rest easily upon it. In forming the pavilion end three single pieces of wood are used, one at each corner and one in the middle. The bark, it is considered, makes the woodworms destroy the wood more readily and therefore [it is] better to take it off. (To be continued).

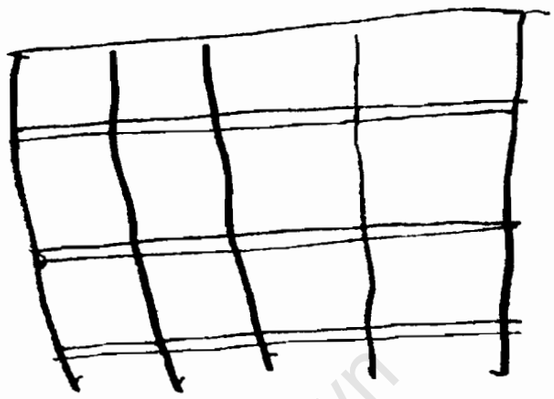


Figure 15 Laing's sketch of a wall plate. *Source*: Courtesy of Rhodes University, Cory Library, Laing journal, MS 16,579/1.

Monday June 18th 1832 1832 - 1815 = 17[576]

Yesterday there were 20 hearers in the Church. 5 of these were children. Matwa came from the Chumie River in the preceding evening, slept at his own house, and attended Church forenoon and after[noon]. He was neatly dressed in a black coat and white trowsers. The last article was very clean. He gave great attention to what was spoken, indeed to all appearances his attention was as deep as that of any person I have seen. When like to sleep he stood up to keep himself awake. He will return I believe to the C[humie] R[iver]. Mr Chalmers told me lately that he often comes to Church to the C[humie] S[tation] 3 miles distant from his residence. Mr McDiarmid was out so far as the Amafengu station, i.e. the ama[-Kraal]. We had a considerable deal of conversation with Matwa who called [on] us of his own accord. At first he seemed desirous of retiring to some quarter of Kafferland with a missionary on whose instructions he could attend without the interference of the other chiefs. This was not advisable nor indeed in our circumstance was it practicable. He would even in that case have been scoffed at by the doctors and some of the chiefs. He came without much difficulty to think that he could boldly and resolutely take up his abode at this Station, finish the house formerly mentioned and put his cattle into the common kraal of the people. He said that he did not wish to have a separate kraal, as he had before, as in that case the Kaffers

[576]Laing's reference to these dates here is not clear. He may be referring to the seventeenth anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, 18 June 1815.

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won't look on him as still under the reach of their own laws, but that he would in every way adopt the custom of the people in the missionary stations and then he would be wholly free from the undue interference of the natives. He had seen not long ago J. Tsha-tshu and Kama, converted Kaffer chiefs, who had spoken to him about leaving the Institution and we believe had advised him to persevere in the good work which he had begun[577]. We always thought that he was forced to leave the gospel and now it begins clearly to appear that it was more from constraint than inclination that he did so. He had now come to a good resolution. May the Lord strengthen him to abide by it and remove all obstacles out of his way so that he shall be enabled to put his wishes into practice. He mentioned among other things that he wished to learn to read and write. We would thus hope that the friends of the mission will not be dis[courage]d in him but that they will yet see him becoming a sincere and constant follower of the meek and lowly Jesus. They should pray for awakened heathens who have some light but little courage to withstand the evil mocking to which they are exposed. There must be such in all heathen countries whither missionaries are sent, and we with one voice tell you that there are such in Kafferland. That they won't fear God and lay aside all other fear is what we wish them to be enabled to do.

(Wattle and daub h[ouse] continued). After what has been said on this subject has been executed, three rows of rods an inch or so in diameter are nailed on each side of the upright posts around the house. According to the height of the house there may be more than three but that number is sufficient in the one to which reference is made. They are nailed opposite to each other on separate sides of the same post so that there is a space of 3 or 4 inches according to the thickness of the post between them. Say that this is a specimen of the manner in which they are fixed. Between the spaces branches of trees are thrust before the clay is applied in the construction of this house. While nailing these rods on the posts in the above manner due regard must be had to spaces for door and windows.

Tuesday June 19th 1832 When the house is in this condition, branches or small bushes are brought and fixed in the spaces between the cross spars. When they are so fixed the house has the appearance of a summer hall of green boughs in a garden. These are the wattles. Now the clay, daub or mortar is applied. Ours is made of earth and water wrought together. Two window frames are fixed to two upstanding posts and the wattle and daub go on around them.

Matwa came again today and is staying this evening in Charles Henry's house. He attended evening worship in the Church. He received a lesson in the Kaffer Alphabet. I am not as yet

[577]Kama (c.1798-25.10.1875), amaGqunukhwebe chief and son of Chungwa. He and his wife Nongwani, daughter of Ngqika, were converted to Christianity by Rev. William Shaw at Wesleyville and remained Christians despite the hostility and distrust of the amaGqunukhwebe. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 2: 354-6.

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quite certain whether he from this time intends constantly to remain here or to return in order to bring his friends and cattle. Philip, a half-brother of Charles Henry's, fears that Sutu and the Great Place people will now be irritated by Matwa's proceedings—very likely—but what of that: he must not refrain from serving God on account of their resentment.

Matwa to appearances is not above 20 years of age. It has been said that he is passionate. I have never seen any indicat[ion] of haste or passion in him. He is mild and modest. It has been said that he is not held in much esteem by the chiefs and people. I do not wonder at this—nay I would expect it from those who hate Christianity.

Wednesday June 20th 1832 Matwa's brother came with him and is also staying at the Institution. None of his cattle have as yet come. He attended worship and school. He sent for the slate which was ordered to be given back to the school or Institution when he was sick. I endeavoured to make him learn the Kaffer Alphabet by writing or rather printing the letters on a slate. In a case of this kind it is well to make the learner write on at each letter until he knows it.

Nothing new today to be said of the wattle and daub house. Men making the daub and plastering. Women carrying water to make the daub. Very fine weather in the middle of winter. Sufficiently hot.

Thursday June 21st 1832 Still the men (Amafengu [amaMfengu]) are plastering or daubing the wattles. Had 8 scholars in the school —4 adults among whom was Matwa. Hear that Mr Ross has larger auditories than usual.

The Indians in North America paint their bodies red.

Friday June 22nd 1832 Amafengu plastered the house now being made. Matwa affected in the church and nearly crying. What may be the result I know not. Prayer is needful for all but particularly for persons in his circumstances.

Saturday June 23rd 1832 The plastering for the first time finished. Mr McDiarmid began to build the end in which a fire and bread oven are to be with unburnt brick. Several strangers in school.

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Monday June 25th 1832 Few people in the Church yesterday—20. Matwa dressed of a red coat and white trowsers. Attentive. Two soldiers came to request Anta to give up some cattle belonging to some Amafengu [amaMfengu] servants to Colonel Somerset.[578]

Mr McDiarmid was out reading the Word. When at the Great Place I saw some people thrashing corn and others making karosses. Told not to do so on the Lord's day. They said they did not know that it was the Lord's day by which I understood that they would not have so worked had they known what day it was. They ceased a little but before I was out of hearing they again began to beat out their corn. Few of them came to Church.

Tuesday June 26th 1832 In consequence of Matwa's residence here the attendance on daily worship is better. Hear that his mother and vassals are averse to his coming to the Station to fix his abode mainly because Sutu and Anta will become jealous of him ingratiating himself so much with the Missionaries that they will be kept in the background.

Wednesday June 27th 1832 Mrs Laing received letters from Edinburgh dated about the 4th and 6th of September 1831.

Friday June 29th 1832 Heard yesterday that 3 or 4 amaFengu [amaMfengu] had fled to the Colony from fear of Anta who was exasperated against them in consequence of Col. S[omerset] having demanded of him the cattle of 2 of that tribe who are servants to him. When Anta heard that these poor oppressed people had fled he sent and seized the few goats and cattle which belong to them.

For some days the building of the gable of [the] wattle and daub house with unburnt bricks has been going on. Matwa and his Wife are two inter[esting] Kaffers but in point of civilization he is before her. His manners considering his opportunities are genteel. I have seen no Kaffer who so easily and cheerfully adopts our modes of conducting ourselves. In his answers in the Church he has declared openly his attachment to God's Word. He had two wives at one time: but one of them has been sent or has gone away.

Monday July 2nd 1832 Few people at Church yesterday—about 20. I went to the Great Place to invite the people. Found them making karosses and cooking beef. Told them not to work at such work on the Lord's day. Read the fourth commandment and enforced it a little[579]. Sutu

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[578]Henry Somerset (30.12.1794-15.2.1862), professional British soldier and administrator, was the eldest son of Lord Charles Somerset. He was appointed commanding officer of the Cape Mounted Riflemen in June 1828 and was Commandant of the frontier. Peires, *House of Phalo,* 86.

[579]"Remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy", the Sabbath being a weekly day of rest dedicated to God who rested on the seventh day of creation. Biblical texts expressly connect the term "Sabbath" with a root meaning "to desist, to stop work". Laing viewed all secular work or recreation on the Sabbath as desecration of God's law.

said she would come to Church but did not. Anta and some of [the] men came. This is what he seldom does. They spoke in favour of the gospel as usual but we see what faith is to be put in their profession since very few of them attended. One said Satan would have him to seek a present every time he attended.

The trader in our neighbourhood was riding yesterday on his own business. Mr McDiarmid (with a native) was out among the kraals on the road to Chumie. On Friday a woman at the distance of 8 miles from this place was killed by lightning. Cold today (Monday).

Saturday July 7th 1832 On Tuesday last Mr and Mrs Ross and family visited the station. On Wednesday I rode to Lovedale in company of Mr Ross to be present at a committee on translations.

On Thursday a meeting of Presbytery was held. It appeared to be the understanding of the Presbytery that it would have been better if the Secretary had written privately to some individuals, because the matters referred to were not generally known to the Missionaries in Kafferland[580]. It was not deemed necessary to make a public official notice of this. Lentje Love's letter was deemed by some members unsatisfactory[581]. Indeed none offered any

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The Jerusalem Bible (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1966), Exodus 20: 8.

[580]Struthers' letter dated 22.3.1831 was read to the meeting of Presbytery on 5.7.1832 and, in view of his allusion to Lentje Love's letter, the Presbytery agreed "to recommend to the Directors that they publish no communication sent from Kaffraria , except such as are officially transmitted by the Missionaries in a collective or in an individual capacity, and that in publishing the Annual Report, they be careful to see, that the general statements of the Pres[bytery] and Board take the precedence of any seeming or real mis-statements in the published or unpublished journals of individual missionaries. Mr Bennie dissented from the whole of the above proceedings, because he has no hope that they will be attended to by the Directors." Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery minutes, 5.7.1832, 211.

[581]Lentje Love, daughter of converts John and Elizabeth Love, was admitted into the class for candidates for baptism at Tyhume, James Weir's station, on 22 August 1830. In the Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* 7 (1831), the Directors printed a letter dated 4 October 1830 signed by Lentje Love, witnessed by William Chalmers and James Weir and accompanied by three explanatory letters by J.C. Minto, Mrs Janet Weir and James Weir. Minto claimed to have written the letter at Lentje's request and asked that the letter, addressed to "Dear Friends", be read out to the scholars of Mrs Weir's Sabbath School in Glasgow as well as at prayer meetings. James or Janet Weir sent the letters privately to Messrs Kirkland and Grierson who submitted them to the Society for publication. In her letter Lentje identified herself as Mrs Weir's Interpreter at Tyhume and credits Mrs Weir with her conversion. Writing as "a poor Kaffre girl" claiming to want nothing from the "friends" except prayer, Lentje Love probably neither conceived nor dictated this letter. It is clear from the Presbytery's response and Laing's own guarded comments that they had no prior knowledge of the letters and that the authenticity of Lentje's letter was openly disputed by the majority of the missionaries. Weir was not present at the Presbytery of Kaffraria meeting so no defence was offered. The tension that existed between Janet Weir and the other missionaries and their wives could only have been exacerbated by the publication of these letters which were obviously viewed as a form of unwarranted self-aggrandisement on the part of the Weirs as well as a misrepresentation of the true state of affairs. Laing is far less guarded in his comments on this issue in his journal entry of 13 August 1832. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* 7 (1831):12-14; Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery minutes, 5.7.1832, 211-212.

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positive defence for it. This naturally leads one to suppose that none can be offered. To say that others are bad does not make it good. It must stand or fall by its own merits.

On Friday returned to Burnshill. Saturday cold. Thermometer 52° in the morning. Matwa has now mastered the Alphabet by writing the letters according to the printed form. He may have known all the letters some days ago for anything I can tell, but *now* he knows them.

Monday July 9th 1832 Yesterday upwards of 30 people heard the word in the Church. Mr Ross was at this Station and *walked* 3 or 4 miles to the place where the Amafengu reside and made known the word of God to them. Walking on foot is much more difficult in this country than in Scotland. Mr McDiarmid was out for a similar purpose between this place and Lovedale. Mr Ross and I are waiting to go out in order to take the gospel to the Kaffers too distant to come to the Stations. The horse is not yet found which prevents our setting off.

Monday July 9th 1832- July 12th 1832 On the first of these days with Mr Ross, Matwa and Klaas (the Interpreter) set out on a preaching tour. Proceeded up the Keiskamma, passed Sandile's residence and proceeded onwards through very romantic scenery on the banks of the same river. Leaving the main stream of the Keiskamma we went up one of its tributaries till we came to the old Chief Kapai's, with whom we staid during the night[582]. He was kind and well disposed towards the word.

Our horses having strayed in the night, Mr Ross and I went along on foot and visited several places, climbing hills at one time and descending them at another. We went up a valley the head of which is formed by a part of the high mountain which is seen from Chumie, Lovedale and Burnshill. This mountain is often covered with snow. At this time it was so and we saw it lying on the side next to us. Tigers are common here: 2 lions were seen near to where we were only two days before[583]. At the head of this valley our horses were brought to us—but before leaving it I may say that many of the young people were very much surprised and even afraid to see white people having never seen, as we judged, them before. Said place was indeed remarkably secluded from the other older habitations. We again returned to Kapai's and breakfasted about midday, then we came down the valley and crossed a ridge which led us into another valley between two mountains or rather into a bosom of the same high mountain mentioned before. We went as far up as human beings were to be found.

[582] Kapai is probably Ncaphayi, Rharhabe's son. Ross compares him with his sister Tsusa [Ntsusa]: "What a difference between the two. He is a man advanced in life, his woolly head is grey, and his beard white: while united with these the size of his person, and his fine tiger-skin kaross 'gave him a stately port, and princely look'". Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Paper* 6 (1830): 5.

[583] Leopards and other members of the cat family were frequently referred to as "tigers" by 19th century writers.

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Night coming on after we had returned a little way from the top, we slept in a Kaffer house for the second night.

Next morning setting off by sunrise we came to the same [path] by which we had entered these valleys which we followed for sometime and then ascended the mountain separating that part of the country from Wolf River. After a considerable journey of ascent and descent we came to one of the kraals at the head of [the] Wolf River where we breakfasted and then visited the remaining kraals. This place is nearly surrounded with high mountains. Those on the North are the same high mountains already mentioned. After this we ascended the mountain which terminates opposite to Burnshill. Having descended this we came to the Amatole River on which are a number of kraals. Before sunset we had visited the 7 kraals highest up the river. Then we took up our abode for another night.

Next morning and forenoon we visited the remaining kraals on this stream and came home by the goodness of God nothing the worse of our journey. These places are all situated on the right side of the Keiskamma. Matwa went unsolicited with us, and of his own accord, when the interpreter and I went to one kraal, went with Mr Ross to another. In such cases he was serviceable in collecting the people to hear the word and was instrumental in causing them to listen to it being honoured and respected etc.—much respected by them. The Kaffers were more civil than they usually are and begged very little. They gave us corn and pottage, but had little milk to spare. This is not the milk season.

We spoke the word at 54 places and sometimes the people of 2 or 3 places met together. The number of hearers in all were 630 which makes the average of each congregation 11. Had we spoken the word at each kraal [perhaps] the average number of each congregation would have [been] 10. During the nights we were out we slept in the Kaffer houses on the ground floor with our feet to the fire like them. We had a house each time given us for this purpose. In the evenings the Kaffers staid much with us and heard more than those whom we shortly visited during the day. On the whole they generally gave good attention. We saw some of their customs in reference to their women.

These may not (except on particular occasions) come near the cattle kraal. Had they been on the one side and we with the men on the other, they would not come directly to us crossing the space by the mouth of the kraal, but made a circuit around it and came to us on the other side. Even when they came they durst not join the men but sat at some considerable distance from them. This is according to their custom. They do not mix with the men to hear news. We had to tell them that they were interested in our news as well as the men. When asked

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why they were not permitted to mix with the men none could give any reason. It was their custom or law.[584]

We met on our first day with a party of hunters in their romantic part of the wood who called [us] to wait a little when they came to us and heard the Word. They sought little or nothing but they knew not what business we were on when they called to us. Kapai has been mentioned in Mr Ross's Journal formerly. He, K[apai] says he cannot answer for others, but his heart is towards the word. Mr Ross has visited many of these people before. Some of the more secluded he has not visited. To people who are inclined to act as itinerating Missionaries among the Kaffers considerable self-denial is requisite, in as much as the lodging in their houses and living on their food are inconveniences of some magnitude to those bred up in the comforts of civilized life. Yet we noticed on this tour that *early* or *late* is best for obtaining the largest congregations. The smoke of their houses was much *less* felt by us on this occasion than on a former. On two occasions we had large houses given for our repose. This is the winter season and bad for us travelling in. We paid for the service which some of the children or others performed for us, generally also for the food we ate. The Kaffers were much engaged in smoking Tobacco when we come to their places.

Monday July 16th 1832 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out on the road to Lovedale. 25 hearers were present in the Church. (Wattle and daub house: Mr McDiarmid has built up the gable with unburnt brick and has nailed small rods on the couples to which the thatch is to be sewed). Cold today; cold yesterday.

Friday July 20th 1832 Visited yesterday by Mr Morgan, Surgeon. He was accompanied by a Mr Attwell of the Com[missaria]t[585]. For a considerable time no rain. Rained last night and today. The thatching of the kitchen is now going on. A Kaffer does this. The thatch is sewed to the small transverse rafters which I formerly (I think) mentioned as having been nailed to the couples by Mr McDiarmid. The thatch used is rush or long reedy grass and is layer after layer with grass rope sowed to the rafters.

Matwa as will be seen in former journals kept here wrought at his own house himself. Lately he has been again working at it. This is an improvement in the manners of the people. The

[584]Pre-menopausal women were not permitted to cross the entrance of a cattle kraal except under urgent and very unusual circumstances. It was believed that if a woman crossed the entrance or entered a kraal, the kraal would be rendered and the cattle "weak in the knees (*uku-tamba amadolo*)". If women had to enter the kraal under exceptional and unavoidable circumstances, they had to scatter white beads in the kraal and utter a prayer as they did so. To do so without oblation or prayer would mean that she would bleed excessively during her next menstrual period. This restriction was applied less rigorously to post-menopausal women. Soga, *Ama-Xosa*, 354.

[585]William Attwell, an1820 settler, served in the Commissariat on the frontier from 1822 until his death on 22.6.1850. *Graham's Town Journal* 29.6.1850, p.1, c.6.

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men and especially the children work at none of that sort of work. Generally at the Stations the gospel has bound the men to assist the women in their work. The day has continued dark and cloudy.

Monday July 23rd Yesterday several strangers were present at worship. In all 25 would hear. Mr McDiarmid was out among the kraals during the most of the day. Master Monro[] from Graham's Town has for some days been residing with Mr McDiarmid[586]. Lately Matwa visited Tyhali, staid a night and returned to Burnshill. O that one and all of us were more desirous of the increase of the Redeemer's Kingdom. I wish also that all missionaries were enabled to let their light so shine that they seeing etc.

Tuesday July 24th 1832 Of late have begun to read Neal's *History of the Puritans*[587]. I have mentioned that I had planted potatoes some time ago. They were 3 inches high and were frozen at the beginning of this month. The opinion which I have expressed that potatoes would grow at all seasons seems to be wrong.

Saturday July 28th 1832 Fine weather about this season. Many Amafengu [amaMfengu] working at the place. The Great Place people keeping aloof.

Monday July 30th 1832 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid not out. His daughter E[lizabeth] was unwell. In the morning three Kaffers from the Great Place came to the door whom I catechised from the His[torical] Cat[echism] and requested to come to Church during the day. They went home saying they would return to Church. They did return and a number of others came with them from the Great Place. For several Sabbaths so many of our nearest neighbours have not been with us. About 25 present in all. Between services 3 of Tsusa's women came to the station.[588] I read some Kaffer to them and requested them to wait on the

[586]Master Monro could refer to Reverend (and schoolmaster) John Monro of the London Missionary Society at Grahamstown.

[587]Daniel Neal's *The history of the Puritans, or Protestant nonconformists, from the reformation in 1517, to the revolution in 1688...* was first published in London in 4 volumes between 1732 and 1738. Several subsequent editions were published, including an abridged 2 volume edition in 1811 and an enlarged edition in 1822 in 5 volumes.

[588]See Introduction, "Laing's contribution to Eastern Cape history". Rev. John Ross identifies Tsusa (Ntsusa) as a chieftainess and the sister of "a small chief" Kapai [Ncaphayi]. He describes her as "a diminutive old-woman, her head set a little awry, by a great swelling on her neck." This description would not be in conflict with the description Laing gives of the old woman in his entry dated 9.12.1836. W.R. Thomson and James Weir state that two of her daughters were married to Ngqika. According to Peires, Ntsusa was the daughter of Rharhabe and sister of Ndlambe, who led her people with the assistance of Nukwa, her brother. Peires' genealogical chart of the amaRharhabe gives her death date as 1826 but it is clear that she was alive beyond that date. In their interviews with G.E. Cory, Lindinxiwa, Mdandala, Tanco and Somana all stated that Rharhabe's daughter Ntsusa/Mtsusa married a chief of the abaThembu, Mdandala and that she returned and formed her own kraal among the amaRharhabe after her husband's death. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Paper* 6 (1830): 5; Glasgow Missionary Society

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afternoon worship. They said they were going to return, which implied that they would not wait on the word. Heard that *one* of them waited and 2 went home. Robert Balfour was here on Saturday and yesterday. Many Amafengu at work—none of whom came to the Institution yesterday absenting themselves because was the Lord's day. Noudous [Nodous], doctress, and a few others came in while I was at breakfast to see if she could get a little tea. With her and others at meals such *visits* are not unfrequent.

Tuesday July 31st 1832 God as to outward circumstances is very gracious and merciful to us. We are living in peace and security amongst a Heathen people. This is more than the followers of Jesus have sometimes been permitted to do though living amongst Protestants. The Puritans and Covenanters were cruelly treated, by men who were not Christian in name merely but who were called Reformed Christians !!!

For some days have been chiefly engaged in working at the kitchen already mentioned in this journal.

Saturday August 4th 1832 Little worthy of record has happened at this Station these 4 days. The weather has been and is very fine. More Amafengu [amaMfengu] have been offering themselves to work than could be employed. They work better than the Kaffers do but are not a whit more inclined to learn the way of salvation. Have just now told some of the Amafengu [amaMfengu] to come to Church tomorrow, but they will likely stay away because it is the Lord's day, at least hitherto they have preferred a few buttons to the gospel. Of late have been writing on several texts of Scripture with a particular view.

Have heard little from our friends in Scotland for some time. At this season milk among the Kaffers is scarce and they live chiefly on corn.

Monday August 6th 1832 Yesterday, Sabbath, 7 or 8 of these Amafengu [amaMfengu] came to Church knowing that it was the Sabbath. It is not often that any of them do so. Had it not been the Lord's day more than these would likely have come for work. Some of the people are absent visiting Charles Henry. All who heard during the day might amount to 20. The Interpreter being absent I read some printed Kaffer as well as I could but I cannot pronounce several of its sounds.

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Quarterly Paper 6 (1830): 13; Peires, *House of Phalo*, 49, 222; George Edward Cory, *The historical "conversations" of Sir George Cory*; ed. J.M. Berning. Graham's Town Series 9 (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), 100, 111, 126.

Mr McDiarmid was out among the kraals on the road to Maqoma's residence. Matwa during the night came from Graham's Town. Some of his people increase the number of daily hearers. Weather [more] cloudy than I have often seen it and at the same time no rain.

Tuesday August 7th 1832 Yesterday while Mr McDiarmid was paying some Amafengu [amaMfengu] for work a Kaffer came in and asked pay for some service which he said he had done. An Umfengu took it of his own accord on him to explain to this Kaffer what Mr McDiarmid said concerning his claim. The Kaffer became angry at the Umfengu and spoke so rudely and loudly to him that Mr McDiarmid was obliged to put him out. In a little the Umfengu went out and was going home, when the cry of murder arose, and was heard by Mr McDiarmid. On going out he found that the Kaffer had fallen upon the Umfengu and wounded him sorely in the head with a large stick which he had taken from some firewood. Other Kaffers had fallen upon other Amafengu [amaMfengu] and were aiming deadly blows at these poor unoffending people who were only defending themselves and not throwing a single assigai though various of them were on the point of being killed. Fear and experience of former oppression were the reasons why they were so quiet. Mr McDiarmid and a lad of the place by gentle means succeeded in causing the Kaffers to desist—but before they ceased two of the Amafengu [amaMfengu] were wounded. One (already mentioned) in the head, the other in the arm. I knew not what had passed until I saw Mr McDiarmid enquiring for Matwa. When I went to the place where this wanton outrage had been committed and saw that the head of one of these men was dreadly cut in two places and bleeding copiously. It seemed that the skull had not suffered much for he was sensible and collected but shaking considerably. We dressed his wounds, and (today) he was doing well. The other's arm had been struck with a stick having a round head with such force that a considerable wound was made in it. This was a poor old man whom it was doubly cruel to hurt. The same rascal wounded both. Afterwards there was an enquiry instituted into the outrage by the Chief Anta but I have not heard the result. Though there were more Amafengu [amaMfengu] than Kaffers present on the occasion yet the Great Place is within cry and Kaffers might soon have been obtained from thence. Matwa did not appear till the wounds were a-dressing but then he manifested a greater concern for the man than any other Kaffer appeared to manifest.

The intention of writing this is to [describe the] state in which these Amafengu [amaMfengu] are placed, and from this and occurrences like this it will appear to be no comfortable situation. Similar occasions I believe to be frequent and more cruel and fatal [occasions] I sometimes hear of. In this journal I have already remarked that the oppression of the Amafengu [amaMfengu] has not made them more willing than their oppressors to receive the

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gospel. This oppressed people came from the interior 6 or 7 years ago having been forced out of their own country by an enemy still more interior.[589]

Had a letter from Scotland of date 16 April 1832.

Thunder, lightning and rain. We have had none of these for several weeks till this day. The ground is very dry and [grows] but little grass to afford [grazing] for cattle.

Friday August 10th 1832 Excellent day. Matwa has not as yet brought his cattle. He has several attendants who, with him and wife, seem to be living on the people of the Institution. Likely he may recompense in some manner when he brings his cattle. Perhaps he feels a delicacy in going to Tyalie his brother to bring them away and delays as long as he can. His deportment is very becoming. Some money which he received for an ox (have learned that he sold *more* than one ox) at Burnshill, he has layed out in Graham's Town to great advantage in the purchase of clothes. In the day school he is the most punctual scholar I have. His wife is also a scholar.

Nofo, the girl who is acting as our servant, it appears to me, cannot learn the Alphabet.

Monday August 13th 1832 Returned from Chumie whither I went on Saturday to be present at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. Have not seen Mr Chalmers in his new house before.

That letter of Lentje Love has become a public document having been *twice* published by the Secretary Mr S[truthers]. It may not be unnecessary in me to state what I think of it. In another place I have already done so, but generally let me still mention that it conveys higher impressions of Lentje Love's scholarship and piety than from all that I know of her I can believe it to be true. Though at this period it is to be expected that she has advanced far in these things. Still, that does not alter the representations made for her by her at a former stage of her progress. The Secretary of our Mission it may well be affirmed is as likely as the gener[ality] of readers to form right notions concerning acc[oun]ts from Kafferland. Now if of Lentje Love's he has had by far too favourable impressions we may believe that *others will*. But it is not desirable that any should form wrong notions concerning our Mission. Therefore it is desirable that cause should not be given for them so to do. If they take the plain meaning of the words they must be deceived and therefore the letter should not have

[589]See the discussion on the phenomenon of the Mfecane in the Introduction.

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been con[ceive]d, dictated, written, published or read. I may have occasion to transcribe into this journal what I have elsewhere written on this letter.[590]

Tuesday August 14th 1832 Matwa on Sabbath was somewhat annoyed by Kaffers who wished to make it appear that Vimbe and a poor old man here enticed him to come back to the Institution. This is not true; they did not entice h[im]: it is cowardly in them not to speak the truth as to his return which is wholly of his own choice. He would not discuss the matter because it was the Lord's day. He is still living in Charles Henry's house, but *is working at his own*. We have no interpreter at present and cannot know so fully as might be wished the state of the matter on Sabbath but he has said nothing of it to me. An uncommonly warm wind has prevailed all day.

(Writing Presbytery Minutes).

Mr and Mrs McDiarmid returned from Chumie whither they went on Saturday to be present at the Lord's Supper. Yesterday had a letter from Mr Jardine noticing Mr Beck's death of which however I had heard last week.[591]

Thursday August 16th 1832 Klaas has returned having been absent about three weeks. Yesterday was very hot. Today is very cold, no rain. More rain fell last than this year at this season. The place where our gardens are was formerly covered with thorns. The stumps of these are still a little above ground but are being burnt by the men who work at the Institution.

(Transcribing Presbytery Minutes).

Saturday August 18th 1832 Mr McDiarmid and I enquired of Matwa what the Kaffers last Sabbath had said concerning Vimbe and Sokongo. They had said nothing concerning th[em] but had spoken concerning earthly things on the Lord's day, in consequence of which he had retired from them because he did then not wish to hear of such matters. They had blamed his two attendants for allowing him to stay at the Institution which through cowardice was an indirect attack on him. In consequence one of them yesterday morning set off to his brother Soga in the neighbourhood of Chumie Station. Matwa said that the Kaffers would do no harm to these 2 men without his permission. He expressed his firm determination to stay at the Station. Let the Kaffers say or do what they may: but we had no fear of them pushing matters to extremity, at least after a second or third attempt. One thing of some importance

[590]See passage relating to Lentje Love in Laing's journal entry for 7.7.1832 above.

[591]Jan Frederik Beck, the Society's agent at Cape Town, died 26.7.1832. J.A. Heese, comp. *South African Genealogies*. vol.1, A-C; ed. R.T.J. Lombard. (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1986), 171.

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we learned from him was that when he went to the Chumie River he went with the intention of soon returning to the Station and with the intention of preparing the way for his return. It has been often stated by one or another of us, that the dying injunction of G[aika] to his wives and children was that though he had neglected the word they were not to neglect it. This Matwa again alluded to.

Hear that Mamma, Charles Henry's daughter, [and] Sangani, Robert Balfour's son, are going to be married. I hope Charles Henry will not take the cattle usually given for wives in this country.

(Cold). (Transcribed letter to Theo[logical] S[tudents] E.C.S.)

Monday August 20th 1832 Yesterday about 30 people were present at public worship. A few of the Great Place people came on invitation. Rain began to fall in the afternoon and has continued till this morning. God sends his rain on the just and the unjust.

Tuesday August 21st1832 Yesterday was wet throughout. The rain had come in an acceptable time. The *grass* is eaten up and the ground so dry and hard that without rain *it* will not grow. The sowing season also is at hand: and the rain will enable the people to work their ground.

(Transcribed letter to Theo[logical] S[tudents] E.C.S).

Matwa's men increase the number of hearers in the Church. His example leads them to behave well. Klaas told me that Matwa had a pain in his head, and seemd to dread the [further] consequences. In short he thought that it was feigned. In a little he came and told me that a small sort of pox was making its appearance on his body. So that now there was reason to think that his headache was not feigned. The sickness of a Chief among the Kaffers causes many to be afraid which is the reason why I mention this. I hope that though Matwa were to continue ill that no such evil consequences would follow from his illness as those which followed from it before.

Wednesday August 22nd 1832 This day is fair but cold. (Yesterday finished our letter to the Theo[logical] stud[ents]).

Thursday August 23rd This morning Matwa came out quite well. This is one of the quickest recoveries I have seen. Perhaps he sees the fear the people are in about him. Today one of his men was to have gone to the other chiefs and to have informed them of the circumstances of his illness. I will still believe that he is sincere in his intentions. The people have fears on account of his illness which we cannot well enter into. On account of the trouble of one another is often killed among them.

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In a former part of this Journal it is mentioned that there are 60 Licensed Kaffer Traders. The establishments of these in Kafferland may make up the number of colonists there at one time to 200. With the waggons they are coming and going. The value *of the Kaffer Trade* [is] at lowest £30 000.[592]

The high mountain very white with snow. Snow had fallen there—rain here.

Saturday August 25th 1832 Somewhat unwell last night. Yet the Missionaries in this country have in general kept their health. Death of missionaries in Kafferland has not prevented the work of evangelising the earth from going on. As the death of missionaries has done in the East and West Indies, South America, etc. When we consider all circumstances connected with our health, safety and preservation, we must allow that the hand of God is upon us for good. Fine day.

Monday August 27th 1832 Yesterday about 30 hearers were present at worship. Mr McDiarmid was out amongst the people around. The Amafengu [amaMfengu] seemed to stay away because it was the Sabbath. *Explaining* one of the Psalms of David which has been translated into Kaffer verse. Today appears to incline to rain.

Tuesday August 28th 1832 A little after sun-rise, a number of people from the Great Place held a meeting before Charles Henry's house where Matwa is at present residing, for the purpose of enquiring of him why he is changing his old customs for new ones. Among others Anta and Sutu who hold the rank of a chief were present. In all upwards of 20 attended. It appears that Matwa now holds little intercourse with the people at the Great Place and they asked him why he did now invite them to come to Church. He said he had often done so when staying among them. His common exposition was "come let us go to the school (mission station) to worship": but they did not come. While they were willing to come he was willing to ask them to come. They had little reason to say anything on this point since they are invited almost every Sabbath by the Missionaries to come to Church. Matwa told them that his father had gone to Mr Williams' school but they said "what happened afterwards?". He answered that his *eyes* became sore, and the doctor said the school was the occasion of his illness and he was induced to leave it. This of course he could not think a good reason else he would not have mentioned it at this time, and to make an open disavowal of such belief was courageous in him. To several of his replies they had nothing to say; and he did not wish to crush enquiry but invited discussion and more public discussion if they

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[592] According to John Centlivres Chase, the value of this trade grew from £27,623 in 1824 to £40,000 per annum just prior to the 1834-1835 war. John Centlivres Chase, *The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay*. Facsimile reprint (Cape Town: Struik, 1967), 203-204.

chose. He desired them to bring together all the great councillors and he would tell why he abode at the school. He *felt* in his heart that God's word was good, *that* he now said, and he was prepared to make a more open confession of it. They claimed some property or right in the school, as a school for their instruction as well as for his. I am glad to hear them avowing this nevertheless it is true that it was solely by his authority and permission and request that the school was established. They would do better if they would come to it than contend for its being theirs. Kaffers can seek a missionary, can obtain a missionary, can be instrumental in [rearing] a missionary, can call a missionary their missionary and a station their station and yet not come to church. (School is the word they use for Mission station).

Friday September 7th 1832 Returned from Balfour whither I went 8 days ago to assist Mr Thomson at the distribution of the Lord's Supper. Would have come sooner had weather permitted. Mr Thomson is a valuable character. He has done much since I was at his place a year ago. Baptised his child[593]. At Chumie received a letter from Patrick Falconer Esq. and another from my brother T[ ] both dated in April last[594]. Mrs Laing received 2 letters from her friends. All has gone on well since I went away.

Saturday September 8th 1832 Mr Thomson is admirably fitter for the arduous situation which he holds. He can bear with the ignorance and stupidity of his people more than most men could do. Most of the people to whom he ministers are half-white, half Hottentot. Those who are wholly Hottentot go to Mr Reid who is stationed not far from Mr Thomson. His separation of the people is not good. They (i.e. the people) look on each other with jealousy and appear to think that Mr Thomson is only for the one class and Mr Reid for the other. It is to me a matter of wonder that Dr Philip has reinstated Mr Reid as a minister after what he has done. The world should have had better evidence of his repentance before he should have been again fixed in so important a situation. The *breach* between the two bodies of Hottentots is widening instead [of] straitening.[595]

[593]Probably William Rodger Thomson, born at Balfour 27 August 1832. Williams, *When races meet*, 210; *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 791.

[594]The text at this point is partially illegible. Laing originally wrote "and another from Tho[mas]" which he then overwrote as above. Although R.A. Laing's version of the Laing family tree does not include a Thomas amongst Laing's siblings, this tree claims to list only those family members with direct South African links. R.A. Laing: Laing family tree, *Familia* 13 (1976): 16-18.

[595]Thomson and Read were opposed on various levels. Thomson was not only a minister in the established Dutch Church but was also a mouthpiece of secular Colonial authority as Government agent. Read, on the other hand, was a missionary of the London Missionary Society and frequently at odds with the Colonial government. His congregation was largely KhoeKhoe. Thomson's congregation consisted mostly of people of mixed blood and, according to MacKenzie Beverley writing under the pseudonym "Justus", Thomson was at pains to impress on their minds that "they were superior to the Hottentots [at Read's station], owing to the colonial blood that flowed in their veins, so they ought to belong to the Dutch church, the venerable institution of their fathers, rather than to a

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Monday September 10th 1832 Yesterday upwards [of] 30 hearers attended on worship. Mr McDiarmid was out amongst the kraals. At the Great Place I saw a doctress at work with a man, who it was said, was unwell. She was applying quantities of cow dung to his body which a young man removed when it had done its work.[596] The Kaffers would scarcely tell who was ill. This likely was from a notion that I would not approve of what they were doing. Often they give indirect answers to the plainest and simplest questions.

(This, the spring is considered the finest season in the year). The doctress and many of that Great Place people came to Church. While I am writing she is down with a child who has the itch,[597] and is requesting medication for it. What is become of her doctress' power in this case?

Last week when I returned from Balfour I saw more than a 100 women returning from the pretended Rainmaker at whose place they had been dancing on account of the late plentiful supply of rain. Perhaps they had taken him an offering in [corn] for what he had done. This they are accustomed to do. There was not a man in their whole company but they, as I understand, had also been at the pretended Rainmaker's and had also been dancing. I hear of but few pretended Rainmakers.

(Thunder and rain).

Statements from Matwa in answer to questions: the Chief is absolute at his own kraal, not so much at the kraals of his subjects. There when he would punish an individual he calls a council and is guided by what is therein said. He can do many things by his power of chief-

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Hottentot missionary conventicle." Beverley goes further and suggests that Thomson was actually sent to the Kat River by the colonial government in order to oppose Read. On the basis of this evidence it would seem that Thomson, not Read, was the agent of division and dissension. Laing's censorious tone reflects his dislike of Read and his opinion is uncharacteristically but blatantly biassed. Read had been charged and condemned *in absentia* by Rev. George Thom in Cape Town in August 1817 on grounds of immorality and was suspended. However, as Lovett points out, "that in Mr Thom's case zeal outran discretion, and that his comparative inexperience, and his very evident sympathy with Cape Town opinion, unfitted him for wisely judging the state of affairs at Bethelsdorp and elsewhere." Read was, accordingly, restored to full capacity and standing as a missionary in the London Missionary Society, and it is to this reinstatement that Laing adverts. Williams, *When races meet*, 118-9; Justus (pseud. Mackenzie Beverley). *The wrongs of the Caffre nation: a narrative* (London: James Duncan, 1837), 260-3; R. Lovett, *The history of the London Missionary Society* (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), 535-6; *Dictionary of South African Biography* 1: 666-668; British Parliamentary Papers, 503 of 1837: Correspondence relative to the Kaffir War, Bennie to D'Urban, 81; British Parliamentary Papers, 55 of 1852: *Report from the Select Committee on the Kaffir Tribes*, Major Sir J.E. Alexander's evidence, no.2799, 350.

[596]The application of dung was commonly employed as part of the process of *ukuqubula* whereby harmful substances were removed from the body of the afflicted person. Kropf, *A Kaffir-English dictionary*, 342; Euvrard: *"AmaXhosa and amaGqirha"*, 17.

[597]The "itch", also known as scabies and in Xhosa *ukhwekhwe*, is a contagious skin-disease caused by the burrowing into the skin of the parasite *sarcoptes scabiei*.

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ship. He can punish offenders and no-one can call him in question for what he does (this seems contrary to calling a council etc.). He can punish on a slight report without calling a council and perhaps may have caused the report to have been raised on which he proceeded to punish.[598]

The Kaffers are not inclined to believe that the authorities in the Colony would return their cattle. If a Kaffer chief knew that his people had stolen cattle from the Colony and had them in their possession he would return them to their rightful owners. Formerly the Kaffer chiefs would not have done so. The Kaffer chiefs believe that the officers in the Colony would return to the Kaffers cattle stolen from Kafferland. They say that the Colonial authorities would not keep them 2 days. The Kaffers would not find it so easy to return stolen cattle as the Colonial people would do, as they kill them and eat them as soon as they take them. They *divide* them also among themselves before killing them. They would enter into an agreement to deliver up thieves to the Colony would the Colony do the like by them. I did not mention other crimes because if a mutual agreement were made to deliver up all offenders, then would the Kaffers also expect those charged with witchcraft to be delivered up. It is said by one of the most intelligent Kaffers that the Kaffers would not expect men charged with witchcraft to be delivered up. The chiefs usually call a council at a distance from their own kraals. But here they can also punish without council. Among chiefs and people there is some doubt that cattle stolen from their country would not be recovered from the Colony. They believe that the proper authorities would return them did they come to know that they had been stolen. The chiefs would enter the treaty but their people would not keep it and the chief could not very well enforce it.

Transcribed so much of the foregoing journal as I deem of sufficient interest to send home this 10th of September 1832, James Laing.

Wednesday September 12th 1832 In the above account of the Kaffers, etc. there are some conflicting statements but when all considered they will be found to agree.

Thursday September 13th 1832 A woman from Graham's Town has today engaged to act as a servant to us for a month. She is apparently of Mosambique [Mozambique] extraction. We do not know how she will do[599]. Matwa is now gone into his own house. This house he has

[598]See the Introduction for a discussion of the relative powers of the chiefs.

[599]According to Le Cordeur, several thousand freed slaves had been shipped to the Western and Eastern Cape from Mozambique in the early part of the nineteenth century. Charles Lennox Stretch, *The journal of Charles Lennox Stretch*; ed. Basil A. Le Cordeur. Graham's Town Series 8 (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman for Rhodes University, 1988), 196.

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himself wrought at. Yesterday Mr McDiarmid entered his new house also. He will find himself and family more comfortably situated there than in the very small one which at this station he has hitherto occupied. This house has cost him much labour. One person engaged in the multifarious operations of erecting and finishing a house must necessarily be a long time in executing one of any considerable size. Natives have assisted Mr McDiarmid at this work, and have learned to work better than before they could do, by the practice which herein they have had.

This day has been very fine. Several specimens [of] Kaffer greediness are unpleasant features in the characters of some individuals.

Friday September 14th 1832 About 10 p.m. a cry in the surrounding country was raised of a commandoe. This cry f[l]ew from place to place as is usual on such occasions.

Saturday September 15th 1832 The cry was a false alarm. Those who raised it were drunk with a sort of malted liquor which the Kaffers make[600]. Intend going to Pirrie. The warm wind now blows.

Monday September 17th 1832 Returned from Pirrie where I was present at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. *There* are only 2 native communicants, the Native Teacher and his wife. Here are none and only one candidate for baptism who speaks of going to the Colony to join Charles Henry. Received 2 letters from Edinburgh. Yesterday and today much rain has fallen. Thunder.

Friday September 21st 1832 When I went into the school I found Matwa teaching one of his men the alphabet. He brings him to school that he may learn to read.

Was plastering the wattle and daub house for the last time. The Interpreter has thatched it and thatched it well—but he has taken double the time to do it which he ought to have taken. If the other Kaffers learn any useful arts it must be in this way since they shew almost no desire to learn them for the advantage to be reaped from them. Indirectly they may in a few years learn many useful works in the same way as Klaas has learned to thatch. That is they will work for the sake of money but they will gradually acquire a practical knowledge which will be of more service to them than money. Matwa is an exception: he *works* from a conviction that the employments of civilized men are followed by benefits which more than

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[600] *Utywala*, or beer, is brewed from Indian corn or maize which is soaked in water then dried and pulverised producing a malt. Water is added to a mixture of ground grain and malt and allowed to ferment, after which it is boiled and strained. *Utywala* is produced for community consumption and has nutritional value as a food as well as being mildly intoxicating. Soga: *Ama-Xosa*, 399-404.

counterbalance the labour. The others would have no objections to reap the fruit could that be obtained without labour; but he is not only willing to reap but to *labour* that he may reap.

(Very fine weather).

Monday September 24th 1832 Yesterday about 40 people heard the word. This is more than the general number of hearers. At one time these were not all present, but adding *who heard in the afternoon alone* to those who heard in the forenoon the number of hearers during the day would at least be 40. Have been working at the above mentioned house. Warm wind blows and therefore it is very unpleasant to work. Even when we are doing little or nothing, this wind has a most enervating effect on the spirits.

Matwa and the Interpreter set off to visit Dr Philip who is said to be at the Kat River.

The trader near us is living in a state [of] fornication with a Hottentot. Three traders, we lately heard attacked, another, fired at him and burnt his house. He escaped. Two traders lately had a boxing match in presence of a number of Kaffers. These proceedings are hurtful to the influence of missionaries.

Weather becoming warmer. Read at intervals Pliny Fisk.[601]

Friday September 28th 1832 Yesterday the kitchen formerly mentioned was opened for us. Though I intended to do all I could at it yet, with all I could do Mr McDiarmid's aid was frequently necessary. He did many things connected with it which I *could not have* done. And others better than I could have done them though had I attempted them. Though our houses are only wattle and daub a *Church* should be built next. I shall state the propriety of erecting a church to the Missionary Board.

The weather is very fine.

Monday October 1st 1832 Yesterday no interpreter. Mr McDiarmid in the middle of the day brought a company of Kaffers from the Native kraals who attended afternoon service in the Church. Much rain has fallen of late. God is good to this ungodly people.

Wednesday October 3rd Matwa's mother visited the Institution. The school is doing better than it has done for sometime. Heard that Anta is unwell.

[601] Probably Alvan Bond's *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk*, Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1828.

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Thursday October 4th 1832 Attended a meeting of Presbytery at Pirrie [Pirie]. Lectured to the Presbytery according to appointment. Baptized an infant daughter of Mr Ross.[602]

Friday October 5th 1832 Came home. Day extremely fine. Heard that Matwa is also unwell. Have not seen him.

Saturday October 6th 1832 Called on Matwa. He has pain in his back, in his neck and in his head. Employed about Presbytery business.

Monday October 8th 1832 Yesterday about 20 hearers were present in the Church. Mr McDiarmid *walked out* to the kraals between us and the Keiskamma and read portions of revealed truth to their inhabitants. Two Kaffers came in seeking the loan of an axe. Did not lend them any. If they would seek another thing it would be better. They are able to *buy* a hatchet from the trader were they so inclined. Matwa told me of a man who wishes to reside at the Institution that he may have an opportunity of hearing God's Word. Matwa attended Church yesterday though evidently unwell. He would require to be told that the Lord desires mercy and not sacrifice. Last night (Sabbath evening) he took out a man who laughed, and reproved him and came in again with him.

Tuesday October 9th 1832 Mrs Laing was safely delivered of a son.[603] On former occasions Dr Morgan of Fort Willshire has been very kind to the members of this Mission. At this time he was particularly so. Mrs McDiarmid has helped us much.

Wednesday October 10th 1832 Mrs Laing and child are going on well.

Monday October 15th 1832 Few hearers at Church yesterday. About 15 in all. Anta is said to be unwell and it is likely the doctors have a victim in view. Mrs Ross paid us a visit.

Wednesday October 17th 1832 Wet.

Thursday October 18th 1832 Fine day. Must say that the Kaffers are unfeeling in regard to trouble i.e trouble on us. They are so in regard to trouble on themselves. On the 15th Ma-hla-meni, an Umfengu woman, came from the Buffalo River to act as our servant for a year. From her mode of answering in the Church she has been under Christian instruction for a

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[602]Helen Ross junior. The Ross' other surviving daughter, Margaret, was baptised in 1830. A previous Ross daughter, also named Margaret, had died in infancy. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly Intelligence* (Winter 1838/9): 4; J.M. Berning (ed), The papers of the Rev. John Ross (work in process).

[603]Robert Laing, born 9 October 1832, died 17 March 1836. Laing journal, Cory Library, MS 16,579/1, 17 March 1835.

considerable period. She has a son about 8 or 10 years old with her.[604] Maqoma passed—did not call.

Monday October 22nd 1832 Mr McDiarmid was out yesterday. Many of the Great Place people were (yesterday) travelling to the Rainmaker on the Chumie [River], to ask more rain. Here is the glory of God changed into a lie. Here is sinful man taking to himself an honour which is only due to God. Here are deluded, ignorant creatures placing a weak mortal in God's room and seeking from him what they can not obtain from any one in heaven or earth except God.

About 20 hearers were present in Church yesterday.

Monday October 29th 1832 Mr McDiarmid out yesterday. 18 hearers in Church. Sutu and her people were digging and sowing!!! None of the Great Place people at Church!

Tuesday/Wednesday October 30th/31st 1832 Tigo [Tige/Tiyo] an old Hottentot woman came to serve with us for a short time.

Thursday November 1st 1832 More people (visitors) are coming to the [Institution] about this time than usually come. Have some opportunities of communicating Christian knowledge to them but many of them are very careless. Heard that Mrs M[organ] of S[omerset East] who came out in the same vessel as us has been so ill in childbed that she is not expected to survive.[605]

Friday November 2nd 1832 Much rain—which God has sent in his amazing goodness to this wicked people. They have lately been seeking rain by unjustifiable nay wicked means. I see from what Mr Moffat says that there are *men called rain makers* also at Latakoo. That idiolatry then is spread far and wide.

Saturday November 3rd Some showers. The school is better attended than formerly.

Monday November 5th 1832 Mr McDiarmid was out at Yese's place yesterday[606]. Saw Amafengu and Kaffers giving presents of corn to her. She is also a Rainmaker in the estimation of the Kaffers. About 20 hearers in Church yesterday. Excellent weather for the coun[tryside]. Began to explain the 10 Commandments to the people.

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[604]Mahlameni had almost certainly been at Rev. John Brownlee's station on the Buffalo River hence her familiarity with Christian doctrine. Further identification has not been possible.

[605]Elizabeth Morgan nèe Shand.

[606]Yese, mother of Ngqika. See Laing's entries 6-8 December 1831 (and footnote) and 28 January 1833.

Today the weather also fine.

I hear that Anta, son of Gaika has removed to the distance of 4 or 6 miles from this place. He has likely been told to go away that there might be no fears of his becoming attached to God's word. But while at home he shewed very little inclination to learn anything concerning it. He was ill in health of late, or rather pretended to be so and would according to the practice of the chiefs have one person in view, as causing his sickness. Of course he or his people would wish to punish the one who had done this crime. They have failed in this instance. May they fail in all similar instances. Should he become ill at a distance from us, he may feel more at liberty to proceed with his deeds of darkness. Sutu now alone remains at the Great Place. She, Anta and Matwa might be considered when residing at it as possessing nearly equal power.[607] He [Anta] was looked on with jealousy by Sutu and it was even said that she had bewitched him.

One of the most violent thunder storms which has happened since I came to Kafferland came on about 2 o'clock and continued the most of the afternoon[608]. The lightning was very near and was streaming in quick succession. Thunder very loud. Much rain and hail. The destruction of everything tender in our garden is nearly accomplished. In some pot[atoes] beginning to blossom, I see not a single plant which is not broken. Indeed it is a wonder our house has stood as it has done. It was well that I had a ditch cut around it, else we had been completely inundated. All is again calm at the command and will of God.

Friday November 9th 1832 The rainmaker so called does not hold that he can make or give rain without God. He says that he is God's friend and can obtain it from him to give to the people.

Transcribed so far November 9th 1832, signed James Laing.

Saturday November 10th 1832 The rain is very heavy. Firmer houses than wattle and daub are requisite to withstand the storm.

I have mentioned in the journal sent to the Directors that the sin of the rain-maker (so-called) consists in hindering, rain being the means of hindering them from coming directly to God

[607]Maqoma and Tyhali, as Ngqika's older sons, competed with each other for supremacy over the amaNgqika but Maqoma's regency during the young Sandile's minority gave him the edge over Tyhali. Suthu, formerly Ngqika's Great Wife, and the younger sons Anta and Matwa, nevertheless enjoyed considerable authority at the Great Place and effected between them a certain balance of power. There is evidence that Suthu was unpopular amongst the amaNgqika and her jealousy of Anta, giving rise to suspicions that she had bewitched him, would have alienated her still further from the people. Peires, *House of Phalo*, 27-31, 82.

[608]Sentence reconstructed. Laing's original entry reads: "One of the most violent thunder storms came on about 2 o'clock and continued the most of the afternoon which has happened since I came to Kafferland."

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[for] rain. [He says] "he can obtain what they cannot obtain". Thus he asperses the character of God and makes him appear to be a respecter of persons.[609]

It is somewhat to be lamented that the Interpreter who has more knowledge than any of the people at the Institution is very careless in learning to read. Vimbe and Matwa are the very opposite.

Monday November 12th 1832 About 20 hearers were in Church yesterday. Mr McDiarmid was out among the Kaffers. Anta *is* staying at a distance from us. Very cold these 2 days at this advanced season.

Tuesday November 13th 1832 Mr Ross this day baptised our child. His name is Robert Laing. Heard that Mrs Morgan of Somerset *died* 8 days past on Thursday. She sailed with Mrs Laing and I from Greenock to Cape Town. She had a most tedious and painful delivery and brought forth a dead infant. Eight days afterwards she herself died. Mr Chalmers' note says that her latter end was *peace*.[610]

Received from Mr Chalmers the last 2 sheets of the *new* and *revised* Hymns. In all there are 32 of them contained in 28 pages. Mr Chalmers has begun to print the Shorter Catechism in Kaffer.

Heard from Mr Ross the fullest and most circumstantial account of the punishment for supposed witchcraft among the Kaffers which I have yet heard. He was an *eye witness* to what he thus relates.

Wednesday November 14th 1832 Anta it is said has left the Great Place because Sutu uses means to make him unwell. She will not allow him to enjoy health but will use means [to] bring back his sickness. If there be truth in this dark mode of speech it seems to be that Sutu is jealous of her power and wishes to *rule* more than her step-sons. She herself is the mother of the acknowledged heir of Gaika [Sandile] who is a minor.

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[609]Laing appears to be saying that the rainmakers had set themselves up as mediators between God and man, and, by claiming special powers to produce rain, had deterred ordinary people from having direct recourse to God for their needs. This would have worried Laing as a Protestant for whom the concept of human mediation would have been doctrinally alien.

[610]Elizabeth Morgan (nèe Shand) died at Somerset East on 3.11.1832, aged 27 years. *Graham's Town Journal* 15.11.1832, p.1, c.3.

Thursday November 15th 1832 Box of med[icine from the] G.M.S. and box from Mrs Muir were brought to the Station[611]. Rain has again come on.

Monday November 19th 1832 About 25 persons heard the Word yesterday in the Church. In the afternoon after the Church was dismissed I went to the kraals between us and the Keiskamma. The men were all lyeing by the side of their cattle kraal, and were almost all idle. Spoke to them on the duty of keeping holy the Sabbath. Then went to the women who were working in their corn lands and spoke also to them on the good which they might attain by keeping holy the Sabbath. Observed *one man* working with the women. He is an Umfengu, a stranger within the gate of the Kaffers, but does not respect the advantages of the Sabbath. While at these places a small Commando of Boors passed towards the Colony. They were seeking horses which they said the Kaffers had stolen but had found very few. By force they could not do much as there were not more than 20 of them. They told me that Mr Morgan is their minister.

Few of our nearest neighbours came to Church. Today is hot.

Tuesday November 20th/Wednesday November 21st 1832 A meeting of the Missionary Board held here to receive the reports for the past year. The medicine sent out by the Society the Board resolved to divide into six parts[612]. None of [the] *Record* was received.

Thursday November 22nd 1832 Meeting of [Missionary] Board continued.

Friday November 23rd-Wednesday November 28th 1832 On Sabbath a considerable number of Matwa's men attended Church. He also attended dressed in [a] neat suit of good black clothes sent out from Glasgow. About 35 people heard the Word. Mr McDiarmid during the day *walked* to the kraals on the hill which lies between us and the Debe flat. These are distant 5 or 6 miles but to walk such a number of miles in Kafferland is much more fatiguing than in Scotland. For some days more Kaffers than usual have been about the Station whom I have attempted to instruct; but who have been unwilling to receive instruction.

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[611]The Mrs Muir referred to was probably the wife of Rev. Dr John Muir who was a personal friend of Laing (see footnote [74]). The box she sent contained cloth and clothes. Cory Library, MS 9037, Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria (3 January 1833), 220.

[612]The minutes of the Missionary Board meetings cannot be traced. Alexander McDiarmid was given responsibility for recording the business of the Missionary Board but none of McDiarmid's papers appear to have survived. The minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria sometimes reported on the decisions and activities of the Board, but in this case no record of the November meeting was recorded in the Presbytery minutes for the next meeting, 3 January 1833.

Thursday November 29th-Monday December 3rd Yesterday we had no interpreter. Read Kaffer. 25 hearers. Mr McDiarmid walked out in the afternoon and read to the Kaffers at the neighbouring kraals. Weather has been very cold of late. Usually on Sabbath fewer Kaffers come to the Station.

Tuesday December 4th-Thursday December 6th 1832 The last of these days inclines to rain. On all of these days many Kaffers have visited the Station to whom I have endeavoured to read Kaffer. I have not attained and am not likely to attain the pronunciation of this extraordinary language.

Friday December 7th 1832 Yesterday Matwa rode to Tyhali and returned. To[day] he has again set off. In passing he said that Tyhali had promised to give him some information of importance when he again on this day went to see him. This information he conceived would be of an unpleasant and distressing kind. May God prepare him for whatever is to be disclosed.

Monday December 10th 1832 Yesterday in the forenoon Sutu and a company of her people were at Church. In the afternoon a number of people from the kraals on the road to Chumie were present. In all 38 might hear the word. Some of the people at the Great Place made sport of the invitation to come to Church. Some people (Amafengu [amaMfengu]) came to *work*; but when they saw that it was Sabbath they turned, as I then thought their backs on the Word. When today I asked them why they did not attend Church they said Sutu [told] them to bring oxen from a particular place. Mr McDiarmid and family were at Chumie at the Communion. Monday many people came to work. Many to do nothing; but were importunate for presents of Tobacco, beads, buttons, etc. If you expect work properly done, or any considerable quantity of it you must be constantly with these people. They are *lazy* and *stupid* and *self-willed.* We have an instance today more of a greater number of people on the Monday than on the Sabbath. This [is] not by accident [but] of concert. In reading to many Kaffers and in making them repeat after me, one at 2 or 3 times, endeavoured to *imitate* my *tone* of *voice and manner of utterance*. This is one of the small trials that we have to bear.

Tuesday December 11th-Thursday December 13th 1832 Yesterday a message from Matwa was delivered to us saying he had yet further business to detain him with Tyhali. He has been nearly a week absent, and, it would seem is engaged about some important matter. Have no doubt but that the mission business is again the object under consideration. God will accomplish his work respecting the Kaffers in his own time. Am purpos[ing] setting out tomorrow to r[ide] in order to itinerate among the Kaffers.

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Friday December 14th 1832 Horse [taken] off and could not easily be found. Resolved to wait till Monday.

Saturday December 15th 1832 Am still of the same opinion as I at first was in regarding the acquisition of the Kaffer language being the *main* work of a missionary. If I cannot learn so well as I could wish I must learn it as well as I can. It will be requisite for me to command its *Grammar*, its *vocabulary* and *many of its phrases* systematically to memory.

Heard that Matwa's people have said that they will *leave* him if he remains at the Station. He is still with Tyhali and is engaged about the circumcision of his brother and the marriage of his sister. Fathers or brothers or friends who have respectively the disposal of their daughters, sisters or friends in marriage *receive cattle* from the husbands whom they obtain. Therefore marriage negotiations are of some importance. That said the other matter I fear will be used as pretext for the turning of Matwa away from the truth. His mother [Motompo], his whole brothers and his sister have during the time he was in the S[tation] remained with Tyhali on the Chumie [River]. Most of his cattle have also continued there.

Charles Henry and John Love arrived from Chumie[613]. The last of these had removed to the new settlement on the Kat River before I came to Kafferland. They tell me that a young man whom they saw on the road told them that Matwa had said that *we need not soon expect him at the Station*.

Today and on the other days of this week very many visitors have been here—and they have been repeatedly told to keep holy the Sabbath tomorrow as well as all these holy days.

Monday December 17th 1832 Yesterday the *Amafengu* [amaMfengu] who work here on weekdays *absented* themselves. Kaffers also were *less numerous* than *they usually* are; but the day was a little cold. Some from the Great Place attended. Including the people of the Place about 30 heard the word.

On Saturday our interpreter saw Matwa at the Chumie River. He was dressed in a small kaross for dancing. So from all appearances he seems to be likely again to withdraw from the gospel. There are still a few of his people taking care of his house and garden. He is more inexcusable now than formerly, as he has had further opportunities of obtaining knowledge; but I shall say nothing of him until his case is more fully developed.

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[613] John Love and his wife Elizabeth were among the five converts baptised at Tyhume on 29 June 1823. In accordance with contemporary missionary custom, he was given a Western name on baptism, in his case that of one of the founders of the London Missionary Society who later aligned himself with the Glasgow Missionary Society and after whom Lovedale was named. Glasgow Missionary Society *Report* 1824: 12.

Friday December 21st 1832 Returned from a journey in company with Mr Ross to the imiDange tribe of Kaffers. This tribe is situated about the Gonube river[614]. We spoke at 30 places to 287 people. Were out three days. I was out in jour[neying] part of 5 days, taking up part of 2 in going to and coming from Mr Ross's. The people were in general attentive.

The one night we lodged with Ukuse, a petty chief. In the morning met with a little unpleasant treatment from his son who held my horse and would force me to give him a knife, a tinder box or a handkerchief. He made nothing by his insolence and took 6 ear-beads at best. The father made this apology for him: "That he was my child and was *playing* with me" for a present. He met with no support from any of the people. We found the country *more thinly* inhabited [than] that nearer the frontier of the Colony. There is much grass in it at this season. In general it is uneven being divided into a great many ridges by small streams. The second night we lodged in a romantic corner at the head of a small stream named the Sababa.[615] Beyond the Gonube there is [a] strong spring of fresh water which always runs. In one of the *Quarterly* papers of the G.M.S. some account by Mr Ross of these ImiDange and their country may be seen. We thought, but the atmosphere was not clear, that we saw the white waves of the sea. At all events we were within 8 or 10 miles of it. It is little that we can do for the furtherance of the conversion of sinners but we pray that God may bless that little.

Saturday December 22nd 1832 Heard some time ago that a man on the Chumie River was killed for supposed witchcraft. The man whom he had bewitched it is said *could not sleep* in consequence of being bewitched. This poor man was killed in a more summary manner than is usual in such cases but I have not learnt the particulars.

Monday December 24th 1832 Yesterday formed an exception to many Sabbaths of late. Various of the workers came expressly for the purpose of attending Church. More of other

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[614]John Ross had previously visited Ukuse and Tola, both petty chiefs of the imiDange, in April 1830, with a view to the establishment of a further mission station. His account of this visit is recorded in Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* 6 (1830). The imiDange, who under Chief Mdange refused to accept the supremacy of amaRharhabe, pledged allegiance direct to their common progenitor Phalo, and were under the leadership of Botumane in 1832. The Gonubie (or Gqunube) River has its source some 56km north of East London. It flows south-east and enters the Indian Ocean about 11km north-east of East London. According to Ross' description, Ukuse would have been the nearest imiDange chief and the first he and Laing would have encountered on this journey. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* 6 (1830):1-12; Bergh and Visagie: *The Eastern Cape frontier zone, 1660-1980*, 41-45.

[615]The Sababa and the strong fresh water spring I have not yet been able to place on any map. Oakley West has seen a reference to a map which indicates verbally that at the point the Gonubie is fed by many small streams and the Sababa is probably one of these. He is coming back to me with the reference when he finds it. Similarly if he finds anything on the spring.

people also came than is usual on such days. 40 adults at least would hear the Word at the Station. Old Jumba from Chumie is at the Station and is very helpful in the work.[616]

Friday December 28th 1832 Mr and Mrs Chalmers returned to Chumie after they had visited this Station and Pirrie [Pirie]. (The weather is very hot).

Monday December 31st 1832 Yesterday found Matwa at the Great Place where he had arrived on the preceding evening. He thought that if he came to Church the people would annoy him much. He came however in the forenoon and had only a cloth mantle about him. I had time to say to him that he must fear God more than men. (*One* worker came to hear). Including the people on the Station near 30 would hear the Word. Understood him to say that he would lay open his view as to returning when [he had spoken with] some of the other chiefs.

(Explaining the 7th commandment)[617]. Received a letter from the Rev. G. Struthers. He has been longer in writing this time than he has been since I came to Kafferland.

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[616]Probably Iamba, an old interpreter at Tyhume, who was baptised Thomas Brown at Tyhume on 7 October 1830. He was thus named in honour of the previous President of the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Rev. Dr Brown of St John's Church, Glasgow. Glasgow Missionary Society *Quarterly paper* no. 7 (February 1831): 4-6; Donovan Williams, " Social and economic aspects of Christian missions in Caffraria 1816-1854, pt II" *Historia* 31, no.1 (May 1986): 44-47.

[617]"Thou shalt not commit adultery".

People, Prejudices and Proclivities

1st January 1833 to 31st December 1833

Tuesday January 1st 1833 The high mountain a point of which [is] nearly North of Burnshill is called Umkubuso/e:[618] one to the North-East of that called the Ungwevu[619]. Another still further North-East is called the Icala[620]. It was among the vallies on the South of these that Mr Ross and I itinerated in July 1832. (Ate some excellent figs sent by Mr Chalmers from Chumie).

Saturday January 5th 1833 Yesterday returned from Chumie where at this time I attended meetings of Presbytery and [Missionary] Board.

Monday January 7th 1833 Mr McDiarmid *walked* out to the kraals near the Keiskamma. There are upwards of 30 people in the Church. Heard on Saturday that Matwa intends to return to the Station soon.

Wednesday January 9th 1833 Thermometer 90° in the house—120° in the sun.

Friday January 18th 1833 Returned from Graham's Town whither I went 8 days ago. Had the pleasure of meeting with Dr Philip on his return from the interior. The students of Princetown, America have written a most encouraging letter to Dr Philip on the state of the late and unparalleled revivals in it[621]. They appear, i.e. the students, to be burning with zeal for the prop[agation] of Ch[ristianity] throughout the w[orld].

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[618]North of Burnshill is the Khubusi mountain range, punctuated by several peaks. The first, named Mount Thomas on Hall (1856) and Bergh and Visagie (map 20.2), lies slightly North East of Burnshill. Arrowsmith (1851), however, names a Kabousie Mountain which lies slightly North East of Mount Thomas and which could be the peak to which Laing is referring. Bergh and Visagie: *The Eastern Cape frontier zone 1660-1980*, 59 map 20.2; Cory Library, MP 193: Arrowsmith (1851); Cory Library, MP 458: Hall (1856).

[619]It has not been possible to place a peak named uNgwevu on contemporary or modern maps. To the North East of Kabousie Mountain on Arrowsmith (1851) and Hall (1856) lies Kaklazeli Mountain.

[620]It has also not been possible to place the third peak, iCala. If Mount Thomas is the first and Kabousie the second, Kaklazeli would seem to be the third, all three peaks lying along the Khubusi range. If, however, the first peak is the Kabousie and the second Kaklazeli, then the third would probably be Mount Gordon, still further North East.

[621]Princeton Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian establishment, founded in 1812.

Saw a trader (M'Luckie) in Graham's Town who has been nearly as far beyond Lat[t]akoo as from Lat[t]akoo to Graham's Town. Beyond Lat[t]akoo there are many fine tracts of land, the finest M'Luckie had seen in South Africa. The country there is well supplied with rivers.[622]

Dr Philip is of opinion that three or 4 traders towards Delagoa Bay have been murdered through the influence [of] the Portuguese.[623] Masolokatzi is committing dreadful ravages in the interior. Dr Philip says that should he vanquish the Griquas he will immediately attack the Colony.[624]

Rain is now falling and has fallen in considerable q[uantities] since I went away.

Saturday January 19th 1833 Cool with the appearance of rain.

Monday January 21st 1833 Yesterday, Sabbath 20th, only about 5 strangers present— the day was partly wet. Mr McDiarmid was out on foot at the kraals nearest except the Great Place. 20 hearers of the Word at the Station.

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[622]William McLuckie (22.3.1797-25.3.1882), a fellow Scot from Stirling, had arrived in Cape Town in 1817 and after 3 years moved to Alexandria in the Eastern Cape. He was a well-known, successful and well-travelled trader. It is not known which fine lands beyond Lattakoo (Kuruman) McLuckie meant in his description to Laing. Kuruman itself, well-watered by the perennial flow of the Kuruman River, forms an oasis in the otherwise arid area which is the Kalahari desert. However, McLuckie also traded in Mzilikazi's country North of the Magaliesberg which boasts more fertile vegetation and a sub-tropical climate. *Graham's Town Journal*, 17.6.1882, p.3, c.3.

[623]Philip had been keen, from his earliest missionary days in South Africa, to open up the missionary road to the North, hence his interest in Delagoa Bay. He had spent time in 1832 on the frontier canvassing the opinion of the amaXhosa chiefs and, further to the North, the Griqua. The *Graham's Town Journal* quoting Joseph Cawood, a settler trader, expressed fears that several traders traveling in Natal had been killed at the hands of Mzilikazi's people though these rumours were subsequently scotched by S. Mandy, another trader, in the case of at least three of those feared dead. The *Journal* further reported the plundering of traders by Adam Kok and his people, a view at odds with Philip's perception of the role of the Portuguese following his tour. *Graham's Town Journal*, 24.1.1833, p.2, c.2; *Graham's Town Journal*, 21.2.1833, p.1, c.3; Le Cordeur and Saunders: *The Kitchingman papers*, 17.

[624]Mzilikazi (c.1770-5/6.9.1868), son of Mashobane, chief of the Northern Khumalo and his wife Nompethu, who was the daughter of Zwide, paramount chief of the powerful amaNdwandwe. In the power struggle between the Nguni tribes of Natal, Mzilikazi came into conflict with Shaka and fled northwards through Natal into the Transvaal, settling north of the Magaliesberg. From this position Mzilikazi carried out intensive offensives against the neighbouring peoples and established his supremacy over the territory. As a result of a massive amaZulu invasion towards the end of 1832, Mzilikazi moved westwards into the Marico valley, launching attacks on the Rolong, the Kwena and the Ngwaketse, whom he considered to be enemies, along the way. It is probably these attacks to which Laing is referring. Mzilikazi erected a number of military kraals along the borders of his kingdom, the Western boundary of which he considered to be the Vaal River, which strangers were not allowed to cross. A group of Griqua crossed the Vaal in 1834 and were almost totally annihilated. However Mzilikazi was not hostile towards the colonial whites and did not launch any major offensive against the colony as Laing feared. *Dictionary of South African Biography* 4: 386-390.

God has again been good to this sinful people in that he has sent them a plentiful supply of rain. Now their cattle will be furnished with grass and their corn will be brought towards maturity.

From the life of Mr Charles of Bala it appears that he was the principal founder of the British and Foreign Bible Society. His life is so plainly written that the unlearned may reap much benefit from it.[625]

Wednesday January 23rd 1833 Mr and Mrs Ross visited this Station. Matwa has not returned. The people are averse to his becoming a Christian. Am not without hope that he will yet be freed from the hands of his false friends.

Transcribed so far Jan[uary] 23rd 1833. J. Laing.

Friday January 25th 1833 It is the intention of Dr Philip to propose to government the propriety and desirableness of taking the Kaffers more immediately under the protection of British law. He thinks that the Kaffer nation will continue to suffer much injury should they live as they are now doing. Mr Thomson is of the same opinion. In short, they would make them subjects of Great Britain and would extend to them all the privileges of such. Some of the Kaffer chiefs are desirous of becoming the subjects of the King of England. Am not aware that any of the chiefs would object to this change.[626]

It would be useful to our Directors to read the *Graham's Town Journal* and the *South African Commercial Advertiser*. In these they will find information respecting the Kaffers and other nations in South Africa. By comparing conflicting accounts they would be able to see on

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[625] Thomas Charles (1755-1814) was a Welsh religious leader, a founder of Calvinist Methodism in Wales and a strong missionary supporter. He settled in Bala, Merioneth, Wales and joined the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society there, but as a freelance. He was a co-founder of the British and Foreign Bible Society as well as the London Missionary Society and died at Bala on 5 October 1814. Laing was probably reading *A brief history of the life and labours of the Rev. T. Charles: [with extracts from his journal]* by Edward Morgan, 1828. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1986, v.3.

[626] As Andrew Ross writes: "This was the main thrust of Philip's ... campaign, both in South Africa and the United Kingdom, to give the Khoi and all other free persons of colour, the basic civil rights of all British subjects and to enable them to bring their labour and what little capital they had, to a free market." This would be consistent with what Philip had communicated to Laing. It also links with his efforts to extend his Christianising mission into the interior, bringing not only Christianity but also British authority and influence to bear on the peoples of southern Africa. Andrew C. Ross, *John Philip, 1775-1851: missions, race, and politics in South Africa* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), 109; Le Cordeur and Saunders, *The Kitchingman papers*, 16-18.

what ever side truth lay. In these Papers the commando controversy is at present being discussed.[627]

Good will follow, I have no doubt, from this discussion. As in all controversion though there may [be] faults on both sides. The impartial public in the Colony, but especially in Britain, will rise up in favour of what is right and will condemn what is wrong: "*Magnus est veritas, et prevalibit*". Our Directors will also do well to read the Accounts of the Missionaries of Moravian, London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies in as far as they relate to South Africa. And when Dr Philip and Mr Shaw arrive in England they will learn from them what progress missions are making and [are] likely to make in this quarter of the world.

Three of the male inhabitants of the Place are unwell. The water pox has seized one, and it is likely that the other 2 will be seized with it.[628]

Monday January 28th 1833 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was up at the Amafengu [amaMfengu] near U-yese's [Yese's], the mother of Gaika. Including the people of the Station 24 people heard the word at it. As usual few of our neighbours came.

Have been reading the life of Payson. He is a most extraordinary character. He gave himself wholly, if I may so speak of any man, to God. Therefore God in a more than ordinary manner manifested Himself to him.[629]

Matwa's wife is living with his great-grand mother and he, I have heard, is at present with Anta 4 miles from the Station.

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[627]At this time controversy was raging fiercely in the *Graham's Town Journal* and the *South African Commercial Advertiser* around a series of letters by the Hon. Alexander F. Bruce which appeared in the *South African Commercial Advertiser* in October to December 1832. Bruce, of the Madras Civil Service, had accompanied Philip on his 1832 visit to the frontier and had been left at the Kat River while Philip ventured further afield. Bruce wrote in support of the KhoeKhoe and the amaXhosa, condemning vociferously Maqoma's expulsion from his lands in 1829 and, in subsequent letters, the commando system as unjust and ineffective. Both Rev. William Chalmers (who claimed to have been misquoted by Bruce) and Major Cox of the Cape Mounted Riflemen replied to Bruce's allegations in the columns of the *Advertiser* in strong terms. Fairbairn, the editor of the *Advertiser*, referred sceptical readers to Saxe Bannister's *Humane policy* for verification of the facts as raised by Bruce, which he defended as correct. The *Journal*, in support of the colonists, seethed with heated refutations from civilians and military men alike. L.H. Meurant, editor of the *Journal*, attacked the editor of the *Advertiser* for his "infinite naivette [naiveté]" and general ignorance of frontier affairs. Laing, with measured impartiality, chose to see good and evil on both sides and expressed his own verdict in Latin which translates as "Great is truth and it will prevail".

[628]Water pox was the term commonly used between 1815-1825, when Laing was studying medicine, to describe what is now known as chicken pox. It has another medical application, now obsolete, to describe ground itch or hookworm, but Laing is clearly referring to an infectious not a parasitical disease.

[629] Probably Rev. Edward Payson, D.D. (1783-1827) an American Congregational preacher in Portland, Oregon. Asa Cummings published a memoir in 1828 on which several subsequent works on Payson's life were based including *A memoir of the Rev. E. Payson*, London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1830.

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Thursday January 31st 1833 While we hear of rumours of war in Europe in which Great Britain is likely to be engaged, we are permitted to live in peace[630]. The Kaffers have good opportunity of hearing the gospel. Much indeed is it to be lamented that they so abuse their privileges.

According to the *Graham's Town Journal* Ma-salakatze has been [defeated] near to Natal.[631]

Thunder and rain. Hot previously. This season is hotter than last; but still there are cool days occasionally and in the afternoon a cool breeze almost constantly blows from the sea.

(The above was written on Wednesday 30th). This is now Thursday 31st. Trans[lated] Matthew in[to] Kaffer and read[ing] it in Greek, Dutch and English.

Friday February 1st 1833 Yesterday Mr Minto, Surgeon, visited the Station[632]. He has been in delicate health of late but seems [to be] improving. Am happy to see that he is turning his attention to religion. Indeed he has been doing so for a few years. He was lately at Calcutta on duty. There he saw Carey and Marshman and the more recent missionary Duff of the Church of Scotland Missionary Society.[633] The buildings of Serampore are going to decay. This arises from the separation between the Serampore Mis[sionaries] and the Baptist Missionary Society.[634] Mr Minto speaks in high terms of Duff and his work. Another

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[630]The *Graham's Town Journal* of 24 January 1833 reported on uprisings in Belgium against King William I of the Netherlands' refusal to sign acceptance of Belgium's independence. The *Journal* predicted that France would respond with prompt measures and that England, "insulted in Portugal and defied in the Netherlands, must buckle on her sword". In the event, France and Great Britain blockaded the Dutch ports in December 1832 in an attempt to force William to sign, but his eventual capitulation was to take a further 6 years. *Graham's Town Journal*, 24.1.1831, 3-4; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1971, v.3.

[631]According to the *Graham's Town Journal* of 24 January 1833, reports had been received that Mzilikazi and his people had been "driven on the tribes beyond them, amongst whom they had committed the greatest excesses" but that no confirmation of these rumours had been received. Mzilikazi was, needless to say, unscathed by either attack or rumour at this time.

[632]James C. Minto, having acted as an assistant at the Malmesbury Hospital from 1829-1830, then served on the frontier as a Staff Surgeon. He was appointed Surgeon Superintendent of the General Infirmary on Robben Island in 1855 and died at Brighton on 10 October 1896 in his 92nd year. *The Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register for 1846*, 180; Percy Ward Laidler and Michael Gelfand. *South Africa: its medical history 1652-1898, a medical and social study* (Cape Town: Struik, 1971), 394; *Graham's Town Journal* 10.11.1896, p.2, c.2.

[633]William Carey formed the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 and was its first missionary to India whence he went along with fellow missionaries John Clark Marshman and William Ward. Alexander Duff (26.4.1806-12.2.1878) was the first foreign missionary of the Church of Scotland. He arrived in Calcutta in May 1830 but was forced to return to Scotland in 1834 due to ill-health. *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica,1986), 4: 258.

[634]Serampore (originally Srirampur) was a Danish possession called Fredericksnagar until the British acquired it in 1843. *Columbia Lippincott gazetteer of the world* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

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missionary, McKay [or Mr Kay], of the Church of Scotland has joined him. (Mr Minto is a native of Dunkeld).

Monday February 4th 1833 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out amongst the Kaffers. On Saturday we visited the grave of Gaika which is in the middle of a kraal wholly shut up with thorns. This is at the old Great Place which is distant a mile from the Station.[635]

(About 30 people were present in the Church yesterday). Mr Minto went away.

Monday February 11th 1833 Last week took Mrs Laing and our child to Pirrie for the benefit of their health. While there went out a part of a day with Mr Ross and again saw his manner of instructing the Kaffers. On Saturday he came ⅓ or more of the way with me for the same purpose. Some people living in the direction of Pirrie I endeavoured to teach a little; but they did not readily understand my pronunciation. Even words without the klicks they did not understand. When I came nearer to Burnshill I found no difficulty in making them repeat after me which shews that an improvement has already taken place in the people around the Stations.

Yesterday some of those whom I have now spoken of came to Church and staid also on afternoon worship. This is encouraging. Mr McDiarmid was not out. He is unwell. Some of the workers (Amafengu [amaMfengu]) also came to Church. In all there would be 35 hearers of the Word in Church. Today many idle Kaffers are going about. I must try to do a little with them. Have spoken to numbers [of people], and as an encouragement have found that those who live nearest the Stations are most willing to be instructed. They know more than strangers what the Word of God is. (The people at the Great Place are our nearest neighbours, but are a sort of exception to what has now been said). Near the Stations there is gradual and extensive change going on amongst the Kaffers; but this change is not very perceptible and is only known by comparing the Kaffers near the Stations with those at a distance or by comparing the same Kaffers with the whole of their countrymen as they existed about the time when Dr van der Kemp was among them.

Tuesday February 12th 1833 Early this morning I visited U-yese's place and the Amafengu near her. Met with encouragement. U-ye-se is the great-grandmother of a considerable number of children at least one of whom has arrived at the age of puberty. Thun[der] and rain last night. Rain was much needed.

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[635]Ngqika's grave was declared a national monument, receiving its bronze plaque in 1940. J J Oberholster, *The historical monuments of South Africa* (Cape Town: Rembrandt van Rijn Foundation for Culture on behalf of the National Monuments Council, 1972), 160.

Hear that Matwa has made his kraal at Anta's place. So he is not distant from the Institution. The pret[ended] Rainmaker will have another triumph. How gracious is God.

Wednesday February 13th 1833 Botuman called. He has just come from the dan[cin]g held at the Great Place to prop[itiate] *unQatsi* for rain[636]. He knows I believe better things, but from some cause complies with the Kaffer customs. He was begging like the rest of his countrymen. Matwa and Anta were also at said dancing, and very many of the people around. I distinctly heard their singing and shouting. There was a gun fired at the commencement of every shouting, and as its report died away another gun was fired when the shouting and singing were redoubled. They had 2 guns which I hear belonged to Botuman. Today the pretended rainmaker has again commanded that no corn or milk or flesh shall be sold to any of the Missionaries or Traders. What his real reason may be is not quite evident, but his ostensible reason is that if the Kaffers sell etc. to the white people the rain will be with-held. This indeed is no reason but only an opinion which he takes it on him to utter. He has much influence and none dare openly oppose him. Everyone is duped or awed by him. His proceedings today to human view must greatly injure the interest of the Mission; and he is cunning enough to know the parade which he is thus making is well calculated to attach the people to his system.

Thursday February 14th 1833 Maqoma joined the Rainmaker and with him and the other chiefs there were a great number of the common Kaffers. He and Botuman made a sort of God of the Rainmaker as did all the others. Only old Ga-nna offered a little opposition as if calling in question some of the Rainmaker's pretensions. He wished the Rainmaker to *appoint a time* for the rain that he and the rest might be satisfied. The Rainmaker waived this request and began on a different subject. But he complained of Ga-nya's disobedience to him and said that he could not expect rain he was so sceptical.

From the report I heard it was evident the Rainmaker was by no means satisfied even at the slight opposition which he met with from G[anya]. It is a pity he did not meet with more and that Maqoma and Botuman so tamely submitted to him. They appear to have made him their master and to have made absolute promises to do anything which he will enjoin upon them. If he were to point out any person as hindering the rain they would doubtless in[jure] or kill him. He has only once so far as I know been guilty of such an atrocious deed, and I believe that is taken notice of in the former accounts of the missionaries.

[636]Mngqatsi, a powerful rainmaker believed to be the spiritual successor of Nxele, lived near Pirie Mission from about 1832-1842. When his efforts failed to bring rain, he blamed the missionaries and advocated that the people drive the missionaries away or, at least, to operate a food boycott of the mission stations in an attempt to force them to leave. Peires, *House of Phalo*, 71.

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Yesterday what grieved me most was to see Matwa at the head of a body of armed Kaffers marching to their idolatrous work. He halted opposite the Station for 2 or 3 minutes but this was not to menace us but to rest his men. Anta had gone before him and perhaps had the greatest share in arming and decorating these warriors. Matwa's men it is likely, on account of his former conduct, will not have paid so much attention to the decoration used in war and sport as Anta's have done. There would be a union of interests in this expedition. They were singing or shouting as they passed.

The whole company at the Great Place roared or sang the most of the day. The Rainmaker pretends to work miracles and to hold converse with messengers from heaven. In the night between these two days he had a sort of dream, but the house was so small that the messengers from heaven could not enter and so he got nothing from them. Yesterday it really seemed as if it would rain, and I thought he would gain a triumph, but I learn that though it should not rain for many days, the rain when it comes will still be considered his and as procured by the present work. He is cunning enough not to fix a day. Though he has forbidden the Kaffers to give any food to the Missionaries and Traders yet many of them came seeking food from us.

Friday February 15th 1833 Some of the chiefs and men got food from us, and must see that we do not measure the Rainmaker's measure out to them. Men and women were mixed in the dance on this occasion. It is lamentable to see God thus dis[grace]d before our eyes. This Rainmaker is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the gospel in this country. I am inclined to believe that the opinions of the people as to his powers of obtaining rain are not very firmly fixed and that it would not be difficult to cause them to lay them aside. It is however, not easy to know their real sentiments as they in private will say anything to please. On public occasions the best speakers among them defend their superstitions.

Evening—It *rains*. God is indeed wonderful. He gives rain to the *unjust*. Maqoma has the same notion that the old heathens had when Christianity was introduced into the Roman Empire. He thinks that we ought to let the Kaffers have our approbation of their services as they think well of ours. At least we ought to let them go on without annoyance, as they don't annoy us in our worship.

Saturday February 16th 1833 Would have gone out among the Kaffers this morning had it not *rained* so much. Till now (2 o'clock) much rain has fallen.

Monday February 18th 1833 Yesterday there were about as many strangers as we usually have on Sabbath notwithstanding the late works of the Rainmaker. In the ordinary course of exposition I had good opportunity for speaking against his errors. See I John 3: 23,24 and

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Chapter 4: 1-3[637]. He pretends to hold fellowship with God, and the Kaffers believe him, but here we are told what sort of men it is, who have intercourse with God. He is not one of the kind mentioned and therefore cannot hold intercourse with God. He left the Great Place on Saturday and did not call. I believe he never goes to Church at Chumie nor calls on the missionaries. Today also (Monday) the 9th Commandment offered a good opportunity of shewing the evil of *lying* against God[638]. The Rainmaker says that the people must not go to God to seek rain, for they cannot obtain it from him, but they must come to him and he is so intimate with God that he will obtain it for them. What I said on both occasions naturally flowed from the texts which would have been considered had there been no Rainmakers in Kafferland and was sufficient to shew the evil of misrepresenting the character of God and the *danger* of believing such impious lies. The Kaffers generally admit that the Bible is God's word and that admission together with the confidence they place in the Missionaries will I trust ere long be the means of shaking the rain making system to its foundations and ultimately of causing it to fall. (The Rainmaker has done much hurt to the attendance of the people in the Church at Chumie for the last six weeks).

Mr McDiarmid out yesterday afternoon at the nearest kraal on the road to Chumie. After Church I rode to the nearest kraals on the road to Pirrie. About 30 people in Church heard the gospel.

Tuesday February 19th 1833 Made a visit to the kraals at the mouth of the Amatole and to one on the side of the river opposite to them.

Wednesday February 20th 1833 Rode to Mr Ross's. Spoke to the people by the way.

Saturday February 23rd 1833 Mr Ross came about half way with me to speak to the people. I had some opportunity also.

Sabbath February 24th 1833 About 20 hearers. Mr McDiarmid out in the afternoon when he saw Matwa dancing among a very large number of Kaffers.

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[637] I John 3:23-24: "And this is his commandment, That we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave us commandment. And he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him. And hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us." I John 4:1-3: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world."

[638] Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

Monday February 25th 1833 West to Mr Ross's again. Had a few opportunities. On account of family affliction was absent from the Station 2 Sabbaths. About 25 hearers on these. Charles Henry was at the Station for 10 days—says he is going to return.

Friday April 12th 1833 Yesterday Matwa visited this place. He again made known his wish to remove on the account of the annoyance of the Kaffers. I advised him in the meantime to hear patiently the opposition of the Kaffers and to come as often as he could to hear the Gospel. I further said that his condition is not so hard as that of many who have been banished and killed for the sake of Jesus. I am of opinion that private animosities altogether independent of the Gospel are mixed up with his wish to remove. In so far as [that] is the case I have nothing to do but to tell him how a Christian would act under injuries which he had received.

Yesterday I made a visit to some kraals on the other side of the Keiskamma. At one place a little disposition was displayed to make sport but it was overcome. Matwa is allowed readily to visit Traders' stations. The Kaffers have no fear that he will be changed there.

Saturday April 13th 1833 Went to the Amafengu [amaMfengu] people to call them to Church tomorrow.

Monday April 15th 1833 There were about 25 hearers in Church. Several of the Amafengu [amaMfengu] came, whom I had often reproved for staying at home on Sabbath. Some strangers (visitors at the Great Place) also came. Heard from Klaas that three people have been tortured by *burning* on account of Maqoma's illness. These are the *man* mentioned above and his wife and another man. One blamed has escaped. I have not learnt to what extent the torture has been carried, or whether these poor creatures will survive. *Perhaps*, though I say no more, Maqoma does not wish these cruelties to be practiced for him. If he had sincerity when he spoke in answer to our petition against witchcraft he cannot willingly uphold such a system.

Monday April 22nd 1833 On Saturday 20th I came from Pirrie with Mrs Laing. Went to that place on the last date and was out [on] the quarterly journey with Mr Ross[639]. Yesterday there were 10 strangers in Church. Some of the people of the place were absent. 15 hearers.

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[639]Quarterly journeys had been mandated by the Presbytery. At its meeting of 5.1.1832, the Presbytery had agreed to a motion moved by John Ross and seconded by James Laing that "having taken into its serious consideration the deplorable state of the people among whom there is not a Missionary, & to whom the Gospel can be but rarely preached; ... and, considering the difficulties and discouragements etc. which must press more upon an individual itinerating alone, in these distant parts, than on two going together; ... that two of the spiritual labourers do visit such parts of the country, and that other two visit another part during the quarter." Cory Library, MS 9037, Presbytery of Kaffraria minutes, 5.1.1832, 195.

In the quarterly journey now mentioned we crossed the Buffalo River and in about an hour or little more we ascended the mountain which lies to the north of Pirrie [Pirie]. We found a pretty good way to the top which here is not so high as opposite to Pirrie [Pirie]. Here is much grass of the sour kind and many rivulets but few inhabitants. These streams fall into the Kabuse, which again falls into the *Ket*[640]. The land here is in general sloping, but some of it is level. On the evening of the 17th April we lodged near a stream called the Usidenge[641]. Before this we had directed our course rather to the North West in direction of the head of the Keiskamma. There was a beautiful country before us which lies along the foot of some lofty mountains [the Amatole]. We saw this both on the 17 and 18th of April and on both days were told that it was nearly without inhabitants. This country lies between Gika's people and Hintza's. Came towards and passed at a considerable distance a large mountain called In-taba Ka-co-bo-co i.e. mountain of Co-bo-co. This was a Kaffer whose cattle the Bushmen stole and carried up the mountain and from him it had his name. It is very like to Salisbury Craig near Edinburgh in shape.[642] Before midday we came to the pass at the head of the Keiskamma. There we saw with our eyes a traveller sitting under the shadow of a great rock. The mountain near Pirrie runs onto the head of the Keiskamma and falling lower joins the high mountains on the North. There is a beautiful barrier between these mountains on the East side of which the waters fall into the Kabuse and on the West into the Keiskamma. On these mountains there is much good timber. The main branch of the Keiskamma comes out of the middle of the barrier just mentioned. We descended the hill and soon found human dwellings. The bulk of Mr Ross's mountain is indented by a number of beautiful valleys in which are many people. The streams if issuing from these, fall into the Keiskamma. The North side has many valleys also but they are not so regular as those on the South. In a word the head of this river is a most romantic place.

Here we were told of a wonderful character called Somtse-u, who came some time ago from beyond the mountain and attempted to steal the cattle of the Kaffers. They said he was a Hottentot, but he does not come now. But he still steals from the Tambookies [abaThembu], so say the Kaffers.

On the night of the 18th we stopped not far from the head of the Keiskamma at a kraal on its right bank. We continued our preaching on the 19th in the valleys on the North side of Mr

[640] Khubusi River.

[641] The mountain to the North of Pirie is Isidenge (Mount Kempt) hence the Usidenge/Isidenge stream. Bergh and Visagie, *The Eastern Cape frontier zone 1660-1980*, 45.

[642] Possibly Mount Thomas in the Khubusi mountain range approximately 10 km North of Mount Kempt. Bergh and Visagie, *The Eastern Cape frontier zone 1660-1980*, 59.

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Ross's mountain and then crossed the mountains and came to Pirrie after sunset. God was again kind to us and kept us from injury. We spoke the word at 44 places to 395 people but we visited several places from which the inhabitants were absent. And I never saw so few people at many of the places where we did find [them]. Our number of hearers was made well up by the people of 2 dances at the one of which there were 77 and at the other 30 people who heard.

Wednesday April 24th 1833 Visited U-Yese's place at which Matwa and Anta have now taken up their abode. She has gone to Tyali. Saw Matwa and Anta and invited them and others to Church on the coming Sabbath. Spoke to 63 people in all. At the Amafengu [amaMfengu] place saw 8 or 10 ama-Tembu [abaThembu] going to their own country. Spoke a little to them. Dr Morgan visited the station.

Friday April 26th 1833 The Kaffercorn is ripe in some places. Here I believe the crop is not abundant.

Saturday April 27th 1833 Made a short visit to the nearest kraals on the road to Chumie. About a mile from our Station on that road I saw to the North East the mountain which I have already mentioned as being shaped like Salisbury Craig.

Monday April 29th 1833 Yesterday was wet. We had few strangers. 15 hearers in all. I was in hope that others (invited) would have come but the rain, had they been willing, would prevent them. This morning is cold. (Transcribed so far, James Laing, 30th April 1833).

Thursday May 2nd 1833 Was out the greater part of this day in the direction of Chumie endeavouring to teach the Kaffer people. Came home on the South side of the road. Found the people civil and attentive. The women are now taking the corn into an enclosure for thrashing.

Saturday May 4th 1833 Would have gone out had I got my horse. Have been arranging my house and from what I have done hope to be able to attend more closely to *reading*, *study* and *prayer* than before I had good opportunity for doing.

Monday May 6th 1833 Yesterday we had only 8 people (strangers) at Church. One of the old men from formerly mentioned came. I have endeavoured to read a little Kaffer for 2 weeks as the Interpreter has been absent. The people at the Great Place killed a cow yesterday which was a good reason to them for remaining away.

Wednesday May 8th 1833 Transcribing Presbytery minutes.

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Friday May 10th 1833 Was out endeavouring to teach the Kaffers. Visited the kraals on the South side of the road to Chumie, which are situated on the hill between Burnshill and Lovedale. People in general civil and attentive. Hearers 62.

Saturday May 11th 1833 Visited the people who live on the top of the hill which lies between us and the Debe flat. 19 h[earers].

Monday May 13th 1833 Yesterday Anta, Sutu and about 15 strangers were present. With the people of the place there would be about 28 hearers in all. The 2 *old men* came. Those whom I invited on Saturday did not come neither did the Amafengu [amaMfengu]. Cold in the night. Zwilibanzi, an Um-Fengu, arrived yesterday 12th to stay with me for a year. He has a wife and 2 young children.

Tuesday May 14th 1833 R. Balfour, Native Teacher, Lovedale visited the Station.

Thursday May 16th 1833 Was out on the road to Lovedale beyond the places mentioned a little ago in this Journal. Had 45 people.

Friday May 17th 1833 Visited Lovedale today. The new mission there will be ready in a short time. The thatching of it is nearly finished. In the morning a blind man came to me wishing to be informed concerning God's Word. He had some confused notions about it which he had obtained at some visits to the Stations. He mentioned the narrow and broad way. He appeared of weak intellect. I exhorted him to pray that God will open the eyes of his soul.

Monday May 20th 1833 About 25 hearers attended public worship yesterday. Several strangers were present. Few of the people invited at their own places during the week came. On Saturday thunder and a considerable deal of rain.

Friday May 24th 1833 We the Missionaries of this Station for the better ordering of the affairs concerned with the Church here, this day formed ourselves into a Session.

Was out among the Kaffers in the valley South of the I-ra-bu-la [Kabula River] in the right direction of Pirrie.[643] Saw 2 young men lately circumcised painted white, and having on a short kilt of *rushes*, and a cap of the same material, dancing in an indecent manner. The kilt reaches only to the middle of the thigh and being very thick or bushy moves much by the

[643]The Kabula flows into the Keiskamma River about 5km East of Burnshill.

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obscene dance which they practice. There is little or no making at this petticoat. It seems to me to be rushes *doubled* and tied round the middle.[644]

Saturday May 25th 1833 Visited the nearby Keiskamma on the road to Chumie. The people there were loud in their comp[laining] against me because I do not give them food. One man was quite angry and *ordered* me away from his place because I did not give him food and because I had put him away from my door. I do not recollect of having ever done so although if he had been rude I may have put him away, since it is very plain that I have neither food nor house room for such characters when they intrude themselves on me. When I asked him what he had ever given me he *repeated* his *commands that I should be gone*. The wicked man told 2 other men to whom I went after I left him not to listen to me because I would not give them food when they came to see me. What low views they have of the work which a missionary has come to do.

Monday May 27th 1833 Yesterday a number of ama-Fengu [amaMfengu] attended public worship. There were 38 hearers in all. Sutu was daringly wicked. She and her women were beating out corn and when I told [her] to do no such work on the Lord's day she took up her thrashing rod and the others who were sitting followed her example. Another of Gika's widows would not come to Church because [s]he had been refused a handk[erchief] during the week.

Monday June 3rd 1833 Last week the trader who lives near to this station told me that another trader distant about 5 miles had been maltreated by the Kaffers. In the buying of a hide the Kaffer would have more than the Trader would give, and when the Trader would give no more the Kaffer would neither return the price nor deliver up the hide. Then the Trader proceeded to take the hide by force, and after various proceedings was forcibly de[taine]d by 4 Kaffer men, and in his endeavours to extricate himself had his arm dislocated. I have no doubt that in this case the Kaffers have been most to blame for he who was most guilty has been forced to pay 10 cattle to the Trader.

Yesterday (Sabbath) we had very few strangers. Say 20 hearers in all. Last week I made a visit to the people on the top of the mountain between us and the Debe. Another family has come to stay at this station.

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[644]Following circumcision the young men smeared their bodies with white clay and wore a kilt made of wild palm leaves. The kilt, suspended from a waistband, reached to the knees, whilst a loose covering, also of palm leaves, hung from the shoulders. William Shaw, *The Story of my mission in South-Eastern Africa comprising some account of the European colonists with extended notices of the Kaffer and other native tribes* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1860), 456.

Friday June 7th 1833 Lately it was proposed to the candidate for baptism that she would be received, if willing, into the Church by baptism. She did not express herself in the affirmative. Complained much of her sinfulness before God. Yesterday, Mr Read, Mr Christie and 2 young military gentlemen visited this Station. Mr Christie is a missionary from India on account of ill health. The 2 young gentlemen are from the same place on the same account. They appear religious and are modest and are very prepossessing.

Monday June 10th 1833 On Saturday I made another attempt to bring people to Church but alas they will not be persuaded to learn the way to everlasting happiness. Few strangers came yesterday. About 26 hearers in the Church. Mr McDiarmid visited the Great Place in the morning. Sutu only came. On Saturday I was at the mouth of the Amatole. Found out a place which I had never seen before in the corner near the bend of the Keiskamma opposite the mouth of the Amatole. Of late we have had close sultry sort of weather, though in the middle of winter. It weakens the nervous system considerably. The air is colder today, and I feel more able to exert myself. (Transcribed so far Sep[tember] 23rd 1833).

Wednesday June 12th 1833 Charles Henry arrived but his wife and some of his children are still at the Kat River.

Thursday June 13th 1833 Vimbe was married by me to a young woman from the Kat River. He has conducted himself well on this occasion. By the interposition of Mr Thomson at whose Church he was also pro[tected]d he has been freed from paying for his wife with cattle. This is the first pair I ever married. I had the more pleasure in having done so because Vimbe is so very deserving a young man. Mr Thomson gives a good character of the young woman.

Saturday June 15th 1833 From the evening of the 13th until sometime in the course of last night, it rained almost without intermission. There had been no rain for a long time before. On the evening of the 12th some Kaffers broke into our sheep kraal and attempted to carry off some of the sheep but were discovered and prevented. Last Saturday (this day 8 days) they stole a cow from a man of this Station. At least the cow was not found and the people concluded that the Kaffers have stolen her. Some cattle have been stolen at Mr Read's Station, Charles Henry says by Kaffers. These things shew that those who complain so much of them have some grounds for what they say. This winter is likely to be a time in which the Kaffers will steal or try to steal much because they have almost no milk and little corn at present.

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The young people who were married and their friends have paid considerable attention to dress. Their dress approached in neatness more like to what is seen in Scotland than anything which I have seen in Kafferland.

Monday June 17th 1833 There were about 30 hearers yesterday including people of the Place. The day was cold. So is this.

Friday June 21st 1833 Was out as far as the top of the hill between this place and Lovedale. Had 20 people. Went down towards the wagon road from Chumie.

Monday June 24th 1833 On Saturday I was out on the Habula [Kabula River], and was about half-way to Pirrie when on the top of the ridge opposite to Tsusa's [Ntsusa's] kraal. Had 30 people. Yesterday 40 natives heard in the Church. This includes children. Say 30 adults. Was hopeful that some good impressions would be made, and must continually pray that God would cause with his power and might to appear before us. Charles Henry is still here. On Friday last when going out, Matwa was approaching the Station. I merely saluted him and went on. On that evening his mother and 2 wives lodged at the Station. He at the Trader's nearby. On Saturday morning he was in my house with Charles Henry and other Kaffers to whom I chiefly spoke but such things as I considered useful for him. When he was going out I asked him to come to Church tomorrow and he said he was about then to set off to Fort Beaufort with the Trader. He did set off with him. When I came home on Saturday I heard that he had again left his place of abode with Anta and has [resolved] on going to Graham's Town.

His cattle have been taken to a place considerably distant, and the removal of cattle is a matter of great moment with the Kaffers. This news explained to me the anxiety of the people I visited on Saturday—manifested in their enquiries respecting Matwa. I could not well understand why a mere visit to the Station could make them so desirous of enquiring about [Matwa]. But hearing that he was dissatisfied with them and gone from them with an intention of seeking an abode in the Colony. I did not wonder at their anxiety. From accounts today, it appears that the Trader and Matwa had been drunk in their excursion, and even boxing. The Trader had struck him in the face and breast. Near 10 o'clock last evening Matwa returned from B.F. [Fort Beaufort] and slept in Charles Henry's house. He did not wait on worship this morning. He is not out of humour with the Trader on account of the fight he had with him. He takes it as a drunken frolic. I understood that he had a request to make to the [Captain] at Fort Beaufort respecting his being allowed to proceed to the Colony, but I suppose the Brandy would soon give him other work. Here may I state it as my opinion that he has been so much attached to various traders, because he has got Brandy from them. I do not yet confirm this but from his manner and conduct on some occasions I am strongly

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inclined to believe it. It will be a pity if drink ruins him, as it ruined his Father. Maqoma and Tyali have also been drinking and drunk at Fort Beaufort. Such are the state of matters with regard to Matwa. Should he drink he will be worse than even the common Kaffers. They however think it a very small matter to be drunk, and do not consider those who are so the less to be respected, so I hear, and if true they must have a very weak moral sense indeed.

Learnt on Friday last that Mama, Charles Henry's daughter, had been baptized by Mr Read during the abode of her Father in the Hottentot settlement.

Tuesday June 25th 1833 I hear that Matwa was not much under the influence of drink in the above mentioned attack. Temlett's man was most and struck him. I hear also that the other trader was not drunk. Though Matwa may have got some Brandy from the traders I hope that it would not be sufficient to confirm his desire for it. Other causes may have led to his associating so much with them, in that they make a sort of companion of him which he considers an honour. Charles Henry stands [firm].

Wednesday June 26th 1833 Mr McDiarmid's box arrived.

Friday June 28th 1833 Visited the nearest kraals on the road to Chumie. The man there who shewed a desire to drive me away, before was friendly today.

It is probable Matwa may make a kraal near to the Station. Yesterday he rode to Fort Willshire with Mr T[emlett], Kaffer trader.

Saturday June 29th 1833 Visited some kraals on the Debe plain. People civil. 48 hearers.

Monday July 1st 1833 Yesterday about 34 hearers in Church.

Thursday July 4th 1833 A meeting of Presbytery.

Friday July 5th 1833 Meeting continued also a meeting of Missionary Board.

Tuesday July 9th 1833 Mr Thomson was present at a meeting of the Presbytery last Thursday. On Sabbath the number of hearers during public worship was 26. I have been Clerk of Presbytery since the end of June 1831 but have now been set free from that office. In consequence of this I shall have more time to devote to my other missionary employments.

Last Thursday I saw the *Report* of this Society for the 37th year of its existence. It was, through the kindness of Mr Chalmers, brought before the Presbytery. Not one has been received from the Directors. Mr Chalmers' was sent by a friend. It is dated 5th June 1832 i.e. more than a year ago.

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Have heard with regret that Matwa is residing with a Trader in the vicinity. He must have been more than a week with him. Of course he will soon leave him also. His mother and 2 wives are still at the Station.

Wednesday July 10th 1833

1. "In the making and ornamenting of these karosses with brass wire, months must sometimes be spent, even though several hands be employed." 37th year's *Report* of the G.M.S. page 10. The writer of the *Report* a little higher up in the same page speaks also of the karosses being ornamented with brass wire. This is a very unimportant matter, but if he has taken his information from anything which I may have written I spoke of brass rings which the men wear around their middle as requiring much time and pains in the making. So far as I recollect there is but little of the brass wire ornament about the kaross. There is a little however, *viz*. a piece made up of a number of small rings hanging from the top of the man's kaross which piece is similar to what the men wear round their middle.

The kaross of the woman is indeed much ornamented with buttons, that of the man but little

2. *Report* p. 11. "plastered over with clay". With cow dung inside, and thatched very thickly outside, of the wicker work.

3. *Report* p. 12th. "all their Divinities are supposed to be of a very cruel and savage disposition". I question this. I am led to believe that U-Tixo is reckoned kind and good. I know not if they have others whom they would reckon divinity. I speak with caution on account of my ignorance of these matters. They themselves appear to be also very ignorant of them.

4. *Report* p. 14th. The doctor—"to point out where the Charm is hid". The doctor [*igqirha*] calls on the witchdoctor [*igqwirha*] to point out where the charm is hid.

5. In the account of the torture, *Report* p. 15, it must be kept in view that [he] is often allowed to escape after he has been tortured.

6. *Report* 17th p. "225 persons left the Institution to reside at Balfour." It should seem that these persons left in consequence of Mr Thomson's leav[ing] and settled with him. I am sorry to say that this is not the case. They had not sufficient gratitude to settle near him but went to a stranger—and went I believe for the world and not for the gospel to the new settlement.

7. *Report* p. 18th. "The missionaries at Chumie have, this year, had their hands much occupied with erecting 2 new mission-houses." According to Mr Chalmers' avowed

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sentiments regarding the labouring of the ministers who have a mechanic with them this ought to be applied to Mr Weir only. Mr Chalmers no doubt will explain this.

8. *Report* p. 26th top. In as far as it may be understood from the Report that the Mother of G[aika] was in the habit of attending Church, there is an inaccuracy. She did not attend.

Same page, the writer begins to speak of the Missionaries at Burnshill without having mentioned that Mr Laing had arrived at that station. The 2 last remarks, as indeed all as yet, I consider by no means material.

9. *Report* p.27. "The Ghost of Geika (says, Matwa) must remove". Delete the parenthesis, but read what is between it with a comma after says [i.e. "The ghost of Geika says, Matwa must remove"].

10. Same page. "at school"—at the Station.

11. Same page. The Amafengu man lived about 5 miles from Burnshill.

12. p. 30th top. There are a few human habitations on the road from Port Elizabeth to Graham's Town.

On the whole I am well satisfied with the *Report*.[645] Its conclusion is awfully solemn on account of the cholera. Let us work while it is today. For my own part I pray that I may be a *man of God* indeed as the report would wish me to be. Men of God are required for such a work as I am engaged in.

"When a chief was afflicted with sickness, they sacrificed a human victim, because, they said, the continuance of his life might be purchased, if another were offered up as its price; and in like manner, men were offered up when any calamity befell, and when they were about to engage in war". *Saturday Magazine* p[art] 2nd , p.74. Superstitions of the Druids, abridged from Southey.

In some respects the torturing of people in Kafferland is similar to this ancient Druidical custom. It is that the Chief may recover that he who has bewitched him is punished. Among the Druids it is not said that he who was sacrificed had brought on the sickness. Among the Kaffers it is affirmed that those who are tortured and put to death have used charms to cause sickness and the witch or wizard as they call them are punished because they have made some others unwell.

[645] As indicated in the Introduction, Laing's reservations about the accuracy of the Society's interpretations of his and other missionaries' submissions underscore the need for researchers to consult the eye-witness accounts left by missionaries directly, rather than relying on the published reports.

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Monday July 15th 1833 On Saturday I went to Lovedale to be present yesterday at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. Mr Bennie appears to me to be improving in the Kaffer language.[646] Saw as I came home many Kaffers preparing for the chase. Matwa has been at the station since Saturday and is once more lodged in his own house. He has been speaking with Col. E[ ] about going to the Colony, but seems to have met with no encouragement from him. It would be very foolish in him to leave Kafferland.

Tuesday July 16th 1833 Wet the most of this day. A thunder storm in the afternoon. No visitors. Learning Kaffer. Reading Neal etc.

Thursday July 18th 1833 Yesterday was wet. Today fair and warm. Matwa is still remaining here. Few people visiting the station. Have lately been encouraged notwithstanding unfavourable appearances to hope that God will ere long rescue the Kaffers out of Satan's hand. Let me do my duty.

Friday July 19th 1833 A woman who has come from Chumie has told me that when she sat down to smoak on the road she forgot a sack containing letters for me.[647] Her husband was with her and when they missed the sack he returned to look for it. He has not come to tell how he has succeeded.

Learning Kaffer. Hear that there is a commando near us seeking cattle.

In this country it is customary for the woman to name the child.[648]

Monday July 22nd 1833 On Saturday 20th last Charles Henry brought his wife and children to the Station. I visited Dikan's kraals[649]. On Sabbath 21st there were about 36 hearers in the Church. Today I heard that Col. En[ ] advised Matwa to return to the Station, when he went to seek permission to go into the Colony. His word being that of a very powerful man in the eyes of the Kaffers may and is likely to have considerable weight with Matwa. The advice he gave him is very creditable to him. Today Charles Henry has had good opportunity of speaking to the many people who have visited the Station.

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[646]Bennie had already published the first Xhosa grammar book, *A systematic vocabulary of the Kaffrarian language in two parts: to which is prefixed an introduction to Kaffrarian grammar*, (Lovedale: 1826).

[647]Laing uses the Scottish "smoak" and "smook" for the English "smoke".

[648]According to Soga, mothers were only permitted to name their girl children, though even that privilege was frequently shared with the father. The right of naming a boy child was reserved for the father alone. Soga, *The Ama-Xosa*, 294.

[649]Possibly Dukwana, son of Ntsikana later a printer and elder at Lovedale, who became a negotiator between Sandile's forces and the colonial military. Donovan Williams, "Social and economic aspects of Christian mission stations in Caffraria 1816-1854, part I" *Historia* 30 (1985): 47.

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Tuesday July 23rd Dr Chalmers's views with regard to the universal admission on the part of all nations that they are sinners does not appear to me to be generally correct with regard to the Kaffers. Very many of them deny that they are sinners. From my imperfect acquaintance with their modes of thinking it is not unlikely that they may speak relatively when they do not admit that they are sinners before God.

Thursday July 25th 1833 Visited the Amafengu place. They attend pretty well to the worship at home but will not come to Church on Sabbath. Had 40 people.

Monday July 29th 1833 There are various people coming about Matwa as formerly who have opportunities of hearing the Word. The people of the place are now considerably increased by the arrival of Charles Henry's family etc. Frequently also there are visitors from Chumie who of course are regular in their attendance in the means of grace. Our Church does not contain many people, but now is well filled. Yesterday there might be 40 hearers including the people of the place. Yesterday I baptized Nomantu the first kaffer whom I have baptized. She has, since I came, been in the class of candidates and has during all that time so far as I know conducted herself in a becoming manner. She is not a woman of much ability and has not made so rapid advancement in Christian knowledge as some others at this place have done but I believe her to be sincere in her profession and to *feel* the power of religion in her heart. She is about 40 years of age. A son of hers [Vimbe], not as yet a candidate for baptism, has made much more improvement in scriptural knowledge than she and so consistent is his walk that I consider him under the influence of the gospel, and am of opinion that he also might be baptized.

The missionaries are cautious in taking means to cause people to propose themselves as Candidates. I have endeavoured for a considerable time to explain to the people the various matters connected with baptism and it is not unlikely that what they have heard may induce some of them to come forward as Candidates. I hope that God will strengthen me to persuade many to come into the feast which he has prepared for them that his table may be furnished with guests.

Thursday August 1st 1833 Yesterday I attended an extraordinary meeting of Presbytery at Chumie. Today returned found all as well as I could expect. God is indeed kind. About this time Matwa visited Hintza [Hintsa].

Monday August 5th 1833 About 26 hearers in Church yesterday.

Tuesday August 6th 1833 Our condensed statement gives an account of the transactions here up to December 1832.

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Thursday August 8th 1833 On Tuesday J[ohn] B[urns] Native Teacher from Chumie visited this Station. To[day] I was pleased with his services in going to the amaFengu people and speaking to them regarding their amazing indifference to the preaching of the gospel. J. Tshatshu from Buffalo River visited today. He is one of the most civilized and best informed of any of the converts. Sickness in my family today. T[ ] B[ ] brought from Chumie some of the *Record* Newspaper and the *Quarterly Paper* of the Glasgow Missionary Society no.10. Met with the four natives who may be admitted to the Lord's Supper. I speak in this way because one of these has not yet had an opportunity of partaking of that holy ordinance. Addressed them on the necessity of maintaining a walk becoming the gospel.

Saturday August 10th 1833 Yesterday visited 5 kraals between Dikan's place and the commando road. Today would have gone out also had my umFengu succeeded in bringing the horses to the Station. About the Colonial boundary a little beyond Lovedale the Kaffers have fallen on each other and killed 10 of themselves. The dispute and fight was about cattle. Have several times spoken to Charles Henry concerning the prop[riety] of him and me going from kraal together as I am afraid he may be afraid to itinerate alone. He has as yet declined going even with me. I wished to have one of his boys to be with me constantly to learn as well by my works as by precepts, and I made known my desire to him, but though he has 3 boys he thought that they were so occupied with the cattle and goats and it would not be easy for him to spare one of them. There are other boys at the Station whom he [would] find to do all that one of his boys might do and I am persuaded he would let me have one if he saw the advantages which would result from his being taught to read and write.

Monday August 12th 1833 There were about 50 hearers in and around the Church yesterday. J. Tshatshu of Buffalo River and several of his people were here. Mr McDiarmid *walked* down in the morning to the nearest kraals on the road to Chumie and called their inhabitants to come to Church. Several of them came, particularly 3 old men, whom I have before mentioned as more friendly to the word than most others around us.

For some time food at this Station has been scarce owing partly to the great number of visitors who have remained for some time at it. About the first of this month some of the people began to save a little. This is a month earlier than last year and is because they have now so little food. They have had little milk for 2 months but if their maize come soon to maturity they will by it soon be relieved from their present scarcity.

Tuesday August 14th 1833 Have been exhorting the people to be more diligent in acquiring the art of reading. They are not at all so diligent as they ought to be.

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Monday August 19th 1833 Yesterday there were about 36 hearers. Mr McDiarmid walked out to Dikan's place and invited the people to Church. He saw about 70 but not more than 8 or 10 came on being invited by him. The people around us are very unwilling to be instructed in the story of salvation through Jesus Christ. Have been encouraged notwithstanding to hope from what I have of late seen of the merciful character of God that he will crown diligent labour for the conversion of this people with success.

Wednesday August 28th 1833 On Thursday last Mr James Scott from Greenock visited the Station. He sailed to the Colony with a view to improve his health which had become unsettled. He is about to return to his native country and by the blessing of God his health is much better than when he left it. He will be able to give our friends at home much information concerning Kaffraria which it would not be easy to convey by a written description. On Sabbath Mr McDiarmid walked out to Dikan's place and brought a few people all who would come with him. There might be 35 hearers present in all. (Allude to Mr Scott again).

Saturday August 31st 1833 Was out accompanied by Charles Henry at the kraal on the mouth of the Amatole. He has shewn since he returned the disinclination to go out among the surrounding people and in allowance of the peculiar circumstances in which he stands I have not considered it my duty to *press* him to this department of his work. Had about 20 hearers. Charles Henry helped well to open up the way to these places, by cutting down the branches which obstructed our passage.

Monday September 2nd 1833 Returned from Pirrie whither I rode early yesterday morning to attend the celebration of the Lord's Supper. There were 5 communicants of us, 2 native 3 white. Mr Ross and family were pretty well. Mr McDiarmid was at home and conducted worship with the people of Burnshill. Matwa rode past Pirrie during the forenoon service there. I believe that I have already mentioned that some weeks ago he went to visit Hinza. I visited several places as I came home, and found some of the people rather inattentive. Came up to a messenger from Butterworth who told me the Ama-fengu [amaMfengu] near that station are diligent in attending on the preaching of the gospel but that the Kaffers are quite the reverse.

Thursday September 5th 1833 Mr McDiarmid was out on the Sabbath morning and invited the people at Dikan's kraals to come to worship. A few women only came. There might be about 34 hearers in Church. For the last 2 days we have had high wind without rain. The school is promising to do better than it has done for some time.

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Friday September 6th 1833 Philip, an inhabitant of this Station, was received by Mr McDiarmid and I as a candidate for baptism. At his admission he gave a clear account of the fall of man, of his inability to save himself and of the way of salvation through Christ. He declared his willingness to follow Christ and to bear the mockery of sinful men rather than deny him. Spoke to Klaas on settling the delicate matter between him and his forsaken wife in a way becoming the laws of Christ. This circumstance, is so far as I see, the only barrier to his being admitted as a candidate were he to offer himself.

Monday September 9th 1833 Could not go out on Saturday to teach and preach to the people around, and call them to Church, on account of the want of my horse which the people were unable to bring in.

Yesterday, Sabbath, several people from different parts around were present at public worship. Mr McDiarmid was out at Dikan's in the morning. Matwa has attended regularly since he returned from Hintza. Thieves have of late been very determined in stealing and in attempting to steal the cattle, sheep and goats belonging [to] the Station. Last week a thief broke into the sheep kraal, early in the evening, but was discovered and disturbed ere it was known that he had carried off or given to his associates in crime any sheep to be carried off. He left his kirri (or small club)[650] in the kraal by which he was discovered the next day, for some of his relatives and acquaintances claimed the kirri as his and plainly, though unintentionally, discovered him to be the thief. There was also other evidence which went to prove that he was the delinquent. The people of the Station are making a claim upon the people of his place for payment for his breaking into our Station kraal to steal.

Tonight while the interpreter was reading to me a boy came to inform him that there was another thief in [the] sheep kraal. He was indeed there and was soon beset on all sides by men, women and children. Noman[to], a woman, had the courage to give him a blow on the head when he attempted to get out near to where she stood. By this he was made to turn and in a little the people got in upon him and seized in place where he wished to steal. Before or about the time he was seized he was wounded by an assigai in the arm. This was thrown by Dan a son of Charles Henry. The assigai had quite perforated the arm in a slanting direction between the elbow and the shoulder. [His] wound bled much but he was kindly treated by the Missionaries though kept as a prisoner by the inhabitants of the Station. He is a boy about 15 years of age and says he is sent by his mother to cut off a sheep tail that she may anoint her kaross with the fat of which it is composed. He bore his pain well. The assigai has entered a

[650]"Kirri", more usually "kierie", a traditional weapon of the amaXhosa and other indigenous people of South Africa, is a short, thick stick with a knobbed head used as a club or missile, also used as a walking stick. *Dictionary of South African English on historical principles* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), 370.

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little way above where sur[geon]s commonly bleed and has come out on the other side 4" or 5" nearer the shoulder. I conclude that no considerable artery has been cut.

Monday September 9th 1833 Was out on the road to Fort Willshire and then on the road to Pirrie [Pirie]. Spoke to 64 people most of whom gave pretty good attention. Spoke also among these to some people in the fields. The day was very fine. God can bless even weak attempts to bring sin[ners] from the error of their way. I hope he will, but I must endeavour to del[iver] my soul by warning them to repent and believe.

Tuesday September 10th 1833 Accompanied by Charles Henry I visited the amaFengu [amaMfengu] in order if possible to arouse them from the slumbers of spiritual death. We had about 45 hearers in all. Charles Henry entered very much into the spirit of the messages which I communicated to them.

Friday September 13th 1833 Yesterday was observed here as a day of prayer and humiliation preparatory to the dispensation of the Lord's Supper on the following Sabbath.

Monday September 16th 1833 On Saturday Charles Henry and I went out with a view of visiting some kraals on the other side of the Keiskamma, but as we had just passed Dikan's place my horse became so lame that I could not proceed further with him. I thought that perhaps God meant to do something by this hindrance of our own views to the careless people of the above place and therefore we went to them to tell them of God's mercy to sinners.

Yesterday the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed here. The day for a considerable time was wet, else it is probable more natives would have come from the other stations. As it was there were 5 communicants from Lovedale. There are 4 native communicants at this Station, who, with the 5 now mentioned and the members of the mission families, made the communicants in all 13. I should think that about 35 people heard the word yesterday.

Maqoma and some of his men came into the Church just when the consecration prayer was being offered up. He also heard the word in the evening and remained all night at the Station.

Since I came to Burnshill he has not been in the Church before and even now he did not purposely come to Church, but to transact business at the Great Place. Charles Henry has killed an ox for him and his men and today they are enjoying themselves in feasting upon it. I know not but that it might have been by mistake, but Maqoma did not attend morning worship in the Church.

Friday September 20th 1833 Last Tuesday September 17th I left this place and met Mr Ross at Ganya's kraal. We then set out together to preach to Botuman's people. Soon after, when

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Mr Ross was at a little distance visiting one kraal, while I was proceeding to another, I had a fall from my horse, but by God's preserving care, I was not injured in any degree. We continued all day visiting from kraal to kraal, and in the evening lodged with a man named Iza-she. At this place we addressed the people 3 times ere we left them. We spent a comfortable night in a Kaffer hut which at this season of the year is not too hot for us. The people here gave us a little milk with which and bread which we had taken with us we made our evening repast.

Wednesday September 18th 1833 The rain which threatened last night did not come and we had the prospect of having a fine day for the prosecution of our work. In the course of the morning I had 8 uncommonly attentive hearers who said that they would be very glad to have a missionary placed among them, but they were always changing their plans, and in that unsettled condition could not permanently wait on a missionary at any particular place. Hence the necessity of following such migratory people with the gospel. A little after this while Mr Ross was at another place I fell in with an individual who was more intelligent on the subject of religion than the generality of his countrymen. He appeared to be desirous of attaining to a knowledge of the truth and to be feeling after God if haply he might find him. I was greatly delighted with his satisfaction at hearing the Word and felt much pleasure in communicating the words of dearest life to him. He followed us to another kraal and heard the gospel also from Mr Ross. Later in the day I asked a woman what sin was. She answered adultery and witchcraft. I then explained to her the spiritual nature of God's law. After I had preached at a place and left it a man who had been absent while I was so doing came running after me entreating me before I went away to speak at least 3 words to him. He obtained more than he asked and listened with much seriousness. When leaving him a man came in, the same man whom Klaas told to ask the man to tell him what he had heard. A little before sunset we came to Botuman's Kraal and he was very he was very expeditious in providing us with a house. He earnestly called on us to send him a missionary. We spent a comfortable night in the house which he provided for our accommodation and had some excellent fermented milk for our supper. We slept in the Kaffer mode with our feet to the fire which is placed in the middle of the house. It is wonderful how well the fire w[ood] gives light to the people.

The morning of September 19th was very fine and as soon as the sun arose he shone in at the door of our hut. We set out to visit some kraals near Botuman's place and found the people very willing to hear the gospel. We met again at Botuman's place and rested some time. Then we kept somewhat towards the East and in leaving Botuman visited a trader's who has books and is able to read. We had a little conversation with him by which we learnt that he has a respect for the Sabbath and does not trade on that day. In a valley below Botuman's kraal we

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had a congregation of the 33 persons which was the largest of any we had on this occasion. These were not all at their own dwellings but some of them in their fields at work and others of them were travelling. I might have mentioned that on the Tuesday we came to a woman who had injured her neck by carrying a large load of wood on her head. The gospel would free them from a part of the very heavy work which they are now obliged to perform.

We got through the people sooner than we expected and came home in the evening of Thursday, a day sooner than we had calculated upon. In all we preached the word at 56 places and the total of the people whom we addressed is 504. This has been one of the most pleasant journeys which I have had among the Kaffers. On no former occasion [have] I seen such good attention given to the gospel as on this. I do not [except] the visit to Qeno's people though I have spoken very favourably of it. We were not this time dunned for presents. The people indeed scarcely asked a single article from [us]. They did not seek anything for their milk as the Kaffers in other parts more or less do. They came cheerfully and readily together in order to hear and aided willingly in the work of calling each other together for that purpose. Their attention was with scarcely one exception most becoming and apparently very deep and serious. When we mentioned to Botuman that his people had attended well to the Word he spoke of his people as particularly from the first having been desirous of it, and as in a manner having peopled the Missionary Institutions. This so far was really the case. He gave respectful attention to the Word *himself* and set a good example to his people. He was most desirous of obtaining a missionary and whether one was sent constantly to reside with him or not, I am of opinion that he and his people should be visited very often by some of the missionaries near him.

From what I have already said in reference to the indifference of the Kaffers to the gospel it will not be thought that I would recommend a mission to any part of Kafferland unless I saw good reason. In Qeno's place and in Botuman's I see such a reason, *viz*. a desire, founded on experience, for the Word of life.

I have formerly spoken of the chiefs tho' seeking missionaries as being indifferent to the gospel and I would say that even tho' Botuman might desire (as I hope he does not) a missionary that he might appear a greater man as some chiefs do that the present state of his people has a high claim on all who wish an increase of numbers to the Church. Botuman's and Qeno's districts are fields which appear to me to be white with the harvest and which must forthwith be reaped.

Maqoma went away yesterday. He attended worship in the Church while here at least once a day.

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Saturday September 21st 1833 Addenda to the account of the journey to Botuman's people.

1.About a half of the men who we saw were clothed in cloth mantles or blankets dyed a sort of dim black. The women were still clothed in their karosses but the reason why they have more generally retained their old dress may be that they require much more cloth to dress themselves in than the men. Hand[k]erchiefs are much worn in all parts of Kafferland and I would think over a great part of South Africa if not over the whole of that continent. [Government] manufacturers of woollen and cotton goods at home will find that the christianizing with which one also includes the civilising of rude heathen nations tends greatly to favour their respective trades.

2.We saw several spades and hatchets of English manufacture also many knives of the same work[manshi]p.

3.The maize was just spring[ing] out of the digged grounds.

4.The sowing of the natives has proceeded only a very small way. The women are the ploughmen.

Was out today on the opposite side of the Keiskamma and a considerable number of kraals chiefly with a view of warning their sinful and perishing inhabitants to remember the Sabbath day to pay in h[omage]. God ordered several matters concerning my visit this day in a manner so kind that I could not but recognize his providential care over me. Saw a poor disabled woman from whose place a man often comes to church and to whom I directed her to ask something concerning Jesus. She said that he would not come to her house and respectively called out that she could not walk to the school herself. I promised them to come and visit her again. I was somewhat surprised at the objections which an old woman made against coming to the station to be instructed in God's word and the more so as 3 or 4 men were present. So far I recollect the woman are usually silent hearing along with men but this poor old woman was so talkative that I could scarce find time to answer her. She concluded her frivolous opposition by asking [for] a hand[k]erchief.

God has sent some rain to this ung[odly] p[eople]. Am resolved to exert myself by all lawful means to teach thine concern [to] him who has given it that they may not give his [ ] to another.

Monday September 23rd Yesterday there were about 54 hearers in the Church. They [were] addressed from the question "Why will ye die?" I considered that I have underrated the number of hearers in the most of last quarter. Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning at Dikan's place. Very few came with him. The women of these kraals said they were going to

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sow. In the evening addressed the communicants in reference to their late approach to the Lord's table. In my remarks when out among Botuman's people I do not mean to state but missions have caused these people to buy cloth, mantles, etc. Missions have to some extent no doubt operated on the gospel inducing them to buy and wear clothes but in the country the enemies as well as the friends of the gospel trade for articles of British manufacture.

Thursday September 26th 1833 Yesterday I rode in the company of Mr McDiarmid, Charles Henry and K[laas]. As far as the kraal on the rising ground where the Lovedale road separates from the Chumie River which I visited and then came down to the road which I crossed and went to a new place on the other side of the valley. This I was told was a new place belonging to the pretended Rain Maker. I came along the foot of the mountain till I reached Anta's late place. I had in all 43 hearers some of whom shewed little desire to believe my Report.

Saturday September 28th 1833 For some days it has appeared as if it would rain and now it does rain in good earnest. The ground at this season very much requires rain to enable the people to till it and sow their seed. The Rain Maker so-called will be paid by many people for this rain. Let us pray that the Lord would blast his schemes and open the eyes of this deluded nation.

Monday September 30th 1833 Yesterday there were about 40 hearers in the Church. Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning at Dikan's. The women there were just setting out to sow and the men on some business. A few came. The rain ceased on Saturday afternoon. Today the people are busy digging and sowing.

Tuesday October 1st 1833 Was out today on the hill between Burnshill and Lovedale. A brother of Matwa was with him and aided me in speaking to the Kaffers.[651] His seriousness is extremely satisfying in this land of careless ungodly sinners.

Monday October 7th 1833 Beginning of Q[uarte]r. On Wednesday last I rode in company with Mr Chalmers to Pirrie to attend a meeting of Presbytery. Not far from home I was thrown from my horse but by God's preserving care was in no wise injured. On Saturday I was out accompanied by Charles Henry. On the Ha-bu-la [Kabula River] we first went to the kraals on the small stream Zi-za-nyo-kwe where we visited 9 kraals. Then we crossed the Habula and visited another kraal. Then we proceeded towards the mouth of the Le-nye where we found a kraal near to U-ye-se's place but on the opposite bank of the Keiskamma. Lastly

[651]Matwa's brother, to whom Laing alludes, may be Qilashe or Gilashe, though this name does not feature in any of the standard genealogies of the amaRharhabe. This could indicate that Qilashe was Matwa's sibling from a minor union through either his maternal or paternal line, the children of which union have not been recorded.

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we came to the ama-Fengu [amaMfengu] place where we found the wives belonging to Anta's kraal at work with our English spades. I reckoned the number of kraals which we visited to be 11. The ama-Fengu [amaMfengu] ones and Anta's are not reckoned. I do not attempt to state the number of inhabitants in there. A circumstance occurred while we were at the kraal highest up from the Zizanyokwe which deserves to be related. The wind was strong and we went to the sheltered side of a Kaffer hut. Called the people together to hear the gospel. Three or 4 women had sittend down to hear but we waited for a man who was eating in the hut outside which we were placed. He came out in a little and in a surly manner ordered the women away and at the same time walked past telling us also to be gone and we had nothing to do there. We took him at his word and with a gentle and very short remonstrance left him. He furnished us matter for discourse for some time and may have occasioned us as much good as if he had received our Report as worthy of all acceptation. I have only once seen a like case since I came. Yesterday there were about 55 hearers in the church. Mr McDiarmid was out at Dikan's. Our neighbours were working in their gardens. Sutu and family were present. (On Saturday the women were in the cornlands and the men were out on a war-like expedition).

Thursday October 10th 1833 Yesterday I received the *Report* of the 38th year of the G.M.S. which came by post. (We have had no *Report* since I came so soon after its publication as this). At a missionary meeting at Mr Read's place I hear that Maqoma has met with very rough treatment from a Sergeant and a few soldiers. They threatened to shoot him if he did not instantly leave the place etc. etc. etc. Of this I can only at present say that I am sorry for the honour of the country to which I belong that any of [its] persons should act in the uncivil manner in which they appear to me to have acted towards Maqoma.

Friday October 11th 1833 Went through Dikan's kraal and crossed the Keiskamma at the ford by which we go to Lovedale. Spoke to some women at work in their gardens on the common sin at this and every season Sabbath breaking. Visited or passed 10 kraals lying on both sides of the road to Lovedale until I conceive I was nearly half way in that direction. Had about 30 hearers. For the reckoning of the kraal let Dikan's 8 kraals be kept in view, also two at the Great Place. Last night was very cold, this is very hot.

Saturday October 12th 1833 Was out accompanied by Charles Henry on the left bank of the Keiskamma between Dikan's place and the waggon road between Lovedale and Pirrie. There appear to me 7 kraals in that part. We crossed the Keiskamma at a bad drift above the road to Pirrie and visited one place and many people digging and sowing their ground. Had 50 hearers. Spoke very seriously to the Kaffer women who are in the habit of working on

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Sabbath. The places which we passed on the right bank of the Keiskamma I do not at present reckon.

Monday [October] 14th 1833 Yesterday there were about 70 adults present at public worship. A considerable number of the Kaffer women who were accustomed to work in their cornfields on the Lord's day came up with Mr McDiarmid from Dikan's kraal. Several of the men also came up. I observed some people from a considerable distance whom I had invited on Saturday. It will greatly rejoice us to see our attempts to bring this people under the joyful sound of the gospel continuing so successful.

Monday [October] 15th 1833 Very hot all day. Thermometer 120°. Many idle Kaffers.

[Wednesday October] 16th 1833 Cloudy. Many Kaffers idle.

[Thursday October] 17th 1833 Was observed according to the appointment of the Presbytery as a day of prayer for God's blessing on the neighbours of this season and on our spiritual neighbours among this people. We were standing up as witnesses for God among those who have revolted from and rebelled against him. I hope such a day will be followed with a blessing. In the forenoon I lectured from Jeremiah 5 and 20-24 and in the afternoon I discoursed from Leviticus 26 and 3.4. Both these passages of scripture are very applicable to such a day of prayer as this one. The first contains an exact description of the Kaffers at the present time. We had a number of strangers perhaps 55 hearers.

Monday [October] 21st Last Friday accompanied by the interpreter I rode over to the kraal on the Debe and to those at the foot of the Tapindoda [Ntaba kaNdonda] where Maqoma's mother resides. With the view to the reckoning up of the number of kraals in the district around this station I may mention that on the road to these kraals are 6 others 3 or 4 of which are cattle places which do not reckon up. At the foot of the steep by which we come to the plain on the Debe there are if I recollect aright 7 kraals. Where Maqoma's mother stays there are 2. Most of the people of these 7 kraals and the people of some other kraals where assembled at Maqoma's mother's on account of a daughter of Maqoma's having attained to the period of womanhood and were dancing with much joy. I spoke to the people more especially under Maqoma's mother and they heard attentively. Those from the other places dancing or looking at the dances she said she would not take it upon herself to call and not many of them came when the others were warned or when they called by me. Went with Mr Brownlee to the above 7 kraals. On Saturday I again visited the AmaMfengu [amaMfengu] and Anta's place. Past through the Great Place. At the Great Place are 2 kraals at old U-ye-se there is 1 kraal at Anta's place 1 at the amaMfengu are (I think) 5 kraals and at a Kaffer place above them are 2 kraals. Yesterday (Sabbath) we had one of the largest congregations which

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I have had since I came to this place. Many could not obtain admission but after all there would not be above 90 or 100 people. May the Lord put it into the hearts of our careless neighbours to begin now to learn and do his holy will. It requires a person of no ordinary attainments in holiness rightly to stand up for God in a place where almost all are grievously transgressing his laws: may I be more and more qualified by Him to be faithful in setting forth His claims to this people and in shewing them how much it is their interest to obey Him.

Transcribed the above 21st October 1833. James Laing.

Thursday October 24th 1833 On Tuesday I rode to Chumie to see Mr Chalmers on the affair [of] Klaas' wife whom he put away "if her mother would not cease to interfere between them as she was doing" about the time I came to Kafferland. At last he agreed to endeavour to obtain her again tho' she has been given by her parents to another man. He did this before taking away the cattle. These were taken after it appeared that reconciliation could not be had. The parents who are heathen are very much incensed against Klaas. Came home the same day. Misty and rainy but little rain until the evening. Yesterday was also wet. I looked on when God thus bestows his mercies on the unjust. Cold today. Matwa has been visiting Qeno for some days: returned on Tuesday. (Fair all day. Ground now quite wet. Have begun to translate the Psalms. This work would I live will only be occasional and in the meantime will be performed as a means by which I may learn the language).

Monday October 28th 1833 During the most of last week we had a good deal of rain with high winds by which I was prevented from going out among the Kaffers. In the course thereof a cow belonging to S[tation] was stolen by some Kaffers near the head of the Keiskamma. The people of the place were called out to aid in punishing some people who had stolen horses from the Colony. Their punishment was a fine of cattle. There were 20 strangers present. Mr McDiarmid was out at Dikan's place. In all there would be 50 hearers. Today the weather is very fine. Began the school after it has had a vacation of 2 weeks.

Wednesday October 30th 1833 Yesterday I was a witness to some proceedings of the Kaffers which placed them in a very deplorable point of view. A woman on the Isepe a small stream near Lovedale some time ago died in childbed. Application was then made to the doctor on the other side of the Keiskamma to find out who had bewitched the woman and been the occasion of her death. Yesterday was the 3rd and last day of the operations of the doctor to satisfy the Kaffers concerned on these points. Accompanied by the Interpreter and another inhabitant of the station I set off for the doctor's place at which I arrived before the commencement of the diabolical operations. Several hundreds of men and women were assembled and waiting until they should be called up to dance. They were not all sitting in

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one place but in different bodies above the 2 cattle kraals of the place. This was an excellent opportunity to have addressed these deluded people and I accordingly made known my intention of discovering to them the enchantment by which the woman had died (or in other words the true cause of her death) and requested attention until I should do so. I moreover said that I would save them much time and anxiety provided they would listen to the explanation which I could give of the matter on account of which they were assembled. At the same time I made it known that I did not wish to speak to them if they would not hear me and that it was for their own sakes that I wished to inform them concerning the enchantment by which men become sick and die. Not one invited me to speak and to the few words as above very indifferent attention was given. One man said he would hear me at the station but I told him that I might not have such a good opportunity at the station to make the explanation which I had offered as I wished many rather than a few to hear them. Some others were averse to hearing. While we were thus speaking the people sitting before us were called to dance. The line in which they stood was a sort of irregular line formed by one man standing by the side of another. But a third of the people arose to the dance if dance it may be called. Each man had a bundle of assigaais in his left hand and a stick in his right hand with which he at the same time with all the others kept striking the assigaais. This beating of 100 men at once provided a considerable rattling noise. On the two end of the lines were the women who had no assigaais but instead of beating on them kept clapping their hands. While so engaged they moved their bodies upwards and again depressed them in a manner peculiar to themselves. They shook themselves much in this exercise but with ease. Sometimes went backwards and sometimes forwards. They also sang a sort of monotonous hum. Near the mouth of a kraal was the doctor's party which took the ground in front of the others and who went in in the same manner. From 4 to 16 men and women seemed to observe no order but ran around in between the 2 parties exhibiting a great many wild gestures. They seemed like a number of madmen escaped from their fetters. The dancers as the use called continued in this way with intervals of rest until the day was far advanced. The doctor who had till then been in a house now came out. The scene now became more animated for on the whole till now the work had gone heavily on. He was a wild looking personage indeed. His right leg, side and arm were painted white. His left, side and arm were painted white. The right side of his face was black, the left white. He had a large bushy headdress made of a monkey skin. He had two handkerchiefs tied round his middle which reached a little below his knees. He was more like to a mountebank than any other creature to whom I can compare him. A good deal of his time he spent in going in a curious manner to and fro between the two parties. He was guarded by a number of men who ran as wildly as he did. He was usually roaring out something connected with the business on account of which they were met. A part of what he said was to induce some of the people to animate him to proceed to the conduction of his

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work. At last he named a woman as the cause of the death of the individual formerly mentioned. There was now a pause but it soon appeared that the person was not present, that she was one near to the place where the woman had died. After this while the people were resting there was a general collection made for the doctor. The dancers went off one by one to him and gave him one of the small iron rings of which their girdles are composed. Many did not go and many had not engaged in the dance at all. It was now becoming late and various loud calls were addressed to the doctors to proceed and find out more bewitchers. In a little the dancing was renewed with the doubled vigour and the motions and voice of the doctor became more wild and threatening. At last he named a man as guilty who was standing in the line a very little before where I was. There was for a moment a dead silence. I saw the man leave his place between the two companies. After something had been said by the doctor there was a general rush of the people on him to obtain his assigaais. This was the work of a minute and then I saw the man sitting as before. He demanded of the doctor with what he had bewitched the woman and the husband of the woman who the doctor said was also bewitched though it was affirmed different times that he was quite well. The doctor mentioned some pieces of a walking rod, some leaves etc. as the material with which he and the other woman who is his ac[complice] had bewitched the 2 people. He denied and truly told him that the only bewitching stuff which he had was his cattle of which he and others wished to deprive him. Some also of the man's friends wished to speak in his favour but to prevent them from being heard others called out to the people to beat. Matters were now taking a turn such as I took in beholding. The doctor had intimated his intention to criminate more than the 2 already blamed but some people made an attempt to leave the meeting in the direction of the place that the supposed guilty person resided. There was now a general confusion and uproar and almost all set off in a body to the same place.

This morning I heard news for which I desire to be thankful to God. Yesterday when I saw that little could be done by speaking tho' after the [attempt men] I had some conversation with various people I had some conversation with various people I would only bewail the wicked delusions of the multitude before me and lift up my heart to God that He would blast their wicked schemes. After the [word illegible] had been named and while I saw the condemned man sitting on the ground I rejoiced to think how easy it was for God still to battle their cruel designs. I therefore still betook myself to an unseen power. In righteous men powerful means of attack even to prayer and earnestly desire to see God glorified by these people as much as he was then dishonoured. I knew that in all probability the man would be put to the torture tomorrow and after I came home I again made known my desire concerning him to the hearers of prayer. I have now heard that the uproar which had begun ere the meeting separated continued and that a strong part of the condemned man's friends stood up

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for him when some of the Great Place people wished to put him to the torture. In that confusion the man excaped and the woman I have heard got away also. I intended to have proceeded to the scene of torture (at the man's own place) but have heard the above agreeable news. God be praised for his merciful interposition. May it be for the good of many souls that this has happened. I cannot but acknowledge God's goodness to me in putting it into my heart thus to pray to Him and in graciously giving me what I cannot but consider an answer to my prayers. I never saw the Kaffers appear in a more despicable attitude. They are despicable indeed to allow themselves to be so easily duped. And they are perfect cowards in not rising up to vindicate injured innocents. The words of the doctor when he blamed the man are worthy of being noted.

"According to what I feel within me such a one is the person who has done the deed". May the Lord open their eyes that they may no longer insult him by rejecting his message. Tyali, Anta and Matwa were all present. The man's cattle have not all been taken. His friends have kept a part of them. (I did not see that Matwa expressed his disapproval of the proceedings). At the mouth of the kraal a number of bushes were fixed in the ground to shade the doctor's people from the sun.

[Thursday] October 31st 1833 I visited the kraals at the mouth of the Amatole and Nonzebe's place. I reckon 5 at the first place and 4 on the other side of the river.

[Friday] November 1st 1833 The Lord has brought to nought the counsel of the heathen in reference to the late proceedings of the Kaffers. The man whom the doctor fixed on was the very man who had engaged the doctor, no doubt paid him and caused him to undertake the business. He of course did not wish him to be taken but he and the people who live in his neighbourhood hounded out (beforehand) another person as the cause of the woman's death. See how God confounds the devices of the heathen. Had this man been fixed on to our appearance he would not have been delivered at least of the other one. The doctor took one who had many friends who kept him from the people of the Great Place. There was a division among the people and the impeached man (or guilty as the doctor said) got quietly off ere either party reached his abode. The influence of these friends was felt as soon as the people ran upon him to strip him of his arms. Then men prevented the hostile party of taking away his kaross and ornaments which on such occasions it is usual to remove. One of the principal things connected with these iniquitous proceedings is that before the man was named that the people there were by the chiefs given fully over to the doctor and that he might implicate any whom he would. Tyali, Matwa and Anta were there. I know not whether Maqoma had given his permission or not. But I hope Matwa had not consented. This declaration from the chiefs

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is worthy of our consideration. Thunder, lightning and rain came yesterday afternoon. Today has been wet.

Tuesday November 5th 1833 Last Saturday was wet almost throughout. Two young infants (twins) of a sister of Matwa died and were buried. Mr McDiarmid was out at Dikan's on the Sabbath morning. There were but few strangers, say 40 hearers. The supply of rain which we have had is the best since the beginning of seed time. Let us not be unmindful of the Giver.

Saturday November 9th 1833 On Thursday I visited Anta's old residence where there [are] 2 kraals. Yesterday I visited 5 kraals farther west. At the doctor's place are 2 kraals at the old man's place at the foot of the hill other side [of] the Keiskamma there is 1. And there is 1 on the brow of the hill to the West of the doctor's. God has ordered it that the people here receive me well of late.

Tuesday November 12th 1833 Mr McDiarmid was out at Dikan's. I reckon that there were about 60 hearers in Church. Matwa has been careless of late. It will be proper when I have leasure to write a few matters concerning him. On Sabbath he left the station in no way becoming [manliness]. He soon returned and staid a little and then departed again. Heard that he is at the trader's near the station. Yesterday Tyali called for the first time since I came to Burnshill.

Friday [November] 16th 1833 Yesterday I visited some kraals already numbered on the road to Lovedale. Matwa finally left the place yesterday as he said to go and hunt in a particular field between Gaika's and Hintza's people. Immediately after morning worship Mr McDiarmid and I went to ask his reason for leaving the station but we were for a time engaged with other and more unpleasant work. His wife did not wish to leave the station and went and hid herself but he traced her in the dew and just as we went to his house he was driving her before him towards it and was striking her occasionally with a small branch which he had in his hand !!! We reproved him for this though we had gone on other business and stated to him that we believe she wished to stay at the station because she had a regard for the worship of God. He said that she had not said to him that she wished to stay on account of the Word else he had no objection to have let her remain; but then we believe he would have gone to her father and claimed the cattle which he gave for her and after her father might have taken her away and then she might have been prevented as much from waiting on the word as she now was. He said he had beat her because she had made herself too free with his business with which she ought not to have meddled; and that his mother and brother had been guilty of the same offence of which she had been guilty. He defended himself as to the striking of his wife by saying that it was the custom of the country to do so. He was offended because we interfered with him in this business. He would give no reason

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why he was about to leave the station but seemed to wish us to understand that he would return. We were pretty certain what the reason was why he had left the Station on this occasion. Sometime ago he took possession of two strayed horses which were soon claimed by the real owner but he would not return them. Knowing that we would not approve of such conduct he first began to attend church regularly and then about 2 weeks ago closed to attend it altogether.

He sold one of the horses to a trader at Fort Willshire and lent the other to a trader not far from this station. This last has been restored to its owner. His wife, mother and brother were grieved at this conduct and no doubt spoke of it to him as well among themselves. He *felt* they were right and was obliged to descend himself by referring to arbitrary conduct of his father and other chiefs. Their fault as he terms it we conceive to greatly in their favour and that they were deserving of very different treatment from that with which that have met. For sometime I have been greatly delighted with their very marked attention to the word. The brother as yet remains at the station. The 2 others went off yesterday with Matwa. In the course of our rem[onstr]ance with him and when he was under considerable temptation to set aside the authority of the Word of God we were happy to find that he fully recognised it. Until he is well he will not excel.

Tuesday November 20th 1833 We have almost no strangers here on Sabbath—say 40 hearers. The day was somewhat wet but very fine for the country. On Saturday I *invited* some people at their own place to come to church. Yesterday I was out on the hill between this and Lovedale. Formerly I have mentioned the place on the brow of the hill to the west of the doctor's. On the other side of the ravine still more distant from the station is another place. Farther on still are 2 kraals of Matwa's people. Farther on still there is a kraal which looks towards the waggon road between Lovedale and Pirrie [Pirie]. In the bosom of the hill to the west [of] this kraal are many Kaffer gardens. You cross this valley climb its opposite side and then you come to *another* kraal on the ground leading to the top farther up but more to the left in a romantic situation are 2 kraals—seen from this station. I left these and passed the below then crossed the valley to the west and descending towards the way river between Burnshill and Chumie I visited +/- 3 kraals more. Matwa's brother is here. The younger brother cried when he was less obliged to leave the place. (I may mention when we spoke with him concerning his departure it did not appear that he wished to leave the station wholly but only for a time).

Saturday [November] 23rd Was out yesterday between this station and Lovedale. In the valley west from Maqoma's drift there are I think 5 kraals. Yesterday the people were

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remarkably civil. The day was so hot that the Kaffers shrunk from the sun. Some cattle were stolen from the station.

Tuesday November 26th 1833 On Sabbath there were 40 strangers at public worship. Mr McDiarmid was out at Dikan's place. Yesterday it was very hot.

Thursday December 5th 1833 Mr McDiarmid was out on Sabbath morning. Strangers in church—35. On Tuesday we found that a woman whom we had taken in from her husband who had severely beaten her and whom we had treated kindly had stolen some articles from us.

Monday [December] 9th 1833 Yesterday Sabbath there were about 20 strangers. Mr McDiarmid was unwell. The doctor who acted the conspicuous part as formerly stated was a hearer in Church yesterday. The weather has been remarkably cruel for some days.

Wednesday December 11th 1833 Heard today of the death of a little girl of Mr Chalmers'. Of late the mission families have been more afflicted than since I came among them. May we learn the lesson which God is teaching us.

Saturday December 14th 1833 Last Thursday I attended the funeral of Mr Chalmers' youngest daughter. I have omitted to mention that Dr Lees and Mr Bonatz both Moravians visited this station the week before last.[652]

Monday December 16th 1833 Yesterday I preached on death and judgment and on Christ as the way to the Father. Anta was present. Mr McDiarmid was not out—sickness came in his family. There were about 30 strangers in attendance in addition to one person of the place. (Today is quite cool).

Tuesday [December] 17th 1833 The number of natives old and young at this station is 62. 36 of these appear to be above 12 years of age. The average number of adult hearers during last quarter is 61. During the year 37. 7 families have come to the station during the year. 2 Matwa's families and his mother's families have removed. The number of scholars attending pretty regularly is 17. 6 of these are adults. 8 others attend occasionally. 8 of all these appear to be under 10 years of age. Kept 2 young children should be added.

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[652]Johann Adolph Bomatz, son of Genadendal missionary J.G. Bonatz, was a major Moravian pioneer missionary stationed for twenty six years at Shiloh in the Eastern Cape. *Moravians in the Eastern Cape, 1828-1928: four accounts of Moravian mission work on the Eastern Cape frontier*; translated by F.R. Baudert and edited by Timothy Keegan. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2004), 25. There is no mention of Dr Lees in this comprehensive work on the Eastern Cape Moravians.

Saturday December 21st 1833 Yesterday returned from a journey with Mr Ross some account of which I shall give at another time if the Lord will. Today copied a yearly account of the mission (see next page) to be sent to the director.

Monday December 23rd Yesterday about 23 strangers at worship. Mr McDiarmid was at Dikan's in the morning.

Monday December 30th 1833 On Monday afternoon last I rode to Chumie with a view to proceed to Graham's Town with Mr Chalmers. It rained a little during the way but when I came within a mile of the Chumie station I found that there it had rained very heavily in the course of the

day. On Tuesday we left Chumie. About 20 minutes past Chumie and reached Graham's Town distant about 70 miles a little after sunset. Next day it was Christmas and there was sermons in the different places of worship.

Thursday and Friday we remained in T[own]. Left T[own] in the dusk of the evening of Friday and heat both beyond Lovedale and between Lovedale and Burnshill was excessive. I reached Burnshill *early* in the afternoon. The care of God over me in this journey is to be acknowledged. When leaving Graham's Town I was afraid I might not stand the journey well on account of pains in my back but when I reached home I found that my pains had in a great measure left me.

Tuesday December 31st 1833 On the 18th last (December) Mr Ross and I set out to preach to the Kaffers. Passed Anta's place and entered Wolf River and proceeded to head. The track of this river is difficult by reason of the bushes. We visited the kraals at its head where we remained all night. Early next morning crossed the mountain and went to K[ ]'s place. Went on to the termination of the people in that direction rested and crossed a hill to the left (going East) visited all the places at this branch of the Keiskamma. Returned to K[ ]'s and lodged with him all night. Set out again in the morning and visiting places on both sides of the Keiskamma we reached Burnshill in the afternoon. Observed some of the Kaffers a little disputatious, which in general they by no means are. "*We* do not *know* these things" is what they often say but when they do so it is not with the desire to be acquainted with them but to excuse themselves from responsibility. We preached at 48 places to 427 people. Last week a child belonging to an UmFengu died and was buried. Yesterday a child was born at the Station by Gaika's wife.

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Whispers of War

4th January 1834 to 31st December 1834

Saturday January 4th 1834 On the first circ[uit] attended a meeting of Presbytery at Lovedale. Mr Chalmers was unable to attend from illness. Yesterday I heard that Mr Ross had been seized with a bowel complaint. The hand of God is still upon our mission. Let us still learn. Let us seriously consider why the Lord sees it necessary thus to visit us. The native teachers were addressed on the duties of the office at the meeting on Wednesday. Charles Henry was out on foot yesterday and was not home before the great fall of rain in the afternoon. This morning is cold. Of late the heat has been great. More so than I have felt it in South Africa.

Monday January 6th 1834 Yesterday there were few strangers at public worship—about 10. In the thunder storm on Friday, 8 calves at a place near to Tyali and 17 on the Debe were killed by lightning. From the account which I hear of Matwa's proceedings, there is little peace in his family. His mother complains of his unkind treatment to her and speaks of departing from him. He past to the station this day but did not call on us.

Friday January 10th 1834 Yesterday met with the baptised children and addressed them on their duties. Spoke also to the parents in reference to them. 2 of them are about to be circumcised. Spoke to them to dissuade them from the sins which attend or follow the above rite. Spoke with a doctor who made a wretched defence of his system said that he was filled with his God. On examining into the attributes of his God he confessed that he was weak, stupid, thievish and only at one place at a time. From his own mouth it was absurd to trust in such a God. A few days ago the people here began to eat their Indian corn.

Tuesday January 14th 1834 Charles Henry was out on Saturday. On Sabbath there were about 30 strangers in or around the Church. Botuman's men are laying open their case concerning the horse which Matwa sold at the Great Place.

Wednesday January 15th 1834 Charles Henry was out yesterday.

Monday January 20th 1834 Charles Henry was again out last Friday. He told me of a woman who was killed by a Kaffer doctor while the doctor was attempting to procure abortion by external pressure. The woman was with child by adultery. Yesterday there were about 28 strangers at Church.

Saturday January 25th 1834 Charles Henry was out yesterday. I have formerly mentioned that 3 old men in the vicinity came frequently to Church. One of them has become unwell

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and the people near him are surmising that it is by going to the station that he got his trouble. He told Charles Henry that he thought he would again come to Church when 2 weeks were over. Of course he thinks he will be better by that time. Yesterday Mr N[athaniel] M[organ] Surgeon F[ort] W[illshire] visited us. The other day the thermometer was 88° in the house. We have had not rain for a long time. I hear that the people are today dancing at the rainmakers as they call him. Met with the candid[at]e on Wednesday; with the com[munican]ts last night.

Monday January 27th 1834 Charles Henry was again out on Saturday. Yesterday the Lord's Supper was administered. Not above 10 strangers were present. Sutu and many others were dancing at the false rainmaker's. I have not been able to go out for the last month on account of my horses. There are comparatively few people to be found at the kraal. Many are away in search of grass for their cattle.

Saturday February 1st 1834 Charles Henry out on Thursday last. Lately the false rainmaker dreamt that he had obtained a particular cow belonging to some of Makomo's people. On hearing this the owner of the cow thought it prudent to send her to him !!!

Tuesday February 4th 1834 Charles Henry was out yesterday. He met with considerable encouragement. On Sabbath there were 28 strangers in or around Church.

Saturday February 8th 1834 Charles Henry was out the day before yesterday.

Monday February 10th 1834 On Saturday we had rain. Also yesterday. Since I came I have not seen the country so much in need of it as at this time. We had only about 4 strangers yesterday.

Friday March 7th 1834 On Thursday Mrs Laing and I returned from Balfour whither we went 3 weeks before on account of the sickness of our child with the view of trying what a change of air would do for him. By the tender mercy of our God when we came home he was very considerably better than when we went away. Mr and Mrs Thomson and their children were all well. Mr Thomson is at present superintending the preparatory works connected with the building of the new Church for the Kat River district, which is to be erected in a more central situation than the former. Charles Henry states that he has been out twice since I went away. He would have been out oftener had it not been for his sore eyes. The merciful God has been pleased to send some rain on the dry earth. The heat was very great when we were out at Balfour. One day we observed the thermometer to be 142½° in the sun. This was about the 27th of February.

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Wednesday March 12th 1834 On Sabbath last there were 6 strangers in Church. We have had some seasonable rains of late. Matwa's brother of whom I have spoken so well has gone to reside at Mr Read's station. With what view or for what cause he has not acquainted us.

Wednesday March 19th 1834 There were no strangers on Sabbath last. Charles Henry was out since last marking two days. On Saturday, Sabbath and Monday last we had a very heavy fall of rain. I have not seen the ground more dry. Of late and in the time of this rain many of the calves have died and when that is the case the people lose the milk of the cows.

Monday March 24th 1834 Yesterday there were about 8 strangers present at public worship. Charles Henry was out on Saturday. The Kaffers have wandered a good deal about in search of pasture during the last quarter.

Thursday March 27th 1834 Charles Henry was once more out the day before yesterday. He has met with some opposition but also with some encouragement in the course of last quarter.

Tuesday April 1st 1834 Charles Henry was again out yesterday. On Sabbath there were 4 strangers at Church. (New Quarter).

Tuesday April 8th 1834 Last Wednesday I attended a meeting of Bal[four] Church. Note on date April 8th—Our ordinary meeting of session was held on the 7th (Monday). Philip a candidate for baptizm was called in and examined regarding his conduct in having gone out with a party of Sutu's men on a Sabbath day to aid in seizing the cattle of a man who it was said was about to remove to Hintza. He gave the utmost satisfaction and said that in future he would in like circumstances act otherwise. On Friday and Saturday I was out among the Kaffers. Charles Henry was also out on these days. On Sabbath last there were 15 strangers present at public worship. (Call for a statement of the case between Col. S[] and M[] regarding the Sabbath; also of Klaas's case). Charles Henry out on the 9th. (The old man hindered from coming by the Kaffers).

Charles Henry and I were out separately yesterday Friday April 10th.

Monday April 13th 1834 There were about 10 strangers at Church yesterday. Charles Henry was out today. The Kaffers have been stealing from the station. Charles Henry was out on the other side of the Keiskamma on Wednesday April 16th.

Saturday April 26th 1834 On Wednesday last I returned from Graham's Town to which place I went on the Saturday preceeding to attend a meeting of the Graham's Town Auxiliary to the London Missionary Society. Two missionary sermons were preached on Sabbath. The one was in Dutch by Mr Hughes of Griquatown and the other in English by Mr Thomson of Kat River. The meeting was held on Monday evening. Much serious solemnity prevailed

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throughout it. On the platform we had Episcopalians [Anglicans], Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Independents and Baptists all coming to promote the interest of Christ's Holy Kingdom.

Monday April 28th 1834 There was in all that was said something to incite both missionaries and ordinary supporters of missions to zeal and diligence in the great and holy enterprize on which they have embarked. I was particularly struck with the address of the Reverend Mr Murray, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland but who is not attached to any charge. The Assembly who attended in the chapel had been well exhorted to do their duty in reference to the heathen but he took it upon [himself] to address his brethren in the ministry in reference to theirs. And I must say that I have seldom heard a more serious and impressive address than that which he gave them. I could not help observing when the meeting was dismissed that it was [a] matter of regret that he was without employment in that department for which he appeared to be so well qualified. I left Graham's Town on the following [day] about 10 o'clock and reached Fort Willshire sometime after sunset. In going to Graham's Town I had asked Major Burney, commandant at Fort Willshire, to allow me to preach to the soldiers there. To this he had no objections and he even wished me to come for that purpose as often as I might find it convenient, stating at the same time that he would afford me every assistance in his power. Ere long it may happen that we may have a station among Qeno's people near to the Fort and in this case it would be much easier to occupy this position. But in the meantime we must not neglect it and perhaps some of my brethren may assist me in preaching the gospel there. On the morning of the 23rd I preached in the hospital but in a room at the entrance some also were seated. I had but a small congregation which I believe was partly owing to the absence of Major Burney. Dr Morgan, however, who at first suggested the matter to me, was most attentive in forwarding my views.

I reached Burnshill my own station about an hour after sunset and find that God had been graciously pleased to preserve my wife and child in my absence, tho' the former had been more than ordinarily unwell. Found that Charles Henry had been out daily on Thursday and Friday he was again out = two days. I felt more fatigued than usual on arriving at my station but notwithstanding I would have gone out on Saturday to invite the people to Church if I could have found my horse. Sabbath was cold and wet with thunder and lightning. Few strangers (only 3) were present. One of these was an individual who in the midst of the indifference around us appears to be favourably disposed to the Word of God. He has often come on Sabbaths for the express purpose of being instructed in Christianity. Two individuals repeated the first 20 questions of the shorter catechism. This day has been very cold. Some rain has fallen in the course of it.

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Tuesday April 29th 1834 The rain has ceased, but the cold in some measure continues. I visited some kraals on this and the other side of the Keiskamma. Saw the old man Lukanda whom I have mentioned in a former journal as one of 3 who were remarkable in their regularity in attending Church on the Lord's Day. Lately he and they have become remiss in their attendance but I have been informed that serious obstacles have been thrown in his way. The Kaffers, he says, have threatened to kill him should he continue to some so constantly to Church as he has done. He was exhorted on stating this to Charles Henry, to fear him who can destroy both soul and body in hell, rather than those who can do no more than destroy the body. Today he appeared a little shy but listened attentively to what I said. One of his sons excused himself from answering the questions proposed, by saying he was working. His work was but easy, it being only the boiling of a pot full of beef. But he heard quite well notwithstanding. All whom I met today whether travelling or at their own places received me civilly, and heard me attentively. This gives me reason to hope that some good may be done with this people, tho' they are extremely careless in coming to Church on Sabbaths for the purpose of being instructed in the things which belong to their everlasting peace. It deserves to be mentioned that the case of the old man now recorded is far from being singular. I could mention some others of a like description, and I believe that there are still more of a similar kind which have never clearly come to the knowledge of any of us. Christian principle must become strong ere individual Kaffers at the kraals in the present state of things will make a decided avowal of their attachment to Christianity. May those who now enjoy such oppor[tunitie]s of hearing the Word of the living God not aggravate their condemnation by refusing to receive it.

Wednesday April 30th 1834 *It is three years tonight since I arrived at Chumie.* I desire to commence the fourth with renewed zeal and diligence in the service of my gracious Lord. This day has been very fine. The people of the station have been employed at the Great Place in a case [of] theft committed against the station. In the evening we met with Charles Henry, his wife and children who are all baptised and addressed them in their respective duties. As these children are members of the Risen Christ may they be members of "the general assembly, and Church of the first born, who are written in heaven". P[hilip] the candidate was present and heard the address, and it is hoped he will profit by it and become acquainted with his duties as a Christian parent on the eve of being admitted into the Church by baptizm.

Thursday May 1st 1834 Visited some kraals on the opposite side of the Keiskamma but found few people at them. The people who have resided at them during my abode at this place are moving to another residence on the side of the beautiful hill to the North of the road to Chumie. Their reason for removing is that their harvest has failed at their present residences, and they expect to find better ground for their corn whither they are going. Saw a

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very poor object who cannot live long in his present diseased condition. The flesh is rotting from his body piecemeal. Considerable parts of his feet have fallen off and other parts are likely soon to rot away. I have heard of a disease in South Africa named leprosy and I am inclined to believe that this loathsome one is the disease here so demonstrated. Used my endeavours to direct this wretched creature to the physician of souls. At the next kraal I found one young man and a sick old woman. The young man listened very attentively and showed great readiness in understanding what I read to them. Went to these places with a view of seeing two old men who have formerly been remarkable for their attendance at church but they were both absent preparing their kraal at the place to which they wish to remove. (5 male inhabitants have set out this evening to pay remuneration for the theft committed against the station. They have been authorized to do so by a decision passed at the Great Place.

Friday May 2nd 1834 Charles Henry was out. He found some people who were glad to hear the Word of God from him, and thanked him for coming to their place to tell them the way to life. He found one man given to dispute but as his residence is near to Chumie, he advised him to go thither to worship on Sabbath. One of his questions to Charles Henry was "do the people of the station die?" By this question he intimated that if the people there died as well as others it was scarcely worthwhile to worship God in the manner there taught. Here an opportunity was afforded of speaking on the difference between the death of the righteous and the wicked, and on the future mis[sionar]y of the one and blessedness of the other. I have been employed a greater part of this day in learning the Kaffer language.

Saturday May 3rd Charles Henry was out and found the old man who has been already mentioned as having a desire to attend Church regularly, but who is in some degree prevented from so doing. It appears that he thinks of the Sabbath for he reckoned that this was that Holy day. I was out at some kraals near to the station, and invited the people to come to Church tomorrow. At one place when I was beginning to read a little to about 5 men, they wished to me to desist as they were specially employed in what they call "a council". I then observed a man sitting about 10 yards from them whom they appeared to be examining. I may tell it to the praise of the Kaffers that they seldom refuse to hear us at their own dwellings unless there be some such reason as this to prevent them from giving attention to the Word. We received Vimbe as a candidate for baptizm. For a long time we have considered him a person worthy to be received as such. He states that when he was unwell of late he was much impressed with the necessity of being united to Christ, that he might be prepared for death. The thoughts of dying without an interest in Christ were terrible to him, and now that God has been pleased to restore him to health, his desire is to devote himself to his service. His only hope of service is through Jesus Christ, whom he is willing to confess

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before men. He regards Him as the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and he looks to Him for wisdom, righ[teousnes]s, sancti[ficatio]n and redemption. We have pleasure in the prospect that this young individual will ere long be admitted into the visible Church of Christ, and that he will adore the doctrine of God our Saviour by a conversation becoming the gospel.

I intended to have gone to Pirrie today to be present at the administration of the Lord's Supper tomorrow but circumstances seem rather to call me to Lovedale whereby I am. May the Lord use me to direct some perishing souls to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world.

Monday May 5th 1834 On reaching Lovedale yesterday morning I was more particularly informed concerning the af[flicte]d cir[cumstance]s of Mr B[ennie] at Somerset. I found there a letter in which he informed me that Mrs Bennie had been delivered of a son who appeared quite healthy for some time but who had sickened and died seven days after his birth. On the 30th *ult.*, the day on which the letter was date, Mrs Bennie had followed the infant to his grave. This was but a part of his affliction, for the "fatigue and sorrow attendant on the death of the child have had an injurious effect on Mrs Bennie". She "had strong fever the consequences of which were feared". I might have known these things on Saturday but the messenger merely called me to go to Lovedale and see a letter. Not knowing what it might contain and thinking that Mr Bennie of whose distressing circumstances I had heard from the messenger might greatly require something I deemed it my duty to go to Lovedale rather than Pirrie as I had intended. I accordingly went to Lovedale and having read Mr Bennie's letter, preached twice to the people and returned. I found them longing much for the Word of Life.

At our own place there were about 25 strangers present at worship. In the evening the young people gave very satisfactory answers to questions proposed to them. It is more necessary to attend carefully to some of these young people as they have been born of Christian parents and stand in a different relation to the Church than heathen children. Today has been very fine. The great heat has now gone. Some people were seeking tobacco because they came to Church yesterday. Meeting of Session held.

Tuesday May 6th 1834 Charles Henry was out. The headman of a kraal spoke very much to him in favour of the Word, and proposed to send his two girls to the station to learn it, and to return to teach him. Time will shew what this man will do. He is not so distant but that he might hear the Word himself if he had a strong desire for it.

Wednesday May 7th 1834 Was out amongst the people between the station and Lovedale. Visited also the latter station and preached at it. The people are very desirous of being

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attended to by the other missionaries so long as Mr Bennie may be absent. Spoke to [people] at various places both in going to and in coming from Lovedale. Some people requested me to speak God's word to them, but I saw that this sometimes was from no real desire to be instructed. Saw two companies of the circumcised, painted white. One of these companies was preparing for the dance which is peculiar to these young men. Thus they exhibit some indecent gestures. Reached home a little after sunset.

***Thursday May 8th 1834** Charles Henry was out. The people whom he visited were in general willing to be informed. One young man with whom he conversed called himself Satan and seemed pleased with the name. I have been this day a good deal employed about secular work, but it was in order to enable me more fully to devote my time to the teaching of this people.

*Transcribed so far as the *: Date to begin at being the 8th May.

Friday May 9th 1834 Was out and was favoured with some attentive hearers. I could not but acknowledge the goodness of God in giving me aid and comfort in my work this day. I was called by the people to go to a house and visit a sick man who could not come out to hear me. The people of the station employed in the former affair of the stolen cattle. The thieves are fined for this theft. Old Thathla[Hlahla] the brother of the late Thlambe [Ndlambe] is making a kraal near to us.

Saturday May 10th 1834 Charles Henry was again out. He stated to some people whom he was inviting to Church that it was not the message of the teachers, nor his message but the message of God that they would reject if they refused to come and be instructed. I was also out. Had comfort in my visits. One woman was more than usually attentive in keeping others from speaking and working while I addressed them. Called Sutu. She appeared somewhat unwilling to pay due regard to my invitation. Satan as yet has his seat at her place. It is called the Great Place and 1 Kaffer law often goes out f[rom it]. May God's law begin to be more obeyed and may Satan be dispossessed of his stronghold.

Monday May 12th 1834 Yesterday a few of the strangers who had been previously invited, came to Church. 15 in all. They were less clamorous for food than they sometimes are. Was grieved to think that many near us were dreadfully increasing their sin by rejecting the gospel when they have it offered to them. One of the 3 old men came.

Today the amaMfengu [amaMfengu] have come to their work tho' yesterday they did not make their appearance at Church.

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Have heard of the death of my respected and worth friend Mr Falconer on the 4th of December last. Our mission has lost one of its best friends and the cause of Christ on earth has lost one of its firmest supporters. May He with whom is the residue of the spirit raise up others to carry forward his own work until it will once more be said it is finished. Very few men are in the habit of manifesting their love to their brethren as Mr Falconer was accustomed to do. I had good opportunity of seeing something of him for I myself remained a considerable period under his roof, and had good experience of his kindness.

Matwa has been in our vicinity today but he did not call. At the trader's place he had a long conference with his brother whom he wished to go with him until such time as the permission of the chiefs could be obtained to allow him in a more honourable manner to remain at the station. Matwa was not against him for attending to the word but still spoke of it as worthy of his regard and said that he should not prevent him from living at the station if the sanction of the other chiefs could be obtained. Ugilasto said that if he now loved the Word he had Matwa to blame as he was a boy when Matwa brought him to the station and told him to learn this great word. Matwa confessed that he conducted himself improperly at the time of his leaving the station, by which I understand that he refers to the healing of his wife. What will be the end of these things I cannot tell.

Tuesday May 13th 1834 Charles Henry was out. People received what he said without disputing. At one of the places he visited there was a young man sick. He was seated at some distance from the house in which the sick man was and a woman made this enquiry. "Why do you person from the school not come near to the sick thing, that he may reap some benefit from what you say?" It is common in Kaffer to speak of people by the word thing. Have been employed in doing a little to repair the house.

Friday May 16th 1834 Charles Henry was out. The people did not dispute, nor do they often do so. I was out and still find encouragement to proceed. I perceive that I am now able to do a little more to make the people understand me than when I visited the same people some months ago. May God bless the little which I do, and may I do what I can. Matwa went thro' the station and stopped at the house of one of the natives, but did not call on us.

Monday May 19th 1834 On Saturday U-Gilash called and knowing that Matwa wished him to go to him and that he was likely at least to visit him, if not to continue with him altogether, I shewed him 2 passages in the Kaffer hymns which I requested him to bear in mind tho' he should not find liberty to come to the station for some time. I thought that then he was about to set off but after this he attended school and repeated two additional questions of the S[horter] C[atechism] which he is committing to memory. He has committed the first 30 questions. As I have before stated he has made very good progress in *learning to read*. He

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went to some distance on Saturday but on Sabbath it appeared that [he] must have been in the neighbourhood for he agin attended Church and heard what under the divine blessing may aid him in his present circumstances. Yesterday about 10 strangers attended worship. Mr McDiarmid was out at Di[ka]n's in the morning.

Today (Monday) a person who for the last year has often come to Church, came thinking it was Sabbath. It was pleasant to see him coming with the intention with which he came tho' he had reckoned wrong as to the day.

Tuesday May 20th 1834 Charles Henry out. He saw Sukanda whom he exhorted to att[end] here to the gospel though people should mock at him.

Friday May 23rd On Wednesday 21st accor[ding] to the ap[pointmen]t of the Presbytery, a prayer meeting was held at this station by the missionaries. Mr Thomson, Colonial Min[iste]r, was invited and intended to have been present but something prevented him from attending. Messrs B[rownlee] and R[ead] of the London Missionary Society were invited and came. Mr Chalmers, as he had been ap[pointed] preached a sermon from Genesis 5.24. After this we had a short interval when we again met and spent the remainder of the day (with the exception of a small portion of the evening when we assembled the people for worship) in singing praises to God and in reading his Word and in prayer for ourselves, the people amongst whom we labour and the world in general. This day is the second of the kind we have set apart for prayer since I came to Kafferland. It was one of peculiar interest, pleasure and I trust of profit to us all. The longer we continued our sacred employment the more freedom and delight we experienced in it. I hope that the good effects of this day will be found to follow us to our dying hours, and throughout eternity.

A *pro re nata* Meeting of Presbytery was held to give advice [shorthand: to the] ...has been [finally] stated. The advice which the Presbytery gave was that Klaas in having taken back the cattle which he gave for his wife had himself broken the bond of marriage between him and her according to the Kaffer law and that the Session had nothing further to do in the matter. The case was difficult as it could not well be said that he had put her aw[ay], that she had put him away, nor that there was obstinate desertion on either part. The state of the case varied very much according as it was viewed in different aspects and at different times. The Church has no contract over either party neither being professors of Christianity. It seemed to be the opinion of the brethren that we ought to refuse to marry all who are not baptized or candidates for baptizm because it has been found that some others married by the missionaries have not fulfilled their solemn matrimonial vows.

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Monday May 26th 1834 Could not find my horse either on Friday or Saturday. On Saturday Mrs Ross and her children arrived from Chumie. Mr Ross accompanied them a greater part of the way, and then went to preach at Lovedale being uncertain as to Mr B[ennie]'s coming from the Colony. Mr Bennie and family arrived at their own home in the course of the evening. Yesterday the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed at this station. There were present 5 communicants from Chumie and 7 from Lovedale. This made the number of native communicants 16, a greater number than had ever commemorated the death of Christ at this place before. We had a day of much external order and peace. All appeared much interested in the work in which we were engaged. I hoped that the outward decorum which we experienced was indicative of the peace which was felt within. About sunset Mr Ross arrived from Lovedale. In the evening he preached from Psalm 73.26. But it is good for me to draw near to God. In the morning at sunrise he again preached and spoke from Ezekiel 18.30: Repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin. There were about 20 strangers present. Mr Ross and family set off for Pirrie after breakfast. The communicants were addressed. It had been well with Charles Henry at the table of the L[ord]. He may be said to have had a foretaste of heaven while there.

Tuesday May 27th 1834 Charles Henry was out one day last week not then marked. He was again out today and not with encouragement. He saw the poor man rotting fast away with the leprosy and spoke once more to him on the concerns of his soul. I was out and visited Yese, An[ta] and the AmaF[engu] [amaMfengu]. The people listened well to me.

Thursday May 29th 1834 Yesterday I visited the kraals on the North side of the road to Chumie at which Anta formerly resided. People civil and attentive. We have had several days of hot wind of late. Yesterday it ceased and a very high and cold wind commenced which still continues.

Friday May 30th 1834 Very cold still. Charles Henry out. He met no opposition. Copying Journal. (Copied into the Journal to be sent home). I still offer the following rem[ark]s on the case of the man implicated for witchcraft as detailed in Journal of October 30 1833. The people were rather more tardy in rushing on the man, after the doctor had said he was guilty, than is usual, and the doctor was obliged to urge them to do their work quickly. He who was then blamed now lives in the quiet enjoyment of his cattle. He ought now to seek that God who delivered him from the hands of his enemy may it be for the salvation of his soul that his life has been spared, and he may well be convinced of the injustice of the system which he lent his aid to support, because he has experienced the injustice in his own case. I lately sent him a message by one of our Native Teachers but I have not yet heard his answer. How enslaved are the Kaffers, seeing they are in the most absolute manner delivered over to the

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doctors! No one among them is secure as to his life or property. The chiefs may covet any man's cattle, call a meeting, and after a great deal of unmeaning ceremony have him criminated by the doctor into whose hands he had by an abuse of power committed him.

Saturday May 31st 1834 (Note to the account of Matwa's departure as recorded 16th November 1833. It is worthy of being recorded that tho' Matwa would not give a reason why he left the station as formerly related he stated in the clearest manner that he had nothing against it nor any complaint against it, nor any complaint against any at it, with the exception of his own relatives).

The weather has been very cold for the last three days.

Monday June 2nd 1834 Yesterday was also unusually cold, with high wind. It was therefore pleasing to see a few strangers at worship. Two of the old men were present one of whom is the individual mentioned in Journal of 25th January [1834]. This individual was also present on Sabbath week. Two others of the hearers have been frequent in their attendance during the last year. There were 8 strangers. A blind man of Bushman descent has for more than a month resided in Charles Henry's house and has regularly heard the Word. Today the high wind has fallen and the weather is fine. Charles Henry was out and met with no opposition.

Wednesday June 4th 1834 The Kaffer women are in the habit of bringing fuel to the station for sale. Sometimes their husbands come with them to aid them in selling it, or to see what they obtain. The load of wood which the females thus bring is often very heavy, but you never see the men *helping* them to carry it. In the same manner you see the women often carrying hides to the traders for sale and the men walking at their ease before them. So much for a little of the oppression of the females in this country.

Four amaMfengu travellers this day passed the station to whom I addressed a few words, and put some questions. I expected nothing of them but the carelessness and indifference with which I often meet from these people, and I was agreeably disap[ ]d when I found that [one] of them entertained my remarks with the utmost thankfulness and cordiality. He had undergone previous training for he told me that he came from Butterworth, a station of the Wesleyan Missionary Society distant a day's journey. The others lived amongst the Kaffers and their situation was widely different from that of this individual. I told him to tell them what he knew of God's Word. He said he did so but they would not listen to him. I then said that he must go on and if they persisted in their unwillingness to hear, that his attempts to instruct them would be returned with blessing on his own soul. One of the men was very old. This was his father. His mode of speaking to him he stated to me, and it was just what we would have spoken to him. As in the course of nature he would soon die, told him to pray and

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lose no time in learning all that he could of God's Word. Having exhorted these men to be diligent in seeking reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ I dismissed them, much pleased [with] the sentiments and demeanour of one of them.

This day the letter of the Directors of date 3rd February 1834 was put into my hands.

Thursday June 5th 1834 Charles Henry was out yesterday. I was out today and saw one of the three old men at his new place. Saw three Kaffer women carrying heavy loads of thatch. It is they who make the houses in this country. I never saw the natives around as more teachable.

Saturday June 7th 1834 Returned from Chumie and Lovedale having at these places discharged the duty laid on me as Moderator of Presbytery, in the case of Edward Irving, converted Kaffer. Spoke at several kraals on my way home. Charles Henry virtually out. God is pleased to keep open a door for the manifestation of His Word. Let me work in doing good to souls since God gives me opportunity.

Monday June 9th 1834 Yesterday there were 9 strangers present at Worship. The Great Place people have been more than ordinarily careless for several Sabbaths. Old Hlahla a brother of Hlambe was one of the hearers. The nights at this time are very cold. Almost none of the people previously invited came to Church. Charles Henry was out and found the people not indisposed to hear the great news.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday June 10th, 11th, 12th 1834 On these three days I itinerated with Mr Ross among Qeno's people near Fort Willshire. We preached the gospel at 47 places to 404 immortal beings. We are happy in being able to say that these people gave good attention to what we spoke to them. They were very kind in supplying us with food. On the night of the 11th we lodged with Tsaba one of Qeno's sons who formerly resided near Lovedale and shewed no inconsiderable attention to the Word. At present he resides in what is called the neutral territory on the right side of the Keiskamma below Fort Willshire. He killed a goat for our entertainment. Not one from whom we received food asked any remuneration. Thus we have once more gone among the lost sheep of this country preaching Christ and Him crucified. May our labours not be in vain. May it at last be found that many of these people will [be] found among the redeemed by such means as we are now using for their salvation. So clear was the light from the Kaffer fires that we read various pieces by its aid. Mr Ross read an account of Dr Chalmers's able appearance in the Presbytery of Edinburgh in answer to the T[own] C[lerk] of that city. Had it not been for the smoak we might have read more. Once when speaking in a house, I lay on the ground that I might not suffer from the smoak. The weather was cold and windy, but still was preferable to the great

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hear of the summer season. Some of the places which we visited were much secluded and on this account we visited fewer than we would have done in more acceptable situations. Mr Ross told me good news concerning Matwa, by which it appeared that he had at length become aware of his error in departing from the word of God. On coming home I found that he had visited the station under the feelings which Mr Ross represented him to possess. His brother was also with him. He I am informed had no small share in bringing about the change at pose observable in Matwa. He stated to him that he had brought their family to the station and exhorted them to learn God's Word and that when they began to learn it for some purpose he drove them away from it. This he argued was contrary to what the head of their family ought to do, and that he was chargeable with the dereliction of his duty in withdrawing his friends from that which was so necessary to their present and everlasting well-being. Matwa acknowledged that his brother was right and resolved once more to return to his duty. At our meeting in the Church this evening he was much affected. He appeared to be labouring under great mental trouble and considers that God has been punishing him in various ways on account of his departure from Him. May he be none of those who draw back to perdition but one who will believe to the saving of his soul. An old blind man appeared to feel the force of the Word.

Friday June 13th 1834 Matwa and h[is] b[rother] attended worship at s[cripture] r[eading] and in the evening. They also attended school in the middle of the day. Matwa can read nearly in the same way as when he left the station. His brother has got considerably before him mainly by constancy. In the morning I spoke from Hebrews 10.39 having Matwa's situation in my eye. From what I have heard I am inclined to think that Matwa partly sent for his brother that he might hear from him a little of God's Word and perhaps that thro' him the way for his return might be rendered easy.

Saturday June 14th 1834 Was calling the people to remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. In the morning worship made a few remarks from Hebrews 2.3. In the evenings it is the practice to catechise the people on what they heard in the morning. Yesterday Charles Henry called some people to come to Church on Sabbath. Matwa and his brother have attended Church and school today.

Sabbath June 15th 1834 In the morning at S[cripture] R[eading] spoke from Romans 13.12, but, in the forenoon, from Matthew 10.7-11, and in the afternoon from Hebrews 12.1, and part of 2nd. Met the 4th time with the people in the evening and examined on what they had heard during the day. Matwa and his brother gave good evidence that they had attended well to what had been spoken. There were 15 strangers present. God has once more given a loud call to those who attend to worship to put off their sins and to put on holiness, and he has

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afforded opportunity to many of our careless neighbours to learn his merciful purposes to the children of m[an]. The day is at hand which will shew that it was no little matter either to receive or to despise his merciful word. Only one of the strangers sought food, but we gave her none.

Tuesday June 17th 1834 Yesterday morning after worship Matwa told me that he was going to see how it fared with his children by which I understood the people residing at his kraal whether young or old. I did not so much as ask if he would return, but he said that he would in a short time. I could wish that he would stay near to Mr Ross's station until he be somewhat more confirmed in his principles, as then he would meet with less opposition than he is likely to encounter in the neighbourhood of the Great Place. I shall be cautious in saying anything which may influence him as to his returning to this station. His brother remains. Charles Henry was out yesterday and today. He had an opportunity of shewing how sickness and death came into the world to a company of people at place where a person was sick. Among these was a doctor who heard the statements which go against his system without opposition. Mr Read junior visited the station. Today Mr Ross passed from Chumie.

Wednesday, Thursday June 18th, 19th 1834 The first of these was stormy. A young man who is blind called. I directed him to consider whether or not his affliction had led him nearer to God. He was more desirous of seeking presents than of receiving the instruction which his case demanded. The other day was also stormy, with cold westerly showers. Heavy complaints are made against the thefts of the Kaffers. It is reported that they have stolen 900 cattle from the Colony during the last 6 weeks. Mr McDiarmid and family returned from Graham's Town to which place they went about 2 weeks ago.

Friday, Saturday June 20th, 21st 1834 On the first of these days Charles Henry and I were out separately. The snow lies on the mountain to the North and North East. Matwa and a second brother returned from Mr Ross's quarter.

Monday June 23rd Yesterday there were about 12 strangers present. I reckon Matwa and his people [are] strangers still, tho' they appear once more to have become resident. In the interval between forenoon and afternoon worship Matwa's mother and a maid servant arrived. The weather at this time is fine during the day, but very cold at night. U-Gilash has now got as far on with the catechism as any at the station. Subjects of discourse: Morning, Colossians 1.6-8; Forenoon, Matthew 10.12-15; Afternoon, Colossians 1.21 and 1st clause of 22nd.

Perhaps some of our neighbours were detained yesterday on account of a seizure of cattle by Maqoma not far from this place.

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Tuesday June 24th 1834 Fine day to be in the middle of winter. The evening is not so cold as some which we have had of late. (Charles Henry during these two days past has been absent on a visit to Maqoma who has taken some of his goats which were grazing with those of another man who has been implicated in the charge of retaining (I believe ignorantly) some colonial cattle. Charles Henry's goats have been taken as part of this individual's, and he has gone to assert his claim). There is a prospect of Natal soon becoming an eligible station for missionaries. It is probable that the British Government may form a Colony there.[653] Should that be the case, another opening will be made for the gospel of which some society will speedily avail itself.

Saturday June 28th 1834 On the three preceding days I was out among the people around. At one time I met with 24 men eating flesh at the mouth of a kraal, and another with upwards of 40 employed in a like manner. I found these large companies less docile than the small companies with which I usually met. At one place the dog so annoyed and bit my horse that he sprung in such a manner as to cause me to fall from him. I slipped down gently and by the good providence of God sustained no hurt. Tho' this be the middle of winter, the weather during the last three days has been somewhat hot, more so than I would reckon agreeable. The warm wind which comes from the interior has increased this hear. Matwa's wife arrived the day before yesterday. Some Kaffers near us but who do not attend Church, have lately stolen 45 cattles from a Boer.

Monday June 30th 1834 On Saturday Charles Henry was out. Yesterday there were 20 strangers at Church. In these are included Matwa and his friends but it appears that he has now taken up his abode at this station there he may afterwards be reckoned among the constant inhabitants. Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning calling the people to Church. When Matwa came some time ago, it is proper to state that he expressed to Charles Henry sorrow for his conduct in the matter of the horses. About the time he went away I stated that one of the horses had been restored to its owner. I now hear that by what has taken place the other has been restored to its original owner also but I believe that the trader has not been indemnified. The Great Place people extremely careless.

*Note on date April 8th *q.v.*

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[653] A small group of hunters and traders established a settlement on the East coast of southern Africa in 1824 which they named Port Natal. In the course of a sequence of several dubious negotiations, Shaka (and later Dingane) ceded Zulu land to the settlers (and later the voortrekkers) which formed the core of the voortrekker Republic of Natalia, established in 1839. Despite an earlier—and brief—British intervention in Natal in 1838, when tensions were running high between trekkers and the amaZulu, the territory did not come under British protection until 1842, and the formal annexation of Natal to the Cape Colony did not take place until 1845. Saunders and Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history*, 113-115.

Thursday July 3rd 1834 Returned from Lovedale to which I went yesterday to attend a Meeting of Presbytery and [Missionary] B[oard]. The letter of the Directors of date 3rd February was read and discussed. Charles Henry was out at some Kaffer kraals yesterday.

Friday July 4th 1834 Today Charles Henry, Matwa, his daughter, Vimbe, Uqilashe and D[ikane]'s wife, the best readers in the school were examined in [a] book which they had never seen before. None of them read fluently, but all of them were able in a slow but correct manner, without spelling to make out their sentences. We can only know their progress by trying them in a *new* book.

Saturday July 5th 1834 Charles Henry out. Ganya's son spoke in fear of God's Word and from his manner I could observe that he felt more than most others the importance of that Word.

Monday July 7th 1834 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning. Sutu with some of her women were present at worship. There were about 20 strangers present. Some of the people appeared to be much affected by what they heard.

Thursday July 10th 1834 Matwa has signified to Charles Henry that he does not consider it right that he should keep both his wives, and that he will retain the one whom he first married. This happens not to be the one who has manifested so much attachment to the Word. She has been little at the station. When the natives who had two or more wives have been impressed with a sense of religion, they of their own accord, left all except one. This I believe has usually been their first.

Monday July 14th 1834 On Friday I went to Fort Willshire with the view of preaching to the soldiers. On application to Major Burney, the Commanding Officer, as to the time for addressing them (for when I was at the Fort before he had stated that he would aid me in my endeavours) he requested me to say what hours would be most convenient for myself on the following day. The next morning I preached at 9 o'clock. Returned home by way of Mr Kayser's station. Charles Henry was out on Friday. There were 12 strangers at worship on Sabbath. Matwa and his brother cried not a little in the course of the worship. This proves that they at least care not though their countrymen should see that they are attached to the Word. Crying at worship has been common among the Hottentots. I have seen more of it at Chumie and Lovedale than I have here. It is rare at this station. In the present instances as well as in many others, I pray that there may be real and deep conviction of sin, and affecting views of the Love of God in Christ. Vimbe finished the committing to memory of the shorter catechism. Uqilash is 3 or 4 questions behind him and 2 others are advancing in the same work. Matwa has got one page committed.

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Large troops of Kaffers are collected at the Great Place on account of an illegal transaction of one of Hlambe's sons who has put a man to death because he deemed him unworthy of having a certain woman of the royal family for his wife. On account of the death of her husband, the wife killed herself. Hlambe's son in doing this deed acted contrary to the advice of Hintza whose messengers were present when it was committed. The deed is aggravated by being committed in a place of refuge, *viz.* in the enclosure in which Hlambe is living—to which the man had fled.

Tuesday July 15th 1834 Mr Temlett who has kept a trading station near to ours since I came has now disposed of it to a trading company in Graham's Town. Mr Temlett has been of great service to us in regularly bringing for us such articles as we required. He is a quiet modest, obliging man. A new man has begun his operations in the room of Mr Temlett's servant. He brings hides and horns. The trade with the Kaffers consists almost exclusively in the purchasing of these articles. The traders give buttons, beads, brass wire, cloth, blankets, knives, hatchets, etc. Of late they have given so much for hides that they have had almost no profit, but they are going to reduce the prices [which they will give in] future.

Friday July 18th 1834 Yesterday Charles Henry was out. We spoke particularly with Matwa concerning his religious views. He speaks of having gone astray in departing from the means of grace and resolves to be steadfast. In speaking of his conduct when absent he uses an expression which I never before used *viz.* that he then as it were put his finger in God's eye.

I was out. When I returned there was a trader standing near my door conversing with Mr McDiarmid and Mrs Laing and relating the following circumstances. The day before yesterday a body of Kaffers returning from an expedition against a petty chief in Hlambe's country in which they had been disappointed of their booty, fell upon his kraal and forcibly carried off all the cattle therein. These cattle belonged to several individuals; but the most of them belonged to a trader who was passing from the interior. The natives at his place followed the robbers and recovered some of the cattle but after all 91 head were taken away. The trader who was on his journey, next day came to the Great Place and complained to Sutu when she collected her forces and by daylight this morning came upon the robbers at their own kraal and took away therein. About treble the number of what they had taken from the traders. With these they came towards the Great Place but sent a message to the trader at whose place the robbers had been committed to come and obtain as many cattle as he had lost. He immediately set out with about 10 Kaffers, but he had to pass the place where the robbers lived, now themselves deprived of their cattle. Ere he was aware they attacked him and his party. The assigaais flew in showers around him. He thinks, however, that he, being an Englishman, was not aimed at, but one of his attendants was wounded in the thigh. One is

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amissing whom he thinks is killed. He came to request something to aid him in dressing the wound of the man just now mentioned and stated that his side was perforated. He himself had a musket, but he did not charge it. He turned round its mouth to one who was attempting to take it from him, who then desisted. The traders have got 84 head of cattle, 7 less than their own number. None of their own have been got. They had been secreted by the robbers but they have lost much more than they have gained. Matwa, Charles Henry and others were called to go out in this expedition, but they declined. The trader's place is about 16 miles beyond Pirrie [Pirie]. The robbers' place is about 6 miles on this side of Pirrie.

Saturday July 19th 1834 The trader from whom the greater part of the cattle had been taken, told us that his father had been killed by the Kaffers some years ago. He was one of the English Settlers and had a farm on the frontier.

I was out today. Passed a place where the man afflicted with the leprosy formerly lived. Found that he had died five days ago. Saw that his house had been burnt. Found his 2 wives at the door of a sort of temporary house a few yards from the former. I asked one of them where her husband was. He is not here. I again asked where he was. She answered he is gone home to God. She did not say he was dead until I asked if he was dead. We see from this that it was natural for the Kaffers as well as others to use proper terms when speaking about disagreeable things. We daily endeavoured to shew these ignorant people who after death enter into happiness.

Copied 8th October.

Monday July 21st 1834 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning. There were about 6 strangers present. The day was very cold. There is very little grass in this party of the country. The ground is very dry. Many places are suffering considerably for want of food. The people are often to seen seeking corn in situations where the harvest has not failed. When out the other day I met 3 people taking corn to Maqoma from a place distant from him more than 20 miles. These 3 people were a man and 2 women. The man was walking comfortably before them and carried no burden. The women had sack with corn on their head. This morning the frost was white over the ground. While the scriptures are being translated into the Kaffer language it is no less necessary that the Kaffers be made able to read them. All concerned with in the spiritual and temporal well being of the Kaffers thousand should strenuously endeavour to make them fluent readers. There are 4 at this station, who, tho' I will not call them fluent readers, can yet read so well as of themselves to read and understand the printed books as they are put into their hands. Two others are not much imperfect to these former. If we had the Bible today not more at this station then 6 could do much with it. Others if that were the case would, I hope, be incited to greater

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diligence in learning to read. A native instead of coming to Church yesterday was attempting to steal some of the cattle of the station. He did not succeed.

Friday July 25th 1834 Was out yesterday. Saw about 10 Kaffer women armed with sticks for the purpose of attacking the women of Tsusa with whom they are at variance. It is common for the Kaffer females to follow the men to battle where they meet with the females of the adverse party. Called at a trading station where I found residing a Mr Abernethy. This individual was for a long period in the army in which he held the rank of Sergeant. His wife and children are residing with him. He has books and seems to have read considerably.

Saturday July 26th 1834 Was out today. Found about 12 Kaffer men eating flesh in their kraal. The chief man of the place asked of me the loan of a horse to go to a certain place which he named. On declining to promise him the horse, he said like a child that has been thwarted that he would not attend to my instructions today. These people and the others which I visited were loud in their demands for food being provided for them at the station, and in that case they would come to church. One man mocked.

Monday July 28th 1834 Charles Henry was out on Friday. During last week we had some hot weather, for this season. The country is remarkably destitute of grass. On Saturday a considerable quantity of rain fell. It was cold. On Sabbath the mountains to the North were white with snow. Yesterday being extremely cold we had few strangers at public worship: about 4. Today has been clear, but the air has been cold.

Tuesday July 29th 1834 Mr McDiarmid and I went to see the water course which was begun soon after the station was founded. Some of the natives also went with us. I am sorry to say that they were so headstrong as to commence an unnecessary work near to the place where the water course proceeds from the river. We told them that tho' they should succeed with their work that they would not find the water farther out than it can with very small pains be now made to come, and that they were going to do a great deal of work which would serve no useful purpose. They were deaf to our advices. I believe they will have enough of work before they bring the water into the old ditch, and then they will be reminded of the truth of our remarks. We attempted to engage Klaas for another year as interpreter; but he broke off on the ground that we did not offer him sufficient wages.

Saturday August 2nd 1834 Was out yesterday and today. Found the people in some instances willing to hear in others careless. Their cry is for food, mantels, knives, handkerchiefs, tobacco, sheep skin, etc. and their taste for [the] spiritual has yet to be created. This must be done. This must be done by frequent visits to them. Charles Henry being out seeking strayed cow invited some people to come to church. Yesterday Klaas left the station. He has been

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here 9 days since the end of his year. Some beautifully printed proof sheets of Isaiah transcribed into Kaffer by Mr Shrewsbury, Wesleyan Missionary were brought to my house.[654]

Monday August 4th 1834 Yesterday there were about 6 hearers (strangers). There were many Kaffers met at the Great Place on the affair of Thlambe's people formerly mentioned. Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning at Dikan's. The people were eating flesh and did not come to Church.

Tuesday August 5th 1834 Charles Henry was out and found the people willing to be instructed. One of Matwa's wives left the station with the view of residing at Pirrie [Pirie]. Sometime ago being convinced of the unscriptural nature of polygamy, he determined to abide by one wife. The one who he retained was she to whom he first married. The other is the one who has been mentioned in this Journal as having suffered in a certain degree for righteousness sake. She stated to us that the people here had advised her to reside at another station, as their proceedings regarding past conditions would be less likely to be excited. I understand that the separation was mutual, and that the late husband approved of her departure to Pirrie [Pirie]. We were not applied to for advice in this delicate and difficult matter (Note: Mr R[oss] has received her into his house).

Thursday August 7th 1834 The day before yesterday 2 neighbouring boys attempted to steal a goat from those below [*shorthand: of the*] station. They laid hold on to it, killed it and hid it in the river until they should have an opportunity to convey it off. But they were seen, pursued, and one of them was taken. Yesterday Nonzube, the thief's father, sent two head of cattle as punishment for the theft. The weather continues cold.

Monday August 11th 1834 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning calling the people. About 30 strangers attended public worship. Sutu was present dressed in European clothing. Matwa and another person were seemingly much affected. I must say however that

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[654]The Scottish missionaries were not the only ones translating the scriptures into isiXhosa. On 22 July 1834, Wesleyan Methodist missionary Rev. William Shrewsbury wrote in his journal that "In the important work of printing the Holy Scriptures we proceed *slowly* ... As the sheets issue from the press, a copy is sent to all our brethren, to the brethren of the other denominations in Kafirland, accompanied with a request for their friendly remarks and criticisms on every portion as it is executed; and the same plan will continue to be observed, with regard to all future portions of the Scriptures that may be carried through our press." The plan was that the Methodist Superintendent in Grahamstown would collect all the comments and criticisms for consideration in the preparation of a future new edition which they hoped might become what Shrewsbury refers to as the "Authorized Version for Kaffraria". The initial translation of the Old Testament (including the translation of Isaiah to which Laing alludes) was not published until 1846.William J. Shrewsbury, *The journal and selected letters of Rev. William J. Shrewsbury, 1826-1835: first missionary to the Transkei*; ed Hildegard Fast, Graham's Town Series: 13 (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press for Rhodes University, 1994), 163, 212.

any crying which I have heard in this county has appeared to me somewhat suspicious—but I would not judge.

Thursday August 14th 1834 Have for some days been chiefly employed in examining the very long letter written for the Presbytery as answer to one lately received from the Directors. There is much of it which I do not approve but I have particularly noticed my exception in a letter addressed to the rest of the missionaries. Matwa continues steadfast.

Friday August 15th 1834 Charles Henry was out yesterday. He says that a great many of the Kaffers are absent from their own places seeking food at others. There is at present very little grass in this and his part of the country. (Klaas has returned to the Station). Have of late enjoyed great pleasure in seeing from the *Scottish Guardian* that various reforms of a very important nature are likely soon to be made in the Church of Scotland.

Saturday August 16th 1834 Charles Henry was out today. He found the people complaining of hunger. I also was out. The people whom I visited listened better than those whom I have of late visited. (2 men came from Balfour to work at the w[ater] c[ourse]).

Tuesday August 19th 1834 There were about 14 strangers at Church on Sabbath. In the evening we spoke to Matwa privately in reference to his condition. Of late he has cried a good deal. We advised him to restrain his feelings that he might disturb others. He said that he could not save himself and that he must be entirely indebted to Jesus Christ for salvation.

Saturday August 23rd This week we have begun to clear the water course which was left unfinished three years ago on account of its passing through some ground consecrated because the chief Gika had been buried in it. Matwa and his brother have wrought more than any of the others. This work when finished will not be a little one. Even as it is tho' not more than half done it is not little. (I have been at it five days this week).

Monday August 25th 1834 Yesterday there were about 20 strangers at worship. Baptised two candidates, Philip and Vimbe. Philip is an individual somewhat above the middle age. He is a relative of Charles Henry. He has been an attendant on the [station] for many years. Since I came to this station he has shewed much reverence for the Word of God and has continued to advance in knowledge. I have seen few of the natives manifest less covetousness than he has done. I have found few of them more easily satisfied than he has been. I trust that a change which will be found to be saving has been wrought on him, that his walk and conversation is such as to render him a proper recipient of baptism. Vimbe, the other individual, is a very excellent young man. He is the son of Nomanto the female who was baptised at this station about a year ago. He was a boy when Mr Brownlee came to Chumie and since then has lived under the gospel. But he says that he was careless until he came to the station. He equals

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Philip in seriousness and excels him in knowledge, at least he expresses himself with greater facility. The deep and serious attention which he has given to the gospel has been peculiarly comforting to me. He has been a candidate for a shorter time than Philip but his conduct has been such for a long time that had he come forward he might have been baptized a year ago. He can read and write. He can repeat the Assembly S[horter] C[atechism] which he has committed from the book. He has enjoyed great advantages in hearing the gospel from his childhood, and he has profited by these advantages and will I believe be found to possess a greater degree of scriptural knowledge than those who have been advanced in life when they first heard the word, will in general be found to possess.

Thursday August 28th 1834 Mr Read and two of his daughters visited the station.

Friday August 29th 1834 Charles Henry was out. During these four or five days past the natives have been sowing. There is a scarcity of food in the country at present. For the last 4 months the people have had very little milk in the adjacent districts. From this they might learn to turn desires more to the cultivation of the soil than they now do. We are endeavouring to lead out the water that there may be food obtained at this place for those who wish to wait on the gospel.

Saturday August 30th 1834 Charles Henry was out. He found the people teachable. He heard that the doctor's son had stolen some goats and that his father had eaten of their flesh by which he became as guilty as the son. On this he observed to his informers that they ought to attend to the missionaries rather than to the doctor, for it would be long ere the missionaries would steal their goats or cattle. They saw a great difference in the respective examples of the missionaries and the doctors. Gika's mother has held a dance for rain. She also is what is called a rainmaker. (This week I have in general wrought at the water course).

Monday September 1st 1834 Mr McDiarmid was out on a previous Sabbath not marked. Yesterday there were about 10 strangers at worship. Sutu was profaning the Sabbath by employing people to work in her cornland. She sins against light and if she does not repent will have a sorrowful reckoning in the day of judgement. I baptized the infant child of Philip who was himself baptized on the preceding Sabbath. I have given no names to any of those I have baptized. None of them have sought new names.

Saturday September 6th1834 This week Mr Ross has obtained at the Great Place a decision in favour of an um-Fengu who came to see him at Pirrie some months ago, but who was not permitted to bring his cattle with him. It is to be hoped that this decision will operate in favour of all the stations, as it shews that the law of the country is not necessarily opposed to people settling at the stations. When however grounds to prevent them from so doing can be

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found these will be produced; and in the view of the people in power slight grounds may be expected to operate against the law as it has now been declared. No valid grounds even in the estimation of the Kaffer judges could be found against the man who wished to stay at Pirrie. The Kaffer who detained his property was ordered to give it up. In the course of the week we have been obliged to separate from the Church Mama, Charles Henry's daughter who was baptized by Mr Read of the London Missionary Society during her father's absence from this station. She is far advanced in pregnancy. We have also had a report which we fear is true that the unlawful intercourse between her and the other individual had begun nearly a year ago. We held a meeting of Session, called the Communicants, spoke in their presence of the evil of the sin of which one of them had been guilty, spoke particularly to herself with a view of leading her to repentance, and then separated her from the church. We were sorry to see that she did was the least affected of all by what was said. To two or three questions put to her, both the answers which she gave and the manner in which she gave them indicated no godly contrition for her sin. Her father Charles Henry is much affected. He will speak with her in private and endeavour to shew her the evil of her way. We cannot recommend marriage with her partner in sin. We cannot say that he is wholly free from former matrimonial obligations. He was formerly married, and may nearly be said to have done what was equivalent to the putting away of his wife. His wife had not committed adultery. He was too long in attempting a reconciliation, which however he did at last in vain attempt. In process of time his former wife was given in marriage to another man. He then took away from her father the cattle which he had given for her. Thus he broke the marriage bond according to the law of the Kaffers and according to the same law was at liberty to marry again. But I am not certain that according to the law of God he is at liberty to marry 1 Corinthians 7.11. I may state that some time ago he asked the female, his partner in sin, from her father that she might become his wife. Charles Henry, her father, knowing the doubtful situation in which he stood in reference to his former wife, advised him to consult his father John Love who resides at Mr Read's station, and if he found that he gave his consent, he would then come to the teachers and hear if the union would be agreeable to the Word of God. How happy would it have been for all concerned had the daughter from the first held the same sentiments as the father. We have had 2 meetings with the communicants shewing them what is necessary to the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper.

Monday September 8th 1834 Yesterday the ordination of the Lord's Supper was dispensed at this station. There were 9 communicants, 5 native and 4 of us. Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning. There were about 25 strangers. Sutu was at church dressed in clothes, not in the kaross. This evening we met with the communicants.

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Monday September 15th 1834 Charles Henry was out on Saturday. Mr McDiarmid was out yesterday morning. There were about 12 strangers at worship. (Last week I was chiefly employed at the water course).

Saturday September 20th 1834 Charles Henry was out yesterday. During the week a family have taken up their abode at the station. (Have been a good deal employed at the water course).

Monday September 22nd 1834 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning calling the people. There were 44 strangers present at public worship. This is a greater number than usually attends. I have much pleasure in stating that in the course of last week Matwa lent his aid to free from punishment a person blamed for witchcraft. He travelled for this purpose to the other side of Pirrie [Pirie].

Tuesday September 23rd Charles Henry was out. A man stated to him that some people were preventing rain. He also said that since the rainmakers were failing the people should come to the teachers for rain. Charles Henry put him right about these and other matters.

Saturday September 27th 1834 Mapemva, an um-Fengu, the night before last took refuge at this station. About a year ago the Kaffer under whom he live, removed to Hlambe's country and deprived him of a considerable number of his cattle. Lately one of his neighbours stole a goat from him, killed it and ate it. By some means he discovered the thief and went to complain to the chief man of his kraal who happened to be the thief's father. Instead of meeting with redress he met with abuse and his life was threatened if he should again show his face in that quarter. After this he set out for the station as soon as he conveniently could. Yesterday Dr Philip and Mr Read of the London Missionary Society and Messrs Tredgold and Bradford visited this station. Dr Philip presented a tartan dress to Sandile, the heir to the sovereignty of this part of Kafferland. These gentlemen visited Sutu, his mother, in her own hut. There Dr Philip endeavoured to impress on her the importance of education. He told her that the world was now ruled by knowledge and that if her sons would learn to read and write and become able to communicated his ideas by writing, that with *one* pen he might do more than he could do with 10,000 assigaais. He and the others also visited Matwa in his own house. Dr Philip put some religious questions to him of a general nature to which he gave satisfactory answers. He shewed them the necessity of abiding in Christ for temporal and eternal happiness. This meeting was very pleasant. This morning they set off for Pirrie [Pirie].

During the week have been chiefly engaged at the water course. While working with the natives I have sometimes been astonished and grieved at their stupidity about the water being

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made to run upward. Sometimes by a want of docility certain of them also have interrupted the work considerably. Others have been in all respects what I could wish.

Monday September 29th 1834 Yesterday there were about 20 strangers present at worship. Sandile was one of them. He was dressed in his new clothes. Yesterday there was a man killed near this station who belonged to a party who were in pursuit of thieves. These thieves were either sons or friends of Nonzube, who stole the goat from Mapenva as mentioned above. Their theft on this occasion was committed on Dushane's people who are a part of Hlambe's. They were pursued closely by the people from whom they stole, and reached home only a short time before their pursuers. These they menaced as soon as they appeared. On this they came to the Great Place to request authority from Sutu to collect the cattle of the thieves, that they might at least obtain their own. They received this authority and an accredited messenger from the Queen, and again proceeded towards the residence of the thieves. The authority with which they were clothed was utterly disregarded. The royal messenger by whom they were accompanied was no better treated than themselves. The thieves at once made an attack on them. One of them fell by an assigaai. Another of them was wounded but escaped. On the news of this outrage reaching the Great Place no steps were taken to secure the thieves nor have any such steps been taken today. It would seem that no attempt will be made to seize or punish them until they have effected their escape. This may partly be explained by the consideration that Nomzube the head of them is a great man and a favourite. Sutu is a specimen of the oppression and injustice of heathen countries. The people in the country around here have been busy sowing. A seasonable supply of rain fell on Saturday. For six months past there has been very little rain and the ground is almost destitute. Today I have sowed some pumpkin and maize seeds and planted some potatoes.

Friday October 2nd 1834 Returned yesterday from a meeting of Presbytery at Pirrie [Pirie]. An answer to the letter of the Directors of date February 3rd 1834, was read and approved. This answer is written in a much better spirit than that which formerly was sent round, and which is noted at the top of page 91st. [The letter to which he refers to is referred to on August 14th].

Of late there has been a little rain. The ground is now in excellent condition for receiving the seed. We have received a supply of newspapers. Two papers and missionary reports from Scotland. For a long time we have been without such communications. Yesterday Dr Philip was to have a meeting with the Kaffer chiefs.

Monday October 6th 1834 On Saturday there was another supply of rain, which also fell in considerable quantities yesterday. None of the people whom *I invited on Saturday* came to church, but the rain may have prevented some of them from coming. There were only 2

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strangers present. It is of much importance to be out on Saturdays to warn the people against Sabbath profanation. The country begins to assume a fresh appearance God in his goodness has been pleased to send rain on this sinful land. The report of the Glasgow Missionary Society was read at last meeting of Presbytery. Charles Henry was a witness of the superstition of the natives. Very near to this he saw some people from a distance offering a cow as sacrifice to the river. They did not use fire but gave the cow to the river by throwing her after they had killed her, into it. This they did for the benefit of the person who was sick, hoping hereby to remove her sickness. They were very shy and would scarcely speak on the subject. The shepherds seized a boy in the fields when he was attempting to steal a sheep. This poor boy stated that he was employed by another person to steal. According to Kaffer law he cannot be punished as he had not *actually* committed the deed. After being reprimanded he was allowed to depart.

Tuesday October 7th 1834 While copying my journal was much pleased with the manner in which U-Qilash spoke to 3 Kaffers from a great distance. This young man manifests a desire to do good to the ignorant natives. A number of Hlambe's people have come to the Great Place on account of the later murdered attack made on that friend in pursuit of the thieves.

Thursday October 9th 1834 Yesterday and today much rain has fallen. Indeed we have had two thunderstorms. There is now a prospect that the natives will ere long be relieved from their hunger. How good is God to them!! May it be for the furtherment of the gospel that they are still preserved. Charles Henry has had a conference with Lukanda who says that his ear is now open to the word. He purposed to come and reside at the station. I believe he will find some difficulty in doing this, even though he may be sincere in his intentions. The Kaffers pay a sort of worship to the elephant, and to a serpent which they say is to be found in the water. They have a notion that people are to be found alive under water. When on a journey they are in the habit of throwing stones on the heaps which may be seen in their paths and calling on God to give them strength to advance. When going to steal they do this as well as on other occasions.

Saturday October 11th 1834 Charles Henry when out yesterday met with an old woman who doubted of the importance of the soul and future punishment. She was boiling a piece of meat on the coals and it being hot, she churned with a small stick. On this Charles Henry took occasion to teach her what great pain the fire of hell would give seeing she could not bear the slight pain of turning a small piece of hot meat. Had much pleasure in being out among the kraals and in warning their inhabitants against sabbath profanation. Found old Lukanda and 4 other of his men and a woman in their gardens drilling and sowing. Was much pleased with something which he said. Among other things he said that he has now seen the hand of God

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directing him no more to seek rain from the rainmakers but to seek it by prayer from God like the people at the schools, and that it was after the example of the school people that he and the other men were helping the females. I am informed by an intelligent native woman that there is a change observable in the men beginning to give many and in various ways to the women than they were accustomed to do. I do not speak of this change as great, but if it has even commenced as I believe it has, no small object has been gained. The same individual states to me that he considers that the light which now shines in this country is exerting no small influence on the people generally. He mentioned a number of the absurd notions which some years ago were commonly received and defended but which now met with comparatively few advocates. The majority of the people at work were tilling with wooden spades, but some had hoes and small spades.

Monday October 13th 1834 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out calling the people to church. He observed that they did not ask food. Likely they had some object in view. There were about 14 strangers present Old Lukanda did not come but some of his people did. The other 2 men, though residing at a greater distance came Sutu and Sandile were present, dressed in clothes.

(See page 106—overleaf). *Before*: People to whom I have spoken more or less who visited the station and whom I visited near to it. This is not of those who attended public worship on the Sabbath.

[At this point in the journal, Laing inserts a table recording the numbers of those who visited the station as well as those whom he visited from 6 April to 14 August [1834] (excluding those attending Sunday worship). This table has been placed in an appendix in the interest of readability, *q.v.*]

There is no doubt that many of [the] people around us were profaning the Sabbath and exposing them to the wrath and curse of God. There was thunder but very little rain. This is an excellent day for sowing.

Tuesday October 14th 1834 The weather is very fine.

Wednesday October 15th 1834 It is now three years since I took up my abode at this station. Let me improve my time. The country has not looked so fresh and beautiful as it now is for the last 6 months. Mapenva mentioned above some days ago in a secret manner left the station.

Thursday October 16th 1834 Yesterday was the hottest day we have had this season. The weather about this time becomes considerably hotter. I trust the Holy Spirit would come upon

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this immoral world and cover it with the bloom and verdure of holiness. We sow the seed, but we see no farther than our seed is watered and made productive by the Holy Spirit.

Saturday [October 18th 1834 The day before yesterday Charles Henry was out and found that some of [the] Kaffer women where he visited had gone to collect wood for old u-Yese because she gives them rain. Yesterday I was out and met with encouragement. Today I was again out [the In-w-one]. Found a great number of people in the exten[ded] C[orn] field on the hill between M[] and L[ovedale/Lukanda]. Spoke to about 15 parties who were working. Sometimes 2 or 3 parties came together. The people gave good attention. While the interpreter and I were moving around one part of the field calling on the people to keep holy the Sabbath it so happened the rainmaker's messenger was crossing another part of it requesting the people to come tomorrow (Sabbath) and till his field.

I wished to see this messenger who proved to be his son. I stated to him that I had long wished to have a friendly, public discussion with the rainmaker and desired him to inform him that I would be happy if he would give his consent that such a discussion should take place. I requested him further to say that we should discuss the question, "what means may we use to obtain rain?" before we entered on any other, but that he must not call in the aid of any of his friends, as I should as I should not call in the aid of any of mine. That and some other things which I said to the young man, he received without the smallest opposition. A considerable number of *men* were working with the women. They had fewer iron spades than the people I visited last Saturday.

Monday October 20th 1834 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning. 15 strangers attended worship. Observed none of the many people whom I invited on Saturday. Preached from Proverbs 22.6 with a view of stirring up parents and others who have the care of the young to exert themselves in *teaching* their children the doctrine and duties of Christianity. Mr McDiarmid began a Sabbath School in the middle of the day. The young people here are very careless, but their parents are somewhat neglectful of them.

Tuesday October 21st 1834 Charles Henry was out, and met with people willing to be instructed. He visited an old person who could not well come to church were she willing.

Thursday October 23rd Windy with showers. Charles Henry was out and found the Kaffers willing to be instructed at their own places. He thinks that a considerable number would come to church were they not afraid of others. I stated to Sutu an account of a most barbarous murder of an um-Fengu, by a wicked doctor. I heard that Dushane's men were paid 8 or 10 cattle for the life of the man who was killed as mentioned in journal of 29th ultimate and for the theft committed on them. Human life is little valued in this heathen country.

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Saturday October 25th 1834 This may be called another change in my life. Yesterday we went into a new house which Mr McDiarmid has erected for the Glasgow Missionary Society at this station. A considerable time ago we occupied one room of the same at the store. In a short time, *Deus Volens*, we shall occupy the whole. Holy D. Brainard [Brainerd] was more poorly lodged than I. May I be thankful for my comforts. Visited the Rainmaker's place enquiring for an answer to my proposed discussion. At first his friends said he was absent at his former residence on the Chumie. Afterwards when they had heard an address on the extent and danger of sin and some explanation regarding our discussion they discovered by their conduct that umQ[atshu] was at no great distance and two of them went to him to hear his views. When they returned they conceded the main point and shewed a disinclination towards a public discussion. I requested them still to state my proposal to UmQatshu that in the course of the week he might give me an answer. His people seemed to wonder at the idea of the Rainmaker discussing with me. His wonderful works were everywhere plain. To what place had he not given rain? After leaving the rainmaker's I met with a sort of opposition which is by no means common. At a kraal we found 5 or 6 women and a few children I had just begun to speak to the women in the following manner "You have lately been sowing, do you think that it will be by your power that your corn will grow and be fruitful?" when a stranger arrived on horseback who immediately set himself to prevent the women from attending to what I said. After a few fruitless endeavours to procure a hearing I was obliged to wholly desist from speaking, and to leave these squatters to themselves. About a year ago I met with a similar instance.

Monday October 27th 1834 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning. The people in the neighbourhood did not come to church. There were only 4 strangers present. Have heard that some of the people were attending U-ye-se. Mr McDiarmid held the Sabbath School in the middle of the day. It was no easy matter to teach the Kaffers anything for their good.

Tuesday October 28th 1834 Heard lately of the death of one of the former communicants at Lovedale, *viz*. Gavin Campbell. Since I came he has resided in the Kat River settlement. It is proper to notice an event like this I have not heard in what state he died. One thing is certain that he and the other Kaffers who removed from our station to that settlement have not been supplied with the word as they formerly were. Have heard that Dr Philip is still at the Kat River. Very cold, considering the season.

Thursday October 30th 1834 Charles Henry when out yesterday met with some women who stated to him that since God's Word came into the country the people were much distressed by the want of rain. He stated to them that the distress occasioned by the want of rain and all our other troubles arose from our sins, and that now their sins were greater and deserving of

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more punishment than before God's Word came amongst them. They were then however as well as now distressed by drought. Today I was out. I was happy to find some children who shewed great willingness to be instructed. Other children as a matter of course called me to visit a sick man. Even children are able to mark the nature of the missionary. The adults also attended well. (Saw Matwa at u-Nyelenze's place where he had staid during the p[revious] night. He is seeking reparation for an injury he has sustained. Since he returned from his visit to the Hottentots he has shewn a little levity. During his latest residence at this station he has been remar[kably] serious).

Saturday November 1st 1834 Charles Henry when out yesterday found that many of the people had gone to dance at the rainmaker. It has so happened that a fine rain has closely followed his preparations. This rain has come at the change of the moon. Rain is to be looked for at this time on after the late sultry weather.

Tuesday November 4th 1834 On Sabbath Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning. A number of strangers (about 14) attended worship. They were mostly with Matwa about a case of injustice for which he is seeking redress. The disselboom of our waggon coming from Graham's Town broke on Saturday evening about two miles from the station. Mr McDiarmid went to repair it on Monday morning. Some gunp[owder] which was taken for something else was so placed that we could not but remark how narrowly we escaped from danger. Let us not forget to regard God as our Preserver. Have (today) been much occupied with family work on account of affliction. Have been led to remark that the girls are the less helpful by how much the more their services are required. Should this be general it would tell against the native character. Yesterday Matwa told me he was sick. About 20 men were met at his house. After what we know of Matwa we will be somewhat suspicious proceedings. I must say however that during his present sojourn he has managed much greater steadiness then formerly.

Wednesday November 5th 1834 Yesterday we heard the mournful intelligence of the death of Mrs Laing's mother.

Saturday November 8th 1834 Charles Henry was out this week two days in his own business, but spoke to the people. (Rec[eive]d as one day out?).

Monday November 10th 1834 Yesterday there were more people present at worship than the little church would hold. I reckon about 20 strangers. Some rain has fallen. (Dr Philip left Mr Read 8 days ago).

Friday November 14th 1834 Fine rain. Charles Henry has been off two days this week; and met with encouragement.

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Tuesday November 17th 1834 On Sabbath there were about 25 strangers present at public worship. Charles Henry was out today and found the people teachable.

Thursday November 20th 1834 Yesterday a meeting of the Mis[sionary] B[oard] w[ith] P[resbytery] p[] for the purpose of receiving the accounts for the past year.

Saturday November 22nd 1834 Yesterday was observed here as a day partly of thanksgiving for the good time now possessed and partly as a day of supplication that God would be pleased to send such weather to us as will bring the precious fruits of the earth to perfection so that there may be food in the land for man and beast. About 30 strangers from different places around attended, some of whom have not been in the habit of attending on other occasions. They heard something concerning their obligations to thank God for his goodness to them, and concerning prayer as the efficacious means by which we may obtain spiritual and temporal blessings. Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning calling the people to church. (Through the carelessness of the cattle herds one of Charles Henry's cows has been stolen this week. He has sought much for her). Today there has been a fine thunder shower which will refresh the country which is beginning to be parched from the late heat.

Monday November 24th 1834 Yesterday morning Charles Henry visited a neighbourhood kraal where the people were preparing to dance for a sick person. He told them to come to church for they could do no good to the sick individual by dancing. Their answer was this is our law. Yesterday there were only about 10 strangers at worship. Have had some difficulty in arranging with the interpreter about going out on a journey with Mr Ross. He shewed little desire to accompany me by doing both what he himself had in view and what was required in reference to our journey.

Wednesday November 26th 1834 Went yesterday to and returned today from Pirrie with the view of going out with Mr Ross on an itinerating journey among the Kaffers. When at Pirrie found that Mr Ross was labouring under a bowel complaint. This being the case, rain coming on, and Mrs Laing being very weak and only with difficulty being able to take care of our child, the providential will of God seemed to be that at this time we should not set out on our intended journey. We may be able to teach a people who in a great measure are destitute of humanity and natural affection, by our conduct to each other in sickness, also to be kind to each other when sick. It is further to be hoped that we shall be able to shew them how religion is able to support us when we are afflicted.

Thursday November 27th 1834 Charles Henry states that he was out when I was absent. Transcribed thus far, November 27th 1834, James Laing.

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Monday December 1st 1834 On Saturday I visited some kraals on the Debe. Had passed the same kraals four days before, and invited the people to come to church. Found that there was a talk among them about coming to church on Sabbath, and was glad to see that my previous visits had excited even a little interest among them. Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning c[onversing with?/ converting? *shorthand = the*] p[eople]. There were about 20 strangers present at worship. The three old men formerly mentioned were among [*shorthand = the*] members. Today visited some places on the opposite side of [*shorthand = the*] water. Found some who understood me much better than others. Visited several kraals where the doors of the houses were so barricaded as to indicate that their inmates had for a time deserted them. (Last Sa[turday] Mr Blaine of Graaff-Reinet left this station for Pirrie. Today Mr Brownlee passed on his way to visit Mr Read who is unwell).

Tuesday December 2nd 1834 Yesterday I put a written copy of the first psalm translated into Kaffer verse by the Rev. John Bennie into Vimbe's hands with the view of ascertaining how far he could read manuscript. I was happy to find that he *read* the verses with considerable readiness, and understood them thoroughly.

Thursday December 4th 1834 Have today turned my attention to the state of matters connected with this mission station during the past year. Have reason to be thankful, but further attainment in Christian knowledge has been made by some. We again met with the baptised children and their parents. We are called on to do much for these children seeing their parents do so little. They are much exposed to evil example, and are in danger of growing up as heathens.

Saturday December 6th 1834 Yesterday Mr Brownlee called having been visiting Mr Read who has been dangerously ill. He conducted worship in the church in the Kaffer language. There has been an uncertain dispute between Matwa and the others about a g[oat] skin, in which so far as I could see Matwa was to blame—(I intended to have gone out but could not get the horses).

Monday December 8th 1834 Yesterday Mr McDiarmid was out in the morning. Very few strangers (6) were present. (Have it in view to leave this for Pirrie tomorrow. Operations at the water course have again commenced).

Monday December 15th 1834 Yesterday there were about 14 strangers present at church. Went last Tuesday (9th last) to Pirrie [Pirie]. Same day left Pirrie and proceeded in company of and with Mr Ross East towards the Buffalo River which having crossed we came in the evening to a kraal on a small stream called Dwagana. Here we lodged during the night. This afore noon there was a fine rain. In the evening we began our work by shewing the people of

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the kraal we met in the hut which was given us, the way of salvation through Jesus Christ. We were told that 3 traders resided near this place who employ themselves in drawing timber which they sell. The morning of the 10th December was cloudy and threatened rain. We proceeded North East and North over beautiful country containing abundance of grass but few inhabitants. Crossed the Kabuse a fine stream about the size of the Chumie. Came to a kraal while the rain was falling, and for a time sheltered ourselves in a Kaffer house. Here we found about 6 people the principal person was a woman, who had formerly been in the colony, and who as to manners seemed to be improved by her travels. She stated in answer to our inquiry that they had never before seen Teachers, and that they were very glad to see us. The woman mentioned she was par[ticularl]y careful in making us aware that it gave her not a little pain that such good news as we brought should be given when the principal people of the Kaffers should be absent. They had gone to a great distance to hunt. The woman further said that we did well to come to them for the Kaffers were going on in their unrighteous way. Had some conversation with a man on the subject of witchcraft. He says that the people and their cattle were killed by U-bu-ti, or matter used to bewitch. These statements were so contradictory that they refuted themselves. Here we were hospitably entertained with fermented milk, which is nutritious and wholesome food. When this food is abundant and when the natives are willing to give it, travelling among them is comparatively easy. (It may also be stated that on the preceding evening we were supplied with the same sort of food for supper). Left this place though rain continued to fall, and at some distance came to a kraal at which we found a man who said he would not hear us speak of God's Word. This I believe he said from a suspicious ignorance of our means. He said that he was a worshipper of Iminya-nya, or all objects of worship. He particularly specified that he worshipped *Chiefs*, both *living* and *dead*. Here there is the worship of Heroes as in ancient times. Notwithstanding his unwillingness to hear at first, after he had obtained a little information as to the nature of our doctrine, he became quite willing and said Diya-tu-la-pula I do listen. (Indiyapulapula = modern day). Immediately after leaving this wonderful man we crossed the Qo-lo-nce and came to a small station called the Gwale where we found several kraals and a trader's place. This trader was he who was stationed near Burnshill when I arrived there. It is to be feared that traders residing among the Kaffers without opportunity of attending on the means of grace, will make no advances in religion. We usually exhort them to be mindful of their duty to God and man. A few English tracts might be useful for them, but we have none of them. Some of them, I am aware read a good deal. There was a considerable increase of rain in the course of this afternoon. We came to a kraal having 18 houses. Had rarely seen one kraal with so many. 7 is the average number of houses at one kraal. We use the word kraal to describe the native houses at one Kaffer place of residence.

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[The following paragraph has been partially crossed out but not totally deleted]. In the cold and wet we journeyed on until we came to a kraal near an old trading place. Looked at the remains of the trader's work. His houses which were of stone were in ruins. His little water course dry. At the adjoining kraal the natives at the very time of our arrival were roasting some potatoes which had spontaneously grown in his garden. They digged them because they had grown without their labour but they did not intend to cultivate them though they might easily have learned to do so from what they had seen. The Kaffers are blind even to their temporal interests in some respects. They do not cultivate potatoes even at the mission station to any considerable extent. This is to be regretted as potatoes would come to their aid after the hunger of winter two or three months sooner than their own productions. After we left the large kraal the rain became more thick, and we looked for another with a view of remaining for the night. Just as we were becoming uncomfortably wet and cold, we came to a kraal but on our right we saw some working indicating that others than Kaffers had been there. We went to them, and immediately concluded that this was the old trading station of which we had been previously informed. Everything here had gone to the Kaffers. We saw the dry water course in which the trader had led out the sewage? to water his large garden. It happened that at the time of out going to the adjoining kraal the natives were roasting or rather baking some potatoes which had spontaneously sprung up from the remains of the trader's last crop. They had here a fine opportunity of introducing a very useful vegetable, but they had no thoughts of adding any new kind of food to that on which their fathers subsisted. (It would be well for the people at the missionary stations to cultivate potatoes. By planting them early in the season, they would be freed from the hunger which follows a bad harvest. They might have a crop of potatoes much earlier than of Indian corn for the months of which in many cases they must wait ere they can obtain sufficient sustenance. At the ob.? M[ain] kraal we were soon directed to a house or hut, but it was a miserable one. Being full of holes it offered no hope that in so much cold and rain we would be comfortable in it. Another and a better we in vain sought. Want of firewood was also experienced for a time. With the aid of a man who visited we in some measure succeeded in remedying the evil of which we had come to complain, and with the holes of the house a little mended, and a fire burning before us we sat down and dried our partially wet clothes. One defect in the house the want of a door was not supplied. We were in a little visited by one of the most sceptical gentlemen with whom we had ever met for he would believe nothing according to his own account which he had not seen. We shewed him the absurdity of such a position, and soon had reason to remark that it would be well if all sceptics were like him, as he again and again confessed that he was wrong.

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The morning of the 11th December was very cold considering the season. We had heard this trader's place spoken of as a great situation for a missionary station. We now looked at the small s[tream] to see how far it might supply a s[tation] with water. It was so extremely small that it could not be used to almost any extent for irrigation nor would it go far to offer a supply for household [and] other necessary purposes.

We went north at first, and from some high ground we had a very extensive prospect east and west. The country in this part is very beautiful, and was composed chiefly of little hills, and gentle sloping valleys. In many parts there were woods and groves so situated as greatly to improve the prospect. We saw with regret the encroachment which the natives were making on these beautiful woods for the purpose of obtaining land for the raising of corn. They had burnt many fine trees without removing them and are continuing to do so in many situations. Their principal reason for doing this is that the ground in the woods is softer and more easily tilled than in the open fields. As we passed along we were surprised with excellent milk without price. Came to about 50 people assembled on account of a sick woman. These people heard and not inattentively the Word of everlasting life. We warned them of the danger of blaming any of their neighbours as having brought on the sickness of the woman by witchcraft. They had met for the purpose of extracting the bewitching matter from her body, which they attempt to do by the application of dung. This scene was taking place on a small stream called the Bolo. Going East or South East we came near the banks of the Ic[h]niva or Key [Kei]. This country here had not the fresh appearance of that which we crossed in the morning but was dry and almost destitute of grass. Rested at a kraal where were a considerable number of people who said they had never heard of Teachers. It is not possible that this could be true, but from ignorance of our desire they likely spoke in this manner. The day was now as hot as the morning had been cold. In the afternoon we overtook 6 women carrying loads probably corn on their heads, who said they were going to a great distance where many of the people were hunting. I may have mentioned that on account of some of the people having gone to the hunting, we met with fewer than otherwise we would have done. It is also to be noticed that the people here do not live so thickly together as in some districts. Passed a kraal of amamFengu [amaMfengu] remarkable for the neatness and skill with which its houses were constructed. Their cleanliness also was such that it would be a luxury to be provided with such houses to lodge in while journeying in this country.

Going forward, preaching Christ crucified to all whom we met, we came to a kraal where we found a man who had resided at Pirrie but who seemed ashamed to say that he had ever heard of a Saviour. Here the men were making a milk sack from a dried cow hide. We saw a musket in their possession. Came in the evening to a place with one of the largest cattle kraals we have ever seen. The kraal for the calves was about the size of a complete kraal. The

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master of this place proved to be a pow[erful] Heemraad of Hlambe's. He soon pointed out a house to us, and while we were with him he treated us kindly. He was no boaster of the large number of his cattle. When he lived on the Keiskamma he said he was great, but here he was little like an um-Fengu and therefore he would only give us a goat for our supper which we would find necessary as he could only give us water to drink. We observed to him that water was good and while we accepted of the goat and thanked him for it, we said that we would like some of his water too. While this conference was going on, the goat was standing alive before us. It was moved, killed and in a little a part of its flesh was ready for being eaten. His water now also appeared and was found to be excellent milk. In the course of the evening he and the people of his place assembled in our hut and heard with more than ordinary interest and attention the word of God. In conversation he said that he was sorry that Hlambe was there for he loved and protected the Teachers who told him about God. We told him to follow in this respect the example of Hlambe for by that example though he was dead he yet spoke to him. Getu is the name of the above interesting character. At a place at which we spoke on the morning of the 12th of December we were told that there was an umFengu in the neighbourhood who was acquainted with God's Word and observed the Sabbath. He had been taught at Hintsa's station i.e. Butterworth. We hoped that this man and others like him will be used by God for the dissemination of scriptural knowledge. A man who gave me some fermented milk asked buttons for it. He was the first who had asked anything from me for food on the journey. Crossed our former path and went to a kraal where we rested and were hospitably entertained. The day was now extremely hot. Having again set off we came to a place at the junction of the Qolonce and the Keiskamma in which Maqoma etc. resided after his expulsion from the colony about Balfour. Two considerable streams, which we could not but mark our as in many respects an excellent site for a missionary station. Round here to a great extent might be laid under water. Fuel seemed to be scarce in the immediate neighbourhood. We passed a small umFengu kraal and came to a Kraal called the Great Place one of Hlambe's usually reside here but now he was gone to the hunting. We were told that he wanted a teacher and on the Qolonce near to his place we were of opinion that a missionary station might be advantageously situated. Firewood is not so scarce here as at the other previously mentioned place as a good situation. The hosp[itality] here is not so dense as near the colony but still the number of people not distant from this situation would furnish work for a missionary. After we had told him to pray to God, he asked in what manner he was to pray. Knowing so little of God and of the Way to Him it was not wonderful that he saw difficulties before him. We gave another direction, but were sorry lt leave him, without the hope of soon returning to help him to go to the physician of s[oul]s.

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Travelling homewards we observed a thunderstorm before us from which we wished to escape. We were only partially wet by the rain when we reached a remote kraal which at that moment was a welcome sign. We made a fire and made preparations for remaining there during the night. But there being indications of people near whom we might teach, we left the deserted place and in a short time, came to a kraal inhabited though only by one family. [The following passage has been partially crossed out: This is to be regarded as a very rare occurrence, and what was as rare at this kraal were no more than 7 head of cattle.]

It rarely happens that only one family resides at a kraal. The master of this kraal was also singular in the small number of his cattle having no more than 7 head. We rested with him. Considering his circumstances he was kind and even liberal to us. The morning of December 13th indicated rain, and we had scarcely set out when it came on. Crossing the Kabuse we proceeded towards the eastern extremity of Mr Ross's mission. The rain increased and the mist thickened around us, and but for a footpath which we providentially found we would certainly have been bewildered. Let travellers in such circumstances and in such a country be careful in keeping a path when they have one. Though the road was slippery we got safely down from the mountain. About noon the rain almost subsided. We journeyed on for Pirrie out station at the Buffalo River, and reached Pirrie in safety about half past 2 p.m. The weather did not as yet appear settled, and I had some doubt whether it would be advisable to proceed home which if possible I was desirous of doing that evening but the afternoon continued nearly fair and about 5 o'clock I set out. Had we known the state of the country west we would have been in no doubt as to the propriety of travelling in that direction, for when I had proceeded one third of the way from Pirrie there were abundant proofs that no rain had there fallen or was likely for a long time or to fall that evening. The ground here was as dry and burnt as when I passed. I reached home a little after sundown having called to bless God for his goodness to myself and family during my journey while absent from it. In the above time we preached the gospel at 49 places to 437 people. Being widely scattered we had to travel much before we could reach them but we felt that missionaries must not neglect them because they are so scattered. We pray, and hope that all the friends of Jesus who may hear of this journey will also pray that by what we have now done an interest in the gospel may be excited among the people and that under the effective teaching of the missionaries they may be led to the saving understanding of what they have heard.

Wednesday December 17th 1834 For three days this week have carried forward the water at the water course, chiefly with the aid of the strangers who have come requesting work. Sutu has sent us a message that we must leave off this work until we shall [hear] what will [be] the issue of the present disturbances between the colonists and Kaffers. Heard this morning that yesterday on the Gaga, 4 Kaffers were wounded 3 of whom died, and that 4 soldiers were

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also wounded. One of the kaffers wounded is the son of Gika. Heard this evening that the Kaffers have killed 4 soldiers and taken away all the horses belonging to the Cape Corps at Fort Beaufort. Sutu has advised the new trader to take means to secure his property as she cannot long protect him, seeing she intends to remove on account of the present commotions. I pray that God may bring good out of these evils. Since I came to Kafferland I have not seen the peace of the frontier so much disturbed as it is at present.

I have not yet learnt the respective reasons of the present disputes. May we be found calling on God in troublous times. Yesterday and today [a] considerable quantity of rain has fallen . It was much needed.

Thursday December 18th 1834 Have heard it contra[ ]d that the 4 English soldiers were killed that Qeno is gone to help T[ ] and that the horses of the C[ape] C[orps] at B[eaufort] have been taken. The rain has continued.

Friday December 19th 1834 I might have stated partly to explain the origin of the above commotions that about the second current there was an ensign wounded by a Kaffer near Fort Willshire.[655] There upon I was informed that the Kaffers were expelled from the neutral territory in that quarter. I am sorry that matters have come to this at the time of the Governor's appointment. If the Kaffers do not be very cautious they will greatly injure themselves. Having been told by Sutu to discontinue the work at the water course I went to see if she had any objection to its being resumed. She was angry at the death of the 3 Kaffers and at the wounding of one of Gaika's sons. I advised peace, and that the Kaffers should try to adjust matters with the governor. She would not hear me. I judged it best not to speak of the other matters. This move is fair. The trader told me that numbers of the natives whom he has seen are just as I have described Sutu. On the whole matters on the frontier are not so bad as they were represented. Have heard of some of the wicked practices of the young people.

Saturday December 20th 1834 Charles Henry out yesterday. The trader states that the natives are still extremely quarrelsome. Another trader between this and Mr Ross's place states that he is in danger of his life, and cannot remain longer at his place. Sutu has taken away her goods from the trader. By this she perhaps means that with him she does not consider them safe. A party of Kaffers passing the station today used such threatening language as I never before heard used by any of them. They said they were going to attack

[655]Ensign Sparkes, who, according to Timothy Stapleton, led a patrol into Tyhali's territory on 2 December 1834. Sparkes' soldiers seized some of Tyhali's cattle and, angered, Tyhali's men pursued the patrol, wounding the Ensign in a skirmish during which they foiled Sparkes' attempt to secure the cattle. Somerset was enraged and sent Lieutenant Sutton to renew the attack on Tyhali in a second attempt to seize his cattle. It was during the ensuing fight that Xhoxho was shot and wounded in the head. Stapleton, *Maqoma*, 116.

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the colony, and that in their return they would attack the stations. I do not anticipate that they will fulfill their threats, but let us commit ourselves to God, that we may be ready for life or death. Negotiations are going on between Colonel Smith and Tyali. Tyali seems unaccommodating and cries for war.

Monday December 22nd 1834 Yesterday we had another opportunity of quietly waiting on the Lord in public worship. There were about 10 strangers present most of whom belong to Matwa. Text, "Be still, and know that I am God." Have heard that a junction has taken place between the forces of Maqoma and Tyali. The old men are averse to the present preparations for war. The chiefs in the back parts think that Matwa and Tyali have no cause for making it justifiable in them to make war. They say that Matwa and Tyali are jealous of losing their power when Sandile comes of age, and that they are now taking means to keep themselves in possession of power. I have heard it stated that Tyali on the commencement of hostilities by Colonel Smith has given orders to attack three trading stations near to his usual residence. There is a general attack meditated on traders generally. It is said that the missionary stations are to be spared; but the danger of the missionaries will also be great if the traders were to be attacked, as it will be in revenge that such an attack will be made. Mr Abernethy came to this place, saying that his son had been obliged to leave his station where his life had been repeatedly threatened. He himself also considered his own life in imminent danger, and we all judged it least that he and his family should take refuge at this station. He is an old man and was long in the army. I wished to send a communication to the authorities on the frontier requesting them to suspend hostilities until they know that the traders and missionaries are safe, but the Kaffers are desirous of knowing what I may write. Rather than not write I should be willing to read to them any communication I might make that this is the first time in my life I have been required to make known my letters to others. It is however for the good of the Kaffer nation as well as for that of the white people that I would wish the authorities to suspend war-like operations.

Tuesday December 23rd Last night the above mentioned trader and family took refuge at this station. His son was trading at another station on the Cera [Ncerha] and came with him, the Kaffers having threatened in the plainest manner that they would kill him in the night. Thus had I written when I heard that last night the Kaffers had killed two traders on the frontier, and just at Chumie station plundered and burnt the house of a third who had probably escaped. Heard also that in the same direful night two boers were the victims of their rage. At Chumie a party of people watched the mission premises all night. There was no sleep there. The Lord prepareth for death and give us an abundant entrance into his heavenly kingdom if we also are op[]d to die. The communication above alluded to will not reach the Colony as there is no communication allowed between Chumie and the Colony. Even the

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trader has come this evening to this station being well aware that his life is quite insecure where he is. Mr McDiarmid had been near danger without knowing of it on Monday morning. Soon after he left the Boer's place at which he resided on Sabbath the Kaffers attacked it. Killed the mos[] and took off his cattle and horses. (Note: heard on reaching the Colony that this Boer had escaped. Had he waited a little longer his waggon oxen would have been taken along with those of the cattle even though the Kaffers had spared him). The Colony will now be in arms against the Kaffers. May the Lord be a shield round about us.

Wednesday December 24th 1834 Have received a note from Mr Ross from which it appears that matters at his station last night wore a very dismal aspect. At Chumie and Pirrie danger seems to have been more felt than here. The difference is likely to be only as to time, unless the word of the chiefs [is] good that the stations are not destroyed. E. Jeffrey was all but killed today, by an armed band who came with the intention of killing him and robbing his house. Sutu, Matwa and Uqilashe were instrumental in saving his life. Another trader named Kent has been murdered.[656] Sutu has been down and given us some encouragement. She says that the schools are not to be destroyed and that it is contrary to the wish of the majority of the chiefs that the trading people have been attacked and that the traders have been murdered. We are likely to be exposed to the greatest danger, when the Kaffers are driven back from the frontier. This it is most probable will be done in a few days. It is well to possess even a little time to commit one's soul to the keeping of Christ. Joseph Williams and Read have returned from Tyali with his declaration that the missionary stations are to be preserved. He says the war may go on and they may stand and that kaffers going to attack [the] colony and the colonists coming to attack Kafferland may find them good sleeping places. Have heard of the death of poor Warren. He was driven out of Mr Kayser's house to which he had fled and killed outside. Maqoma found fault with the murders, because they did not respect the missionary station. Have heard also that many Boers' places have been plundered, and many Boers killed. It is said that 30 Kaffers have been killed by the Boers, but Matwa says that a great many more have been killed. The real number is concealed to prevent the chiefs from desponding. Matwa saw many hundreds of cattle and many of sheep and goats which have been taken from the Colony. These are at no great distance from Fort Willshire. I hear little of the operations of Col. Smith. The Kaffers seem to be going in and out of the colony. Col. Smith has been the more lenient towards them that he might the less endanger the lives of the English resident in Kafferland. Perhaps also he is as yet poorly supplied with the men. The Lord has graciously brought us to the close of another day. May we be found in that attitude

[656]Trader James Kent, an 1820 settler, was killed on Christmas Eve 1834 at his trading store near Pirie Mission. His orphaned children were taken to John and Helen Ross at Pirie. Ross was a close friend and would have wasted no time sending Laing this news.

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which becomes those who are preserved when others are destroyed, but of those who know not how long this temporal preservation may be.

Thursday December 25th 1834 No evil has befallen us during the first night. We have much cause to be thankful for our preservation. In a note from Mr Brownlee, I am informed that a trading place has been destroyed between Buffalo River and the Colony. His wife and his children have been spared and taken to a chief's kraal. The husband was supposed to be killed. Mr B[rownlee] mentions that several waggons have been destroyed near his station. The Kaffers will be the losers in the end. They will be made to pay for all the robbery and the bloodshed which they are now committing. They are very foolish in so evidently bringing destruction upon themselves. This afternoon have received another most affecting note from Mr Chalmers. Lamentable to be told the people of the Chumie station have taken their share of the trader's spoil!!! That they have gone to fight against the Col. by the order of their chiefs is not so wonderful. They might be forced to go against their will. We again throw ourselves on the Lord for another night.

Friday December 26th 1834 We have been preserved in safety throughout another night and this morning in peace we are permitted to worship God without any near to make us afraid. We have sent two messengers to Makama and Tyali to thank them for the favour which they have shewed to the mission stations, and to state to them that we rely on their word that the stations will be spared as far as they are concerned, but we fear plundering parties unauthorized by them. Some conception may be formed of our situation, when it is known that the chiefs declare that they have not authorized the murder of the traders who have been murdered and plundered notwithstanding. It is a great mercy that we have so full warning of our danger. The trader E. J[effreys] tells me that his house has been entered last night and a quantity of goods carried off. Sutu still so far keeps it from being destroyed. For a number of days we have seen very *few men*. They are mostly in the Colony where it is reported they are now being killed in great numbers. We have been speaking both of flight and resistance but we have not as yet decided what we shall do. By the tender mercy of God we have still a respite. A man who was in the habit of often visiting the station has made his appearance today. He has informed one of the people that he has been one of a party who went into the colony to murder and plunder and that his party killed two white men, several Hottentots and Mantatese [Mantatees][657], and took some cattle; they left the sheep and goats but killed the horses. Another account is that they attempted to bring the horses away, and they ran away

[657]The term 'Mantatees' signifies a section of the baTlokwa led by their chieftainess MmaNtatisi—from whom their name derives—who swept through the territory of the baSotho into the Colony as a result of the Mfecane. Elphick and Giliomee, *Shaping of South African Society*, 2 ed., 486.

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from them. We have received satisfactory messages from Makoma. He says that we have nothing to fear, and that he would come to the assistance of the schools, and leave the war in the Colony should they be in any way molested. He complains of the old Commando system as unjust to the Kaffers, and that the injustice of these was one cause of the present war. The shooting at one of Gaika's sons is the immediate cause of this war. Makoma said that he could do nothing against the stations. Were he to set himself against God and he was but a worm before him. He was none of those who would say there was no God. He said that he had strong desire to visit a station to hear the word. He requested Klaas to bring three horses belonging to him from Mr Ross's station to this; and to keep them here for him. He also requested him to assure Mr Ross that he would protect him. He seems to think that his people will be able for some time to contend with the Colony. Our people also went to Tyali but he was not to be found. They found a heemraad acting for him who communicated to them his views.[658] These views agreed entirely with those of Maqoma. This heemraad mentioned that it was the desire of Tyali that Sutu should be instructed to continue her protection to the three traders here. The chiefs then appear to be for us. For this let us be thankful to God who has their hearts in His hand, and let us pray that their good intentions may be respected by the people. Thus have we passed another day, in wonderful comfort.

Saturday December 27th 1834 We rose ready in great quietness. Sent a man to Mr Kayser with Macoma's assurance of protection, and to bring Maqoma's two horses to this station. Soon after Maqoma sent a man with a parcel to my care. One of his mothers-in-law was with the messenger and stated that Maqoma wished to sent his wife and children to the station for safety. We are happy to see and hear these things because we see that Maqoma considers the station safe, and because the natives will respect them when his property and relatives are there. We are placed in very critical circumstances, in reference to aiding the Kaffers. How far we may aid them, seeing we are protected by them, is a casuistical question of some difficulty. Much time is allowed us to pray to God in reference to the commotion. Saw three armed Kaffers, returning, much fatigued from their plundering. Received a note from Mr Kayser in which he states that night and day they stand between life and death. He intends to leave his station as soon as possible. The Lord has been as yet pleased to give us more quietness than some of our brethren. We hope to enjoy the privilege of the coming Sabbath without molestation.

Sabbath December 28th 1834 We have been permitted to attend public worship in safety. Some people who in times of peace were wont to keep aloof from the stations are now with the view of obtaining tempor[al] advantages attaching themselves to it. Have heard that the

[658]Laing is using the Dutch "heemraad" here to denote Tyhali's councillors.

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Kaffers are meeting with considerable loss in the Colony. Some near to this have fallen, who were reject[ors] of the Gospel in their lives. As a nation it may be said that the Kaffers have rejected the gospel. Appearances in many places were favourable, but they have trifled too long with the word of God. The cattle are still being brought from the colony. At the evening meeting in the church there were a few strangers who were not present at a former meeting. A few Kaffers worn out with fatigue passed the station.

Monday December 29th 1834 Have sent Klaas to Maqoma to attain a safe conduct for Mr Kayser from his station to this. At different time various fatigued Kaffers have passed some of whom had booty. Have heard that they have killed an Englishman on the Fish River and taken his cattle. This is perhaps Mr Southey. At the end of a week the colonists have not been able to put an end to their robberies. All we hear is from the natives. We know almost nothing of what [the] colonists are doing. The Kaffers seem flushed with success. They will become secure and before they are aware will become an easy prey to the colonists. They will not easily pay the loss which they have caused to the white people. Heard from Maqoma that a safe conduct is to be granted to Mr Kayser that he may come here tomorrow. Our next business will be to try to persuade the driver to set out with our waggons. This perhaps may not be easy. The people are afraid to go anywhere.

Tuesday December 30th 1834 We endeavoured in vain to persuade the driver to go, though we offered him ten times the usual hire. This is the more to lamented as the man said he had no fear for himself, and as he is a communicant. He might have been expected to help a missionary in distress, but the pity of the rest of the Kaffers seems to be small. Unless we can help ourselves we will have little help from them. When Philip refused to go for Mr Kayser a person, formerly a slave in the Colony, volunteered to drive. There are a few who are acting in a praiseworthy manner. I hear that the people of Lovedale have been sent by their chief into the Colony to murder and to rob. Robert Balfour a Native Teacher has been sent on the same unjustifiable errand. Matwa has gone to a place somewhere above Pirrie with the view of bringing home some cattle. When he returns we shall hear from Mr Ross. Have heard that Fort Willshire and the Kat River post have been deserted by the British. Mr Kayser's cattle and a wagon load of his goods have been brought to this station. Anta called. He told us a little of his attack on a Boer's place where several Boers were assembled, and of whom his party killed four. They spared the women and children. Have heard that a message has been sent by Tyali to the Hottentots in the Kat River Settlement requesting them to declare what party they will join. Should they declare for the Colony an attack is meditated against them. The feeling among the Kaffers is that in going and murdering and plundering the colonists, they are only acting in the manner in which the colonists have acted towards them. They will

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find on a just comparison of the two cases that they are not parallel. We commend ourselves to the care of God for another night.

Wednesday December 31st 1834 Mr Kayser sent some more of his goods in our waggon. Maqoma sent a man to guard the waggons, so that the natives are prevented from offering violence to them. Matwa brought a note from Mr Ross in which he says, "Prayer and patient waiting seems to be our present work". The prospects at Pirrie are not brighter than at this place. J. Tshatshu and a Hottentot of Buffalo River in returning from Mr Read's, brought intelligence that the people in the Kat River Settlement for a number of days have been prepared to defend themselves against the Kaffers. They give snared accounts of the people of Chumie and say that they were fully as ready to go out to murder and plunder as the Chief was to send them.

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Asylum in Grahamstown

1st January 1835 to 30th December 1835

Thursday January 1st 1835 Mr Kayser and family arrived in safety. He has brought all his goods with him. Maqoma visited the stations, and requested me to write two letters for him. One is for the Governor and the other for Col. Smith.

Friday January 2nd 1835 About 23 people including Sutu have come with Mr Kayser. At his own station he was of late much annoyed by the Kaffers.

Saturday January 3rd 1835 Have forwarded Maqoma's letters to Chumie. They can do no good now. The Kaffer chiefs will not find it an easy matter to indemnify the colony. We heard that Shlambe's [Ndlambe's] people are now in the Colony and that Gika's are resting themselves at home. An instance of the careless character of the Kaffers has occurred in the case of Maqoma's forces which he committed to the care of a man of this station. It would have been easy to keep them with constant attention, but that could not be given to their King's horses. Have heard that the Kaffers have gone as far into the Colony as the Bushman's River. Those of them who are here are begging in a most impro[per] manner. Have seen various Kaffers with the gowns, shirts, shawls, which they have taken from the colonists.

Monday January 5th 1835 Yesterday we enjoyed the privilege of again worshipping God in peace and safety. There are about 50 adult hearers at present resident here. In the afternoon a man arrived from Tyali with a gun which he wished one of the people to repair. I particularly noticed this man because he is the first Kaffer whom I saw. He came with Mr McDiarmid to Algoa Bay to aid in bringing me to Kafferland. Since then till about a year ago he resided at Chumie when he left the worship of God and joined himself to the wild Kaffers. Of course in murdering the Colonists he sins against greater might than they. Have heard a report that it is the intention of the Kaffers to endeavour to prevent the English than coming farther than the Fish River. They consider that the Fish River is peculiarly favourable to their kind of warfare on account of the woods there.

Tuesday January 6th 1835 Yesterday heard from the missionary at Chumie. The people of that station have acted as wickedly as the other Kaffers. The military post above Chumie

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having been abandoned by the soldiers has been plundered and burnt by the Kaffers.[659] Fort Willshire has also been left and according to appearances in that direction Mr Kayser when on his journey to this station concluded that it was then burning. I heard a report yesterday that R[obert] B[alfour], Thomas Holyard and S. Cupido, inhabitants of Lovedale, went yesterday to Maqoma and sought authority from him to proceed to the Colony to take cattle from the white people. On this it was said that Maqoma sent Robert Balfour to Chumie to obtain men to go with him. Whether this be true or not the people of Chumie and those of Lovedale have been already out plundering and murdering the colonists, and though every allowance which can be made, be granted them, still their conduct will henceforth prevent the colonial government from supporting missionary stations on their frontier. It is now found that these stations are hostile to the colony as well as the most ignorant Kaffers. Neither do I see that many of them in this quarter can be allowed to remain in the Colony, should the Colony be extended for almost all have been engaged against it.

Yesterday we also were favoured with the perusal of a letter from Mr Thomson from which we learnt some of the details of the horrid deeds of the Kaffers, and of the preparation of the Colonists to drive them back. The people of the Kat River Settlement have prepared themselves for an attack but they have been little molested by the Kaffers. Mr Thomson says that he has made up his mind to lose his property. He has removed to Balfour as a more secure place than his new one. The trader's house adjoining has stood, I believe, alone in this quarter. This afternoon people began openly to take away the mats forming its roof, and to carry away articles from the inside. I am aware that secretly the valuable goods were secretly taken away, but here the protection of Sutu comes to nothing for at her very door she allows a place to be plundered which she had taken under her protection.

Wednesday January 7th 1835 We go on as usual with morning and evening worship and day school. Mr Kayser and Charles Henry have this morning been called by Maqoma and have gone to visit him. We expect to hear from Chumie by a man from this place. Mr Kayser was assured by Maqoma who accompanied him to the Great Place that Hintsa and all the chiefs had given orders that the stations and the Hottentot settlement on the Kat River are not to be molested. Maqoma seems to have sent for Mr Kayser to speak with him about the Hottentots some of whom have lost cattle by the Kaffers. He enquired who the Hottentots were that their cattle might be reserved. While at Maqoma's place 2 messengers arrived with news that Maqoma took care Mr Kayser and his two attendants would not hear them. Mr Kayser held

[659]Probably Hermanus Kraal, later Fort Brown. Robert Godlonton, *Narrative of the irruption of the Kafir hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-35* (Grahamstown: Meurant and Godlonton, 1836), 57.

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worship at Maqoma's place. He heard the report of guns in the direction of Fort Beaufort. Maqoma spoke with Charles Henry about his horses which our people lost. He has borne the loss better than I expected. Have heard that the women at Chumie are taking away from their Hottentot settlement such things as the men have left and that some people in the neighbourhood have brought cattle from Baviaan's River. This is the residence of the Pringles, who are probably murdered.

Thursday January 8th 1835 Mr Ross's situation is more uncomfortable than ours on account of its being far from any of the principle chiefs and of its being placed on a road where many strangers pass and re-pass. Have just heard from him by J[ ] W[ ] who is going to Chumie. Two men from this station went to the Kat River with Maqoma's messenger [or message]. Sutu and Matwa concur in advising that Mr Ross should come here. Matwa of his own accord offered to go and be a guard to Mr Ross should he agree to come hither.

Friday January 9th 1835 U-qilash has gone to Pirrie to find what Mr Ross's views about removing are. Kaffers are begging more that usual, but are not inclined to harass us. Heard by U-qilash that Mr Ross would come to this station.

Saturday January 10th 1835 We got two waggons started for Pirrie to aid Mr Ross in coming hither. The Lord seems to have prepared the way for his journey by so ordering matters that at this place there are men sufficient to drive and lead the waggon. At our three other stations it would not have been easy perhaps impossible to have found men for this purpose. The men there are either out or have been out at what they call the war. Matwa has given a remarkable proof of his kindness by going to protect Mr Ross hither. It is likely that the people consented so readily to go with the waggons, on account of his going to garden. More men have appeared today than since the commencement of the murders. A few of them came near the station but they were peaceable. Mr Kayser visited Maqoma. A meeting of counsel was held while Mr Kayser was there at which the grievances of the Kaffers were accounted.

Monday January 12th 1835 Yesterday Sutu and 6 Kaffer men (strangers) attended worship. This shews that they are more settled than of late. We enjoyed the utmost tranquillity in public and private. This morning is fine. Likely Mr Ross and family are on the road. About sunset Mr Ross and family arrived. They are safe after all their dangers. All of us appear to have been in greater danger than we were aware of. It was reported in the Kaffer army that Mr Ross's station [Pirie] was destroyed. Come then, said the rapacious Kaffers, let us destroy all the stations. This they would have done had not the chiefs given orders that the missionary stations were to be preserved.

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Tuesday January 13th 1835 It is well that Mr Ross came yesterday for we hear that companies of colonists are at Fort Willshire and Block Drift on the Chumie and some of the Kaffer women have begun to flee to the forest at the head of the Debe. Tyali has this morning gone to Maqoma to consult with him, and it is said that orders have been sent to the interior district that the men there should come for war to fight the colonists. The courage of the Kaffers will now begin to fail. They will not be found to face the British. They will endeavour to act by stratagem. What I conceive to be our most trying season is approaching. Heard, by a Hottentot from Mr Bennie. The men of the place were absent in the Colony. Two men have come from Hintsa calling on Gika's people to aid them against the Ficani [Mfecane] who have attacked Hintsa's place about the Bashee. Here the colonists will be helped by the natives on the other side of Kafferland. It is said that Hintsa's men intended to go to the Colonel Smith and request him to come and fight for them. When they see how the Kaffers here have acted towards the colonists, they will see that it is in vain to ask their aid. The Kaffers are now situated between 2 enemies. They will see their folly when it is too late. Have heard that when Mr Brownlee in going from this station to his own about the commencement of the attack on the white people, was set upon and struck by a party of Kaffer women. They held his horse and aimed their blows at his head, but he pushed his horse forward and got away from him. When the Kaffer men are fighting it is common for their wives to arm themselves with kirris or clubs, and to follow them or if they go too far to keep together in bands. Several shots have been heard in the direction of Fort Willshire.

Wednesday January 14th 1835 Last night was very hot. Today is uncommonly so. Sutu this morning came and asked the loan of Mr Abernethy's gun. She also told us that we might willingly lend it, as she had power to take it by force if she chose. Seeing that she spoke in this manner, and that in the night she might have used her power to take the gun after killing its owner, we judged it best to advise him to lend it. News has reached us that the white people are uprising in great numbers and that the Kaffer wives and children are ordered to flee to the forests. Sutu has this morning fled from the Great Place. Cattle have passed which indicates the fear for the natives. May we be enabled to commit ourselves to God for another night.

Thursday January 15th 1835 The air has been cooled by the fall of a little rain. Have heard that the colonists are advanced as far as the post on the Chumie mountain and that Sonti has been killed. Cattle have passed.

Friday January 16th 1835 This day was observed as a day of humiliation and prayer preparatory to the celebration of the Lord's supper. Reverend Messrs Ross and Kayser regularly assist me. Have heard from the natives that a commando of Boers has visited

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Chumie and Lovedale, and that about midday it was on the Rera [possibly Gaga River] above Lovedale. This commando as it proceeds is setting the houses of the Kaffers on fire. I am somewhat surprised at this, as it may enrage the Kaffers against the missionaries and traders, and in the meantime can be of little benefit to the colonists. The Kaffers do not attempt to oppose the Boers.

Saturday January 17th 1835 A man has been sent to Chumie and Lovedale, who, we expect will return in the evening. Dikan's people our neighbours are all removed. For fear of the colonists the Kaffers are retiring. The occurrences at Chumie and Lovedale have of late been very distressing. Col. Smith's letter to Tyali reached this station. That letter states what anyone might have anticipated, that before His Excellency [Sir Benjamin D'Urban] can listen to terms of accommodation the cattle taken from colonists must be restored, compensation made for the property taken or destroyed and the expenses of the present war paid by the Kaffers.

Sabbath January 18th 1835 The sacrament of The Lord's Supper was dispensed here this day. We enjoyed a season of outward tranquillity, for which we have special cause to be thankful in these troublous times. Have heard that Tyali, being as he thinks deceived by the Hottentots, means to attack them this day.

Monday January 19th 1835 The heat of the weather since the commencement of this month has been great. Rain falls. Matwa begins to think the Kaffers hostile to the Colony will attack him because he has not joined them. He purposes to go and consult with John Tsa-tshu as to what the Kaffers friendly to the Colony ought to do. Am desirous of hearing from our friends at Chumie and Lovedale, seeing their situation on Saturday was so dangerous.

Tuesday January 20th 1835 The missionaries at this station have made a representation of the dangerous situation of the traders and of the dangerous situation of themselves and brethren to Lieutenant Col. Smith commanding on the frontier, and have expressed a desire that he would use means to free them from their danger. They have also recommended to his care the natives who remained friendly to the Colony. Have heard from Mr B[ennie] who it would seem is more comfortably situated than on Friday last. Heard that a party of the more regardless natives were just about to attack Mount Coke, but by a chief friendly to the missionaries they were prevented from executing their wicked intentions. To the outward affliction is added affliction in my family. God will I trust make all work together for my good.

Wednesday January 21st 1835 At sunrise I heard that the missionaries at Chumie had yesterday been conducted into the Colony by a party of soldiers. About three hours after I

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heard that Mr Bennie had fled last evening. I know not the particular circumstances in which our friends deemed it necessary to move, but our situation is rendered more dangerous by their removal, as the Kaffers, even the [those] friendly to the Colony, now think that they will be punished as the guilty. Those of this place fear their own countrymen. Matwa returned from Buffalo River and brought intelligence of the perilous situation of that station of Mount Coke and of Wesleyville. No station in Kafferland seems to have enjoyed so much peace as ours. Let me thank God for this distinguishing favour, and humble myself on account of my unworthiness. Mr Bennie states that Hintsa has sent a message to Tsa-Tshu approving of his conduct in not joining with the other Kaffers in their invasion of the Colony. This message will be of much service to the natives who are friendly to the Colony, and it will weaken the hopes of those who are hostile to it.

Thursday January 22nd 1835 On the three past days numbers of people who belong to Chumie station have passed this place to seek retreat from the colonial power. These people conceive that they have rendered themselves obnoxious to that power, else they would not have thus fled. I have read it reported that it is the intention of the colonial authorities to spare even the missionary stations the inhabitants of which have been called out to invade the colony because they can see that these people have been in a manner forced to take a part in that invasion. The people at this station last night, thinking that we might be attacked, watched at the entrances into our houses. This was kind, but a large body of men would not have retired for them. So daring was some of these that they opened the fence of the cattle kraal and took off a horse which had been committed to the care of Charles Henry. I believe the missionaries in this part have had all their horses taken. So long as they only steal from us we shall not complain. A fine rain is falling. Several of the men of Chumie arrived. Two of these, E[dward] Irving and a brother of J[ohn] Burns' were not out against the colony. Of course they have no cause to fear it. The rest have been called and are going to try to hide themselves. Old Jumba has been allowed to join Mr Chalmers in the Kat River. It is most likely from what I hear that Mr Bennie is still at Lovedale.

The affliction in my house becomes somewhat lighter.

Friday January 23rd 1835 Matwa was received as a candidate for baptism. He expressed an earnest wish to join the church of Christ. He voluntarily expressed contrition for his former departure from the truth. On the whole he spoke very satisfactorily concerning his intentions fully to follow Christ. Since he last returned he has been more serious and steady than on any former occasion. His conduct during the present sifting season has [been] highly exemplary. When some who were communicants have fallen he has remained steadfast. He has not joined his brothers in invading the colony, and he has refused to admit colonial cattle to his

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kraal when brought by the plunderers. Anta, Vena and two of their men called in a friendly manner. The Great People still offer us their aid but their begging does not decrease. They were speaking of sending their wives and children here when their danger arrives. The other day Matwa gave a strong message to Sutu's servant that she ought, in obedience to the dying command of Gika, to bring Sandile to this station to learn the word of God. Some of Chumie people are here this night.

Saturday January 24th 1835 This morning is remarkably cold. I have observed before how sudden the transitions from cold to heat or from heat to cold are in this country. One of those colonial oxen was brought to Matwa as a present. We happened to see it arrive, and fearing that some men might persuade him to accept of it, we advised him to return it to those who had sent it. This he readily did. Have some information from E[dward] Irving respecting the state of matters at Chumie when Mr Chalmers fled from it. Tyali sent for all the men belonging to the station except Jumba. They were unwilling to leave Mr Chalmers alone; at least, they say they were, and sent one of their number to Tyali to tell him that they would not all leave him. In the same night in which their messenger was at T[yali's], Mr C[halmers] and Mr W[eir] sent to the Kat River settlement and procured a body of men to take themselves and families thither. It would seem to me that the missionaries at Chumie considered the removing of the males capable of service to be the presage of an attack. Tyali's answer to the remonstrance made to him was that 10 men, all or almost all of whom are communicants, should abide by Mr Chalmers.

Sabbath January 25th 1835 We have entered on another Sabbath in peace and have been permitted to hold our morning worship without molestation. After breakfast heard that Anta and some others in power had given counsel that this station could be *destroyed* but that Sutu, *with tears*, opposed their counsel. God will shew us the result of these counsels. The congregation here is larger than usual. 2 men from Pirrie have arrived. Near this place they took Mr Bennie's 2 horses from 2 Kaffers who stole them at Lovedale. Cattle at this station are daily taken by thieves or robbers. What is edible in the garden is also stolen. In a short time the people here will be without the means of subsistence, unless the hostile natives alter their proceedings. The 3 traders here are now greatly alarmed and look on their condition as nearly hopeless. We see no aid about to come from the colony, and we know not why it is so long in coming.

Evening. We have been permitted to hold our four meetings in the utmost peace. Met with Matwa and Notopa, 2 candidates for baptism and examined them in the doctrines of Christianity. They gave satisfactory answers to the questions put to them.

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Monday January 26th 1835 While we were considering our dangerous situation last night, an individual proposed to go to some of the Great People, and endeavour to ascertain the extent of our danger. In the evening a thief attempted to take away Mr B[ennie]'s horses. All our property out of doors the Kaffers seem determined to take from us. The Kaffer women are returning from the frontier.

Thursday February 5th 1835, Graham's Town. The answer of Sutu to the messenger mentioned above was favourable. She declared that she was still determined to do what she could to protect us. Soon after we had received her answer, a body of horse and foot commanded by Major Cox arrived from the Colony to free us from our perilous situation. This escort was sent by the Hon. Col. Smith, C.B., at that time acting for His Excellency the Governor. The same evening we began to prepare for our departure, but the night and following morning proved very wet and we could not set off so early as was intended. We however set off about 9 o'clock but we travelled with difficulty because our oxen were in bad condition, but more especially on account of the softness of the road. In the afternoon the rain fell heavily, and we were obliged to encamp on the road about halfway to Lovedale. During the first part of the next day we proceeded very slowly, and some of us were obliged to divest ourselves of part of our most valuable property to render the waggons light. We reached Lovedale and were joined by Mr and Mrs B[ennie] with whom a guard had been left when Major [William] Cox passed him on the Monday. This night we encamped at Block Drift on the banks of the Chumie river. Next morning, Thursday, Major Cox left us and we were conducted by Captain Boyce to Fort Beaufort. Here we met with the utmost kindness from Major Burney. Being called to Grahamstown, by the prompt arrangements of Major Burney we set out on Friday for that place. Sometime after sunset we reached the Fish River but it was so swelled by the rains that we could not cross it. We encamped on its banks during Friday night. Early on Saturday morning we proceeded 12 miles higher up the stream to a ford opposite Her[manus] K[raal] where the river can be easily crossed. It was amazing to see with what rapidity the water of the river fell. Next day Sabbath we judged it fordable and began to cross it about two o'clock. We got all safely over, though the waggon in which I rode, and other waggons, were considerably endangered. All we did this day was to cross the river. Next morning we left Herman[u]s Kraal and reached Graham's Town about 2 o'clock. From beginning to end, this was a trying journey in various respects, but more particularly on account of our child who seemed so low that he would not recover. Soon after our arrival in Graham's Town we were introduced to the active and indefatigable Col. Smith who was highly gratified at our deliverance and happy to see us all safe. He shewed much solicitude for our comfort and unasked made various arrangements for us by which our comfort would be promoted.

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Next day he said he would introduce us to His Excellency. This at the time appointed he was so good as to do. We found His Excellency extremely affable and obliging. One instance of his humanity appeared in his readiness to grant protection to the people of our station who had been permitted to remain at Fort Beaufort until His Excellency's pleasure con[cerning] them should be known. Matwa and his brother had been well received by His Excellency. There now seemed no doubt that if Kafferland should be divided how particular districts should be attached to such as had been friendly to the Colony where they should become British subjects and enjoy the privilege of attending on the gospels.

Thus I bring my journal to this date February 5th 1835. The whole of our number is here except Mr Weir. We have appointed Mr Ross to acquaint the directors with our present conditions. We shall yet consult as to what ought to be our future proceedings. Have heard that the fine buildings of Mount Coke have been burnt after they were left by the missionaries. More at Mr Kayser's were burnt also soon after he left them.

Friday February 6th 1835 We have obtained an order in favour of Charles Henry and the people who came with us to Fort Beaufort. It now seems that the Kaffers have been incited to attack the Colony by the hope that the Hottentots would join them, and that the Hottentots had given them reason to entertain that hope.

Monday February 9th 1835 Had an interview with His Excellency regarding Matwa and his brother. He is extremely kind to these Kaffer chiefs. He wishes them to be with a missionary and says that he will pay their expenses.

Tuesday February 10th 1835 Matwa and Uqilashe came to reside at Mr Robson's that they may be under the eye of the missionaries. This arrangement is at the recommendation of His Excellency.

Saturday February 14th 1835 It appears that the Kaffers fulfilled their resolution to lodge themselves in the woody ravines of the Fish River. Yesterday intelligence reached town that Col. Smith had attacked them in the bush, and put them to the rout. They left upwards of 70 dead on the ground. Of the British, 5 were killed and 8 wounded. The enemy lost upwards of 2,000 head of cattle. Thus the Kaffers have been beat in what they considered to be their strongest hold. Transcribed.

Tuesday February 17th 1835 Having time to reflect on the late dispensations of God's providence I am led to bless Him for his care over His servants in the horn of danger, and for his gracious deliverance of them out of their troubles.

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Wednesday February 18th 1835 Held a meeting of Presbytery and spent the time of the meeting in prayer. Addressed the meeting because Messrs C[halmers] and M[onro] were all out.

Note: February 26th 1835 Mr Brownlee states that J. Tshatshu is quite cold in reference to religion, and unfit to be a native assistant. They presented some of the stolen flesh to John Tshatshu and the Hottentots, but, greatly to their credit, they would not partake of it. By a note which they brought we hear that Kaffers have killed, or rather murdered, a considerable number of white people. Tyali says that in all this the Kaffers are out seeking satisfaction for the insult offered to the son of Gaika whom the soldiers wounded, and that he is only acting like Col. Smith when he sought satisfaction for Ensign Sparks.

Tuesday March 3rd 1835 Graham's Town. Of late I have been so engaged that several things of some moment have been omitted in my journal. It has been already mentioned that the people who resided at Burnshill had been allowed to remain at Fort Beaufort where by the directions of His Excellency the Governor they were provided with provisions. On some ground not very clear to me, it is considered that it is inconvenient to keep these people at an outpost and they have been removed to Graham's Town. His Excellency recommended that I should take them under my operational care, and that (according to my wish) I should consult with my brethren on the subject. Having obtained the sanction of the Presbytery as to this matter, I was referred by His Excellency to Cap[tain] Cam[pbell] Civil Commissioner for information respecting locations around Graham's Town and for advice as to a proper place for these people to settle in. I have seen the place which Cap[tain] Campbell pointed out and consider it to be as suitable a place as we shall obtain in the vicinity of Graham's Town. As there was a house near to this place, said to be uninhabited, I thought I might endeavour to obtain it for a short time. Captain Campbell said he would see the owner and ascertain whether or not the house could be got for me. Some of the Chumie people sent in as prisoners were attached to those who came from Burnshill, nothing material having been found against them. That no injury might befall the men, Captain Campbell as Civil Commissioner furnished each of them with a pass. There are 24 men. On Sabbath morning I began worship with them. Mr Ross and Mr Chalmers preached to them on the same day. Thus by the kindness of His Excellency under God, they are again supplied with the gospel after having deprived little more than a month.

Saturday March 7th 1835 In the course of this week I took out the people to the place recommended by the Civil Commissioner, and found it very suitable. I have visited them daily, and addressed them in spiritual thins since. This week the congregation of St Andrew's

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Church, Cape Town sent us a donation of £19 for the purpose of aiding us in our particular difficulties. I have not as yet succeeded in obtaining the house which I thought of obtaining.

Monday March 9th 1835 Yesterday we heard that the Kaffers had again entered the Fish River bush, and had killed 11 men of a party stationed at one of the fords. Yesterday I preached 3 times to my people. They are distant about 2 miles and a half from my present residence.

Saturday March 14th 1835 During the past week I have walked out every day to the Kaffers and Fingoes attached to the Glasgow mission, at the place assigned for them by Government at Fynn's Kloof. By the goodness of God I have experienced no inconveniences from walking out and homeward in the great heat. I have seen among the above mentioned people some indication of the old covetous spirit. Grace must be strong for this spirit be eradicated. Matwa and his relatives remain near my residence on the outside of the town. About 6 of the people have obtained places as servants. By this arrangement the number who receive rations from Government is lessened. Should a war at any future period break out and should natives give themselves up to the Government for protection as these have done, I hope there will be found a protector for them who will imitate the conduct of our worthy Governor. In the course of the week the events of the war have been such as to teach the colonists that they ought to trust in God for aid in their warfare. Though the Kaffers have in general been repulsed, yet in one instance they gained an advantage over a party of colonists. We have heard more concerning the kind intentions of our friends in Cape Town towards us.

Monday March 16th 1835 Yesterday I baptised two children of two Kaffer communicants. One of these belongs to Charles Henry the other to Vimbe. Examined Matwa as a candidate for baptism. His conduct is unexceptional but from want of a regular supply of the Word he seems not quite so clear in his answers as formerly.

Tuesday March 17th 1835 Last night we were called on to watch for the departure of our child out of this world of sin and misery. He lay all night without moving hand or foot, but moaned much and breathed with apparent difficulty. He died 9 o'clock this morning. For some time before he died, his moaning ceased, and he breathed gently. This was so much the case that we could not tell the exact moment when his spirit departed. He was aged 2 years 5 months and 7 days.[660] I trust he is one of those little children of whom is the Kingdom of heaven. His disease was water in the head, but some of the symptoms of his disease did not

[660]Robert Laing, born 9 October 1832, died 17 March 1835.

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appear to me to answer to those which Graham mentions as the symptoms of it.[661] Thus I am called to sing of judgement as well as of mercy.

Saturday March 21st 1835 We are in Graham's Town. The force of the colony will soon be directed against the Kaffers. I hope the chastisement which they receive will lead them to seek mercy from God. The state of feeling in this colony is lamentable. There ought to be more moderation on both sides.

Monday March 30th 1835 Various of the Kaffers and Fingoes under my care have engaged for a short time as servants. In this capacity [they] are enabled to earn something for their own support. His Excellency went out towards Kafferland on Thursday last. The war will now be carried into that country. Matwa, Tente and Cabos Cingo are to be sent to Uitenhage, that they may not have it in their power to communicate with the Kaffers. There is not in my view the smallest danger that they would have communicated with them. Last week Mr C[halmers] in a letter from Col. Smith was informed that Lovedale had been burnt. In the same week a Wesleyan Missionary meeting was held here at which Mr Boyce made an interesting speech shewing that the missionaries in Kaff[erland] had been true friends to the Colony.

Tuesday March 31st 1835 Mrs Laing was this morning delivered of a son.[662]

Saturday April 4th 1835 Our friends in Cape Town have this week sent £20 to aid the Glasgow Mission on account of its losses by the Kaffer irruption. I have visited the Kaffers during the week and preached to them. A few weeks will probably shew what will be done with the Kaffers.

Saturday April 11th 1835 Have visited and instructed the people during the week. The Colonial forces are now acting vigorously in Kafferland. Have heard that Chumie and Burnshill are not burnt. Large herds of cattle have now [been] taken from the Kaffers, but many of those which they took from the Colony are removed into Hintza's country. Matwa and his family have this day removed to a place near the Civil Commissioner's office.

Monday April 20th 1835 Last week I visited the people at Fynn's Kloof. On Saturday two women who had been sent from the Kat River under sus[picious] circumstances without the knowledge of the other natives left Graham's Town for Kafferland. They have I believe gone

[661] Laing's description of "water in the head" probably means Robert Laing was hydrocephalic.

[662] John Drummond Laing.

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to visit one of their children who resides at the Missionary Station of Chumie; but I am sorry that they have gone away at this time, seeing they were so well treated by Government.

Wednesday May 13th 1835 This day have removed from Mr Robson's house to that of Dr Campbell junior. Our removal to the house of the latter is somewhat remarkable as an instance of great kindness on the part of one who is very humane, though without the profession of religion. There are many professors in this town who might have been expected to shew a greater desire to render the missionaries comfortable than they have done. They have scarcely been neighbours to the missionaries in their distress. But here is an individual who in comparison of them may be called a Samaritan but who has acted the part of a good Samaritan. See Luke 10.25-37.

It has pleased God to afflict me of late. About 19 days ago I was seized with a fever which at present is common in this town. For a few days I suffered considerably from pain in the forehead. It pleased God to bless the means used for my recovery. Mrs Laing was also seized with the fever, but she suffered less from it than I did. In this we are called on to admire the kindness of God, for her health is in general so bad that severe disease added to what is already upon her must greatly reduce her strength. We who were delivered from the hands of the Kaffers have been laid low by sickness and reminded of our mortality. Doubtless our H[oly] F[ather] has wise and holy purposes to answer by our afflictions. May we listen to his voice and be more obedient to him than ever we have as yet been. Special grace is needed to enable those who have been afflicted to profit by their afflictions.

Messrs Ross and Chalmers have attended to the spiritual wants of the Kaffers who for the present are under my care, but whom for some time I have been unable to visit.

Friday May 15th 1835 Am recovering strength slowly. By the kindness of our host, we are well supplied with temporal comforts and as far as they can tend to restore us to health we are likely to gain strength. When we enjoy the proper means by which health is to be promoted we must be thankful to the giver of all good, and look to him to render these means efficacious. We can receive neither temporal nor spiritual benefit without God.

Saturday May 16th 1835 His Excellency is now expected from Kafferland. He leaves Col. Smith behind to continue the war until the demands of Hintza be satisfied. He has freed 15,000 Fingoes from the bondage in which they were held by the Kaffers. This reflects the greatest honour on him. Here is a great good resulting from a great evil.

Sabbath May 24th 1835 Visited the people at Fynn's Kloof. For the first time since I [was] seized with the prevailing fever on the 24th *ult*. Though able to walk to them I found that I

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had no more strength than was necessary for what I had to do. Found the people very ready to come and hear the gospel. Spoke to them on the conversion of St Paul.

Friday May 29th 1835 Some time ago His Excellency then issued a proclamation that all the Kaffers unto the hostile chiefs where to be expelled from their former possessions and killed if found in them. About the same time, Hintza who was a prisoner in the British army, in attempting to make his escape was killed. Since these events occurred the Kaffers have become more daring in their attacks on the white people, and have in some directions approached almost to Graham's Town. God continues to punish this country for its sins, and the signs of its repentance by no means apparent. People continue to go out alone, or in very small parties, and fall an easy prey to the Kaffers. The whole of the country between the Keiskamma and Kat has been added to the colony under the name of the Province of [Queen] Adelaide. The missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society in Graham's Town have sent a petition to His Excellency the Governor praying for land in the new province for the friendly natives, and for such of them as may be pardoned for their crime in this war against the Colony. Buhu, brother of Hintza, has been brought to Graham's Town as a hostage. Various officers whom I have seen speak in the highest terms of the efficiency of the Hottentots in the present war. They ought to be rewarded for their services by land in the newly con[stituted] province.

Sabbath May 31st 1835 Visited the people at Fynn's Kloof and preached twice to them. They were very attentive to what was addressed to them. How happy would they be would they, in truth, receive the Word of the Living God. Happy would the Kaffer nation have been had they received the glorious gospel of the Blessed God. Had they done so they might now have been remaining in peace at their own kraals, instead of being obliged to hide themselves in the caves and forests of their country. (This colony is not educated as it ought to be and never will it cease to trample upon those who have the misfortune to possess black skins, until be educated). The dispersed condition of the population is much against their improvement in religious knowledge. Yet if they are to become powerful, wise, and happy, they must keep together and not fly off from the centre of the country.

Monday June 1st 1835 It has been determined by His Excellency the Governor that a town shall be built at Buffalo River, Mr Brownlee's station.[663] This town will be situated in the Territory of the Tsha-tshus, with whom arrangements ought to be made as to other land for their people, seeing they are allies to the Colony.

[663]King William's Town.

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In the official documents of the Commander in Chief the Kaffers are almost always denounced [as] savages. I disapprove of this word as applied to any race of men. But though it might be applicable to some of the lowest and most cruel of mankind, the Kaffers would scarcely be rightly described by it. The extermination of the Kaffers will be regarded with the less abhorrence in consequence of this bad name given to them. Care must be taken to shew them in their true light.

Friday June 5th 1835 The feeling in this town against the black and yellow people is bad indeed. Surely people so much under the influence of prejudice are unfit for the enjoyment of that power which they seek. Religion will change them, and cause them to do good to their enemies.

Have heard that Sutu is now at Fort Willshire waiting for the return of the Governor from Kafferland. Have heard that Matwa's people are desirous of again joining him and unwilling to attach themselves to Maqoma.

Monday June 8th 1835 On Saturday I attended a meeting of some of the principal involvements of Graham's Town—held for the purpose of supporting His Excellency the Governor in his measures regarding the Kaffers. Some of the resolutions were such that I could approve of them. Of others I could neither approve nor disapprove. But without any explanation I held up my hand against one of them, and this might be supposed to disapprove of the whole of it. This was not the case. I was in favour of the extension of the Colony, provided it were appropriate to the use of the native people i.e. Hottentots, Kaffers and Fingoes. But I disapproved of that part of the resolution which I understood to call for indiscriminate and complete extermination, or at least which made no provision for the friendly Kaffers, and of such as may be received as Colonial subjects on a proper submission to His Excellency. (On seeing the resolution in the newspaper, I am of the same opinion concerning it. June 13th).

The women who came with us from Kafferland have been in the habit of gathering fuel, and selling it in town. They received money for this fuel with which they bought articles of clothing, or additional food.

Chief branches of the Kaffer royal family:

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		Palo[664]		
Hlambe[665]	Ha-ha-be[666]	Ga-le-ka[667]		Langa[668]
Nyalousa[669]	Läu[670]	Rauta[671]		Eno[672]
Seku[673]	Gika[674]	Hintza[675]		Stoke[676]
Hla-Hla[677]	Sandile[678]	Sihili[679]		
Gcibe[680]	Tsu-sa[681]		Kapai[682]	

[664]Phalo (d.1775) son of Tshiwo. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 48.

[665]Ndlambe (d.1828). Peires lists him as a son of Rharhabe not as a son of Phalo as Laing implies here. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 83.

[666]Rharhabe (d.1782) son of Phalo. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 83.

[667]Gcaleka (d.1778) son of Phalo. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 48.

[668]Langa (d 1793) son of Phalo. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 48.

[669]Mnyaluza (d.1838) son of Rharhabe. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 49.

[670]Mlawu (d.1782) son of Rharhabe. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 49.

[671]Khawuta, son of Gcaleka. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 48.

[672]Nqeno (d.1846) son of Langa. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 48.

[673]Seku not identified by Peires.

[674]Ngqika (1778-1829) grandson of Rharhabe. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 49.

[675]Hintsa (1789-1835) son of Khawuta. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 48.

[676]Stokwe, son of Nqeno. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 48.

[677]Hlahla (fl. 1780-1830). Peires cites him as the son of Rharhabe not the son of Seku as Laing implies here. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 49.

[678]Sandile (1820-1879) son of Ngqika. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 49.

[679]Sarhili (1809-1892) son of Hintsa. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 48.

[680]Possibly Cebo, son of Rharhabe. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 49.

[681]Ntsusa, daughter of Rharhabe. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 49.

[682]Ncaphayi, son of Hintsa. Peires, *House of Phalo,* page 48.

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Maswi[683] and Nukwa[684] Buku[685]

Saturday June 13th 1835 Last night His Excellency the Governor returned from the country. Few, perhaps none of the Governors of this Colony have ever been at such pains to bring a war to a proper termination as he has been. It is his personal labour in this campaign must have been great. But he seems to have adopted some erroneous views as to the character of the Kaffers and as to the manner in which they ought to be treated is not to be wondered at seeing, that he had to do with a deceiver like Hintza. I pray that God may use the Governor as an instrument of bringing many of the poor natives under the gospel.

Sabbath June 14th 1835 Preached in the forenoon to the people at Fynn's Kloof. Preached in the afternoon to some Hottentots who are temporarily situated near the churchyard. Though much has been done for the Hottentots, they are still ignorant. (But they cannot learn much from the colonists, most of whom take no pains to teach them). They will dwindle away to nothing unless they are protected and educated.

Monday June 15th 1835 There is much surmise in this place as to the consequences of the Kaffer war. These will be what God intends them to be. The hearts of all men in this business are in the hands of God and he will turn them whither so ever he will. The poor Kaffers now hiding themselves in the rocks and forests have been directed to the true God as the deliverer from temporal and eternal misery. If they now confess their sins to Him, they will find mercy in this the day of their distress.

Wednesday June 17th 1835 This day we, the following missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society John Ross, James Laing, Alexander McDiarmid, James Weir, waited on His Excellency the Governor to congratulate him on his safe return from the Kaffer war, and to take the opportunity of enquiring how far he might be inclined to grant the prayer of our petition. He stated that he was much pleased with the country, and that he considered it one of the most beautiful which he had beheld. But he spoke I conceive too hastily of its inhabitants. He several times called them wolves. It was not our object to enter into controversy with him, but some of us said a few things to shew the character of the Kaffers in a more just point of view than that in which it appeared to him. We learnt from him that all who have been engaged in the war were to be expelled from the newly constituted territory and that such people were already returning from it in great numbers. He seems to think that

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[683]Maswi, not identified.

[684]Nukwa (d.1856) son of Rharhabe. Peires, *House of Phalo,* 49.

[685]Bhurhu (1785-1857). Peires lists him as Khawuta's Right Hand Son. Peires, *House of Phalo,* 48.

there must be an unqualified expulsion of the hostile Kaffers. In this I think he errs, and I believe that by this measure he will injure his character in the eyes of the civilized world. He spoke well of the Hottentots, and praised them both as *men* and soldiers. He spoke in condemnatory terms of almost all Kaffers. We said to him that he had seen a bad specimen of them in Hintza, and regretted that he had not seen Maqoma and Botuman concerning whom or which we believe he would have formed neither judgement. He was kind and affable in his manner as he usually is. When we were about to return we judged it proper to mention our petition and to enquire if he had thought of it. He here said that he was happy to find that his views when he received it, were much the same as ours, and that provision would be made for all the friendly Kaffers. He observed further that Sutu and Matwa would not only v[ ] receive land but that such of their followers as they might recommend would be allowed to settle with them. When we heard this we did not deem it proper to ask if in return he would, to the full extent of our wishes, grant the prayer of our petition. From the nature of his remarks we concluded that some of these friendly Kaffers might soon be placed under the care of some of us at Burnshill and Chumie. While he was speaking in praise of the Hottentots as soldiers, we observed that it was wonderful to find them fighting so well, seeing they had so little to fight for, but that, wonderful though it was, all the officers under whom they had served, from the period when Sir J. Craig first formed them into a corps, till the present time have spoken of them in the same commendatory terms as himself. He seemed aware that they had but little to fight for but mentioned the Kat River settlement district as having been given to them.

Wednesday June 24th 1835 Extracts from the *Quarterly Paper* of the Glasgow Missionary Society no. 14.:

1. "That a few weeks ago, the neighbourhood of the institution was thrown into a state of confusion, false report, which they had learned had originated at the military post that the chief Tyali was about to attack the Colony. First news of the report which the Kaffers received, was, when they, were surprised, beheld the parties of armed men from the Kat River espying their country." The above is signed by Messrs Chalmers and Weir.

2. "There a missionary could prosecute his pious labours far from the din of commandos and patrols; which is not the case with our stations, situated more immediately on the frontier's line".

By the accounts published in the last number of the *Graham's Town Journal* the Kaffers have been quickly driven from the new province.

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Friday June 26th 1835 Yesterday Matwa called and gave me an account of his interview with the Governor on the day proceeding. His Excellency promised Matwa land on the Chumie, for the accommodation of his people, told him that they must submit to British law, and keep from their cruel heathen practices. Matwa was charged with the guardianship of Sandile, the young king, until he should attain to manhood. He received liberty to recommend as residents such of his men who would peaceably live in the Colony, and avail themselves of the protection which British law would accord them. Matwa was highly satisfied with the kindness which His Excellency the Governor shewed to him, and felt grateful for the arrangements made on his behalf.

8 days ago we received the 14th *Quarterly Paper* with a written note appended to it by Mr Struthers, of date 20th March '35. The news of the Kaffers' irruption had reached England about March.

Monday June 29th 1835 Yesterday I preached to the remnant of our mission, at their residence and found them attentive.

Tuesday July 7th 1835 From accounts received from the seat of war we learn that small parties of Kaffers are still met with in the new province. In pursuing and driving them out of the country upwards of 30 of them have been killed in the course of the last week. In the official accounts it is stated that the Kaffers are dreadfully enraged at the loss of their goats. The reason is stated at the same time why they are thus exasperated. Their cattle being taken, their corn being destroyed, their support is derived from their goats. These animals are particularly necessary for the sustenance of their young children, and, I am sorry that they are not allowed to reclaim them that they may not be absolutely starved. The goats can be of little service to the colonists in the way of making up their losses. We lately informed the Governor that we desire to return to our stations, and requested he sanction our return to them. He stated that he did not consider that it would be safe for us to return in the still unsettled state of the country but, that, being about to visit the district near our stations, he would give us a more definite answer when he should return to Graham's Town. Therefore we do not know whether or not we should make any preparations for our future missionary work. I hear that very few of the natives will be allowed to remain in their old possessions, if the wishes of the colonists are to be attended to.

Saturday July 11th 1835 The state of the Kaffers is now deplorable. On the other side of the Kei they are looked upon as responsible for the death of Hintsa, and are therefore liable to be killed deprived of any little property they may rescue from the war. While they remain in the new province they will be treated as enemies, that is they will be shot. Thus they are placed between two fires. I believe the Governor is inclined to shew mercy to a greater extent than

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the people of Albany approve of. But I also believe that His Excellency leans too much to the opinions of these people. Let him discharge his duty to God, and then he cannot forget his duty to man, and let him bear in mind that he has not satisfied the King and his country though he might have satisfied the people of this part of the Colony. Would he make peace with both beaten Kaffers, and allow them to remain in their former country and place them under British law, I am persuaded he would lay the foundation of peace and prosperity to this frontier. Our soldiers are destroying all the corn they find belonging to the Kaffers taking the goats which are the only support of their young children, and any cattle which they still possess. Their cattle are of some service to this Colony, but their goats are of very little, and want of them must occasion the death of their children. Before destroying their corn they might have allowed the Kaffer women time to take it to the country to which they were forced to retire.

Monday July 13th 1835 Yesterday in the forenoon preached to the Kaffers and Fingoes at Fynn's Kloof, and in the afternoon to the Hottentots at the churchyard.

By the accounts received this week from the seat of war, it appears that the Kaffers are resolved on remaining to the utmost in the former country. They are constantly being killed in small numbers. They seem to be reduced to desperation, and to make resistance only when their last means of support are taken from them. From the proclamation of the Governor the expulsion of the whole Kaffer tribe engaged in the war is to be affected!!! but it seems to me that he will be obliged to change this harsh and unjust measure, because the natives can find no asylum in the country of Hintsa. His Excellency would do well to call in the aid of the missionaries who would I have no doubt be instrumental in procuring peace, and in putting an end to [the] present awful system of extermination.

Monday July 20th 1835 Yesterday I preached first to the Kaffers next to the Hottentots, then to some soldiers at the barracks. There is much preaching in this town but too little practicing. According to accounts which seem quite credible, a white man yesterday took away 10 head of cattle from our Kaffers, when a boy was herding them.

Friday July 24th 1835 No week during the war was more fatal to us than the last. Lieut. Baillie and a party of 30 men have been all killed. Fort Wellington has been attacked and the cattle and horses belonging to it have been taken by the enemy. In addition to the Hottentots killed with Lieut. Baillie about 20 others have been killed. It is a pity that no accommodation has been come to with the Kaffer chiefs. They are now rendered desperate and are obliged to fight in order to obtain what will keep themselves from absolute starvation. From what is taking place the war will be attractive for some time. Such is the situation of this colony that

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numbers of its inhabitants will be killed so long as we are at war with the Kaffers. No power which we possess can prevent this.

Monday July 27th 1835 Yesterday I preached to the Kaffers and Hottentots. Shewed them that God's hand is still stretched out to punish us and that we are still specially called on to humble ourselves before him and to repent of our sins.

Saturday August 1st 1835 I saw a poor old Kaffer trader who narrowly escaped with his life at the outbreaking of the irruption. On the morning of Tuesday the [ ] of December he was seized, his hands were bound, and a riem put round his neck. In this situation he expected nothing but death, but a Kaffer friendly to him, the son of a petty chief, took compassion on him, loosed his bonds, gave him some food, and afforded him an opportunity of escaping. The name of this trader is William Marks. He is a living instance that the Kaffers did not "murder every male, however defenceless, who fell into their hands". The Rev. Mr Nesbitt, one of the missionaries of the Scottish Missionary Society, arrived this week in Graham's Town. He has found ignorance very prevalent among the most of the people whom he has visited on his journey.[686] I am now sorry for the Governor whose treatment of the Kaffers will lead to his condemnation, unless he speedily retraces his steps. I wish well to his person and government and would not like to seem him laying himself open to censure. Some of my brethren could help him to conduct an honourable peace with the Kaffers if he would avail himself of their aid.

Monday August 3rd 1835 Yesterday I preached to the Kaffers, Hottentots, and a few soldiers of the 75th Regiment. Buhu [Bhurhu], a brother of Hintza, who has been kept in the prison here since the chief was killed was set at liberty on Friday last. It is said that during his confinement his beard has become gray with grief. The release of Buhu will shew the Kaffers that no intention has been entered on the part of the Colonial Government of putting a period to his existence. When they recollect what befell Hintza they would entertain suspicion that Buhu might also lose life. Mr Nesbitt of the Scottish Missionary Society visited the remains of our Kaffer mission, that is some people who formerly resided at our missionary station. I am persuaded that from what he heard from them he will be unwilling to allow that the Kaffers are irredeemable. I understand that the single individual is about to present a petition to His Excellency the Governor praying for permission to proceed to Makoma to know on what terms he would make peace with the Colony.

[686] As it has not been possible to trace the Reverend Mr Nesbitt locally, it is likely that he was visiting the Cape from Scotland.

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Tuesday August 4th 1835 It appears by the last *Graham's Town Journal* that a party of the Fingoes are to be situated on the Chumie. In the journal of June 16th it will be seen that His Excellency promised Matwa land for his people on the same river. There seems to me to be some reason to fear that Matwa is going to be overlooked though he be the principal chief, excepting Sandile, in amity with the Colony on this side of the Kei.

Wednesday August 5th 1835 Yesterday Mr Chalmers received an answer to our petition from His Excellency the Governor to the following purport: that still nothing could be effectively done in the way of missions in our former field of labour, but that as soon as the way for our reoccupation of that field was prepared, he would inform us.

Yesterday about two o'clock I received a note from the Civil Commissioner Capt. Campbell requesting me to wait on "him at his lodging with as little delay as circumstances would admit". Not conceiving that this notice called for my attendance at the very moment, I returned for an answer that in the course of an hour I would wait on him. Before the expiration of the hour I arrived at his house, and found that his servant was a second time coming off for me with a note calling on me to come to him immediately. The servant on the outside of the door put the second note into my hand, and entering the house, announced my arrival to his master. I then heard a voice loud and to a very considerable degree incensed bidding him bring me into the room where the Civil Commissioner was. I now found to my utter astonishment that he meant by the first note that I should come to him immediately, as the Governor had sent him directions to examine me relative to a change of place which had been made with regard to a few of the Kaffers and Fingoes under my spiritual care. I mentioned that I did not conceive that the note called for my immediate attendance, otherwise I should have come. But the Civil Commissioner insisted in a tone and in language of a somewhat angry description that he could not have called me more immediately than he had done, without being guilty of rudeness. He mentioned that his calling me by a note was to be considered a matter of courtesy, and that it was from a desire to be respectful to me that he had not had recourse to the constables. He then proceeded to put into my a hands a copy of the instructions which he had received from His Excellency the Governor directing him to call and examine me regarding the removal of the Kaffers. The instructions, said he, required his immediate attention, and His Excellency was waiting for a deliverance upon them which he wished to obtain with as little delay as possible. The instructions stated that the Kaffers who resided on Mr Lucas's farm were only accused of stealing cattle. They could do no more. A part of their case had undergone investigation, but for any thing that appeared the accusation against them might be altogether false. It is wonderful that a Governor, and the Governor of this Colony, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the good Sir Benjamin, should have left his great and pressing question of peace or war and here spurred the Civil Commissioner to

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seize and interrogate a missionary about the supposed theft which had not been and was not likely to be proved. It would seem that he has little important business to transact, when such extraordinary stress was laid on a matter of so small moment.

The Civil Commissioner had a list of questions prepared to be put to me. I readily and willingly gave full answers to them. One of them I was not able to answer in such a manner as to free myself from a share in the blame which was to be attached to the deed of taking the cattle of those poor natives to a place where they would be kept from starvation. I could not say that I had received permission to remove them to Lucas's farm, though I stated that I was impressed that his permission so to do had been asked and obtained.

Since said examination I have found 3 passes written by the Civil Commissioner himself allowing the requisite number of natives to proceed to graze their cattle on the above premises. Another question in the list which he had made out seemed to bear somewhat severely against me. It refers to the refusal on his part to allow the Kaffers to go in order to keep their cattle alive to the farm of Ensign Campbell, because their conduct, I now take the Civil Commissioner's words "being at present under legal investigation, it would be inconvenient to permit them to remove to a distance until it be completed?". I shall here be freed from all ground of blame if it be only duly considered that those whose conduct was under legal investigation were only specially required in Graham's Town while for proper reasons the others might be allowed without inconvenience to go to a place in which they could at once obtain benefits to themselves and be serviceable to others.

The Civil Commissioner would send my answers to the Governor and these answers were only made to such questions as he chose to propose, I am aware that to some extent I may seem to suffer by them. But *D.V.* I shall make such statements as to the causes of the removal of these natives, as will shew that so far from being blameworthy, I only did what I could not without a dereliction of duty have avoided in doing what in me lay to perceive a place for them capable of affording pasturage for their cattle.

Thursday August 6th 1835 Matwa gave a very interesting account of an interview which he had with His Excellency the Governor about 6 weeks ago. So minutely does he relate the conversation which took place between His Excellency and himself, and so important was the conversation in itself that it ought all to be taken down in writing.

Friday August 7th 1835 Yesterday about sunset Mr M'Diarmid, Mr Weir and myself called on Matwa and conversed a few minutes with him. On leaving and on coming from the door of the guard room a few yards from his present residence, we were taken prisoner and put under arrest by a sergeant of the Graham's Town Volunteers who was very much under the

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influence of strong drink. This did not seem whether to let us go or to detain us, but as he had arrested us, we refused to go out the guard room until we should be liberated by a superior officer. He then in strong language said we should not be allowed to depart until the morning. We stated to him that he had erred in not *preventing* our ingress to Matwa, and that had he stated to us that he was ordered to prevent people from visiting the Kaffer chief at that hour we should not have endeavoured to obtain our entrance. Here he was altogether without excuse and on his own grounds, he had neglected his duty. We remained in durance upwards of an hour, but it [ ] just to state that none of the men in the guard room of whom there was a considerable number seemed to approve of the conduct of this foolish sergeant. He had the command at the time, or we should not have detained by the others. They were civil and he alone shewed that feeling against the missionaries for which people in the colonies are so remarkable. After we had been thus forcibly detained during the time specified, we were set at liberty by a superior officer who came to see if his men were attending to their duty. Before coming out we stated to this officer that we had been improperly treat[ed] by the sergeant who had arrested us.

Today I received from the Civil Commissioner a copy of certain questions which he put to me regarding the removal of the Kaffers and Fingoes under my care from Fynn's Kloof, and of my answers to them. I received also a letter from him in which he states that he could not furnish me with a copy of my letter to him asking permission to take the Kaffers and Fingoes to Dr Campbell's farm because said letter had been mislaid or destroyed. In this letter he further states that he never gave [me] permission for the removal of these people to Mr Lucas's farm near the Cowie Bush.

This is indeed wonderful, and it is even lamentable, for I have no fewer than three documents in his own hand writing permitting the Kaffers and Fingoes to graze their cattle in the above place. Sorry was I to find that he quibbled about the term instructions which I applied to the document which he received from His Excellency and which led him to call and examine me as formerly related. I stated to him in my reply that I did not care by what name that document was called, but as I considered that my character might suffer in the present state of my case as it refers to the Kaffers and Fingoes, I would persist in seeking a copy of His Excellency's document. The Civil Commissioner's servant waited for an answer. The only answer which I should have given him was that I had received his letter, but that on due deliberation I would answer it fully. I however on the spur of the moment gave him all the answer which it was necessary to give, and kept a copy of it.

Monday August 10th 1835 On Saturday our missionaries approved of a petition to be presented to His Excellency the Governor [on the fate?] of the chief Matwa and of the

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women and children at Chumie who are in danger of being deprived of their property and lives by the hostile Kaffers. Mr Chalmers on Saturday in with Messrs Ross, McDiarmid and myself approved of the petition which was to be written out and signed, but today Mr Chalmers on the grounds that the meeting on Saturday had not been regularly convened, would not sign said petition I consider his reasons for withdrawing from us on this occasion by no means satisfactory. If the revolution in his sentiments has taken place since Saturday, I concede that he should have made a recantation of the views that he then entertained. Our friends the Reverend Messrs Nesbitt and Brownlee were present and will, I believe, give an impartial account of our proceedings. The petition was signed by the Rev. Mr Ross, Mr McDiarmid and myself. Have heard that the Kaffers have killed 6 Hottentots in the Kat River Settlement.

Thursday August 13th 1835 Came to the house of Mr Hayter which I agreed to pay from Tuesday the 11th instant.

Tuesday August 18th 1835 Barrow in the 1st volume of his *Travels* in describing the fears of the Boers as to entering Kafferland with a small party, speaks of the Kaffer "as a mild, rational, and in some degree civilized people, who had always afforded protection to such travellers in their country as had made proper applications to their Sovereign for it." vol. 1, p.166. On the following page he speaks of the Kaffer country as *so rich in* cattle as to afford a strong object of attraction to the Boers. See some strong testimonies in favour of the Kaffers at pp.196-197.[687]

According to Barrow Gika was under 20 years of age in 1797. Say he was then 18 and the year of his birth would be 1779. Having died in 1829 his age at his death would be 50.

1829

<u>1779</u>

50[688]

Friday August 28th 1835 We are now expecting to hear that peace will be established between the Colonists and the Kaffers. Formerly His Excellency issued a proclamation that all those who had been engaged on the attack on the colony were to be expelled from this

[687] John Barrow, *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in which are described the Character and the Condition of the Dutch Colonists of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the Several Tribes of Natives beyond its Limits* ... (London: T.Cadell and W.Davies, 1806), v.1.

[688] According to Peires, Ngqika was born in 1778. Peires, *House of Phalo,* 49.

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country. Such a proceeding in this day is not at all in accordance with the conduct of the British conquerors, and I ..[text missing].

Monday August 31st 1835 "Their principal chief (i.e. of the Congo family) Pato is a person of minor importance, compared with the Chiefs of the neighbouring tribes. His manners and his exterior are anything prepossessing; and his mind is far from being distinguished by anything like superior talent. Lechery and gross heathenish depravity formed his most prominent characteristics". Kay's *Researches* p.64.[689] "The barbarously indiscriminate manner in which military expeditions have sometimes rushed upon the tribes, spreading desolation and death on account of robberies committed by individuals unknown, have naturally rendered the very sound of such expeditions dreadful throughout the land". Kay's *Researches* page 88th.[690]

Tuesday September 1st 1835 "In the year 1811, the Kaffers were publicly proclaimed to be 'irreclaimable,—enemies', whilst the conduct of their white neighbours was in the same manner declared to be unoffending towards the '[faithless]' and unrelenting disturbers of the peace'".[691]

Last week we enjoyed the peace and prospect that peace would soon be established; but this week we can scarcely entertain the prospect. Maqoma and Tyali were less willing to acceed [accede] to the Governor's terms at Captain Warden's *second* interview with them than they had been at the first. A spirit of opposition had been operating with them between these and under this spirit they had become unaccommodating. This unbending condition in which Capt. Warden's found them at his second meeting with them was not at all anticipated by any who knew the extremities to which they had been reduced. What the secondary cause for this condition was we cannot well discern, but some agent must have operated to produce it. Probably the hostile chiefs have been influenced by the Hottentots of Murphy who were demanded by His Excellency as they would be afraid of being punished in being delivered up, and would endeavour to retard a peace which in part would make them depend on their own destruction. It was stated by Maqoma that he had been supplied with gunpowder by some Boers at the head of the Kei. It is not unlikely that these Boers have advised Maqoma and Tyali not to make peace. I have heard it stated that the conditions that His Excellency has now offered to the Kaffers are the same as those which he offered to them through Major

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[689]Stephen Kay, *Travels and researches in Caffraria: describing the character, customs, and moral condition of the tribes inhabiting that portion of Southern Africa* (London: John Mason, 1833), 64.

[690]Stephen Kay, *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*, 88.

[691]Stephen Kay, *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*, 253.

Cox before the death of Hintza. I am inclined to believe that now they are more lenient, than they then were, as now the chiefs Tyali and Maqoma would be allowed to remain on this side of the Kei. It seems however wonderful to me that His Excellency has not stated publicly what the terms were which he offered to the Kaffers, that by doing so he might have had a good opportunity of vindicating himself for the proceedings which he is now about to take. I this day visited some Hottentots from house to house and found them more ignorant than I had anticipated. There were some of them who were able to answer the questions which I put to them.

Monday September 7th 1835 On Saturday in company with Mr Ross I visited the Hottentots. These Hottentots consist of a heterogeneous mixture from almost all parts in the Colony, and seem not to be the best informed of their nation, nor the best as to morals. Their husbands are in general employed as soldiers in the Kaffer War. Some old or infirm men live at home. These people afford much work for the faithful missionary. Yesterday, Sabbath, I preached to the Kaffers at Fynn's Kloof and the Hottentots. In the evening walked to the barracks with the view of preaching to the soldiers, but found them at work making clothes in order to prepare themselves for their removal into the new province. Came to town and heard Mr Monro. The Kaffers are still committing depredations in the Colony. Reminiscences on the journey with Mr Ross in December 1834.

Tuesday September 8th 1835 This record shows in the first p[lace] that the natives of those parts of the country which we visited were living in a peaceable manner on the very eve of the eruptions which they insolently made into the Colony. They seemed to have no idea of quarrelling with their Colonial neighbours nor did they at all appear to be unfriendly to the White people. They were going on as we had ever found them with their own employment, and seemed not at all without some exciting cause likely to make was on a colony. The above account shows in the second place that the people in these bad settlements were more comfortable as to worldly circumstances than those on the immediate frontier. They promised more cattle and realized more milk that the Kaffers near the Colonial boundary. Gegu seems to me to be as rich in cattle as Maqoma or Tyali and the common people possess more milk than the common people in the situations mentioned. It shews in the third place how the Kaffers in a time of peace may be instructed by missionaries who would submit to the evils and inconveniences of travel amongst people of this description. In the fourth place it furnishes us with as instance of the providential care of God over us which engaged in his service in as much as he gave us for opportunity to finish our work and to return in safety before the time of war and of revenge had been founded throughout the land. It shewed in the fifth place that the Kaffers are not an unpitiable people. It shews in the sixth place that we ought while it is cause today to labour in our business with all our might, and speak as dying

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men to men who are also on the verge of the eternal world. Some of the people whom we accompanied on this occasion have no doubt fallen in the war.

Saturday September 12th 1835 In the *Graham's Town Journal* of this week we have the joyful news that peace has been made with the chiefs of the Gaika tribe. His Excellency the Governor left town on Tuesday in order, I believe, to point out to the chiefs the territory which they will in future occupy. So far as human foresight can judge it now appears that we are on the eve of an entire cessation of hostility to the Kaffer nation. The sins of men are the cause of wars and of all other misery. May men of all kinds and ranks now learn righteousness from the awful but deserved judgements of God which have been abroad in the earth. I have it stated that a conversation in which I took a part in some quarter has been reported to my disadvantage. If he who reported the conversation was of the same opinion as myself when it took place, but has made a representation to another effect, he has not acted in a very honourable manner. Mr [ ] one of the American missionaries for Natal called last night.

Thursday September 17th 1835 We have this day been favoured with a letter from the Directors, the first we have received from them since the commencement of the irruption. It is a year and a quarter since we had a regular letter from them, as in the course of that period anything in the form of a letter was a few lines appended to one of the quarterly papers. This letter is dated on the 10th April 1835 nearly five months ago. Directors and missionaries should never be estranged from each other and therefore they should not allow such long intervals to take place between their respective communications. A letter from Bristol *18th June 1835* we have this day received.

We have heard that His Excellency the Governor has during the last week held a conference with the submissive Kaffer chiefs, as to the territory which he will allow them in the new province. Very little of what took place has as yet transpired, but it is said that the chiefs were very well pacified with the country which he pointed out to them for their residence. Parties of Kaffers it is to be lamented are scheming in the colony as much as ever and are making situations of those who are not willing to live in peace much more uncomfortable than otherwise it would be. The chiefs should now aid in putting down the robbery, and in as far as they are starving from hunger and are feeling to obtain something to support life, they should represent their necessitous condition to His Excellency that if possible some means may be devised for preserving their lives while they are prevented from taking unjustly the property of their neighbours. There are now good hopes that the natives who have survived the war might become a happy people, and they have it in their own power to call these hopes to be realized. Christianized, they would form a powerful barrier between the colonists and

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the barbarians. The British Government will form a noble act if it placed the deluded Kaffers in circumstances which they shall have it permanently in their power to hear the Gospel.

Saturday September 19th 1835 Good news has come from Fort Willshire, the seat of Conference between His Excellency the Governor and the Kaffer chiefs. His Excellency has made the most ample provision for their settlement in the new place/s. He has given them all their country and taken them and their people under the British Government. Maqoma he has especially noticed and has ap[pointe]d him as the chief magistrate among the Kaffers of the late great Chief Gika. Lovedale is now to be Maqoma's residence and he is to be supplied at the instance of His Excellency with a house with clothes and with usual implements and tools. Tyali will obtain the left bank of the Chumie, on which some of his people formerly dwelt. Matwa will obtain the right bank of the same river on which the Ch[umie] M[issionary] in[stitution] is situated. Sutu's place of abode has not yet been specified, but abundant ground indeed all their former ground is now given by His Excellency to the G[reat] p[People]. Eno and Botuman are to be located about the Kabuse and the Golane [Mgwalana] where Mr R[oss] and I travelled in December last. Few governors have done so much for native tribes as Sir Benjamin has done. I hope and pray, that these humane but just deeds will be attended with the happiest results.

Saturday October 3rd 1835 From the account given in the *Graham's Town Journal* it appears that in the course of the last week few depredations have been committed by the Kaffers and that the marauding parties are less formidable than at the commencement of peace. Matters in the new province are now becoming tranquil, and the natives are beginning to graze their cattle on the plains. His Excellency Sir B. D'Urban has allowed the tribes who have sued for mercy to remain in the new province and be subject to the King of England. It is very evident that he has wished to place the various tribes in proper situations, but inadvertently he has so fixed the boundary line along the foot of the mountains on this side of Pirrie as to afford almost no grazing ground for the people who may reside there. From the spirit in which he has acted I have no doubt that he would have removed the boundary line 5 or 6 miles to the South had the matter been set before his sound judgement in a proper light. To make up for this defect the old mode of allowing the Kaffers to graze their cattle on the adjoining districts not belonging to them would be attended with hurtful consequences.

The case of cattle stealing with which some of the people under my care were unjustly charged, appears to have been rejected by the Attorney General at Cape Town as it has not been brought before the Civil C[ourt] which is now sitting here. The case of C[ ] and [ ] who I believe was justly charged with taking the cattle of our people was brought forward. He was

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found guilty of theft, but such was the aspect of the case [that] the judge gave him a very severe reprimand for taking off cattle which did not belong to him.

Wednesday October 7th 1835 The people who came with me from Burnshill and those from other stations who have since been added to them are now desirous of being permitted to return to their former residence that they may have opportunity to sow their fields in the proper season. I hope that, seeing peace has been re-established they will soon be permitted to return. The ground has now been well watered and the earth is now soft and capable of being easily tilled. It is well that peace has been made so early in the season, for had the Kaffers been prevented by the war from sowing, their destitution would have been protracted and they might by hunger have been compelled to continue their degradation in the Colony. It is now time to look further for the good fruits which this war may have produced. All kinds of men have been taught a severe lesson, and I pray that they may now repent of their sins and return to God from whom they have departed.

Friday October 9th 1835 I have already mentioned that peace has been conducted with the Kaffers, but I am sorry to say that much discontent is prevailing concerning it. Most of the people of this town say that the peace has been made too soon. They give as one of the reasons why the peace is premature, that 90,000 head of cattle were taken from the colonists by the Kaffers and that many of these have not been delivered up. They do not however show on what grounds 90,000 head of cattle had been carried off. I am inclined to think that nearly as many cattle have been retaken or were at first taken out of the colony. Anyone who will be at the pains of adding the return of cattle captured in the war by the colonial forces will find that about 50,000 head have been taken by them. This number answers nearly to that which has been given in to those who have been appointed to see the statements of the losses which have been sustained. His Excellency the Governor seems to have acted on their view of the matter, and did not make the restoration of cattle a condition of the peace.

A wonderful document entitled a Petition from the inhabitants of Graaff Reinet to His Majesty the King has this week appeared in the *Graham's Town Journal.* It is a partial and imperious document and is 4 times too long. It is written with more claims to their lack of [more claims of] scholarship than the generality of colonial communications, that it will or will not support the cause for which it pleads. It considers that all the guilt lies on the side of the Kaffers and would represent the colonists as almost infallible. It is an exterminating Petition and of course will not be granted. It would approve of the measure of the Governor, but as His Excellency has made peace with the Kaffers and has given them their country, by necessary inference it condemns the most important of his proceedings. It is lamentable to see so much discontent on the part of the people of this colony, and to find that they have so

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little profited of the judgement of the most High. I know of no other means of safety for them than that which proved so efficacious in the case of the Ninevites.[692] I pray that they may adopt these means. Various occurrences are taking place which ought forcibly to remind the people of the Colony that they ought not to imagine themselves set free from calamity when the Kaffers have ceased to annoy them. A new enemy has appeared, and a hurricane has destroyed not a little of their property.

Monday October 12th 1835 Yesterday I preached to the Hottentots and Kaffers, as I have done since I came to Graham's Town except when I was prevented from doing so by indisposition. The latter of the people in the expectancy as I may soon be separated from some or all of them, I addressed from that solemn passage Ezekiel 3:16-19. I would labour to free myself being guilty of the death upon immortal souls. The office of a spiritual watchman is indeed a highly responsible office. The Hottentots in this neighbourhood are at present scattered abroad as sheep without a shepherd. They are destroyed for lack of knowledge. I mean not to forget Mr Munro's favour. They are great but he cannot overtake the spiritual worship to which missionaries are here called.

Various changes are taking place on this frontier. He who has been most actively employed in conducting of the war is about to be removed to Cape Town and another will take the command of the new p[rovince]. God will make all clauses and events work for the good of his own people. After this war is completely ended, I hope that the gospel will have free course and much success among the Kaffers. Today I visited the Kaffers of Fynn's Kloof found them desirous of obtaining permission to return to their former place of residence as soon as possible.

Saturday Friday October 16th 1835 Matwa hopes this day at town, under the guidance of Mr Weir, for his grant of land around the missionary station of Chumie. The Kaffers who resided at Burnshill, and who followed us into the Colony have set out with him. I called an appointment from His Excellency to take charge of these people. This appears was confirmed by the other missionaries. Mr Weir was not in Graham's Town when Matwa was placed under my care and probably did not know that such a charge had been laid upon me when he began to act for him. I make no complaints about these things, but merely put it on record that the operations which had been given me by His Excellency was recalled as far as he was concerned without any communication having been made to me on the subject. Probably His Excellency considered that in calling on another of our number to go on with my work,

[692] According to the biblical book of Jonah, God sent Jonah to the Ninevites to warn them of the destruction of the city of Nineveh within forty days in punishment for their wickedness. The king of the Ninevites declared a fast and commanded his people to abandon evil and violence. God relented and the Ninevites were spared.

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reacted consistently with the rules of propriety, or probably in the midst of his numerous and harassing duties, he forgot that he had requested me to take care of the natives. I make every allowance for him. I respect him highly as a man and as a Governor, but with every feeling of respect for him I may without overstepping the bounds of propriety make a just stand for my own rights.

Charles Henry I have advised to go to Burnshill, and reside with Sutu until I shall obtain permission to return thither. I perceive that he would rather settle at Chumie. In this case he was told that he must be ready to go to any station to which he might be appointed, and remain at it until his family could be removed from Chumie. Five Fingo families, 2 of whom came from Kafferland with Mr Kayser, have preferred remaining in the Colony to returning to the new province.

Matwa was received as a candidate for baptism a short time before we removed from our station. He has conducted himself with great propriety while in Graham's Town but cannot have improved in Christian knowledge as he would have done at a missionary station in his own country. His brother Tente and he have met with much kindness from His Excellency the Governor. I shall now be freed from my frequent journeys to Fynn's Kloof, and as the weather begins to be very warm at this time such a journey could not much have been comfortably performed on foot, and at present I am without a horse and without a friend to lend me one.

From the *Graham's Town Journal* of yesterday 15th it appears that the good effects of the peace begin to be felt. But this is my own inference, and a very obvious one it is, from the statements which the Editor makes. Now for the first time since the commencement of the irruption does it appear that the way for missionaries to go and instruct the Kaffers is about to be opened. I have heard from Mr Chalmers now at Chumie that missionaries would be of the utmost service in leading the Kaffers to believe that their Governor is sincere in his merciful measures towards them. They themselves earnestly calling for missionaries. Yesterday I received an excellent letter for [from] the Edinburgh Missionary Association of Students.

Monday October 19th 1835 Yesterday I visited the Hottentots in the vicinity in the forenoon and preached to them. Advised them to endeavour to put themselves into a condition for attending church on Sabbath. Some of them used the excuse sometimes used by poor people in our large towns, that they have no clothes. Were they good managers, I am persuaded that they most them might keep themselves in decent clothing. I attended Mr Monro's service for the Hottentots and was happy to see that a considerable number of them were present. Still however great numbers must absent themselves from Public worship. In the evening I visited the barracks and read portions of the Word of God to the few soldiers who attended the

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meeting for worship which we have held there since we came to town. The 75th and 27th regiments are composed chiefly of Roman Catholics and on that account may be supposed averse to attend a Protestant minister, but though they had been ordered to attend on account of the services of the Kaffer War they have not been favourably situated with so doing. In a short time the 72nd Regiment is coming to the Barracks and might be supposed likely to attend our Mission but we hope ere long to be employed at our former scene of labour. Tranquillity seems now to be restored.

Mr Ross and I called on His Excellency the Governor for the purpose of expressing our hope that our return to our old stations would meet with His Excellency's approbation. We obtained a short audience of His Excellency in which after Mr Ross had mentioned to him the object of our visit he expressed himself favourably as to our return to the scene of our labours so soon as our personal safety might be regarded as secure. He observed that the Commissioners were going on with their operations of arranging matters in the new province, and hoped that ere long they would have cause to report to him satisfactorily concerning the state of affairs in that part of the country. He asked particularly what Mr Ross's station was, when it was answered that it was Pirrie [Pirie], now destroyed. He seemed to understand that my station was Lovedale, when it was told him that Lovedale was Mr Bennie's station and that my Station was Burnshill. He seemed too inclined to think that some of the stations would not again be occupied. He requested us to state separately in wording what we respectively wished, which we agreed to do. We were in the room in which His Excellency met us before he entered. Having entered he came up to the side of the room which we were, and conversed for two or three minutes standing. He then went out of the room taking good morning with us as he went when we followed and went in the opposite direction towards the door. He is naturally affable, but shewed us less affability on this occasion than he formerly did or than he usually does. He did not say that pressing business made him leave us in such a hurried manner. Now we must state to His Excellency in writing what we wish—free access to the preaching of the Word now that peace has been established.

Evening: Mr Ross and I have sent in separate statements in regard to our requests.

Wednesday October 21st 1835 Have received His Excellency's reply to our application for his sanction to proceed to our stations. It is as unsatisfactory and indefinite as can well be. His Excellency states that "when ever it may become prudent and expedient for you to return into Kafferland, you will not fail to receive due information to that effect". No-one knows when, in His Excellency's estimation, it may become prudent and expedient for me to return to teach the Kaffers. I conceive that it is both now highly prudent and expedient for me to enter Kafferland. One of His Excellency's commissioners states that "he finds it is the

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missionaries who can inspire confidence and make the Kaffers believe that the Governor is sincere". This is written from the new province and proves that the Kaffers entertain some suspicions as to the sincerity of His Excellency the Governor in regard to peace which he has made with them. Were they to see those in whom they have confidence, they would soon learn from them that they may firmly rely on the measures into which His Excellency has entered with them. Mr Ross and I visited the Hottentots. Most of them are very uncomfortable in their circumstances. They are much more helpless than the Kaffers, Fingoes and Bechuanas around the town. Having been thrown together from all parts of the country, and placed in the necessity of building houses for themselves, they have made some sorry attempts at making huts. I noticed that the Kaffers who came with us from Burnshill in two or three days erected for themselves much better houses than the Hottentots did, though they had months to work. Some of them are extremely ignorant and cannot tell whether or not they be a failure. We gave them such advice as their temporal and spiritual condition seemed to require; but a Divine power is peculiarly required to rouse them from their spiritual and temporal inactivity and to cause them to enter on and continue in the course of real improvement. To this general statement there are pleasing exceptions, but the body of the Hottentots around Graham's Town are low both as it regards temporal and spiritual. I would avoid particularly, and would put it on record that vital godliness among the white population is also very low, and that they do but little to raise the Hottentots from their sinful and degraded condition.

His Excellency may reckon it a small matter to bind the Word of God which he in effect does when he prevents it being preached to those who are now calling for missionaries and who are likely to listen to it now that they have been long under the afflicting hand of God, but if such should be his view, he will one day find that he greatly erred in taking it upon himself without any good reason to prevent missionaries from entering Kafferland.

Thursday October 22nd 1835 A letter addressed to the missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society has this day arrived from Glasgow. It is dated July 28th 1835. Enclosed in this letter is the 40th year's *Report* of the Society. Both in the letter and in the report a spirit of sympathy for our calamity prevails. Our Directors are about to lend their aid to raise money for the establishment of the Mission. They wish us to "convey our thanks to those in the colony who have befriended our mission in this evil day." Alas! The number of such friends is but small, but their smallness must not cause us to overlook them. News from England has reached Graham's Town to the 12th August. The British Press will not tolerate the doctrines which are in circulation by the interested and prejudiced press in this colony.

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Friday October 23rd 1835 In the *Graham's Town Journal* of yesterday we read "No case of depredation by the Kaffers has come to our knowledge during the past week, and our new fellow subjects appear to be gradually settling themselves down on their several creations."

Saturday October 24th 1835 I know not whether or not I mentioned before that Mr Chalmers in the presence of Mr Ross and myself mentioned that Col. Smith wished him to take Burnshill Station in order to be more near himself at King William's Town. To this Mr Chalmers replied that for certain reasons he could not take the station. A matter like this is not of much importance, but I mention it to illustrate the nature of the proceedings on this frontier. Col. Smith it would appear from this makes free with what does not properly belong to him. From the accounts which we are of late receiving Scotland appears to be dreadfully convulsed by the conflicting views of friends of Establishments and of the voluntaries. I hope that the church will be purified by her present trials.

Monday October 26th 1835 Yesterday I visited the Hottentots in the morning and addressed them from 1 Peter 2.11. In the afternoon I attended Mr Monro's Dutch worship for them. He baptised a male adult. Much care is required in regard to the dispensation of the [sacrament] of baptism to those who have been Heathens. Mr Monro is one who is careful in this respect. In the evening I went to the Barracks, and found more hearers than I have usually done. A man by the name of Paterson whose leg has been amputated and a few others who are sick, I considered as particularly claiming my attention. Paterson says that he is a native of Paisley and that he formerly heard the Word of God in a Relief Church there of which the Rev. Mr McDiarmid was pastor. Should we remain in Town I hoped that from the arrival of a part of the 72nd at the Barracks, we shall have an increased attendance there. I have but few books at present but one of the few which missionaries called Unconverted I have lent to the soldiers. I was sorry to find that a Scotsman from Leith could read but imperfectly.

Paper on the Kaffer Customs given in from me, but through Mr Chalmers to His Excellency the Governor

In this age of light and liberty, it is not to be expected that unjust and unnecessary restraint should be put on such uncivilized tribes as may be taken under British protection and placed under British law. Our Rulers in prohibiting such of their customs as are at variance with the letter and spirit of our laws and would only consult the good of these barbarians.

(1) The Kaffers from time immemorial have been accustomed to circumcize their young men, about the 15th year of their age. The young men at that period leave the society of boys, and are admitted to the society of men. The rite of circumcision does not in itself militate against any of our laws and may be allowed to be practised. The Kaffer on whom the rite of circumcision has not been performed is not considered a fit person to be admitted into society, and he might without this rite materially suffer in his worldly interests. While this rite may be allowed to remain until it fall by the

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power of understood religion, it may be recommended to the natives to avoid that idleness and indecent behaviour which are connected with it.

(2) The degrading practice of buying wives for cattle prevails among the Kaffers. In reference to this custom, it would be sufficient to enact that no man on taking a wife should be obliged to give a price for her. If any should beat their wives on the ground that they are their slaves, this brutal conduct would come under the cognisance of our law.

(3) Polygamy is contrary to British law and is highly punishable by it. Presuming that the law on this point extends to the colonies, it follows that the law allowing a plurality of wives cannot be tolerated among the Kaffers who may become subjects of our gracious Majesty. The new law ought to be prospective in this matter. Such as have already married more wives than one ought to be allowed to retain them, until the power of religion operating on their minds would lead them to abandon polygamy as contrary to the injunctions of Christ.

(4) The males among the Kaffers have to a great extent left the heavy work to be performed by the females. It might be strongly recommended to the males to attend to agricultural pursuits, and lead out their streams for the purpose of irrigation. They will thus be lead to depend for support more on the produce of the earth, and less on cattle than is at present the case.

(5) It is highly proper that due respect be payed to the chiefs. Reason and revelation concur in teaching us that their rank should be respected. But they must in no case use a power which would lead to the transgression of our laws. They must be made to see that it is their duty and their interest to promote the interest of the Colonial Government; and perhaps a small salary might be allowed them the more surely to secure their co-operation.

(6) The men and boys from choice are often accustomed to go without clothes. This indecent practice [it] is presumed, will be prohibited, as it has been in the Colony. In hot weather some light garment, might be conveniently adopted by the natives, but be it what it may they ought not to be allowed to expose their persons as they have been accustomed to do.

(7) One of the most atrocious customs of the Kaffers, is that which leads them to punish such as they presume to use witchcraft to bring sickness and death upon others. We usually call the individual whose business it is to discover the guilty person a witchdoctor. Perhaps a more appropriate name would be sorcerer. It is evident that his services with the Kaffers and Fingoes must in a great measure be dispensed with. No-one must be injured in his character, person or property because a witchdoctor determines that by witchcraft he has brought sickness on his neighbour.

(8) The Rainmaker stands nearly on the same ground as the sorcerer. He must in no instance be allowed to bring punishment of any sort on anyone who has according to his false system prevented the rain from falling. It does not seem to me that a legal enactment is called for to abolish the offices of doctor and rainmaker but whenever

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> their orders lead to cruelty and injustice, let them be punished in the most signal manner. They would thus be prevented from being a means of causing others to be unjustly deprived of their cattle, and their power would in a short time be entirely destroyed.

In a very short time it will be found by the Kaffers themselves that their condition under the British Government is greatly preferable to their former condition under their own chiefs. When our admirable laws are made fully to bear on these people almost all the difficulties connected with their cruel and superstitious customs will be directly or indirectly met. That this statement is correct it is presumed that the following (foregoing?) brief remarks will demonstrate. We must be on our guard while endeavouring to reform these natives from their wicked customs that they do not adopt others equally wicked in their room? With this view I would recommend that no Canteens be allowed among them. We know well that were they to become the victims of intemperance their improvement would be much retarded.

Believing that it is the duty of the Civil Magistrate to use his influence for the support of religion, he ought to enforce the laws to prevent the desecration of the Lord's Day. Sorry that the Sabbath is so much desecrated in the old colony, I should like to see this desecration prevented in the new province. The people should be made to refrain from their ordinary works on the Lord's blessed day that they may have an opportunity of attending the public worship of God. Being convinced that an ignorant, immoral, irreligious community cannot be expected to perform the duties which they owe to their Maker and their fellow men, I take this opportunity of stating that the British Government ought to make provision for the instruction of all its subjects. In a temporal point of view it will be no loser by using its influence to induce men to practice that righteousness which alone can truly exalt a native.

In settling the affairs of our [borders] let the principal means by which men may be made loyal and happy subjects not to be forgotten. Bless our Christian Government. Lend it powerful aid to civilize and enlighten this frontier, and let it not think that it is freed from this great scriptural duty in consequence of the exertion of missionary societies. Let it see that the young without distinction of colour be taught to read the Word of God, that those who have arrived at the years of maturity be not destroyed by ignorance of the gospel, and that they do not by their hurtful example prevent the reformation of others.

Tuesday October 27th 1835 In walking yesterday on the adjoining hill I met with an interesting Dutch boy who was alone at his brother's waggons, and who in much simplicity asked Mr Ross and me if we had seen his brother coming from the town. We would not have known his brother ere we had seen him. We found that this boy could not read, and advised

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him to use means to attains the knowledge of the art of reading. He seemed scarcely aware that there was any Saviour [who provided] for sinners.

About the same time we came in contact with an old Hottentot who had very incorrect notions on divine subject and who styled the Apostle Peter the Saviour. After we came to a Hottentot boy whom we had formerly seen and who seemed to know us on our approach for he requested us to give him 6d. We were sorry to find that a young, strong boy who was engaged in service could be found to beg; and we proceeded to give him some lessons which will be useful to him if he practised them. Though I had had not a little intercourse with the Hottentots of late I have not found that they were given to beg. I scarcely recollect of an instance to this effect.

We were shocked to see the carcasses of many dead cattle and goats, lying exposed all around polluting the atmosphere and the streams which supply the farm with water. Surely this fact does not speak in favour of the civilization of this community.

Wednesday October 28th 1835 Yesterday His Excellency the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban left Graham's Town. He has been 9 months on this frontier in consequence of the Kaffer war. During that war he has exposed himself to much personal trial, having in person led on the colonial forces. He has to adopt in this latter period of his residence having seen in good, more merciful measures towards the natives than he at one time by his proclamations seemed resolved to follow. He too readily received the exterminating views of the colonists, but on further consideration he in a great measure layed these aside, and acted on such as appeared to me to be more mild and more just. He has allowed the Kaffers to remain in their own country. About the period of his return from the Kafferland campaign, he appears to be favourably impressed concerning some of the Missionaries. I fear that he has given too ready an ear to the representation of their [ ]. He would have done well to have listened more to the Missionary than he has done in regard to the state of the frontier and in this case he would not have involved himself in the difficulty of having been obliged to make such a change as he has made. He is a governor whose character and talent command respect. His example in attending church on Sabbath it is to be hoped will be followed with good effect in this sinful place.

Visited the Hottentots. Last night most of them must have been drenched with the torrents of rain which fell, their houses being truly miserable. Some of them were at work digging in their gardens, but as they had no fences, and are not even likely to succeed in making them, I fear they will reap but a poor crop. They complain that they cannot obtain the co-operation of any considerable number for the execution of work which requires several hands for their execution. While at their wretched village, I met with one soldier who told me that two of his

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brothers had been killed by the Kaffers at the commencement of the irruptions. He confessed and did not seem to deplore that he rarely had opportunity to attend the public worship of God. Gave to him such advice as I conceived his situation demanded.

Friday October 30th 1835 The eulogy of the *Graham's Town Journal* on the Governor is very measured. Indeed the Editor seems to be unable to act so as to please the people who are dissatisfied with the peace, and the Governor who concluded that peace. He will lean to that side which he judges to be strongest and most likely to be of service to him. From time to time, we are receiving news as to the view which the London Editors are taking of our Cape affairs. These views are such as all well informed persons in the Colony knew they would take. The people here refuse to be warned as to the propriety of adopting more enlightened and just views. But their greatest fault is that they are in general morally unenlightened, and are walking on in darkness. Notwithstanding some discontent manifested in the *Graham's Town Journal* the good consequences of the peace are still becoming more and more apparent. From the Reports of the Commissioners for locating the Kaffers, it will perhaps be found that 120,000 human beings would have been driven out of their country had the exterminating measure of the 10th of May being carried into execution. Mr Chalmers states in a letter to me that the Commissioners will make it appear that there are upwards of 43,000 people in the tribes of Gika [Ngqika]. He states that Sutu is still expecting my return to Burnshill.

Monday November 2nd 1835 Yesterday I found somewhat more interest as to the gospel manifested on the part of the Hottentots than is usual. I exhorted them to go to Mr Monro's Dutch service in the afternoon. Spoke a little with a young man who is lame, and who could not walk to church. He was baptized by Mr Monro two years ago. In the evening I conducted at the Barracks. Found a considerable number of the 72nd Regiment as hearers. Gave some advice to two men of the 75th Regiment about to be sent home, as they are unfit for service. On enquiry I found that in this regiment there is a library containing about 800 volumes. This has been shut during the Kaffer war, but is now about to be re-opened.

The supply of rain during the said time has been very abundant. The country is now clothed with verdure. It is to be hoped that there will be food in the land for man and beast. It is lamentable to think that so few thank God for his goodness and praise him for his wonderful works to the children of men.

Friday November 6th 1835 The *Graham's Town Journal* of yesterday: "In the new province we learn that affairs are going on prosperously" and that Makoma says that "the (that is his) people who wish to keep their hand in have his full permission to plunder their country on the east of the Kei". It gives no authority for this charge, but it seems very like a mistake into

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which Makoma was led by a wicked native in the employment of Colonel Smith at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace. The present number of the *Graham's Town Journal* shows a spirit of no ordinary stupidity, or of no ordinary dishonesty. I wonder that the people here are so easily duped.

Monday November 9th 1835 Yesterday visited the Hottentots' village, preached to a few of the people who came to the house the use of which is obtained for that purpose, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to go out to the Sabbath School and churches in the town. There is no day school for Hottentots in Graham's Town!!! The communicant whom I formerly mentioned as asking unprofitable questions spoke of his spiritual instructor in a very improper spirit. In the evening I went to the barracks a little past six but found the people going to suppers as they had been prevented from taking it sooner in consequence of having been playing for the entertainment for the public. It occurred to me to go and visit the sick men in the hospital, which I obtained permission to do. Thinking that the men in the bandroom would now be ready, I came to see whether or not they would now be at leisure to listen to the Word of God. But the hour was approaching when they must go to bed, and they were so worn out by having been engaged according to the custom of the army in playing for the accommodation of public on Sabbath afternoons that it was out of the question to think of commencing a sermon to them. They have even stated that if I would come about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, I might obtain a much larger number of hearers than I had obtained in their room.

I recollect that Mr Stow of Glasgow was annoyed by the bands playing near his Sabbath School in St John's, and that he made an application for it that practice being discontinued and that his application was successful.

Tuesday November 10th 1835 Have transcribed a small work in Kaffer with a view to it being printed. It consists wholly of extracts from the Bible. It is translated by Mr Ross. We have had a heavy fall of rain during the last night. In this part of the Colony there will be during the summer abundance of grass.

Wednesday November 11th 1835 Mr Ross and I visited the Hottentots. More people are now residing at their village in consequence of those who have been in service having obtained their discharge. They are now attending to their work at houses and gardens with some more spirit than formerly. Some people from Burnshill told me that all is peaceful in that direction, and that those who formerly met as enemies now meet as friends. An old Hottentot from the Moravian Missionary Society of Genadanthol [Genadendal], told us that about the heads of the Buffalo River he had seen some Kaffer houses burnt, and that he considered that the Kaffers were likely to be grieved and irritated by such proceedings. Place to which they were

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sent they did not consider good ground for their gardens. He did not seem to know the reason why these proceedings were carried on. I am once more fully impressed that the Hottentots here demand a Missionary and School Master for them.

Friday November 13th 1835 Yesterday a letter from His Excellency the Governor addressed to the Rev. J. Ross a Missionary was received by him stating that all impediments are now removed out of the way of the Glasgow missionaries in regard to their return to their respective stations. Thus the Ruler of the Universe is putting it into the heart of our Chief Magistrate to give full liberty for the missionaries to go and preach the words of eternal life to the benighted Kaffers. I was afraid that His Excellency might be tempted to extend his power too far in detaining us, without any reason assigned in the old colony; but I am to find that he has seen it good to give full liberty for the preaching of the gospel to those who very much stand in need of it. He will find that the men who he has for a time detained from their work, are likely by their labours to establish under the blessing of God permanent tranquillity on the frontier. I am sorry to hear from time to time that the Kaffers have hown [hoed] on portions of country from which it is considered necessary to expel them. They will thus be prevented from sowing for the season, and must be exposed to hunger. Where they have really shown if in a place which they are to be expelled, they might be allowed to remain until they have reaped and then put in their proper locations.

Monday November 16th 1835 Yesterday morning preached to the Hottentots, and pressed on them the necessity of searching the scriptures by hearing them preached and by reading themselves. Advised earnestly them that [they send] their children to school, that they might be able to search themselves. Mrs Laing visited the Sabbath School and considered it too secular for the sacred day. She was surprized to find a large English girl very ignorant. As yet the Graham's Town people cannot bear to be told of the ignorance of the young people. Probably the ignorance of the young is an evidence of the ignorance of the old, and the old are not willing that ground should be allowed for this consequence. I went to Barracks at between 2 and 3 o'clock and preached to a number of soldiers of the 72nd Regiment. I met with much more encouragement than on any former occasion, and was glad to see such respect payed to religion as was payed by the soldiers. A [man] of the name of J-N, spoke like a well-educated and sensible man, as he will undoubtedly be allowed by those who know him to be. It is not very pleasant to speak of neglect being shown to oneself but Mr Ross and I, though ministers of the Church of Scotland, have at the Barracks met with little encouragement. It ought to be stated however that the men of the 75th regiment [ ] occupied with the late war. Spoke to the patients in the hospital after having preached in one of the large rooms. On Monday last I mentioned what view the band of the 72nd [regiment] took in regard to playing on [the] Sabbath. I thought that in the afternoon they had been unconnected

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with the officers' mess, but find that the scene of action is before their mess room. That the band should thus play on Sabbath is the standing law of the army. I wonder that man could presume to make a law which counteracts the law of God. The men who are engaged in the band thought that something might be done towards putting an end to playing on Sabbath provided the ministers of the town would use their endeavours to affect that purpose. Have spoken to Mr Monro on the subject, and he considers that it will be best for him to call on Lieut. Col. Peddie, and make a statement of the matter to him. *Laing's note*: X began to copy at this place.

Sunday November 22nd 1835 This day I have I believe finished my spiritual labours about Graham's Town. I spoke to the Hottentots on affliction. At the barracks I have no regular service, as the soldiers were laying out their clothes for inspection. Surely this might better have been done on another day. The order and neatness made in the presentation of their articles were very apparent.

I hope to set out for Burnshill tomorrow. May the Lord be with us on our way and prepare us for preaching His Word to the Kaffers. May health be granted to us to enable us to go forward with our necessary business.

Thursday December 3rd 1835 [Laing appears to be writing this entry retrospectively after arriving back at Burnshill] On Tuesday November 24th we left Graham's Town. Mrs Laing set off with the waggon while I followed on horseback, calling at two or three places as I went along. As I proceeded I met a courier who spoke of the reports which were in circulation as to the unsettled state of the Kaffers. In Graham's Town these reports had been so unfavourable as to have justified us in remaining if we had believed them to be true. Came up with the waggons at the foot of Bato's [Botha's] Hill, and went on before them. There the road is very bad. In ascending the hill one of our waggons was nearly overturned in consequence of a waggon having broken down and left in the way. Crossed the hill and outspanned on the side farthest from Graham's Town. Here Messrs Ross and McDiarmid joined us. When nearly ready to start, Dr Adams, the medical attendant of the American mission to Natal passed from the Kat River, and afforded us satisfactory information as to the settled state of the country. This he could the better do, as with only two attendants, he had passed through that part in which rumour said some murders had been committed. After a few minutes of conversation with Dr Adams he and we took our respective routes. Towards sunset we were attacked by a violent thunderstorm in which the rain fell in torrent, the thunder was loud, and the lightning very vivid. The rain coming in suddenly with some of it poured through the sail cloth with which the waggon is covered, so that neither those in nor

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those out of the waggon escaped. We outspanned at the willow tree to the East of Hermanus Kraal and the rain ceasing we spent the night in composure, if not in clothes altogether dry.

In the morning of November 25th while preparing breakfast and waiting until the hills before us should be dry by the sun, six Kaffer women some of whom used to be our neighbours at Burnshill came up to us, on their way to seek employment in the Colony. They complained of hunger, and we gave them some food. They must have been destitute in their own country when obliged to leave it in such circumstances. Mr Ross spoke a little to them in their own tongue.

Wednesday November 25th 1835 Left the outspan place at the willow trees, and with some difficulty ascended the hill between it and the Fish River. When we came to this river it was considered to be too high for being forded and we judged it proper to apply to the commissioner of the mail post a little lower down for permission to cross it by means of the raft, which Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the present Governor, has caused to be constructed for the transportation of goods when the river is high. Ensign Watson of 27th Regiment at once agreed to transport us and our waggons to the opposite side. There were 10 oxen in each waggon, and 8 of these by [see page 39, sections crossed out] means of cables attached to the banks were loosed from their place in the front waggon and conveyed on the raft to the opposite bank. The raft is pulled from the one side to the other by means of strong cables attached to beams of wood on each side of the stream. To facilitate the pulling powers the ropes pass over at least two wooden rollers on each side of the raft. Two oxen were left in the waggon to pull the waggon upon the raft when the second voyage was to be made. The waggon being tested securely, the soldiers especially pulled the raft and its contents to the opposite shore. [back to p.34] Six voyages were made for our 3 waggons, and one for our horses and ourselves. This raft was constructed for conveying Government stores across the river during the war, and no toll is as yet exacted at it. We however gave the soldiers who brought the raft a present for their trouble. At this post called Double Drift, we met a young officer of the 72nd Regiment who with one attendant had that day travelled from Fort Beaufort situated about the head of the Buffalo River, and who afforded proof that the rumours afloat in Graham's Town as to the unsettled state of the Kaffers were not to be depended on. He told us that he had a little before been burning huts in the vicinity of Pirrie, and that the Kaffers shewed marks of displeasure when he was so engaged, but he had no orders to fire on them, nor did he wish to bring himself into difficulties by doing so. We slept near the river, and in the morning of November 26th slowly ascended the hill or tongue of land on three sides of which the river runs, and which appears to be formed for the purpose of allowing of a communication between one part of the Country and another. At the top of this curiously formed piece of land we outspanned and breakfasted. We again set out travelling

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for about 2 hours outspanned at Fort Willshire. Hereabouts we saw further marks of the feeling of safety and security which was prevailing. After we had resumed our journey, we took a view of the ruins of the first Fort which had begun to be erected here. The needless expense are a many in building an expensive scale these fortifications which are never finished must have been very considerable. The walls were about half a storey in height and contained within them a number of huts, which seemed to be inhabited by Hottentots and Fingoes. We called at the real fort which bore striking marks of the destructive operations of the Kaffers after it had been abandoned at the beginning of the war. Capt. Halifax the Commander was very obliging and kindly offered his services to aid us in prosecuting our journey. In one point we found his aid useful. It is pleasant to meet with military gentlemen so affable as Captain Hal[ifax]. Soon after leaving Fort Willshire we came to the Keiskamma which was somewhat swollen. Two of our waggons got through easily but Mr Ross's, owing to the unmanageableness of one of his leading oxen, was long in getting through. His situation in the middle of the river seemed at one time very perilous. The oxen of one of the waggons which had gained the shore were joined to those in his waggon and both together pulled it out of the river. A fourth waggon going to Fort Cox, was still longer in the water than Mr Ross's and, but for the aid which our people afforded it, would perhaps have remained in the stream during the night. We spent the night near the Keiskamma and in the evening and morning saw several Kaffers who were very friendly and were easily satisfied in their demands than some others of them. Some of them were going to sell horses and cattle at Fort Willshire. On Friday November 27th we travelled in the country of the Kaffers, but saw few marks of present population. Some small patches of tilled ground were seen here and there and some small herds of cattle. I have never before seen the country so well clothed with grass. We looked at the ruins of the house of Warren the trader who was killed by the Kaffers about the beginning of the war. From this place, in consequence of the dispute which he had had with one of the chiefs, he had been expelled, and forbidden to return; and I have heard that he returned with reluctance to the place where he was murdered. In the afternoon Mr Ross's road separated from ours and we proceeded towards our respective stations. At a small stream called the Debe, we met the natives in considerable numbers as in this vicinity they had been located by the commissioner. The night overtook us on our journey but as the moon was shining we continued our course and about 9 o'clock we reached our former dwelling. Not a human being was to be found at it, but some must have been there immediately before our appearance as there was a fire in one of the rooms at my house. Ashes and dirt seemed to have been accumulating since we had left it and fires seem to have been made in all parts of the floor to serve those who had occupied it. After we had been some time at home, our good friend Sutu and some of her people came to welcome us. She was very glad to see us, after the awful scenes which had taken place. We arrived at Burnshill

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on Friday November 27th after having been absent from it 10 months. We had cause to thank God that we had met with so much kindness at His hand in the midst of all the affliction with which we have been visited, and though many may entirely overlook his hand in preserving them while journeying, we would desire to acknowledge his protecting care when returning to the former scene of our labours.

Thursday December 3rd 1835 We were glad to see that we should have a roof over our heads, but we soon discovered that our houses were very much destroyed. Not a single door or window had been left in them, and the woodwork which remained was much injured. Mr McDiarmid's K[raal] had been burnt and around houses of the former supporters of the station M[atwa] and C[harles] H[enry]'s houses were standing. In the morning of November 28th we saw many fragments of other kraals and of books for Mr K[ayser] and others of us had been obliged to leave behind in going about.

The church had not been held more sacred than our houses. Even the reading desk had been carried away. I am not aware to what extent Kaffers have thus destroyed or taken away our property, but it is proper to state that others have had some share in the work. As we expect to obtain an account of some articles which had been taken from the station, I shall not at present mention whither such articles may have gone. Our houses and the church seem to have been used at one time by our own troops and at another time by the Kaffers. The works which both *a priori* may be supposed to have performed were very visible. After the peace Sutu and her friends occupied them for some time, but their own were erected before our arrival, and we were saved the pain of telling them to deliver them up. Some inscriptions on our walls give positive evidence as to those who had for some time been resident here. In one room there is written with a hand "Herein Larkin left this place on the 4th day of July 1835". In others there is inscribed "James Hubick, 75 Regiment left this place on the 4th day of J[uly]". On the outside of the wall is inscribed "D.B. 72nd Highlanders". I understand that the houses at Chumie had not been so much destroyed as those here, and we may with gratitude remark that the Glasgow Missionary Society has been expecially favoured in this respect. All the other stations in the country of the Kaffers who made the attack on the Colony and some beyond it having been burnt during the later commotion. Mr McDiarmid and I visited Fort Cox and called on Major McL[aren] the Commander. He spoke in a very judicious manner concerning the Kaffers, and gave us a reasonable ground to believe that he is free from those illiberal views which we fear several entertain. Afterwards we called on our worthy friend Captain Stretch, the [ ] commander, and found that he and Mrs Stretch and Mr W[eir] had gone to the S[eminary]. We saw Sutu and many other Kaffers about the Fort. Having returned home we found our friends viewing our dilapidated precincts. Learnt from them more interesting particulars concerning the war. On Sabbath the 29th there were but few

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people at worship. Some of the Hottentot soldiers from the post came with the view of hearing the Word of God. In the evening we heard the heathenish noise which used to be made over sick people. On Monday November 30th Mr McDiarmid and I set out for [King] William's Town and took Pirrie in our way. Near the ruins of the houses we found Mr Ross at his waggon and perceived that already he had been busily employed in transporting poles for walls and thatch for the roof of the house which he is about to erect. In a short time he set out with us for [King] William's Town where we according to the Governor's letter waited on Col. Smith, the Commander of the Province of Adelaide. He read to us formal documents containing his views with regard to policy which he thought should be adopted in the Government of our new subjects. From these documents it appeared that Col. Smith is making rapid progress in his acquaintance with the real condition of the Kaffers and that he is leaving behind the exclusive views of most of the colonists. He seems to be seeking light and to be desirous of acting according to the light which he has obtained. He however has not arrived at a full understanding of the evil of the plan of lending ground to the persons and taking from them. Much of the dissatisfaction which has prevailed on the frontier has been occasioned by this plan. He very likely would never take back the ground which he how lends, but his successor does not perhaps walk in his steps, and pulls down what he has built. To take the ground and firmly to retain it, occasions strong resentment not only at the time when it was first taken but the giving retaking systems lays a train for perpetual dissatisfaction.

Mr Ross mentioned Dr C[ ] H[ ] as an author which we knew he would respect, he having been acquainted with that celebrity in Glasgow. He wished us to state our views to him in writing in regard to such matters as might lead to the consideration of the condition of the Kaffers. So far as we could do this consistently with our profession, we could not reasonably give an unqualified refusal to his request. He stated to us that the number of His Majesty's subjects is about 70,000. This number equals the half of the former population of the Colony. He had heard of the false reports in circulation about Graham's Town and had taken measures to suppress them. The measures of such a man are likely to be energetic and effective. John Tshatshu resides near [King] William's Town. We called at his place on our return to Pirrie and found him and his family dwelling in a round house but clothed after the manner of the whites. His waggon was standing near his door and was a clean mark that he had not one [ ] got before almost all his countrymen. [passage crossed out] The shades of the evening close in upon us and were we reached the ruins of Pirrie, and we were partially wet with rain, but we reached Mr Ross's waggons in safety, stopped, and slept in it with more comfort than might have been expected, and next morning returned to Burnshill.

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On our way we called on Motompo, Matwa's mother, who according to Mr Ross is the wife [of] Gaika of whom B[ ] speaks in such terms of praise. She was very glad to hear of the arrival of a missionary. This woman was particularly solicitous for the safety of Mr Ross when the Kaffers made war on the Colony and when all the men in her neighbourhood had gone to their respective chiefs she employed women to visit the kraals near Pirrie and warn the people of them to do no injury to Mr Ross and family. While the Kaffers were in high spirits as to the victory which they thought they had obtained over the Colony, [Motompo] assisted Mr Ross who was a witness in one at a meeting of Maqoma's counsellors in [ ] on them, the necessity of obtaining peace and said that in this were found for they would all be killed.[693]

On Thursday the 3rd December Mr McDiarmid left Burnshill for Graham's Town in order to bring his family hither. I gave Sandile, the principal Kaffer chief, a pen and some of his councillors, a lesson in the Alphabet. He appears much less interested than Matwa or Tyali.

Friday December 4th 1835 Many of our old neighbours have visited us since we came and we find that almost none of them have been killed during the war. They are suffering very considerably from hunger, as they have lost the greater part of their cattle. They are if possible more importunate beggars than ever they were before. When they seek food only their begging may be excused, but when it extends to tobacco and buttons it is not to be excused. Had some conversation with Umyeye, blind man who resided in this neighbourhood before the war. He said he had no sin, but did not persist in his assertion. When telling him that he would have to answer to the great and terrible God for his former neglect of the Gospel, he said that he had come always to church. This was quite false and in thus speaking he was guilty of sin. In the course of the day many necessitous individuals presented themselves before me. To several of them, I offered employment, and paid them with food.

[Laing's note: X copied this place on the 8th Dec 1835].

Saturday December 5th 1835 Yesterday I received documents from Chumie shewing that some of the property of the missionaries at Burnshill is in the possession of the military at Fort Cox. People are complaining of hunger, but are not willing to make much exertion to obtain food.

Sabbath December 6th 1835 About 23 adults attended worship among whom were 2 of the old men who I was in former times accustomed to mention as remarkable for their attention on the gospel. A few destitute people have remained this day at the station with the view of

[693]This section is palimpsestic and virtually illegible with Laing overwriting his own text.

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worship tomorrow. I wish I were near some benevolent people who would and could give some food to satisfy the hungry people around this station. Anything we can do is on too small a scale for their necessity. Those who came today conducted themselves like people who wish to be instructed. Sutu was present. A greater number of Hottentots from the military post came to Chumie than on last Sabbath. The day being very hot, and there being no seats in the church, we met under a tree. What a change has taken place in this country! War lately raged and filled the inhabitants with dismay. Now peace prevails, and terror has given place to a feeling of security.

Monday December 7th 1835 In the Cape Advertiser[694] of 28th *ult.* there is a minute of the evidence of Cap[tain] R.S. Aitchison before a committee of the House of Commons for enquiry into the treatment of aborigines in the British Settlements. This evidence contains some wonderful disclosures which the Kaffers received in being driven from a part of the country at a time when their crops were coming to maturity. Capt. Aitchison makes an attempt to fix the blame of the discontent which prevailed among the Kaffers before the eruption on the missionaries but he signally fails in this attempt and is obliged to confess that to the expelling system the dissatisfaction that preceded in the minds of the Kaffers was certainly to be traced. He displays much ignorance as to the improvement of some individual natives and as to some marks of extended improvement, but as he mentions Mr Ross by name, I may leave him to return an answer to those parts of his evidence which bear on mission to the Kaffers. Charles Henry arrived from Chumie. In a former part of this journal I have mentioned that the B.p.[Burnshill people] went out with Matwa to Chumie as no missionary had then settled at Burnshill and as they thought that hearers would have great facility in stealing from them on account of [business at the Mission Station] they chose to remain at Chumie and to sow there. At Fort Cox I saw Maqoma wearing the badge of his office, a large silver seal attached to chain of same metal. Cap[tain] S[tretch] praises him for the power of mind which he possesses and said that he would have been a shining character if he had been educated. He appears to be in good health and spirits.

Tuesday December 8th 1835 This is the first year in which I have seen the locusts. Swarms of old locusts were to be seen in winter and now in summer the young ones are very numerous. They are without wings for some time, and look like grasshoppers. They are of late increasing in size, and their wings are now distinctly visible. In this year when nothing has been sown in our gardens, they have entered them in great force. Man's pride is humbled when he [is] overcome by so hungry an enemy. Of late the heat has been very great, and as is often the case after heat in this country today there was a fine fall of rain. An old woman

[694] *South African Commercial Advertiser.*

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came today to seek food for a man who must remain apart from society several days on account of the death of his wife. She will place his food in a situation where he will find it, but the vessel out of which he eats must be thrown away. His kaross must also be thrown away. Women when their husbands die remain apart in the same manner. Seven days used to be the time of exclusion but the number has been reduced to 4. Decision is strongly marked in the Kaffer character. The perseverance which a native will display to gain object on which he has set his heart is truly astonishing. If their desires were directed to the right objects, they might be expected to seek them with extraordinary perseverance.

Thursday December 10th 1835 A number of people here have been working for food but few of them have wrought well. Have never before seen such a desire for work for food, and I have no doubt but that in Glasgow many humane individuals would be found to provide food for such as are destitute but who could and would work for it while the sick and helpless would be the peculiar objects of their care. Spoke twice to the people who were working in the cause of affliction and exhorted them to make good use of their privileges. A small quantity of Indian corn I have dispensed of to them for seed, but unless the locusts be removed from the country, what is or may be sown will not likely come to maturity. These destitute creatures have done comparatively little injury to the grass throughout the country but then it is uncommonly abundant.

Friday December 11th 1835 With the aid of natives have been engaged in replacing the wooden fence which has been burnt during the war. A few of them wrought well, but the most of them continued only for a short time. Tente has called on his way from the Missionary station of Pirrie to Chumie. He states that a man of Makoma's going to [Graham's Town] with his own cattle was set upon by some of B[otumane]'s people and deprived of them. On this he com[plained] to Col. Smith who today sent a patrol to obtain the cat[tle] from B[otumane]'s people so threatening in their attitude that they conceived themselves necessarily called on to fire for their own safety which they did and *killed* three of them. Such is the account which I have received from T[ente] but I would like to [hear] a fuller one.

Saturday December 12th 1835 Received from Major Maclean five doors, and some articles which had been taken from Burnshill. Was surprised that these articles were so much destroyed, and that they were returned in such a dirty condition. Col. England who at one time had these things in his possession, left a document in the possession of Captain S[tretch] concerning on which I have acted in recovering them. A native girl says that there is a strong outer door still at the fort, but I should probably not be able to identify it. Mr McDiarmid, as he made it, will if he should have opportunity when he returns be able to tell whether or not it

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belongs to the mission. He still retains one of our tables. This day has been *remarkably* hot and our repairs proceeded but slowly. Some women sought food for a man who is shut out according to custom from society because his wife has died. I thought their plea bad, and refused to give them any and advised them to leave off the custom for which they could give no reason, and which exposed those who observed it to danger, as well as hunger. On thinking of this custom, it seemed to me that by giving them food when they are attending to it, I might be regarded as approving of their conduct in this respect.

Monday December 14th 1835 Yesterday there were upwards of 30 adherents at worship. Cap. [Stretch] sent about six of his young Kaffer men, plainly but neatly dressed to church. It was pleasant to see them so decently attired. Were there a number of men like Cap. S[tretch] to co-operate with the missionaries the improvement of the Kaffers might be expected rapidly to go on. Have been informed that the death of the two kaffers about the Debe was caused by the representation of a deserter from Makoma, on whose *ipse dixit* Col. Smith proceeded to go to such extremities to make him act as they did. Yesterday Notenta's cattle were seized at the Debe because they were a few yards behind the boundary. This so excited the Kaffers generally that small parties were seen passing this post the whole of the day. This is the neighbouring post of F[ort] C[ox]. The boundary for the G[reat] p[lace] at the Debe is a most unsuitable one as I have noticed before in this journal. The people living along the foot of the mountains are hemmed in by the boundary and have no space wherein to graze their cattle. I understand from Col. Smith that the lending plan was to adopted in the meantime in order to accommodate the inhabitants of the station side of the mountain. When hearing that the Kaffers have been excited by the taking of the cattle of one of the Great People, I am reminded that the immediate cause of the late dreadful war was occasioned by the taking of the royal cattle. The office who did so seemed, according to W[ ] A[ ], who had his information from the Kaffers to single out the chief's cattle, by which the natives were dreadfully enraged, and the skinning took place in which Klo-Klo was wounded. The whole of the natives were then stirred up to avenge the blood of their chief. The young locusts are now getting wings. They are said to be as hurtful after they begin to fly. A Kaffer produced a cross-cut saw which I believe is Mr McDiarmid's and asked a present for it. As it is partly injured I told him to wait until Mr McDiarmid's return when we shall see how far it may be of use. The same man produced a day or two ago a water pail for which I gave him a small present. The population seems to be very great in this vicinity perhaps too great as the Gaika tribe are very much circumscribed in their territory.

Wednesday December 16th 1835 Yesterday the Rev. Mr Lee arrived from Somerset where his station at present is. He had come from Chumie and has taken a view of Lovedale on his way. Of our four stations Lovedale and Pirie are burnt but of the houses of our six

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missionaries, *two* are burnt. The church at Lovedale has been spared, but the church at Pirie has been destroyed along with the other houses. Mr B[ennie] speaks of the natives whom he saw at Chumie and Lovedale as having a famished appearance. Mr B[ennie] has been employed in the district of Burnshill during the greater part of the time he has been absent from the Kaffers where he has obtained much important information concerning the moral and religious state of a considerable portion of the Colony. There are some Kaffer inhabitants in the district of Burnshill concerning whom he has learnt some interesting particulars. The bushmen are troublesome in these parts. He left this place for Pirrie in the afternoon. Notento passed the station on her way from Col. Smith to whom I supposed she had gone of the business of the cattle which had been taken by [ ] people when over the boundary. She listened with marked attention to the address which Mr B[ennie] delivered to the natives. I have nearly finished the fence around the house and garden. The utmost attention is required in order to carry on work with natives. I pay them with food, but am sorry to think that I shall not be able to pay them out of the supplies which I have much longer. Those working have no cattle or goats wherewith to supply themselves. The country around is swarming with flying insects. Lately they were like grasshoppers.

Friday December 18th 1835 Mr B[ennie] removed to P[irie] last night and this morning set off for the Colony to bring his family. A storm of rain is falling this evening. Since my return I have observed that the natives ask for spirits more than they were wont to do. I have no spirits nor wine in my house and can very well refuse to give them such things. It is now a year since the seizing of the chief's cattle on the Gaga, which was the immediate cause of the war took place.

Saturday December 19th 1835 Here there was a thunderstorm with much rain. This season is the wettest since I came. The grass is obtaining so that comparatively few cattle which the Kaffers possess yield them as much food as possible.

Monday December 21st 1835 Yesterday was showery and on that account it is likely some of our neighbours did not come to church. The number of hearers was 20. In the afternoon the Kaffers were profaning the Sabbath by racing their oxen. This morning a man came to me to endeavour to clear himself from blame about detaining one of our waggon oxen, but I soon found that [ ] after [ ] consideration that he had stolen the ox or at least driven him to secrete him when he should have told [me] that the ox was in his possession. A counsel concerning him was held for my horse, and I was called to state to the people composing it what the person at the bar had said to me on the subject. I told them that I was not a ruler or divider among them, and requested them to act in a just manner. The punishment fine of one ox laid

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on the man who seemed to be really guilty was but small, and his unwillingness to pay the fine was considered an aggravation of his offence.

Tuesday December 22nd 1835 The Rev. Messrs Brownlee and Kayser came to this place with a view of making preparations for residing as missionaries in the new province. They intend to visit Col. Smith tomorrow.

Wednesday December 23rd 1835 Late last evening a poor diseased man came to the station seeking an asylum. The feeling seems to be prevalent that those who can obtain no help in the country will find help at the stations, and that when kindness fails in every other place it will not fail there. The friendless have learned from experience to regard the missionaries as their friends. It is just a year today that we heard of the dreadful attack of the rage which we had seen prevailing for a few days before. Messrs Brownlee and Kayser are still here. The three American missionaries have set sail from Algoa Bay for Natal.

Thursday December 24th 1835 Messrs Brownlee and Kayser left this station to wait on Col. Smith at King William's Town. In enumerating the people who have come hither, I find they amount to 25 of all ages. In this are included servants. Two of these people are blind, four of them are labouring under disease. Had opportunity of speaking to a number of visitors. Sandile the youth however is far from being docile.

Friday December 25th 1835 Messrs Brownlee and Kayser returned from their visit to Col. Smith the commandant of the new province. They found him very friendly and desirous that they should re-establish themselves as missionaries amongst the Kaffers. Mr Kayser today saw Makoma at Fort Cox and received from him a warm call to erect a station near his kraal on the Keiskamma. Mr Brownlee set off for Chumie on his return to Somerset where his family is.

Saturday December 26th 1835 This day has been very hot. Messrs Weir and Melville, Commissioners for the Gaika family called. Yesterday I asked an old blind man what thing he would most wish to obtain. He answered that he would most wish to obtain long life. I told him that in old age men met with little help, and were neglected as useless. In a little he experienced the truth of the remark and had reason to see that such an old age as his would be, was not to be desired. For some young people taking advantage of his blindness carried off the food with which he was about to satisfy his hunger, and of which he was thus made to feel the sad of hard effects of his unmerciful treatment during the day. Have impressed on those who can work the necessity of exerting themselves in order to obtain food. The people of this station are of opinion that here it will be difficult to keep cattle because of the facility which the bushes afford for stealing. Charles Henry finds that at Chumie there are thiefs as

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well as here, as some goats which he lately bought here have been taken from him. Mr Kayser has this day aided me in conversing on religious subjects with the numerous people who visited the station.

Monday December 28th 1835 Yesterday there were 30 adults present at worship who were very attentive. In the evening we heard dancing, beating and shouting at the Great Place. The lightning was truly splendid on the Amatola mountains. This morning Mr Kayser left this station in order to return with his family that he may re-establish himself as a missionary with Makoma. In the *Graham's Town Journal* of December 24th Major Dundas referring to a letter of Makoma's says "I pay no heed to such letters, they are written by the missionaries for occasions". The bearing of this assertion though not quite clear is directed against the missionaries. If the missionaries be good men they will not without lost cause write letters for any occasions and if Major Dundas knows of any missionaries who have acted otherwise he might produce their names that the innocent may not be unjustly blamed. The occasions may refer to the occasions of the chiefs or to the occasions of the missionaries but when our characters are concerned Major Dundas cannot be displeased if we call on him to afford us an explanation. Have several times since I came hither seen a much more disobliging spirit in Sutu that I was formerly accustomed to behold. Today in passing with three or four with her women from the missionary place she was quite uncivil. She is evidently not improving under the new order of things. Have heard from Charles Henry accounts unfavourable to Matwa *viz*. that he is neglecting the worship of God and slaughtering on Sabbath and that he's been guilty of a breech of the seventh commandment. Charles Henry visited a native kraal of which Sokoyo is the master and held conversation with the people of it of a religious nature.

Tuesday December 29th 1835 I hope our friends in Graham's Town will now exert themselves for promoting the best interests of their fellow subjects in the Province of Queen Adelaide. So far as I have observed there they are still indifferent to the gospel and are still proud and unhumbled. But I cannot say they are alone for many of those who know more than they do are repining instead of repenting.

Transcribed so far this 29th day of December 1835.

Mr McDiarmid and family arrived from Graham's Town after a journey longer than usual on account of the breaking of one of the waggons. (This is one of the hottest days we have experienced. The above disaffiliation on the part of Sutu to which I have alluded is not to be fully accounted for by anything as yet come to my knowledge; but I am pursued that there is something at the bottom of it which I have not been made acquainted with. Mbitye a former

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communicant at Lovedale displays a kind of outrageous and dishonest spirit. At the post I have heard that she told some lies.)

Wednesday December 30th 1835 A fine rain has refreshed the country. Numbers of Kaffers have visited us and have received instruction. Some here with much pretention [*sic*] others are careless. Our prospects at the end of last year were very dark. At the ending of this at the ending of this they are brighter. God has been merciful to the Kaffers in giving them another opportunity of hearing the gospel. Let us endeavour to bring them to repentance lest he should cut them down as cumberers of the ground. I am warning them that unless they leave their sinful ways God will again visit them with his judgement. (This day has been very cool, so changeable is the climate).

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Return to Burnshill

1st January 1836 to 8th January 1836

Friday January 1st 1836 Have heard that additional examinations on the business of this frontier have been taking place in London. The missionary to the Kaffers will obtain justice there though they may not meet with it in this country. (This day has been very hot, and the natives have been at diligence to rest themselves.)

Monday January 4th 1836 Yesterday there were about 20 adults at worship. Anta was racing his cattle in the morning. The day was surprisingly cold to be in the middle of summer. This morning I paid some attention to the operations of a large and beautiful spider when a small grasshopper was entangled and struggling in its web. In this condition the spider rushed upon its victim and took speedy and effectual means of securing it, by spinning from it jowls copious quantities of cream like material. These materials entwined round the poor grasshopper and made fast upon it with its feet. After the grasshopper had been enveloped in these materials as in a bag, the spider ceased from its spinning and entangling work, and seized the grasshopper with its teeth and continued holding it for some time as if it had been sucking its blood. In observing this operation before, I thought that the spider had only used the old web to secure its prey but on this occasion, I distinctly saw this entangling stuff rushing from its body. This stuff was of a much lighter colour than the web which remained entwined after the grasshopper had been secured. (The weather has again become hot.) The natives are continually manifesting their covetous dispositions. We must try to teach them to observe the ten commandments.

Tuesday January 5th 1836 Mr Bennie arrived in the waggon, having adopted that mode of conveyance on account of the difficulty with which he rides on horseback from an injury which he received by a fall. The commissioners and about 300 Kaffers moved today from Fort Cox to attend Col. Smith's meeting at [King] William's Town.

Thursday January 7th 1836 Yesterday our first meeting of presbytery since we arrived in the new province was held. Our reverend Messrs C[halmers] and W[eir], the two commissioners, were absent on account of Col. Smith's great meeting with the Kaffers. Near the commencement of our meeting, we agreed to spend a portion of the time we might be together in prayer on account of the peculiar circumstances of the mission. This morning we met for the above purpose, and gave thanks to God for his wonderful goodness manifested to us during the late commotion. We gave an appointment to the Rev. Mr B[ennie] reside in the Colony with the view of completing the translation of the Bible into the Kaffer language.

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The reason why this appointment was given is that Mr Bennie might be able to give his undivided attentions to this important work which he could not by any means do were he to settle at a missionary station in Caffraria. Mr Bennie's work as a translator is peculiarly valuable, as it would not be easy to supply his place, were he to be removed from earthly labours.

Friday January 8th 1836 There is at this moment a thunder storm, and another supply of rain is refreshing the country. Received a letter from Dr Adam[son], Cape Town in which he says that £4 of subscription for the relief of the repressed which had not been collected will be sent to me to be apportioned according to my recommendation in paying natives who may be prevailed on to execute useful works at this station. He mentions that some additions will likely be made to this sum. Mr Bennie spoke to an old blind man who mentioned that he was a child when Palo died, and that he was circumcised in the same year with Kapai and Gcibe. Palo was the first chief who crossed the Kei, and might be 70 when died. Say that it is 70 years since he died and that he had lived 40 years west of the Kei it would follow that he crossed the Kei about 100 years ago. Probably it may be 20 or 30 years more. Several Kaffers have called who were present at Col. S[mith's] great meeting yesterday. They seem highly satisfied with the proceedings there.

END OF VOLUME ONE

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Appendices

Appendix 1: James Laing's oral interviews

As indicated at the beginning of Chapter Four of this thesis, it was pointed out that Laing conducted a series of oral interviews during 1836 following his return to Burnshill after nine months of asylum in Grahamstown. The interviews, which took place between 1 February and 9 December 1836, fall outside of the period of the journal covered in this thesis. However, the texts of the interviews have been extracted and included below as they contribute new insights into the origins of the amaXhosa, and particularly of the descendants of Ngqika.

The interviews are presented in chronological order and the texts are as recorded in the second volume of Laing's journal.

KATSO

1 February 1836

Statement of Katso an old blind man at this station: Gaika was born on the Hobula [Kabula], a small stream which falls in to the Keiskamma. Katso then resided on the Buffalo River. Gaika's father died about the time of his birth. Hahabee [Rharhabe], Gaika's grandfather, was then living but was killed four or five years after he was born. Hahabee had cattle places about the Kat River and Fort Beaufort. Eno's relatives were living on the west bank of the Fish River when Katso was a young man. Katso was of the same age with Kapai, one of the sons of Hahabee. He said also that Palo was the first who crossed the Kei.[695]

SUTHU

15 February 1836

Sutu, Sandili and some others of the people of the Great Place were dressed in clothes. Gwandi was among the number. Mr Ross arrived on his way home from Lovedale where he was preaching yesterday. He [and] I visited Sutu and made enquiries of her where Gaika was born. We caused one of her people to put the question to her who stated that he was born on the Habula. We asked her where Hahabe, Gaika's grandfather, was born. When she procured the testimony of the same old man that he was born on the mountain near Pirrie she herself stated and was supported by several that Hahabe had his gardens on the Gaga and that he had cattle places on the Kat and Koonap rivers.[696]

[695]Laing journal, Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, 1 February 1836.

[696]Laing journal, Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, 15 February 1836.

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CHARLES HENRY MATSHAYA

12 March 1836

Charles Henry states that in his youth he knew that Gaika lived on the Habula. When he was about 8 years of age he saw Gaika who might then be about 16. Charles Henry seems now to be about 50. Gaika died 6 years ago, and that might be about 52. All the oldest people in the country were born here. Old Ganya must be about 70 or 80 and has resided all his life on this side of the Kei. A man who was sent to U-yese (who ought to know) states that her son Gaika was born on the Habula. About Hahabe's time there was much game about the place where Fort Beaufort is.[697]

MBONJANA

14 March 1836

Old Umbonjana, one of the oldest men in the country, through the medium of Charles Henry, states that Gaika was born on the Habula, that Lau [Mlawu] his father had died sometime before, and that Hahabe was the first Kaffer chief who crossed the Kei. This is a mistake. It is well known by many that there were other Kaffer Chiefs on this side of the Kei before Habula [Rharhabe]. Some people still living have seen Pato near to Mr Ross's station. Nukwa is a son of Hahabe, and is father of Gasella. He is still living. Maswi is another son of Hahabe, and at present lives on this side of the Debe Neck.[698]

NYELENZE

17 March 1836

Called at Nyelenze's place where there was a dance on account of the circumcized youth. Did not interrupt the dancers who seemed to be women but went to the men who were sitting at some distance and addressed them N[yelenze] being one of the oldest and best informed people in the country, I was desirous of learning from him some particulars regarding old times. He told me that he had seen Palo the *great great* grandfather of Gaika. He pointed to a boy of about 8 or 10, and said he was about his age when Palo died. Palo had a kraal on the Inqesha a stream beyond the Neck [Debe Nek]. Palo's birthplace is the Ciniha where Umhala now resides; he was buried on the Cahun [Nahoon River]. Tshio [Tshiwo], Palo's father, was also buried on the Cahun [Nahoon River]. Conde [Ngconde], Tshio's father, resided according to report, near to the place where I found the convative[combative?] gentleman. There is a place there still called Condes [Ngconde's] place. The sons of Gaika are the 7th generation from Conde. Allow 30 years to a generation and it will be 210 years since we know that the Kaffers settled in this part of the country. In Godlonton's Account of the Kaffers he states that Tinde [Ntinde] and Ketshe sons of Togu, Conde's [Ngconde's] father, were the first to cross the Kei.[699] As to time this account would agree with that of Nyelenze.

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[697]Laing journal, Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, 12 March 1836.

[698]Laing journal, Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, 14 March 1836.

[699]Laing journal, Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, 17 March 1836.

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It is remarkable however that Mr Godlonton says that Zwedi of the 14th generation from this time and from whom all the chiefs claim descent "probably lived two centuries or two centuries and a half ago". Allow 30 years to a generation and it will appear to be 420 years since his reign.

NTSUSA

9 December 1836

Tsusa [Ntsusa] is the oldest child of Hahabe [Rharhabe]. In her youth she lived with Palo [Phalo] of whom she can tell many particulars. At that time Palo resided on the CweCwe, a branch of the Buffalo. She was born on the Buffalo. According to her Palo was buried on the Cetwa on the eastern side of the Kei. Nye-lenza [Nyelenze] differs from Tsusa as to the place where Palo died [see entry 17 March 1836]. Before the death of Palo the Kaffers had advanced as far as the Kat River, but she does not know whether or not they had at that time crossed Fish River. Palo was a very old man when he died. Tsusa is a very old woman; I should suppose that she is 100 years old.[700]

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[700]Laing journal, Cory Library, MS 16,579/2, 9 December 1836.

Appendix 2: Table of hearers

On the verso of his entry for 13 October 1834, Laing includes a table recording the numbers of those who visited Burnshill as well as those whom he visited close by from 6 April to 14 August 1834 (excluding those attending Sunday worship).[701]

He calls these people "hearers". Laing's distinction between hearers and converts is interesting, bringing to the fore a new category of mission adherent—those who were curious. Whether the hearers were curious about the missionary or the message is a moot point but these "hearers" merit further scrutiny. The table has been removed from the main text of the journal in the interest of readability.

The radar chart below indicates the pattern of attendance by the "hearers" at Laing's ministrations, analysed by day of the week. Note the low numbers attending on Mondays (influenced perhaps by Laing himself who may have used Monday as a day of relative rest) and the build up towards the weekends. The data follow the chart in tabular form as presented by Laing in his journal. The pattern of attendance bears a striking resemblance to the Fibonacci series devised by Leonardo Pisano/Fibonacci (ca.1170-ca.1250) in his *Liber abaci* published in 1202. The original Fibonacci sequence describes the maximum possible population growth of rabbits under ideal conditions. No doubt the similarity between the famous numerical sequence and Laing's "hearers" is coincidental. However, the graph of Laing's hearers does illustrate the rapidly growing curiosity within the week of Laing's Eastern Cape hearers who were, of course, potential converts.

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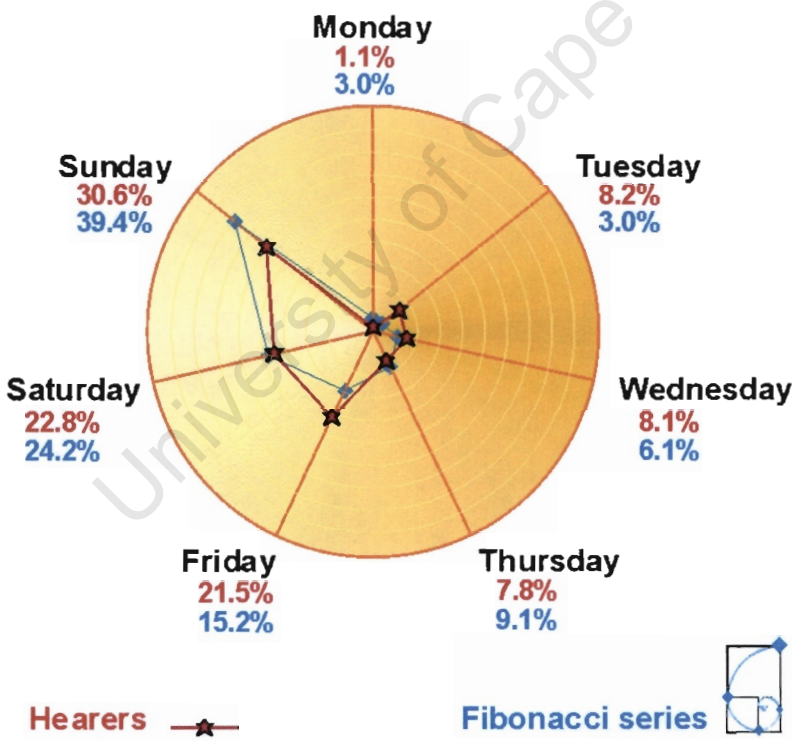


Figure 16: Radar chart showing the pattern of daily attendance by "hearers", April-August 1834. N=707.

[701] 30 June 1834 has been corrected from Sunday (as noted by Laing in his table) to Monday. Laing prefaces the table: "People to whom I have spoken more or less who visited the station and whom I visited near to it. This is not of those who attended public worship on the Sabbath." The chart omits the aggregated figure (205 hearers) given by Laing for the period 2 to 26 April 1834.

1834

Month	Date	Day	Number of hearers
April	6 to 26 April		206
April	27	Sunday	20
April	29	Tuesday	6
April	30	Wednesday	6
May	1	Thursday	6
May	2	Friday	50
May	3	Saturday	0
May	4	Sunday	4
May	7	Wednesday	12
May	8	Thursday	9
May	9	Friday	2
May	10	Saturday	62
May	11	Sunday	19
May	12	Monday	0
May	13	Tuesday	5
May	14	Wednesday	4
May	15	Thursday	4
May	16	Friday	45
May	17	Saturday	5
May	18	Sunday	5
May	19	Monday	0
May	20	Tuesday	8
May	21	Wednesday	3
May	22	Thursday	10
May	23	Friday	1
May	24	Saturday	28
May	25	Sunday	20
May	26	Monday	0
May	27	Tuesday	4
May	28	Wednesday	0
May	29	Thursday	1
May	30	Friday	4
May	31	Saturday	0
June	1	Sunday	0

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1834

Month	Date	Day	Number of hearers
June	2	Monday	5
June	4	Wednesday	7
June	8	Sunday	25
June	10	Tuesday	3
June	11	Wednesday	1
June	12	Thursday	8
June	13	Friday	2
June	15	Sunday	8
June	17	Tuesday	8
June	18	Wednesday	4
June	19	Thursday	5
June	20	Friday	1
June	21	Saturday	20
June	22	Sunday	30
June	23	Monday	0
June	24	Tuesday	1
June	25	Wednesday	3
June	26	Thursday	4
June	27	Friday	3
June	28	Saturday	20
June	29	Sunday	48
June	30	Monday	0
July	1	Tuesday	0
July	2	Wednesday	1
July	3	Thursday	7
July	nos omitted		
July	15	Tuesday	20
July	18	Friday	1
July	19	Saturday	5
July	20	Sunday	20
July	21	Monday	
July	22	Tuesday	2
July	23	Wednesday	4
July	24	Thursday	-

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1834

Month	Date	Day	Number of hearers
July	25	Friday	40
July	26	Saturday	1
July	27	Sunday	7
July	28	Monday	3
July	29	Tuesday	1
July	30	Wednesday	0
August	8	Friday	3
August	9	Saturday	20
August	10	Sunday	10
August	13	Wednesday	12
August	14	Thursday	1
TOTAL			**913**

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Appendix 3: James Laing's climate records 1831-1836

Laing's climate data for 30 August 1831 to 8 January 1836 are presented below in chronological order. Laing made frequent references to weather conditions in his journal and there are many days for which Laing's only comment is an allusion to the weather. Laing's terminology has been retained e.g. "warm"and "very hot". Where he has not provided a precise temperature in Fahrenheit, the data remain Laing's subjective assessments and no attempt has been made in this table to assign more precise values to his observations. The column for rain simply indicates the days on which Laing recorded that rain fell. Laing often elaborated on the strength of the day's rain e.g. "showers today" and the interested reader may wish to return to the specific journal entries for these details.

The data have been isolated and presented in graphic form because the Eastern Cape is a region that has historically been bedevilled by drought and uncertain climatic conditions. These factors impacted then, as they continue to do today, on the region's livestock, crops, water conservation, soil erosion, food security, economic development and quality of life. While Laing's data are often not presented in precise values, historians, geographers, climatologists and others may find they contribute usefully to the lean corpus of existing climate data for this region of the Eastern Cape in the early nineteenth century.

Key to placenames:

A = Amatole	D = Dwagana	L = Lovedale
B = Burnshill	GFR = Great Fish River	P = Pirie
Bal = Balfour	Gtn = Grahamstown	T = Tyhume
BD = Block Drift	K = Kabuse	

Place	YYYY	MM	DD	°F	Description	Rain	Lightning	Thunder	Hail	Wind	Frost	Snow
L	1831	8	30			Y						
L	1831	9	6	54	Hot							
L	1831	9	13			Y						
L	1831	9	14			Y						
L	1831	9	15			Y						
L	1831	9	16			Y						
L	1831	9	17			Y						
L	1831	9	19			Y						
B	1831	10	17			Y						
B	1831	10	29			Y						
B	1831	11	1			Y						
B	1831	11	2			Y						
B	1831	11	3	48								
A	1831	11	3									Y
B	1831	11	5			Y						
B	1831	11	9	80								
B	1831	11	16			Y						
B	1831	11	17	60								

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Place	YYYY	MM	DD	°F	Description	Rain	Lightning	Thunder	Hail	Wind	Frost	Snow
L	1831	8	30			Y						
B	1831	11	29			Y						
B	1831	11	30			Y						
B	1831	12	23			Y						
B	1831	12	24			Y						
B	1832	1	3			Y						
B	1832	1	3		Very hot							
B	1832	1	4	80								
B	1832	1	11	90		Y						
B	1832	1	14	92								
B	1832	1	23	84								
B	1832	1	24			Y						
B	1832	2	6		Hot							
B	1832	2	7			Y						
B	1832	2	7	84								
B	1832	2	13			Y						
B	1832	2	17									
B	1832	2	23			Y						
B	1832	2	25			Y						
B	1832	2	26			Y						
B	1832	3	17	78								
B	1832	3	21	86								
B	1832	3	27	78								
B	1832	3	31	68								
B	1832	4	28		Colder							
B	1832	5	2	60								
B	1832	5	7		Cool							
B	1832	5	14		Cold							
B	1832	6	3	65								
B	1832	6	5	60	Cold	y						
B	1832	6	10		Cold							
B	1832	6	11		Cold							
B	1832	6	20		Hot							
B	1832	6	29				Y					
B	1832	7	2		Cold							
B	1832	7	7	52	Cold							
B	1832	7	19			Y						
B	1832	7	20			Y						
B	1832	7	28		Fine							
B	1832	7	15		Cold							
B	1832	7	16		Cold							
B	1832	8	7			Y	Y	Y				
B	1832	8	20			Y						
A	1832	8	23									Y
B	1832	8	23			Y						
B	1832	9	10			Y		Y				
B	1832	9	13		Very fine							
B	1832	9	16			Y		Y				
B	1832	9	17			Y		Y				
B	1832	9	21		Very fine							
B	1832	9	24		Warmer							
B	1832	9	28		Very fine							

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Place	YYYY	MM	DD	° F	Description	Rain	Lightning	Thunder	Hail	Wind	Frost	Snow
L	1831	8	30			Y						
B	1832	10	5		Extremely fine							
B	1832	10	17			Y						
B	1832	10	18		Fine							
B	1832	11	2			y						
B	1832	11	3			y						
B	1832	11	5			Y	Y	Y	Y			
B	1832	11	10			y						
B	1832	11	11		Very cold							
B	1832	11	12		Very cold							
B	1832	11	15			Y						
B	1832	11	19		Hot							
B	1832	11	29		Very cold							
B	1832	11	30		Very cold							
B	1832	12	1		Very cold							
B	1832	12	2		Very cold							
B	1832	12	3		Very cold							
B	1832	12	16		Cold							
B	1832	12	28		Very hot							
B	1833	1	9	120								
B	1833	1	10			Y						
B	1833	1	11			Y						
B	1833	1	12			Y						
B	1833	1	13			Y						
B	1833	1	14			Y						
B	1833	1	15			Y						
B	1833	1	16			Y						
B	1833	1	17			Y						
B	1833	1	18			Y						
B	1833	1	19		Cool							
B	1833	1	20									
B	1833	1	21		Hot							
B	1833	1	22		Hot							
B	1833	1	23		Hot							
B	1833	1	24		Hot							
B	1833	1	25		Hot							
B	1833	1	26		Hot							
B	1833	1	27		Hot							
B	1833	1	28		Hot							
B	1833	1	29		Hot							
B	1833	1	30			Y		Y				
B	1833	2	11			Y		Y				
B	1833	2	15			Y						
B	1833	2	16			Y						
B	1833	4	28			Y						
B	1833	4	29		Cold							
B	1833	5	18			Y		Y				
B	1833	5	9		Sultry							
B	1833	6	10		Colder							
B	1833	6	13			Y						
B	1833	6	14			Y						
B	1833	6	16		Cold							

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Place	YYYY	MM	DD	°F	Description	Rain	Lightning	Thunder	Hail	Wind	Frost	Snow
L	1831	8	30			Y						
B	1833	6	17		Cold							
B	1833	7	16			Y		Y				
B	1833	7	17			Y						
B	1833	7	18		Fair; warm							
B	1833	9	4							Y		
B	1833	9	5							Y		
B	1833	9	15			Y						
B	1833	9	18		Fine							
B	1833	9	19		Fine							
B	1833	9	22			Y						
B	1833	9	28			Y						
B	1833	10	5							Y		
B	1833	10	10		Very cold night							
B	1833	10	11		Very hot night							
B	1833	10	15	120	Very hot							
B	1833	10	16		Cloudy							
B	1833	10	23			Y						
B	1833	10	24		Misty	Y						
B	1833	10	25			Y				Y		
B	1833	10	26			Y				Y		
B	1833	10	27			Y				Y		
B	1833	10	28		Very fine							
B	1833	10	31			Y	Y	Y				
B	1833	11	1			Y						
B	1833	11	2			Y						
B	1833	11	20			Y						
B	1833	11	22		Hot							
B	1833	11	25		Very hot							
T	1833	12	23			Y						
B	1833	12	27		Very hot							
B	1833	12	28		Very hot							
B	1833	12	29		Very hot							
B	1833	12	30		Very hot							
B	1833	12	31		Very hot							
B	1834	1	1		Very hot							
B	1834	1	2		Very hot							
B	1834	1	3		Very hot	Y						
B	1834	1	4		Cold							
B	1834	1	25	88								
B	1834	2	8			Y						
B	1834	2	9			Y						
Bal	1834	2	27	142.5								
B	1834	3	7			Y						
B	1834	3	8			Y						
B	1834	3	9			Y						
B	1834	3	10			Y						
B	1834	3	11			Y						
B	1834	3	12			Y						
B	1834	3	14			Y						
B	1834	3	15			Y						

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Place	YYYY	MM	DD	° F	Description	Rain	Lightning	Thunder	Hail	Wind	Frost	Snow
L	1831	8	30			Y						
B	1834	3	16			Y						
B	1834	4	27		Cold	Y	Y	Y				
B	1834	4	28		Very cold	Y						
B	1834	4	29		Cold							
L	1834	5	5		Very fine							
B	1834	5	25		Hot					Y		
B	1834	5	26		Hot					Y		
B	1834	5	27		Hot					Y		
B	1834	5	28		Very cold					Y		
B	1834	5	29		Very cold					Y		
B	1834	5	30		Very cold							
B	1834	5	31		Very cold							
B	1834	6	1		Very cold					Y		
B	1834	7	20		Very cold							
B	1834	7	21		Very cold						Y	
B	1834	7	22		Hot							
B	1834	7	23		Hot							
B	1834	7	24		Hot							
B	1834	7	25									
B	1834	7	26		Cold	Y						
B	1834	7	27		Extremely cold							Y
B	1834	7	28		Cold							
B	1834	8	7		Cold							
B	1834	9	27			Y						
B	1834	9	28			Y						
B	1834	9	29			Y						
B	1834	9	30			Y						
B	1834	10	1			Y						
B	1834	10	2			Y						
B	1834	10	4			Y						
B	1834	10	5			Y						
B	1834	10	8			Y						
B	1834	10	9			Y						
B	1834	10	14		Fine							
B	1834	10	15		Hot							
B	1834	10	23			Y				Y		
B	1834	10	28		Cold							
B	1834	10	31			Y						
B	1834	11	10			Y						
B	1834	11	14			Y						
B	1834	11	22			Y		Y				
B	1834	11	25			Y						
D	1834	12	9			Y						
D	1834	12	10		Cloudy							
K	1834	12	10			Y						
K	1834	12	11			Y						
K	1834	12	13			Y						
B	1835	1	14		Very hot							
B	1835	1	15		Cool	Y						
B	1835	1	19		Hot	Y						

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Place	YYYY	MM	DD	° F	Description	Rain	Lightning	Thunder	Hail	Wind	Frost	Snow
L	1831	8	30			Y						
B	1835	1	22			Y						
B	1835	1	24		Cold							
B	1835	1	26			Y						
B	1835	1	27			Y						
BD	1835	1	28			Y						
GFR	1835	1	29			Y						
Gtn	1835	3	7		Very hot							
Gtn	1835	3	8		Very hot							
Gtn	1835	3	9		Very hot							
Gtn	1835	3	10		Very hot							
Gtn	1835	3	11		Very hot							
Gtn	1835	3	12		Very hot							
Gtn	1835	3	13		Very hot							
Gtn	1835	3	14		Very hot							
Gtn	1835	10	15		Very warm							
Gtn	1835	10	27			Y						
Gtn	1835	11	2			Y						
Gtn	1835	11	9			Y						
Gtn	1835	11	24			Y		Y				
P	1835	11	30			Y						
B	1835	12	6		Very hot							
B	1835	12	8		Very hot	Y						
B	1835	12	18			Y						
B	1835	12	19			Y		Y				
B	1835	12	20			Y						
B	1835	12	29		Very hot							
B	1835	12	30		Very cool	Y						
B	1836	1	1		Very hot							
B	1836	1	4		Cold							
B	1836	1	8			Y		Y				

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