

THE REMINISCENCES OF THOMAS STUBBS,

1820 - 1877

A Thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts,

by

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## PREFACE

The "Reminiscences" of Thomas Stubbs are one of several such compositions which have survived from the 1820 Settlers. The Manuscript offers one of the fullest and most lively accounts of frontier life, and the experiences of the Settlers as seen through the eyes of Thomas Stubbs.

The object of this Thesis has been to reconstruct the life of Thomas Stubbs, which has proved an arduous, yet absorbing, task; and to comment upon and evaluate some of the views Stubbs expressed when he wrote the "Reminiscences" between 1874 and 1876, as well as to test, where possible, the validity of the opinions and sentiments formed during a half century's acquaintance with the Eastern frontier of the Cape of Good Hope.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>PREFACE</u> .....	ii
<u>SECTION A. THE LIFE OF THOMAS STUBBS, 1820 SETTLER, 1820-1877</u>	
Chapter	
I    Thomas Stubbs in Albany, 1820-1828 .....	1
II   Stubbs, the Frontier, and the Sixth Frontier War.....	9
III  Civilian Life between the Wars .....	17
IV   Stubbs and the Seventh Frontier War, 1846-1847.....	24
V    Stubbs, the Eighth Frontier War, and the Hottentot Rebellion .....	38
VI   The Struggle to Adjust .....	60
<u>SECTION B. THE REMINISCENCES AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF           THE PERIOD</u> .....	65
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u> .....	84

APPENDICES:

- A    Genealogical Table of the Family of Thomas Stubbs.
- B    List of the Stubbs Family Possessions and Property  
        sold in 1824.
- C    Synopsis of the Mail Contracts held by Thomas Stubbs.
- D    Synopsis of the Patrols mounted by Thomas Stubbs and  
        the Sporting Club in the Seventh Frontier War, 1846-1847.
- E    Synopsis of the Patrols mounted by Thomas Stubbs and  
        the Rangers in the Eighth Frontier War, 1850-1853.
- F    Genealogical Table of the Xhosa Chiefs.
- G    Maps: i) Sketch Map to illustrate Thomas Stubbs'  
                Frontier Patrols.  
          ii) Sketch Map to illustrate Thomas Stubbs'  
                Reminiscences on the Eastern Frontier,  
                1820-1877.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

- |                              |                 |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| The Young Man, Thomas Stubbs | to face page 20 |
| Thomas Stubbs, the Veteran   | to face page 62 |

SECTION C. TEXT OF THE REMINISCENCES OF THOMAS STUBBS  
(numbered as in the original manuscript)

Volume I, 1820-1851.

Volume II, 1851-1876.

Appendices I to IV: Newspaper cuttings bound  
with the original manuscript.

Appendix V: Men I have known, by Thomas Stubbs,  
August 1868.

### ABBREVIATIONS.

The following abbreviations have been used in this work:

- 424 of 1851            British Parliamentary Papers, No.424 of 1851, and so on.
- C.O.                    Records of the Colonial Office.
- G.P.O.                 Records of the General Post Office.
- M.O.,O.C.             Records of the Orphan Chamber.
- Votes and Proceedings    Cape of Good Hope, Parliament: Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council.
- Cape Parliamentary Papers: the prefix "A" indicates a paper published by order of the Cape House of Assembly; "C" indicates a paper published by order of the Cape Legislative Council; "G" indicates a paper published by order of the Governor. Thus, C.3-65 (=1865), and so on.
- Almanac               Cape of Good Hope Almanacs.
- G.G.                    Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette.
- Records               Records of the Cape Colony, compiled by G.W. Theal.
- Adv. and Mail        The South African Advertiser and Mail.
- C.F.T.                 Cape Frontier Times.
- E.P.H.                 The Eastern Province Herald.
- G.T.J.                 The Graham's Town Journal.
- Q.T.F.P.               Queenstown Free Press.
- S.A.C.A.               South African Commercial Advertiser.
- Bowker, Speeches    John Mitford Bowker, Speeches, Letters, and Selections from important Papers.
- Cory                    G.E. Cory, The Rise of South Africa.
- Dugmore, Reminiscences    F.G. van der Riet, and L.A. Hewson, The Reminiscences of an Albany Settler - Rev. Henry Hare Dugmore.
- Godlonton, Irruption        R. Godlonton, A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Herds into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-35.
- Godlonton, Memorials        R. Godlonton, Memorials of the British Settlers of South Africa, Being the Records of Public Services Held at Graham's Town and Port Elizabeth on the 10th April, and at Bathurst on the 10th May, 1844, in Commemoration of their Landing in Algoa Bay, and Foundation of the Settlement of Albany, in the Year 1820.
- Goldswain             Una Long, The Chronicle of Jeremiah Goldswain, V.R.S. 27 and 29.
- L.A.C.                 E.M. Jones, The Lower Albany Chronicle.
- Notes and News        Africana Notes and News.
- Philipps                A. Keppel-Jones, Philipps, 1820 Settler.
- Smith, Autobiography        G.C.M. Smith, The Autobiography of Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith, Bart.
- Stockenstron, Autobiography    C.W. Hutton, The Autobiography of the Late Sir Andries Stockenstron, Bart.
- Stubbs                 Thomas Stubbs, Reminiscences.

SECTION A

THE LIFE OF THOMAS STUBBS  
1820 SETTLER, 1820 - 1877.

## CHAPTER I.

### THOMAS STUBBS IN ALBANY, 1820-1828.

The Stubbs family were Londoners, and before emigrating to Albany had lived at 47 Kenton Street, Brunswick Square.<sup>1</sup> The head of the family was John Stubbs aged 42 in 1820; his wife, Ann, was 39, and they had five children, of whom Thomas was the second eldest. He was 12 years old.<sup>2</sup> For convenience, John Stubbs and his partner, John Brown, with their own indentured servants,<sup>3</sup> travelled as a "sub-division" of Surgeon William Clarke's party.<sup>4</sup> Their ship was the "Northampton" which sailed from Portsmouth on 6 January 1820, and 79 days later on 26 March anchored in Simon's Bay.<sup>5</sup> The ship was automatically quarantined because five persons on board had died of smallpox, while the two earlier arrivals, the "Chapman" and "Nautilus" had had cases of the much dreaded whooping cough.<sup>6</sup> But as the "Northampton" carried stores for the Settlers, the Acting-Governor, Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, wasted no time in clearing her soon after on 2 April for Algoa Bay, which was reached on Sunday, 30 April about 3.00 p.m.

As they were among the first to arrive, Stubbs and Brown were located in advance of most of the other parties, on the Kap River at the site of the Clay Pits, soon to be known among the Settlers as "the Forlorn Hope,"<sup>8</sup> no doubt because of the deposits of red clay which was highly prized by the Xhosa who made periodic visits into the Colony to collect it, and generally took the opportunity to collect a few head of cattle at the same time. The broad design of the scheme was to people the Zuurveld with Europeans in close settlements. This would cover the vulnerable coastal sector of the official Fish River boundary, beyond which lay the land between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers which was misleadingly dubbed the "neutral belt".<sup>9</sup> It is not intended to revue frontier history, nor the story of the Settlement, but rather to reconstruct the fortunes of one Settler, and his reactions to situations which confronted him.

The common problem of all the Settlers was how to survive and to make a living. In the circumstances the ideal that "positive Establishment should take place on the Lands assigned"<sup>10</sup> soon became a pipe-dream, and even Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and Colonies, was forced to admit the failure of the original idea.<sup>11</sup> Failure of crops

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1. Stubbs, I, 1; Records, XII, 363. When Thomas Stubbs died in 1877, the obituary notice said that he had been born in London. C.T.F.P. 20/10/1877.
  2. See Appendix A.
  3. Stubbs quotes the names of the ten men who formed their party. Stubbs, I, 2, and notes 6-10. The scheme demanded that a minimum of 10 men should form a party. Cf. Records, XII, 225-7.
  4. Records, XII, 363, 424-29, 500; XIV, 241.
  5. Records, XII, 424; Almanac, 1821.
  6. Records, XIII, 93-94.
  7. Stubbs, II, 189; Philipps, pp.44,46.
  8. Dugmore, Reminiscences, p.17.
  9. Records, XII, 337-39; cf. 538 of 1836, p.25, par. 311.
  10. Records, XIII, 145.
  11. Bathurst to Somersset, 31/3/1823, quoted in I.E. Edwards, The 1820

and the attraction of higher wages generally in the Colony compared to what the heads of parties could pay, and had agreed to pay, caused a rapid dispersal, so that by May 1823 only 438 male adults of the 1004 who had composed the parties on landing, remained on location.<sup>1</sup>

The Stubbs family shared the general predicament,<sup>2</sup> and confronted with loss of crops and land unsuited to anything beyond subsistence agriculture,<sup>3</sup> John Stubbs turned to illegal barter with the Khosa for ivory and cattle. The Records of the Orphan Chamber show that at a sale of goods in the estate of Ann Stubbs on 6 November 1824, 14 cows, 11 calves and 12 oxen were sold; on 5 January 1826 a further 30 head were sold, while the family claimed in addition 97 head of cattle and 3 horses allegedly stolen by the Khosa.<sup>4</sup>

Such trading was illegal, as Lord Charles Somerset persisted in the belief that non-intercourse between the colonists and the Khosa would have as its axiom peace and security. The corner stone of his policy was the "neutral belt," designed to keep the peace by keeping black and white apart; the Khosa were forbidden to cross the Keiskamma,<sup>5</sup> while the colonists were forbidden under penalty to employ them.<sup>6</sup>

Sir Rufane Donkin had tried to maintain the policy of separation when on 20 July 1821 he had issued a proclamation to establish an annual fair on the banks of the Keiskamma River.<sup>7</sup> Lord Charles Somerset, upon his return to the Cape on 30 November 1821, cancelled this,<sup>8</sup> and instead threatened severe penalties to anyone who was caught trafficking with the Khosa. His proclamation in September 1822 made it clear that he considered such a step was necessary since "the state of the Caffre Hordes is not yet such as to make it safe to deal with them," and as a consequence of being tempted into the Colony for "illegal barter," they had been responsible for the "recent murders".<sup>9</sup> Neither this nor a subsequent proclamation in November 1823 was effective. Stubbs says his father used to go to "Cafferland at the Fish river" where he would trade with beads and

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1. Records, XVI, 40.

2. Stubbs, I, 22.

3. Cf. the remarks of one Settler, David Francis: "I should rather suppose the Government at home were influenced by some person who has passed through that district in pursuit of the beauties of nature, rather than to make any observation on the country with the view to making it a settlement for Europeans." Records, XVI, 60.

4. M.O., O.C. 8/40; 10/39.

5. Records, XII, 338; XIV, 344.

6. Records, XIII, 11-12.

7. Records, XIV, 56-58; G.G. 21/7/1821.

8. 538 of 1836, p. 25.

9. Records, XV, 49-50; G.G. 14/9/1822; cf. Records, XVI, 324.

buttons.<sup>1</sup> Such trade was obviously highly profitable especially the trade in ivory, so that many connived at it,<sup>2</sup> and it is conceivable that many of the cattle owned by the Settlers came from the Xhosa. For example in December 1821 Stubbs and Brown were in debt to the government to the amount of £135/-/11 $\frac{17}{32}$ ;<sup>3</sup> 18 months later John Stubbs was dead, yet no mention is made of any such debt in the accounts of the Orphan Chamber when it wound up the estate of John and Ann Stubbs in 1826.<sup>4</sup> It was easy for John Stubbs to trade with the Xhosa despite the policy of complete separation: in the first place neither administrative nor police controls were adequate; and in the second place, his location was at the Clay Pits. The Xhosa had permission to visit these pits to collect the clay; the first visit after the arrival of the Settlers was in January 1821 when 600 Xhosa turned up.<sup>5</sup> In 1822 a fair of sorts was established at the pits where in exchange for the various paraphernalia of Kaffir barter, the Xhosa could remove the clay.<sup>6</sup> The Xhosa soon demonstrated their reluctance to trade for the clay which they had come to consider as theirs by right, and at a fair in July 1822 they had given up only two ivory tusks.<sup>7</sup> This was the case on 31 May 1823 when another party arrived with only two tusks. But, according to one Settler, George Pigot, who knew full well that Stubbs was in the habit of illicit trading at the "clay fairs," the Xhosa told Stubbs that they had plenty more ivory at hand.<sup>8</sup>

With this in mind John Stubbs, accompanied by his eldest son, Edward Driver and Thomas Hood, had set off some time later towards Trompetter's Drift to trade for more cattle and ivory. They had apparently concluded their transactions with the Xhosa, when on their way home, they encountered a party of Cape Corps Hottentots on patrol to intercept or prevent such trafficking. Stubbs and Driver in the rear separated and fled, while Thomas Hood and Stubbs' son, John, were arrested and taken to Grahamstown.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile at the Clay Pits a party of Xhosa had managed to drive off some of the cattle belonging to the Stubbs family. As he was making his way home alone, John Stubbs had fallen in with these Xhosa,

1. Stubbs, I, 28.
2. Not only the Settlers, but some of the Military too, were attracted by the easy profits: cf. the evidence of Capt. R. Blakeman to the Aborigines Committee: "There was a Captain - had used to give those patrols beads and buttons with the intention, and which he actually did, of luring the Caffres into the Colony; he getting an ox for 25 buttons, -- this was proved." 538 of 1836, par. 1306; see also pars. 606, 793, 1126-28, 4181-84; cf. par. 4593.
3. Records, XIV, 241.
4. See Liquidation Account, 8/6/1826. M.O., O.C. 13/51.
5. L.A.C., I, 27; cf. Stubbs, I, 26.
6. Records, XV, 17; L.A.C., I, 45-47.
7. Records, XV, 17; L.A.C., I, 46.
8. George Pigot to Robert Wilmot, 20/6/1823. Records, XVI, 73.
9. This was Edward Driver's account. See C. Rose, Four Years in Southern Africa, p.212.

and had recognised his own cattle in their possession; he attempted to recover them but was fatally assegaied after his gun had misfired.<sup>1</sup>

After this catastrophe the fortunes of the Stubbs family altered radically. On 24 June 1823 the younger John Stubbs with Thomas Hood, were summoned before the Landdrost and charged with "having been detected coming from Caffer Land, with a quantity of Cattle and Ivory supposed to be obtained in an illegal manner from the Caffers." For compassionate reasons John Stubbs was arrested only on 3 July after the funeral of his father on 25 June; on 9 July he and Hood were both sentenced to a fine of 500 Rixdollars each, while the cattle, ivory, horses, arms and ammunition were confiscated.<sup>2</sup> For non payment of this fine John Stubbs was later on 19 December 1823, sentenced to three months' imprisonment.<sup>3</sup>

The family found themselves in a deplorable state without even a roof on their unfinished house, so they had to move into the abandoned military post at the Clay Pits. Worse was to follow when Ann Stubbs died in July 1824<sup>4</sup> after the birth of her fifth son, George Campbell, on 27 November 1823.<sup>5</sup> As she had died ab intestato, the Masters of the Orphan Chamber took charge of the estate on behalf of the orphans, who now numbered seven.<sup>6</sup> The 500 acres of land on which they had been located, reverted to the Government as no title deed had been issued,<sup>7</sup> while the personal effects were sold at a public auction by the Albany agent to the Orphan Chamber, Daniel Johannes Cloete.<sup>8</sup> After the deduction of fees and costs, the Orphan Chamber was able to give to each of the children 109 Rixdollars and 14 skillings, or £8-3-11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>,<sup>9</sup> which was a fair settlement even though Thomas Stubbs always insisted that they had been "robbed by the Government."<sup>10</sup>

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1. John Stubbs was killed sometime before 20/6/1823 which was the date of George Pigot's letter to Robert Wilmot; he was buried by the Rev. William Geary on 25 June in Grahamstown. (Burial Register of St. George's Church, Entry No. 5.) There is no evidence to suggest that the patrol had come upon Stubbs while he was actually bartering with the Xhosa, and that the patrol had confiscated the ivory and cattle, which the Xhosa assumed to be a trick and had murdered Stubbs at the first opportunity. George Pigot was wrong in his assumption, as was Lord Charles Somerset in his note to the Commissioners of Enquiry (371 of 1826-7, p.48), and also Sir George Cory despite the fact that he had access to Stubbs' "Reminiscences." Cory, II, 176; cf. Stubbs, I, pp. 28-32.
  2. Albany Magistrate's Records: Criminal Record Book, Vol. 3/1, Entry No. 336.
  3. Loc. cit., Entry No. 365.
  4. Ann Stubbs was buried by the Rev. William Geary on 10/7/1824 in Grahamstown. Burial Register of St. George's Church, Entry No. 33.
  5. Baptism Register of St. George's Church, Entry No. 127; See Appendix A.
  6. M.O., O.C. 13/51; Stubbs, I, 34.
  7. M.O., O.C. 13/51; cf. Records, XII, 227.
  8. M.O., O.C. 14/156.
  9. General Account of Liquidation, 8/6/1826. M.O., O.C. 13/51.
  10. Stubbs, I, 102. This is not strictly correct, for on 1/8/1841 a grant of land was made to the six surviving children of John and Ann Stubbs. This was sold by them on 10/10/1845. Stubbs at no time makes any mention of this grant. Farm Register, Albany, Vol. 4, Folio 58; Albany Quitrents, Vol. 5, Folio 224.

The records of the Orphan Chamber give a fairly comprehensive picture of the assets, liabilities and activities of John Stubbs senior. He had been carrying on an illicit trade in liquor, which was highly lucrative judging from the number of Settlers who were convicted of smuggling.<sup>1</sup> Among the debts owed by the estate was one to the pachter, H. Huntley, for Rds. 340,<sup>2</sup> while other records show that in the six months from January to June 1823 Stubbs had bought liquor to the value of Rds. 729: viz:- 60 gallons of wine for Rds. 268, 38 gallons of rum for Rds. 300, 17 gallons of Cape brandy for Rds. 121, and 3 gallons of French brandy for Rds. 40,<sup>3</sup> making a total of 118 gallons of liquor. This he could only have disposed of illegally, since the pachter alone had the legal right to sell liquor. It is more than likely that liquor formed part of his illicit trading, for as one contemporary observer noted, the Xhosa had a "predilection for spirituous liquors in excess."<sup>4</sup> The sale or barter of liquor to the Xhosa was of course expressly forbidden,<sup>5</sup> while the pacht did not extend beyond the Fish River.<sup>6</sup> Stubbs probably also sold liquor as well to the soldiers who had garrisoned the Clay Pits Post, and to the Hottentots in the Cape Corps.<sup>7</sup> This is suggested by a note in the account of liquidation to the effect that 9 soldiers of the 6th Regiment owed Rds. 188 - 16 skil. to the estate, but that these claims were not recoverable as these men had left the Colony.<sup>8</sup>

We can go a long way towards reconstructing the situation of the Stubbs family before their calamities. For instance, no less than 67 head of cattle were sold on their behalf, while they claimed that 97 more and 3 horses had been stolen by the Xhosa.<sup>9</sup> By comparison the return of Settlers on location in May 1823 shows that 438 adults possessed a total of 6,173 cattle, or an average of 14 head per adult.<sup>10</sup> With a surviving herd of 67 cattle the Stubbs family was in a relatively comfortable position, and John Stubbs himself was known as "an industrious man."<sup>11</sup> Further, a glance at the Vendue Roll for November 1824 confirms that the family was of substantial means, and by no means reduced as near to destitution as others among the Settlers.<sup>12</sup> Articles for sale included, for instance, two feather beds, linen bedclothing, silver cutlery, two violins, and in those formative days one lot of "sundry books."<sup>13</sup> The Stubbs family had

1. See Albany Magistrates Records; Criminal Record Book 1821-1825, Vol. 3/1, *passim*.
2. M.O., O.C. 13/51.
3. M.O., O.C. 14/156.
4. Records, XIII, 64.
5. See Proclamation dated 20/7/1821. Records, XIV, 56-58.
6. Records, XIV, 14.
7. Cf. Stubbs, I, 41.
8. General Account of Liquidation, 8/6/1826. M.O., O.C. 13/51.
9. M.O., O.C. 10/39, Vendue Rolls 1826; M.O., O.C. 8/40, Inventory of Appraised Estates.
10. Records, XVI, 40-41.
11. Records, XVI, 40.
12. See "Report of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers." Records, XVI, 264-290.
13. M.O., O.C. 10/39, Vendue Rolls 1826; M.O., O.C. 8/40, Inventory of Appraised Estates. See Appendix B.

emigrated from London, yet John Stubbs had done his best to equip himself as a farmer, for among the articles sold was a fair stock of farming implements from sickles, to a grindstone, to a plough. <sup>1</sup>

The family was broken up after the death of the mother in 1824: John, aged 17, was apprenticed to a Mr. Ogelvie, gunsmith; Thomas went initially to William Thackwray to learn wagon-building, though he soon after went to John Rafferty as an apprentice-saddler; William, aged 10, was ~~X~~ ✓ "to be kept at School for three years at the expence of Mr. Wright, Saddler - at the age of 13 to be bound to him as Apprentice;" Ellen, aged 8, went to Thackwray "as one of his children;" as for Richard, aged 6, he was taken into the family of John Brown. Mary, aged 3, was adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Wilmot, while the infant, George Campbell, was taken in by Mr. and Mrs. Hart of Somerset. <sup>2</sup>

Looking back over the years, Thomas Stubbs was still acutely alive to the loss of his parents, as his words convey: "Our Family was now to be broken up which came very hard upon us, as, we had always been, while our Parents were alive as happy as Princes," while, as an apprentice to Rafferty in Grahamstown, he had felt the loneliness and loss, for he said, "it was then I began to feel the loss of my Parents and a happy home, many nights I have sat crying for hours, not having a Friend to tell my troubles to." <sup>3</sup>

Thomas Stubbs had been at an impressionable age when his parents died and the family was broken up. To what extent this had an affect upon him, is mere conjecture, but ever after in adult life his concern was to secure the safety and protection of the frontier districts. He volunteered to join the burghers during the "Fetcané" scare of 1828; served in the Grahamstown Volunteers in 1835; formed and led the Sporting Club in the Frontier War of 1846-47, and the Mounted Rangers in the war of 1850-53. He became essentially the man of action, a born bush-fighter, highly versed in the art of Kaffir warfare. Much of his knowledge must have been gained while still a youth, for years later on 15 April 1850 he told Dr. W.G. Atherstone as they rode through Howison's Poort together, how he had as a lad of 15, often joined the Xhosa hunting expeditions, and had become thoroughly acquainted with their mode of life. Atherstone explains how on one occasion, Thomas got into a scrape while he had been sitting in a circle of Xhosa around their fire:

"he heard an old Kaffir boast of how he had caught a young English lad alive. The wile [sic] old wretch entered into minute details of the tortures he had inflicted on the unhappy youth - how he dissected the lad's entrails and examined them whilst their owner still lived etc. etc.

"A tall Kaffir who had taken a fancy to Stubbs and always stood his friend, whispered to him - 'you hear what that old man is saying. He is a wicked old Kaffir and, if he caught you alone, would ask nothing better than to torture you in the same manner. Beware of him. Do not ever let him catch you alone!' Once, when Stubbs

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1. M.O., O.C. 10/39. Stubbs' name was entered on the Embarkation List as an "agriculturalist." Records, XII, 424.  
2. John Brown to D.J. Cloete, 12/8/1824. M.O., O.C. 14/156.  
3. Stubbs, I, 35, 37.

had thoughtlessly annoyed the old rascal in the cattle kraal, he drew his assegai and chased Stubbs, endeavouring to kill Stubbs, but the friendly Kaffir, Gooba, saw the danger the lad was in and ran to his aid, handing Stubbs a gun and exclaiming 'I am going to fight this old man. If I get the worst of it you must shoot to kill him, but wait until you see that he is really going to kill me.' Fortunately the fight ended in the discomforture of the old wretch, who never again troubled Stubbs." <sup>1</sup>

Here we see how Thomas spent part of his early life, in the midst of excitement, mingling with the Xhosa, probably speaking their language, and learning their ways. Later Stubbs fought them, when and as necessary, but he found no relish other than his duty. <sup>2</sup>

The record of Stubbs' life between the death of his parents and the outbreak of war in December 1834 is best told by Stubbs himself. <sup>3</sup> It was mostly bare of excitement, except for the "Fetcane" scare in 1828. As early as 1826 vague rumours about the approach of savage hordes had abounded in the Colony. These rumours were given reality in 1827 when a branch of the Amangwane tribe <sup>4</sup> had attacked some Tambookies near the present Queenstown. <sup>5</sup> The Amangwane were not heard of again till 1828 when they were confused with the Zulus. In July 1828 Maj. Dundas set out with a small party of burghers to meet Chaka, who was believed to be in Pondoland. Instead he met the Amangwane near the Umtata River on 26 July when they were repulsed, <sup>6</sup> and later thoroughly defeated by Lieut.-Col. Henry Somerset on 27 August. <sup>7</sup>

In Albany all was astir. When Somerset advanced into Kaffirland, the Settlers were called upon to man the military outposts. <sup>8</sup> Jeremiah Goldswain recollected that about 180 mounted men left Grahamstown for Fort Beaufort. With them went Rafferty and his apprentice, Thomas Stubbs. <sup>9</sup> The government had taken the incident seriously, though not Stubbs who referred to it as "a weeks spree," and was of the opinion that the whole was "got up by the Frontier Caffers - to draw the Troops out of the Colony, for them to make a rush in, But finding the whole Frontier on the elert and Out Posts occupied by the Civilians they funk't it." <sup>10</sup> This opinion was written in retrospect, and for which there was a certain amount of justification as Stubbs was to become well aware of the Xhosa strategy, namely a rush into the Colony whenever the troops marched into Kaffraria. <sup>11</sup> Certainly depredations seem to have increased during this crisis. <sup>12</sup>

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1. Atherstone Papers, Cory Library MS. 14231, Bundle 55.
  2. Stubbs, I, 123. See below, pp. 66-7.
  3. Stubbs, I, pp. 36-54.
  4. This is the tribal name as used by N.J. Van Warmelo, History of Mاتيwane and the Amangwane Tribe. A.T. Bryant in Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 136, prefers to use the name "emaNgwaneni."
  5. Cory, II, 347-8; Philipps, pp. 320-25; Van Warmelo, op. cit., p. 30.
  6. Cory, II, 357; 538 of 1836, pp. 295-297; G.G. 1/8/1828.
  7. G.G. 12/9/1828. The best account of the engagement is in Van Warmelo, op. cit., pp. 46-56.
  8. Southey Papers, Vol. 4.
  9. Goldswain, I, 62-3; Stubbs, I, 44-49.
  10. Stubbs, I, 48-49.
  11. Contemporary opinion also believed this, See 503 of 1837, p. 143.
  12. 538 of 1836, p. 283; Philipps, p. 342.

This was the first occasion when the Settlers were called out on the commando system, as distinct from performing local patrols. They were not to be called upon again till the Sixth Frontier War of 1834-35. It was this fact which more than any other sparked off the hue and cry after Andries Stockenstrom when he, with singular lack of clarity, had declared before the Aborigines Committee in August 1835 that the Settlers had "very often" served on Commando.<sup>1</sup>

So ended the Fetcan campaign, to which Stubbs was later to attach some importance when he petitioned for government favour and compensation in 1864 and 1865, and cited it as an example of his good and willing service in the defence of the Colony.

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1. 538 of 1836, pars. 1090-1094; cf. J.M. Urie, "A critical Study of the Evidence of Andries Stockenstrom before the Aborigines Committee in 1835, Viewed in the light of his Statements and Policies before 1835", pp. 163-168; Stockenstrom, Autobiography, pp. 100-102.

CHAPTER II.

STUBBS, THE FRONTIER, AND THE SIXTH FRONTIER WAR.

In 1828 during the "Fetecane" scare the Colony had been forewarned; by contrast the war which began in December 1834 was as unexpected as it was destructive. War was brought about by a complete misunderstanding of the Xhosa point of view about status, cattle and the only system hitherto attempted to provide a measure of peace and security, namely the patrol-reprisal system.

Little is known of the attitude of the Xhosa themselves beyond the simple fact that they fought three major wars in 1834-35, and 1846-47, and again in 1850-53, largely for the objectives of the Gaika land claims. The loss of land and the rolling back of the Xhosa in 1819, 1829 and 1833 had given rise to fear and confusion in Kaffraria where tribes were pushed on to each other, and where cattle theft, a symptom of this disorder, was punished by reprisal patrols, and occasionally by the larger-scale commandos.<sup>1</sup> The Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban revealed a complete lack of sympathy, yet his diagnosis was correct, when he spoke about the "long rambling discontent" over dispossession of the area between the Fish and the Kat Rivers, which Macomo had come to regard as his "especial inheritance."<sup>2</sup>

The colonists and the military along the frontier were inclined to over-simplify a very complex situation. Constant patrols had been the only solution adopted by Henry Somerset ever since he had been appointed to command the frontier in October 1823.<sup>3</sup> In the circumstances of constant depredation, the patrol-reprisal system was accepted as absolutely necessary, and was regarded as a just measure; to stop the patrols would be to invite worse stock-theft.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, this policy vacillated, which caused added distress and concern among the frontier tribes. After the Sixth Frontier War of 1834-35, Lieut.-Col. H.G.W. Smith<sup>5</sup> was to blame the patrol system as one of the chief causes of the war. He had come to realise that the preservation of order in the

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1. In 1819 the Xhosa were expelled across the Keiskamma; in 1829 and 1833 Macomo was expelled from the Kat River area, and in 1833 Tyali was likewise evicted from the Mancazana. This loss of land caused bitter feelings. See Tyali's opinion, 503 of 1837, pp. 49, 75; and Macomo's, op. cit., pp. 48, 74. cf. 538 of 1836, pars. 1123-24, 1434; J.H. Soga, The South-Eastern Bantu, pp. 178-9.
  2. D'Urban to Glenelg, 9/6/1836. 503 of 1837, p. 56. The chief Botman said: "Macomo's heart was very sore about the land; the subject always set him on fire; he fought in hopes of getting it back." 503 of 1837, p. 77; cf. 538 of 1836, pars. 644-6; 503 of 1837, pp. 48, 75, 237.
  3. L.A.C., I, 59, 66.
  4. W. Southey to G.T.J. 9/5/1833.
  5. Lieut.-Col. Henry George Wakelyn Smith was Deputy-Quarter-Master-General at the Cape 1820-1840, and Chief of Staff under Sir Benjamin D'Urban in the war of 1834-35. He was raised to full colonel on 10/1/1837. Smith, Autobiography, p. xv. Smith was later Governor of the Cape from 1/12/1847 to 31/3/1852. E.A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa, p. xviii.

Province of Queen Adelaide<sup>1</sup> depended to a large extent upon the non-interference of the military, and urged that all patrols in future should be confined within the borders of the Colony.<sup>2</sup> The situation was well summed up by Macmillan when he said: "There was neither civil control nor legal check upon the exclusively military treatment of what was in essence a social disorder."<sup>3</sup>

The Xhosa were by no means blameless, for to them cattle were not only a form of wealth, useful in barter, but also in a cattle-linked society, cattle, like the land on which they grazed, were the formal insignia of social relationships. Yet, the available evidence indicates that in some instances cattle were taken out of Kaffraria unjustly,<sup>4</sup> so that events were to prove that no outside interference, attributed by the colonists to a Philip, a Read, or a Fairbairn, was needed to give the Xhosa a sense of grievance.<sup>5</sup> For example, in September 1834 John Stubbs, who was trading in Kaffraria and the interior before he went to Natal in December 1834,<sup>6</sup> had some of his cattle involved in an intertribal dispute. Some 40 head had been driven off from one kraal in Kaffraria, but were all recovered. Meanwhile Stubbs and another trader, had demanded and were given restitution in the form of 100 head of cattle, of which 76 were driven across the colonial boundary by Stubbs to safety before the Xhosa realised they had been duped.<sup>7</sup>

The colonists seem to have been incapable of appreciating these fundamental problems which confronted the Xhosa, and they assumed moreover, that the chiefs and even a regent like Macomo,<sup>8</sup> exercised a greater directing power than in fact tribal custom allowed them to exercise. Similarly, they regarded Hintza as "paramount" roughly with the kind of paramountcy which early 19th Century historians ascribed to a feudal sovereign.<sup>9</sup> Hence they described as conspiracy and planned treachery, what in retrospect seems to have been a spontaneous explosion which only began to co-ordinate once the war and action had begun. On the frontier, revenge was apt to be a "wild kind of justice", and when tensions developed, sweeping generalisations were made. The editor of the Journal suggested that the government ought to act upon the principle that "the Caffres are a most determined set of thieves."<sup>10</sup> The opinion prevailed that

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1. i.e. proclaimed on 10/5/1835, to include the land between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers. 279 of 1836, p. 41.
  2. Smith to D'Urban, 12/7/1836: military interference was "the thing of all others to re-animate every feeling of animosity and hostility in the minds of the Caffres." 503 of 1837, p. 265.
  3. W.M. Macmillan, Bantu, Boer, and Briton, p. 102.
  4. Cf. 538 of 1836, pars. 811-14, 836, 915, 3299, 3302, 3461-6, 3471-4, 4982-3.
  5. This developed into one of the stock beliefs on the frontier, namely that these persons by their contact with, and visits to, the frontier in some way encouraged the Xhosa to go to war. See below, pp. 71-3.
  6. Stubbs, I, 54.
  7. 538 of 1836, p. 166, par. 1441; p. 706.
  8. Gaika died in 1829, and until Sandile reached manhood in 1840, Macomo was regent. Soga, op. cit., pp. 169-70, 219. See Appendix F.
  9. See Soga, op. cit., pp. 173-4, 178, 189-90.
  10. G.T.J. 20/6/1833.

justice for the colonists would be to chastise the Xhosa into stopping their marauding habits, while to appeal to the reasoning powers of the chiefs was productive only of contempt and deision.<sup>1</sup>

Custom and society among the Xhosa were in every respect different from those among the structure of European society with its emphasis on private property and territorial sovereignty. Among the Xhosa, to harm either a member of a chief's family, or his cattle, was tantamount to a declaration of war. The Europeans argued that the Chief, Xoxo, was, after all, only grazed by a bullet; the Xhosa argued that wounding to any degree was a deliberate provocation and a casus belli. In terms of their own social concepts, war was the logical answer and not a treacherous onset. If the patrol of Lieut. Sutton in December 1834, which wounded Xoxo and carried off Tyali's cattle,<sup>2</sup> was the provoking cause of action, the basic causes of war lay much deeper - in the Xhosa land claims;<sup>3</sup> in the lack of trust and understanding on either side; and in the system of commandos and patrols.

The war then which began on one side with the patrol of Lieut. Sutton in mid-December 1834, and on the other side, with the murder of the farmer, Stephen Buys, at the Kat River on 21 December, came as a bewildering shock to the Albany Settlers whose only thought was to reach safety. Scores of refugees poured into Grahamstown, and more especially after Bathurst was abandoned on 27 December.<sup>4</sup> The whole line of the frontier was invaded, though Lower Albany was to some extent shielded by the friendly Gxunukwebe tribes in the coastal reaches of the "neutral belt." To the north of Grahamstown the country was completely open so that the predominantly Dutch population suffered severely. The report of the Board of Relief at the end of 1835 shows that out of the 1,817 applications for aid, 857 came from the Dutch, while only 259 from the English colonists. The remainder were from Hottentots and other persons of colour.<sup>5</sup>

Col. Somerset, Commandant of the Frontier, could call upon a small force of only 755 troops to guard a 100 mile long frontier.<sup>6</sup> After a futile attempt to fall in with the enemy, he adopted the unimaginative measure of concentrating his troops; this proved to be an unwise tactic as the Xhosa found no opposition as the frontier defenders and military retired before them. The posts on the Fish River were abandoned, as was Fort Willshire, while the Kat River Post was withdrawn to a new position

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1. G.T.J. 27/2/1834.
  2. G.T.J. 18/12/1834, 25/12/1834.
  3. Cf. the opinion of the Chief, Congo: "The great reason is the land (meaning the neutral territory) for our children have increased and we must have that land as it was formerly our country. We are determined to fight for it sooner than be without it longer. That country is to us like having more cattle, because of the Inyamakazi, i.e. bucks and other game." 538 of 1836, par. 5524.
  4. G.T.J. 2/1/1835.
  5. 503 of 1837, p. 328.
  6. J.W. Fortescue, A History of the British Army, XI, 402. Of these 755 men, only 226 were C.M.R. cavalry.

called Fort Adelaide. In all subsequent wars such a step was never taken unless absolutely necessary, and as a result the outposts and garrisons helped to blunt the first rush into the Colony which was the opening feature of all frontier wars.

The first alarming reports reached Grahamstown on 22 December. That night the inhabitants mounted a patrol about the town. Next day two public meetings were hastily got up, and a provisional Committee of Defence was appointed to adopt such measures as would secure the safety of the town.<sup>1</sup> Tom Stubbs, a young man of 27, who was running a small saddler's shop in Grahamstown,<sup>2</sup> soon found himself caught up in the war, and the mood it engendered. He became involved as a volunteer during the first two weeks of devastation, and thereafter enrolled in the mounted troop which formed part of the "Graham's Town Volunteers," which Lieut.-Col. Harry Smith formed on 9 January 1835 out of the municipal force of the town.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the volunteer corps in the subsequent two wars, the "Graham's Town Volunteers" played a purely local and defensive role. They were kept for the immediate defence of the town, and there is no record of their having played an active part in the hostilities, though Stubbs mentions that they did have patrolling work to do.<sup>4</sup>

Among the first casualties in the war had been one of Stubbs' friends, John Shaw, who was killed towards the Fish River on 24 December. When the reports of the outbreak began to reach Grahamstown, Shaw had decided to ride to the assistance of his brother William who was farming at the Fish River. He tried in vain to persuade Thomas Stubbs to join him, and eventually went alone. Together the two Shaw brothers had evacuated the farm, whereupon John Shaw rode alone to the farm of the Southeys.<sup>5</sup> This had already been abandoned and left to the possession of the Xhosa who promptly trapped and killed John Shaw, and then burnt the house.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile William Shaw, who had reached Grahamstown safely, suggested to Stubbs that they should collect a party to ride out in search of his missing brother, and to assist any others who might have been cut off.<sup>7</sup> Twenty nine persons volunteered, including Stubbs, Shaw, and Richard and George Southey who had also managed to reach town the previous day. Under the command of Richard Southey they set off on the Friday which was Christmas Day.<sup>8</sup>

About four miles from Grahamstown they came across Mrs. Mahoney, whose husband had been killed the day before in the act of moving his family to the security of the Kaffir Drift Post. Thomas Mahoney was well

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1. G.T.J. 25/12/1834; 503 of 1837, p. 300.
  2. Stubbs, I, 53, 60-61; see below, pp. 17, 60-1.
  3. G.T.J. 9/1/1835; Stubbs, I, 59-60.
  4. Stubbs, I, 62-64.
  5. Richard Southey married Isabella Shaw in 1831. A. Wilmot, The Life and Times of Sir Richard Southey, p. 3.
  6. G.T.J. 25/12/1834; Godlonton, Irruption, p.20; Wilmot, op.cit., pp.8-10. Stubbs, I, 54-55.
  7. Stubbs, I, 56.
  8. Southey Papers, Vol. 4; C,3-65 (Cape), p.12.

known to Stubbs, for he had not only been a fellow passenger on board the "Northampton," but had been set down in 1820 on the location next to Stubbs family at the Clay Pits. The party found Mahoney's wagon where it had been overturned and ransacked, while close by lay the bodies of Mahoney and his son-in-law, H.W. Henderson;<sup>1</sup> no trace was found of John Brown and his son who had been with the wagon when it had been attacked. They found instead the body of another man, Robert Crammer, who had also been cut down and killed. Thereafter the party of horsemen returned to town despite Stubbs' entreaties to stay the night and waylay.<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to note the code by which the Xhosa fought: they never attacked women and children, which rather belies the colonial opinion that they were a "barbarous, dishonest, and treacherous people."<sup>3</sup> Mahoney and Henderson had been killed, but Mrs. Mahoney had been allowed to escape with one of Henderson's children. The other child, a three year old boy, was found and brought to Grahamstown on Christmas afternoon by a Xhosa who had been in Mahoney's service. This man, Sitamba, had left his own family at the Clay Pits to perform this act of mercy, yet such was the fear in Grahamstown that he was suspected as being a spy; he was closely interrogated and detained for a few days.<sup>4</sup>

On 26 December Stubbs again volunteered to ride out in a party to bring in the disfigured corpses of Mahoney and Henderson. They recovered in addition the body of a trader, Albert Kirkman, who had been killed near Trompetter's Drift on 22 December. John Brown and his son were also rescued from their refuge in the bush where they had remained not daring to move since the attack on Mahoney's wagon. They had managed to escape the attack as they had been riding on in advance when Mahoney and Henderson had been killed.<sup>5</sup> In this way Thomas Stubbs had his introduction to patrolling. The war had already caused the death of his friend, John Shaw, and his neighbour, Thomas Mahoney; it was yet to cause the death of John Brown, his father's partner in 1820, and Robert Shaw who was the third brother in the Shaw family.

In Grahamstown the populace huddled under the uninspired leadership of the Committee of Defence, without hopes of doing anything except defend grimly should the town be attacked. The arrival of Lieut.-Col. Harry Smith on the evening of 6 January gave belated direction to their efforts. A ludicrous sight had greeted him upon his arrival which moved him to note in his Autobiography that "the panic with which the people were seized here will not wear off for ages."<sup>6</sup> He immediately put affairs upon a more enterprising basis, so earning for himself the name of

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1. Henry W. Henderson, a merchant in Grahamstown, had gone to Mahoney's farm on 20/12/1834.
  2. G.T.J. 25/12/1834; Stubbs, I, 56-58.
  3. Godlonton, Irruption, p. vi.
  4. 503 of 1837, p. 300. This child never recovered from the exposure and died on 30/1/1835.
  5. G.T.J. 2/1/1835; 503 of 1837, pp. 300-301; Southey Papers, Vol. 4; Stubbs, I, 56-58.
  6. G.T.J. 9/1/1835; Smith, Autobiography, pp. 375, 378, 720.

"Sir Hurry Whackalong Smite." <sup>1</sup> He proclaimed Martial Law on 7 January, formed and paraded the "Graham's Town Volunteers" on 9 January, and disbanded the Committee of Defence on 13 January. <sup>2</sup> On 9 January Maj. Cox was sent out with a force of 400 mounted civilians and Cape Mounted Riflemen with orders to attack the kraals of Eno and Tyali; <sup>3</sup> Patrols were sent out in every direction, while the post at Kafir Drift was reoccupied and new ones formed at Governor's Kop, Waai Plaats, Manley Flats, and one at Mahoney's deserted farm where John Brown was to be killed on 14 January. Within days of his arrival, "men moved like men, and felt that their safety consisted in energetic obedience." <sup>4</sup>

After his early activities, Stubbs never got far from Grahamstown. As soon as the colonial forces were ready to take the field, they were divided into four divisions. Some regulars and burghers were left in Albany and Somerset to act as a first line of defence. <sup>5</sup> The "Graham's Town Volunteers" formed part of this defensive arrangement, and so for Stubbs the war lapsed, as active hostilities were carried across the Fish, Keiskamma and ultimately the Kei Rivers in pursuit of an elusive enemy and his cattle. <sup>6</sup> The furthest Stubbs ever got was when he and the others in the "Volunteers" had "spontaneously prayed" to escort Lady Smith to the newly established King William's Town. Towards the end of active hostilities Lady Smith had set out from Cape Town to join her husband who had been appointed as Commandant of the Province of Queen Adelaide. <sup>7</sup> She arrived in Grahamstown on 21 June, from where Stubbs and the others in the mounted troop escorted her to Fort Willshire, where they were met by Smith himself, and on to King William's Town. <sup>8</sup>

When he wrote his "Reminiscences" in 1874 Stubbs, in describing the Sixth Frontier War, remembered not only the small part he had played, but also three other incidents with which he had no part. The first of these had been the death of John Brown who had so willingly come to the aid of the Stubbs orphans in 1824. <sup>9</sup> Smith's policy in the early stages of the war had been to send out parties of men, mainly Hottentots commanded by colonists, as the best way to check the inroads and to intercept the cattle as they were driven out of the Colony. Brown had been selected to head a party of 25 mounted men to form a post at Mahoney's farm. There they had judiciously established themselves in Mahoney's old brewery, a double-storied stone building. <sup>10</sup> From the safety of this building, Brown and the only other white man with him, P. Whittaker, were lured by the Xhosa on 14 January on the pretext of holding a parley. <sup>11</sup>

1. Dugmore, Reminiscences, p. 74.
2. G.T.J. 9/1/1835, 16/1/1835.
3. Eno's kraal was attacked and destroyed on 12 January; Tyali's kraal was found deserted. G.T.J. 16/1/1835.
4. Smith, Autobiography, p. 378.      5. G.T.J. 20/3/1835.
6. Smith categorised Kaffir war as "Smithfield market cattle driving." Cory, IV, 497.
7. G.T.J. 19/6/1835.
8. G.T.J. 26/6/1835; Stubbs, I, 68-71; Smith, Autobiography, pp. 422-3.
9. See above, p. 6.
10. Mahoney had built this building after he had been granted a licence on 31/12/1822 to brew porter. L.A.C., I, 50.
11. Brown perhaps had in mind the earlier example of Richard Gush of Salem.

Once out of musket range they were stoned and beaten to death. A discharged sergeant of the old Cape Corps, Piet Lowe by name, immediately rallied the Hottentots who held the position while the news was sent to town.

Stubbs' handling of this episode was curiously clouded by subsequent events, including the murder of Ensign Crowe in 1838 by mutinous Hottentot recruits, and the Hottentot Rebellion of 1850. This will be more fully discussed later,<sup>1</sup> though there can be no doubt that Brown's action was foolhardy. Piet Lowe was praised for his "peculiarly excellent" determination in a critical moment, and was rewarded with the rank of "Ensign Supernumerary" in the Hottentot Provisional Corps which was raised for service in the war.<sup>2</sup> Stubbs believed that Piet Lowe had "sold" John Brown to the Xhosa, and claimed that the Xhosa had "agreed with the Hottentots for them to Rebel."<sup>3</sup> Yet, even the greatest critic of the Hottentots in after years, Robert Godlonton, dismissed such an idea in 1836 as a "mere rumour".<sup>4</sup>

The second incident remembered by Stubbs was the death of a friend, Robert Shaw, at Trompetter's Drift. Shaw had been one of eight men who was killed when their post under the command of a civilian, Capt. W.M. Harries, had been attacked on 7 March 1835 by a force of Xhosa over 2,000 strong. Harries had only 40 men who were soon overwhelmed and had to withdraw. Stubbs' opinion was that the disaster had happened "for the want of an experienced man at their head".<sup>5</sup> Robert Shaw had been a close friend, but in looking back down the years, Stubbs attached a closer relationship to Shaw than in fact existed. Stubbs' interest in the Shaw family is explained by the fact that his sister, Eleanor, had married William Shaw, brother to Robert and John Shaw, on 5 November 1835.<sup>6</sup> But when he came to write in 1874, Stubbs confused the date and assumed that Eleanor had married in 1834 before the war in fact broke out.<sup>7</sup>

This same confusion probably accounted for the reference to the death of Hintza, titular paramount chief of the Gaika-Gcaleka clans, as William Shaw had been with the Corps of Guides when Hintza was shot on 12 May 1835.<sup>8</sup> The only other explanation for the inclusion of this episode in the "Reminiscences" which concern Stubbs' life entirely, to the virtual exclusion of other passing events, might have been the fact that a special court of inquiry into the death of Hintza and the alleged mutilation of his body, was ordered.<sup>9</sup> This was at a time when the

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1. See below, pp. 74-5.

2. G.T.J. 16/1/1835, 27/2/1835; 503 of 1837, p. 31.

3. Stubbs, I, p. 59.

4. Godlonton, Irruption, p. 14-15; G.T.J. 31/3/1836.

5. G.T.J. 13/3/1835; 279 of 1836, p. 13; Stubbs, I, 66-67.

6. G.T.J. 19/11/1835.

7. Stubbs, I, 54.

8. 279 of 1836, p. 48; G.T.J. 22/5/1835.

9. 279 of 1836, p. 115.

colonists had come to regard themselves as unfairly treated, unfairly misrepresented, and completely misunderstood <sup>1</sup> and were calling inter alia for a commission of inquiry into the causes of the war. <sup>2</sup> No such commission was established, much to frontier annoyance since it seemed as if the merited death of Hintza had received more attention from the Colonial Office overseas than their own desperate plight.

This war with its settlement in the Stockenstrom treaty system and the abandonment of D'Urban's Province of Queen Adelaide, must be seen as a turning point in the oral history of the times. The bitterness of war gradually passed as homes were rebuilt, but opinions and emotions lingered on, to be whipped up ever and anon by "Moral Bob" Godlonton, the editor of the Journal. <sup>3</sup> Godlonton, the patriarch of the Settlers and armchair critic of the world, seems never to have found a new perspective. Stubbs, essentially a man of action, gained with hindsight, a rough wisdom and generality which is one of the many factors suggesting the need for revision of the "classic generalisations" of what may be called the Godlonton-Cory approach. His "Reminiscences" show that if he was not compassionate, he could be dispassionate, and it is proposed in a later section of this thesis to try and estimate to what extent he conformed to type, and to what extent his conduct and attitude are sui generis. Stubbs was not a theorist; after the Sixth Frontier War he became increasingly concerned with finding practical measures for the security of the frontier. He founded the "Sporting Club" in 1843 and led them to war in 1846; in 1850 he formed the "Rangers" on the same basis, and earned for himself an enviable reputation for skill and bravery.

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1. G.T.J. 9/1/1835.
  2. See, Petition to the King in Council. G.T.J. 26/6/1835.
  3. Cf. B.A. Le Cordeur, Robert Godlonton as Architect of Frontier Opinion, 1850-1857, pp. 15-16, 77.

CHAPTER III.

CIVILIAN LIFE BETWEEN THE WARS.

Thomas Stubbs was 24 when his apprenticeship with John Rafferty came to an end about 1832. His several attempts thereafter at farming, conveyancing and smousing all failed, so that about 1833, with a capital of sixpence, he took up his trade as a saddler in Grahamstown.<sup>1</sup> When the war broke out in December 1834, he found plenty of work in the repair of saddles and accountments to keep him occupied, and at one stage he had an order to supply 500 leather ammunition pouches for the Hottentot levies who were being raised for service.<sup>2</sup> After the war with his business well established, Stubbs was able to take on two apprentices, namely his brother George Campbell Stubbs and James Verety, and he moved his shop into High Street.<sup>3</sup> His enterprises profited sufficiently to enable him to buy his own house in 1848,<sup>4</sup> where he remained till he went insolvent in September 1858.<sup>5</sup>

From the "Reminiscences" we learn very little about the way in which he made his living, and for the most part the manuscript is confused and the events telescoped. Much, however, can be pieced together from the numerous advertisements that he placed in The Graham's Town Journal and the Cape Frontier Times. His trade was first and foremost as a dealer in saddlery, as this advertisement in 1836 shows:

"T. Stubbs begs to inform his friends and the public, that he has received a small assortment of Saddlery, consisting of gentlemen's Saddles, with spring bars, &c.; plain do; fancy ribbon and whale bone Rosets, fancy Horse Nets, patent and other Saddle Cloths, Jockey Whips, Horse Brushes, &c. &c. Also brass Moulding, Gimp, chintz silk Fringes, and a good sample of linen Bed Ticking, which he will offer at low prices; and is expecting a quantity of curled Horse-hair, for Mattresses, &c.  
N.B. Carriages lined and covered, also Sofas, Chairs, &c., at the shortest notice and on reasonable terms."<sup>6</sup>

This side of his business obviously paid well, for similar notices appeared right up till 1850. He did not confine himself entirely even to this wide range, for at various other times he offered for sale articles such as sofas, hair-bottom chairs, stretchers, bolsters, pillows, and flock-beds.<sup>7</sup> Among his other activities he included the part of a market agent; he advertised his services "at a trifling percentage," which his patrons would find "greatly to their advantage" by virtue of

1. Stubbs, I, 49-53.

2. Stubbs, I, 60-61.

3. Stubbs, I, 76. Stubbs' business premises in High Street adjoined the "Eastern Province Bank," and were known as "The Blue Anchor". Stubbs stayed there till November 1845 when he moved his shop to No. 1 High Street. G.T.J. 27/11/1845, 6/10/1849.

4. This house was on the south corner of High and Somerset Streets. Stubbs bought it from George Gilbert on 27/3/1848. The house itself was comfortable with seven rooms, and stood on a plot measuring 105 feet by 109 feet. Stubbs sold it to William Keys on 6/7/1858. Deed of Transfer, No. 21, 1/3/1862; G.T.J. 12/2/1853.

5. E.P.H. 17/9/1858; G.T.J. 9/10/1858.

6. G.T.J. 31/3/1836.

7. See e.g., G.T.J. 28/3/1839, 25/3/1841, 23/9/1848, 18/5/1850; C.F.T. 12/11/1850.

his "long experience and full acquaintance in all Colonial produce." <sup>1</sup>

Stubbs widened his activities in 1840 when he opened a livery stable; horses could be hired at 1/- per hour or 6/- per day cash, but double for credit. <sup>2</sup> Later, he offered to stable and "bait" horses at 2/6 per day, 14/- per week or £2/5/0 per month. <sup>3</sup> Horse dealing also received his attention, as he opened a repository and held a monthly sale of horses. <sup>4</sup> He even offered gigs and wagons for hire, <sup>5</sup> while in 1849 he took out a licence as an auctioneer, and at monthly "commission sales" put up for auction horses for riding and racing, horse-wagons, carriages, gigs and even ploughs. <sup>6</sup> Such enterprises increased handsomely, so that he and his partner, William Stubbs, were in 1849 able to call for tenders for oat hay, estimating the quantity required at one million pounds weight, at a time when the commissariat on the frontier required only 1,674,000 lbs. for the same year. <sup>7</sup>

With his livelihood depending on saddlery and horses, Stubbs undertook one venture which did not pay; this was his first attempt at running a coach, which he named the "Red Rover Kowie Omnibus". <sup>8</sup> This arose out of the first large constructive attempt, by William Cock and George Hodskin, to open the Kowie River to shipping. For this purpose a private measure was accepted by the Legislative Council in November 1839. <sup>9</sup> The scheme attracted much attention in Albany, while the Journal gave its full and enthusiastic support. Everyone anticipated an increase in wealth as the optimists dreamed of a monopoly of the trade to Natal, or of exporting surplus grain and cured beef to Mauritius. <sup>10</sup> On this wave of enthusiasm a memorial was got up to the Legislative Council in October 1839. This prayed that the measure before the Council be passed into law; it was signed by 162 persons, including Thomas and William Stubbs. <sup>11</sup>

Thomas Stubbs shared the general optimism, and so had "The Red Rover" coach built "expressly for the occasion" to journey to and from Port Frances. The Journal described the interior of this vermilion coach as being "fitted up with taste". It was drawn by 8 horses, and could seat 10 passengers. Stubbs calculated his outlay at £420, and envisaged a busy weekly service. The first trip was scheduled to leave Grahamstown on Saturday, 8 May 1841, at 9.00 a.m. The fares were 10/6 per passenger each way. But the venture failed completely, so that even a planned trip to Uitenhage to attend the annual meeting of the local turf club did not materialise owing to lack of support. <sup>12</sup> Stubbs then considered a

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| 1. G.T.J. 10/2/1849.   | 2. G.T.J. 9/1/1840.  |
| 3. G.T.J. 18/2/1841.   | 4. G.T.J. 20/8/1840. |
| 5. G.T.J. 18/3/1841, 9/2/1850.   | 6. G.T.J. 6/10/1849. |
| 7. G.T.J. 10/2/1849.   | 8. G.T.J. 13/5/1841. |
| 9. The measure was introduced by the Hon. Henry Cloete on 7/9/1839, and was accepted in November. G.T.J. 26/9/1839, 12/12/1839.                |                      |
| 10. G.T.J. 26/9/1839, 3/10/1839, 12/3/1840; see also, "B" to G.T.J. 3/10/1839; "A Tourist" to G.T.J. 18/6/1840; "Viator" to G.T.J. 29/10/1840. |                      |
| 11. The memorial was dated 16/10/1839. G.T.J. 24/10/1839.  |                      |
| 12. G.T.J. 13/5/1841, 3/6/1841.  |                      |

monthly service to Port Elizabeth, but this too met with no response, which caused him to write bitterly to the Journal:

"I have now resolved, if the thing is not better supported, to dispose of the whole and to leave some one else to furnish that accommodation to the public which it has been my wish to afford, but which has met with so bad a return. When I first proposed starting the Omnibus, I was led to believe that three would be scarcely sufficient. Every one was to patronise it, - but mark the difference between promise and performance. - When all was ready and the carriage actually drawn up to start on the first trip - instead of a clamour for seats, as was expected - there was but one solitary passenger ready to take his place." <sup>1</sup>

So Stubbs was forced to sell by auction his Kowie Omnibus as he had not received "that patronage and support which he had been led to anticipate." <sup>2</sup>

As Stubbs' livelihood revolved around horses, it is not surprising to find that he took a keen interest in horse racing. Racing in Grahamstown dated back to as early as 1820, <sup>3</sup> when it had received much of its early support from the military stationed at Grahamstown who no doubt found a race an occasion to relieve the daily round. Races were generally run over distances from one to two miles and always in two heats. In 1841 Stubbs entered two horses in the annual meeting of the Albany Turf Club: on 26 May his horse "Flyaway" ran fourth in the "Ladies' Purse" valued at £11/18/0, while on Friday, 28 May, his "Red Rover" entered for the "Hack Purse" of £10 over one mile, met with even less success, as it ran fifth and sixth out of seven entries. The course was on the flats above the town, and everything was apparently "well got up," with the sport good, the bets plentiful and a numerous attendance. <sup>4</sup>

A meeting of the Albany Turf Club was a major event which was always spread over three days. Anything could be expected with rather impromptu arrangements, but the organisation was gradually improved, so that by 1848 the Club could insist that all jockeys be correctly dressed with coloured cap and jacket, that all owners had to provide extra weights if needed, while all "hogs, dogs and goats" found on the course on the days of running would be shot. <sup>5</sup> Stubbs maintained his interest in the turf, and in June 1845 contested three races with equal ill success, while in August he entered one horse in three races at Fort Beaufort. <sup>6</sup> In 1848 he was elected as one of the stewards of the Albany Turf Club, and at the April races served as Clerk of the Course. <sup>7</sup>

To the annual treat of horse racing was added an occasional steeplechase. The first was in 1840, for which Stubbs was partly

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1. G.T.J. 24/6/1841.

2. G.T.J. 29/7/1841. The coach was sold on 31/8/1841.

3. Philipps, p. 308; cf. Stubbs, I, p. [136] ; C. Rose, op. cit., p. 7.

4. G.T.J. 3/6/1841. By the 1850's race meetings were being held as annual events at Bloemfontein, Burghersdorp, Cradock, Fort Beaufort, King William's Town, Quagga Flats, Sidbury, Uitenhage.

5. G.T.J. 1/4/1848.

6. G.T.J. 26/6/1845, 28/8/1845.

7. G.T.J. 5/2/1848, 1/4/1848.



The Young Man, Thomas Stubbs.

responsible. As this promised to be an unusual spectacle, the course round the outskirts of Grahamstown was thronged long before the race by curious spectators, who were regaled to music provided by the band of the 91st Regiment. Stubbs was among the riders, and gave a display of his "first rate horsemanship," even though he was placed third and fourth in the two heats.<sup>1</sup> The Grahamstown scene was not again to be ruffled by a steeplechase till 1849, and again in 1850 and 1852. On each occasion Stubbs was among the organisers, and in 1850 entered a horse of his own, which ran fourth out of nine entries.<sup>2</sup>

Stubbs was essentially an alive person to whom Grahamstown was a quiet place, so in 1843 he and S.W. Dell decided to form a hunting club. In his words there were no amusements for young men, "except the Billiard table," and probably the canteens, and institutions like the "Billiard and Coffee Rooms, and Cigar Divan" of Henry Davis, where gentlemen could be accommodated at all hours with coffee, tiffins and suppers around a game of billiards.<sup>3</sup> Stubbs thought a sporting club would "draw many of them from ruin, and be the means of learning them to ride and use a Gun." Initially about a dozen joined, and drew up a set of rules including the stipulation that each member had to have his own horse, dog and gun. Tom and William Stubbs were appointed the leaders, and membership soon increased to about 30. At weekends the "Sporting Club" would set out for a hunt, followed by a good yarn over a substantial picnic, whereupon the spoils were shared out.<sup>4</sup> These outings built up a fine corps of experienced men who one and all volunteered when the War of the Axe broke out in 1846. But even before that they had one or two moments of excitement, as on 31 October 1845 when a hunting party chased and recaptured four stolen horses which they had spotted in the possession of three Xhosa.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile Thomas, and his partner William Stubbs, had found that a lucrative living could be made as Government mail contractors. Even in those early days great importance was attached to the prompt delivery of the mail; any delay was sure to bring forth letters of complaint,<sup>6</sup> while the contractor himself was liable to stiff fines for unexplained delays.<sup>7</sup> Letters of course, had to be collected at the post office, for Cape Town alone could boast of having four or five postmen.<sup>8</sup> For the Stubbs brothers it was a paying proposition despite all the handicaps.<sup>9</sup>

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1. G.T.J. 1/10/1840.
  2. G.T.J. 28/7/1849, 14/8/1850, 7/9/1850, 20/11/1852.
  3. G.T.J. 11/8/1842.
  4. Stubbs, I, 77-8.
  5. G.T.J. 6/11/1845.
  6. See e.g., G.T.J. 25/7/1839, 5/1/1842, 28/3/1846.
  7. On the route Cape Town to Grahamstown, delays were penalised at the rate of 2/6 per half hour delay, 7/6 per hour, 15/- per 1½ hours, £1/5/0 per 2 hours, £2 per 2½ hours, and 10/- for every additional half hour delay. G.G. 18/5/1848.
  8. G.T.J. 2/3/1850. Before 1846 postal charges varied with distance. Thereafter letters were charged at a uniform rate of 4d per ½ ounce. From 1/9/1853 postage stamps in 1d and 4d denominations were made available. G.T.J. 17/1/1846, 27/8/1853.
  9. The contract to Port Elizabeth twice a week was worth £300 p.a. for the period 1846-48; the contract to Uitenhage, also twice a week each way, was worth £600 for the period 1849-51. G.G. 8/7/1845, 21/9/1848.

Some delays were unavoidable, especially as the Cape post used to leave Grahamstown at 6.00 p.m.<sup>1</sup> so that the post-riders, who were generally Hottentots, were apt to lose the way in the dark, and especially when it was misty or rained.<sup>2</sup> Flooded rivers also intervened frequently,<sup>3</sup> while not least among Stubbs' difficulties was the fact that the canteen keepers along the routes used to pay his post-riders in brandy in return for carrying small parcels. This caused hours-long delays for which Stubbs was fined.<sup>4</sup>

At various times between 1837 and 1850 Stubbs and his brother held the contracts between Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Bathurst, and Fort Beaufort.<sup>5</sup> To the ordinary difficulties as a contractor were added the disruptions caused by two frontier wars. During the Seventh Frontier War of 1846-47, Stubbs suffered heavy losses when his relay horses along the post routes were driven off, which forced him to give up those contracts that he held.<sup>6</sup>

After the war the Stubbs brothers got the contracts to Uitenhage and Fort Beaufort,<sup>7</sup> and from 1849 used gigs instead of post horses, to carry the mail bags. This allowed them to supplement the contracting fee by carrying parcels and a passenger. This was as rapid a way of travelling as any, for the time allowed for the trip to Uitenhage was 14 hours which was achieved only by having relays of horses along the route.<sup>8</sup> There were few accidents when one considers the execrable roads, especially through Howison's Poort, and that the journey was undertaken at night, while speed was essential. Only once did a passenger suffer injury which happened when the gig in which he was travelling, ran into the side of an embankment, whereupon the individual leapt for his life and fractured his arm in the process.<sup>9</sup> It proved out of the question to use lamps, for Stubbs records that they were shaken to pieces before the gig reached Uitenhage.<sup>10</sup>

This was the state of affairs when war broke out again in December 1850. Hard pressed as they were by circumstances, the Stubbs brothers tried to keep the post routes going,<sup>11</sup> but by June 1851 their losses again forced them to give up their contracts.<sup>12</sup> Thomas Stubbs came to the

1. G.T.J. 3/1/1846.
2. This happened to one of Stubbs' post riders on 22/7/1848. G.P.O. 1/36.
3. One of Stubbs' men was once detained at the Sunday's River for 20½ hours. G.P.O. 1/36.
4. G.T.J. 24/8/1850, 31/8/1850, 28/6/1851.
5. Stubbs, I, 77, 106; see Appendix C.
6. Stubbs, I, 77; cf. G.T.J. supplement 7/3/1846.
7. See Appendix C.
8. Passengers paid according to distance. Fares varied from £1/15/0 to Uitenhage, to £2 up to Grahamstown, or £3 for the round trip. G.T.J. 4/8/1849, 9/2/1850, 24/8/1850.
9. C.F.T. 23/4/1850; G.T.J. 27/4/1850. The only other instance was in January 1851 when the mail gig overturned. The driver escaped injury. G.P.O. 1/39.
10. G.T.J. 27/4/1850.
11. Cf. W. Stubbs to R. Crozier, Postmaster-General, 11/1/1851: "I am determined to carry out my contracts as far as possible although my losses are now about double my income—but considering the difficulties His Excellency has to contend with and considering that I shall be met by the Govt. [sic] fairly in the expenditure, I shall exert myself to the utmost." G.P.O. 1/39.

rescue of the Civil Commissioner, whose task it was to keep the mail routes open. Stubbs managed to buy a lot of horses and recruited a corps of post riders and escorts, and so set "all the Mails going and Kept them so untill the end of the war." <sup>1</sup> A stop-gap measure was adopted: the mails were forwarded by stages from one armed camp to another till Uitenhage was reached. <sup>2</sup> This was necessary as the rebel Hottentots were fond of attacking the mail, since they were well aware of its importance. <sup>3</sup> The true situation was explained by the Civil Commissioner when he wrote to the Postmaster-General in Cape Town:

"If you were here for one month only, you would see things clearly, and wonder with astonishment that the Mail has been conveyed as it has been, surrounded by the difficulties I have to encounter." <sup>4</sup>

In Grahamstown any event which alleviated the habitual way of life, was enthusiastically welcomed. The suggestion therefore, of J.C. Chase in January 1844 that a Silver Jubilee ought to be arranged to commemorate the commencement of the first 25 years' connection of the Settlers with the Cape, was eagerly acted upon. <sup>5</sup> The day chosen was 10 April 1844; elaborate preparations were made and excitement became intense. <sup>6</sup> Stubbs seems to have been incapable of appreciating the point made by Rev. William Shaw at the Commemoration Service on the morning of 10 April, that, while the Settlers could not ensure success, there was no reason why they should not "strive to deserve it." Stubbs claimed, incorrectly as Shaw's address shows, that Shaw had spoken only on "the golden side" with "nothing of the distresses." <sup>7</sup> He remembered as he wrote in 1874 only his own family's exceptional disasters:

"I could not see that our Family had any reason to rejoice at coming out to this Country - For we left a Comfortable Home in England, where my Father, was very well to do - to come out here - to have my Father murdered and our whole Family - robbed by the Caffres, and the Government, and thrown out into the world to sink or swim, the best way we could." <sup>8</sup>

The highlight of the day was to have been the celebration dinner that night. In the heady atmosphere, the emotional tension in Stubbs burst when Col. Henry Somerset rose to propose the main toast, to the Albany Settlers. A scuffle ensued, which, according to Stubbs, was begun by no less a person than himself. His excuse was that the Settlers had been "misrepresented, and brutally abused in England," while all that Somerset had had to say about the conditions during the Sixth Frontier War was

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1. Stubbs, I, 121; cf. Stubbs to the Auditor-General, 28/12/1852. G.P.O. 1/42.
  2. Postmaster of Grahamstown to R. Crozier, 12/7/1851. G.P.O. 1/40.
  3. The military mail to King William's Town was lost on 15/5/1851, again on 17/5/1851, and attacked on other occasions. G.T.J. extra 20/5/1851; G.T.J. 24/5/1851.
  4. H. Hudson to R. Crozier, 6/2/1851. G.P.O. 1/39.
  5. G.T.J. 17/1/1844; cf. G.T.J. 23/11/1843 where a similar idea had been put forward.
  6. G.T.J. 15/2/1844, 28/3/1844. For a detailed outline of the arrangements and proceedings, see Godlonton, Memorials, passim.
  7. Godlonton, Memorials, p. 12; Stubbs, I, 102.
  8. Stubbs, I, 102.

nothing less than a lie.<sup>1</sup> Stubbs believed that the Settlers had been "humbled by Government from the time we arrived in the Colony." This was an interpretation as uncharacteristic in the other writings of the Settlers, as it was unfair, for, while many argued that the government could have done better, few really complained about the assistance given to them on their arrival, and during the frontier wars. Stubbs' outburst was far more a personal expression than an expression of public feeling. At all events Somerset's speech was drowned by the rumpus, as were the toasts that followed, by which time the dinner had broken up in disorder, so that Godlonton remarked that it was not within his province to record the several other "toasts" which were proposed and drunk afterwards by the few who remained, Stubbs among them.<sup>2</sup>

This celebration took place in April 1844, by which time disaffection in Kaffraria had already become noticeable. The existing unrest was soon to be augmented and given form after the Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, in September 1844 proceeded to reconstruct the Stockenstrom Treaty System, so that by April 1846 a combination of factors had made another war, the seventh along the frontier, unavoidable.

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1. A reference to Somerset's speech reveals nothing to which Stubbs could have taken offence. It was an honest outline of their difficulties, hardships and progress. Godlonton, Memorials, pp. 39-43; cf. Stubbs, I, 103-104.
  2. Godlonton, Memorials, pp. 44.

CHAPTER IV

STUEBS AND THE SEVENTH FRONTIER

WAR, 1846-1847.

The permanent settlement attempted after the tribes had been subdued in the war of 1834-35 was the Glenelg-Stockenstrom Treaty System. Stockenstrom retained the boundary fixed by D'Urban in 1835 along the Keiskamma-Tyumie line, though for practical purposes the de facto frontier reverted to the line of 1829 as the Xhosa tribes were allowed to reoccupy on sufferance the old "neutral belt".<sup>1</sup> The treaty system represented a new approach to relations with the Xhosa. Unlike the pre-war patrol-reprisal system which was a purely military answer to a socio-economic problem, the new system was to be worked by civilians through the chiefs. Until the Napier revision, the Europeans were made responsible for guarding their cattle on the colonial side of the boundary. Only cattle lost, despite adequate safeguards, were intended to be reclaimable.<sup>2</sup>

Any hope that the Treaty System might have met with success sufficient to make it acceptable, was forestalled from the start by the lack of a force sufficient to compel observance on both sides. The diplomatic agent to the Gaika tribes, Charles Lennox Stretch, singled this out as the "primary defect from which many others originated,"<sup>3</sup> and at the same time he called for an adequate police force to patrol the colonial frontier. Thomas Stubbs also came to realise the need for this, and after another war had broken out in 1846, did all in his power to secure a rural police force.<sup>4</sup>

There is a conflict of evidence and opinion as to how the Treaty System worked in practice. Only in one case has the day to day record of cattle claims survived, namely in the Diary of C.L. Stretch. Stretch claimed that in its initial form, the Treaty System worked reasonably well:<sup>5</sup> that two things, namely the lack of an adequate police system, and the treaty revisions carried out in 1839 and 1840 by Sir George Napier,<sup>6</sup> and by Sir Peregrine Maitland in 1844,<sup>7</sup> earned the distrust

1. G.T.J. 22/5/1835; E.A. Walker, Historical Atlas of South Africa, p.14; cf. par. 2 of the Gaika Treaty of 5/12/1836, in G.B. Crankshaw, The Diary of C.L. Stretch - A Critical Edition and Appraisal, Appendix I.
2. Crankshaw, op. cit., pp. 51-2; cf. pars. 24-6 of the Gaika Treaty, in Crankshaw, op. cit., Appendix I.
3. Crankshaw, op. cit., pp. 116-7; cf. C.L. Stretch, "Memorandum on the Stockenstrom Treaty System," par. 2, in Crankshaw, op. cit.
4. Crankshaw, op. cit., p. 84; Stretch, "Memorandum," par. 19; see below, pp. 44-5; cf. p. 42.
5. Crankshaw, op. cit., pp. 72-77.
6. Crankshaw, op. cit., pp. 78-83; Stretch, "Memorandum," pars. 9, 15-6; T.S. Galbraith, Reluctant Empire, British Policy on the South African Frontier, 1834-1854, p. 157.
7. G.T.J. 26/9/1844, 30/1/1845.

of the Gaikas who were not consulted about the new arrangements, and which encouraged the growth of a war party.<sup>1</sup>

From the remoter perspective of Cape Town some depredation seemed part and parcel of peace. After the institution of Napier's "irreclaimable list" and the dismissal of Andries Stockenstrom as Lieutenant-General in 1839, the situation along the frontier gradually deteriorated, so that Governor Napier even came to consider that it might be preferable to pay compensation to victims rather than risk war by the use of force.<sup>2</sup> For his part Sir Peregrine Maitland, who replaced Napier as Governor in March 1844, realised the uselessness of formal treaties to repress the marauding habits of the Xhosa.<sup>3</sup> He grasped the true perspective well when he told Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for War and Colonies, that "liability to occasional losses by Kafir depredations must ... be, for a long time to come, inseparably attached to the position of the frontier farmers,"<sup>4</sup> while later he expressed the hope that peace would be preserved "with a moderate degree of plunder."<sup>5</sup> This perspective the frontier colonists were not prepared to accept.<sup>6</sup> Unacceptable was their dependence on the good will and co-operation of the chiefs to prevent depredation and to recover stolen cattle, while the frontiersmen were never reconciled to the presence of the Xhosa in the "neutral belt," which not only dashed all hopes that compensation for war losses would be made in land, but was regarded by the colonists as an invitation to the Xhosa to renew their depredations on an even greater scale.

The much hated Treaty System gave ten years of peace, during which time the frontier colonists never ceased to voice their grievances in the press, at public meetings and in numerous petitions for redress which they forwarded to the Governor. In after years Thomas Stubbs himself merely echoed the common view:

"We were not long before we were awakened out of our happy dream - That confounded False Philonphosist society - soon managed to upset all the good Sir B D'Urban had done ... [when] the Caffers were brought back to the Fish River."<sup>7</sup>

From the Xhosa point of view the fear that they would again be dispossessed of their land was one factor which led up to another war. The expulsion of the arch- cattle-thief, Tola, from the "neutral belt"

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1. Crankshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 103; A.E. du Toit, The Cape Frontier: A Study of Native Policy with Special Reference to the Years 1847-1866, p.16.
  2. Du Toit, *op. cit.*, p.15.
  3. Maitland to Stanley, 17/11/1845. 786 of 1847, p.5.
  4. Maitland to Stanley, 17/11/1845. 786 of 1847, p.3. John Montagu, Colonial Secretary at the Cape, was of the same opinion: "Sir, you never anticipated a totally sudden cessation of border depredations. It would have been unreasonable, and such expectations would have been contrary to all history." Bowker, Speeches, pp. 149-50.
  5. Maitland to Stanley, 21/3/1846. 786 of 1847, p.23.
  6. Crankshaw, *op. cit.*, pp.117-20; cf. Bowker, Speeches, p.214.
  7. Stubbs, I, 72.

in 1843 had caused unrest.<sup>1</sup> The construction of Post Victoria in 1844 added to the unrest, so that in January 1846 when a team of Royal Engineers surveyed a site on the left bank of the Tyumie River for another post, later Fort Hare; this was greeted by a display of Gaika resentment. With Sandile at their head they put on a show of force estimated at 4,000 men; all armed and many with guns and horses.<sup>2</sup>

Within the Colony the tension had been mounting; as a result of the Gaika show of force, public meetings were everywhere held to discuss the situation. The excitement was enlivened as Xhosa servants deserted their employers and returned to Kaffraria. Some even warned of an intended outbreak,<sup>3</sup> so that the western post road was soon thronged by farmers on trek with their stock despite the drought, away from the apprehended danger.<sup>4</sup> Noticeable too was the increased theft of horses, which the Stubbs brothers found to their cost when early in March 1846 all six relay post-horses along the Grahamstown - Fort Beaufort route were driven off.

It was at this stage of ferment that, on 16 March, the famous "axe incident" occurred. This involved the rescue by a band of Xhosa of a fellow tribesman who was a prisoner, and the death of another prisoner, a Hottentot, within the colonial boundary.<sup>5</sup> The reaction of the Lieutenant-Governor, Col. John Hare, was to mount a punitive expedition against the Gaikas, as he considered that "the present affords the best opportunity for a severe chastisement of these ungrateful people, to deter them evermore from aggression."<sup>6</sup> In Grahamstown all was astir once Hare's intention became known on 21 March.<sup>7</sup> Thomas Stubbs promptly called a meeting of the Sporting Club to volunteer their services.<sup>8</sup>

The Journal reported that Stubbs' hunting club was being augmented, and described the group as "an association of young men formed some time ago, accustomed to the use of their horses and gun, who are acquainted intimately with all the ravines and passes of the country, who are inured to 'bush work,' and to the fag of clambering the rugged [sic] precipices which distinguish this part of the Frontier."<sup>9</sup>

The Sporting Club were soon ready for service, and on 24 March paraded before Col. Hare on the Drostdy Parade ground. The scene was animated and cheering, for in addition to Stubbs' Corps, there were drawn up the Yeomanry Corps under Commandant J.D. Norden, as well as the much excited Fingoes who had insisted that they should march up High Street chanting

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1. Crankshaw, op. cit., pp. 106-7; Du Toit, op. cit., p.15.

2. This was for the benefit of Col. Hare who met Sandile on 29/1/1846 at the site under survey. Sandile demanded the withdrawal of all troops in the "neutral belt", G.T.J. supplement 24/1/1846, 31/1/1846; 786 of 1847, pp.21-4, 31-43.

3. G.T.J. 31/1/1846. 4. G.T.J. supplement 14/2/1846, 21/2/1846.

5. The man rescued, Kleintje, belonged to Tola's tribe. He had been arrested at Fort Beaufort for the theft of an axe, and was en route to Grahamstown for trial when his fellow tribesmen rescued him. G.T.J. 21/3/1846; 786 of 1847, p. 84-7.

6. Hare to Maitland, 21/3/1846, 786 of 1847, p.83. Sir Peregrine Maitland arrived independently at the same conclusion, as he anticipated that a time might come when the Colony would be "compelled to insist on the fulfilment of some violated article of the treaty." 786 of 1847, p.23.

7. G.T.J. 21/3/1846. 8. Stubbs, I, 78.

9. G.T.J. supplement 21/3/1846.

their war song.<sup>1</sup> Grahamstown was partial to such displays, and a few days later, on 4 April, another parade of the mounted municipal forces was held. These afterwards reassured the onlookers as they rode in formation through the town. In front rode the Yeomanry in their dark blue uniforms, gold laced caps, swords, and leopard skins over their saddles. Next came the Tirailleurs with their "gay flaunty banners." In the rear rode the Sporting Club with Thomas Stubbs at their head. In contrast to the showy Yeomanry, they were more serviceably if less colourfully dressed, in duffel clothing which was but their hunting kit. They presented an efficient appearance:

"nothing about them that has not the appearance of good workable stuff", said the Journal, "nothing but what will stand the wear and tear of the bush, and other rough work peculiar to frontier warfare. From the expertness with which the members of this Corp [sic] ... load and fire on horseback, there can be no doubt that should their services be required they will be found highly efficient for any duty which may be required of them."<sup>2</sup>

Stubbs soon had the Sporting Club at work, for towards the end of March and early April he sent out small patrols to examine the nearly passes for Xhosa spoors as a fear was entertained that the communications with Grahamstown might be interrupted as in the previous war.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile the Frontier Commissioner, Maj. T.C. Smith at Fort Beaufort, had written to warn Col. Hare that his projected occupation of the chief Tola's country would be construed by the Xhosa as another attempt by the Government to resume control of the "neutral belt," and were a clash to occur, he anticipated an immediate and general rising by the Xhosa.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless Col. Hare went ahead with his plans, and on 31 March he issued a proclamation commanding all the inhabitants of the eastern districts to render obedience to the laws relating to burgher duty,<sup>5</sup> while on 11 April the troops marched on the Amatolas from Post Victoria, Fort Beaufort and Eland's Post.<sup>6</sup>

Thomas Stubbs was made aware of the gravity of the impending crisis on 10 April when the Hottentot post riders employed by him refused point blank to carry the mail unless they were accompanied by an armed escort. Their apprehensions were fully justified when a week later, the Fort Beaufort mail was seized, the contents scattered and the bearer severely wounded.<sup>7</sup> The Xhosa of course were well informed about Hare's plans.<sup>8</sup> The war may be said to have begun on the very day that Col. Hare advanced, for parties of Xhosa crossed the Lower Fish River into the

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1. G.T.J. supplement 21/3/1846; C.F.T. 24/3/1846.

2. G.T.J. 11/4/1846.

3. G.T.J. 28/3/1846, 4/4/1846.

4. Maj. T.C. White to Acting Secretary to Government, 20/3/1846. 786 of 1847, p. 85-6.

5. 786 of 1847, p. 113. 6. G.T.J. extra 11/4/1846; 786 of 1847, p.14.

7. C.F.T. 14/4/1846; G.T.J. 25/4/1846.

8. The Xhosa servants took back the news when they deserted their employers; also, towards the end of March, one of Sandile's councillors had been arrested lurking on the outskirts of Grahamstown. G.T.J. supplement 21/3/1846.

Colony, and on the evening of 11 April a young colonist, James Pike, was killed by a band of Xhosa near Collingham. Maj. T.C. Smith had been right in his warning to Col. Hare, while the death of James Pike suggests that the Xhosa were not prepared to wait for the first clash with the troops on 16 April, which was followed next day by the disaster at Burns Hill when the Gaikas destroyed no less than 53 baggage wagons.<sup>1</sup>

The death of Pike plunged the Sporting Club into the "War of the Axe". Pike had been in charge of a wagon outspanned near the margin of the Fish River bush where he was shot and killed. The news reached Grahamstown about 7.30 p.m. and within 20 minutes Stubbs had got 24 of his men off to the scene. Once near the wagon Stubbs sent three of his men forward, while he led the rest on a detour through the bush to cut off any Xhosa that might have remained in the vicinity. The Sporting Club were soon joined by men belonging to the other volunteer corps in Grahamstown, namely the "Loyal Independent Graham's Town Yeomanry" and the "Tirailleurs".<sup>2</sup> Together they began a fruitless night search in drenching rain for James Pike. At daybreak the Sporting Club were left to continue the search alone; they eventually found the body about half a mile from the wagon where Pike had collapsed. The Sporting Club placed the body in the wagon which they then brought to Grahamstown with another span of oxen to replace those that the Xhosa had driven away.<sup>3</sup>

This was the first of the many patrols which the Sporting Club were called upon to mount as part of the defence pattern for the Colony.<sup>4</sup> For Stubbs, the Colony was Albany and it was usually within a thirty mile radius of Grahamstown that the Sporting Club worked. As in the other frontier wars the early initiative belonged to the Xhosa, as the available force on the frontier was powerless to prevent the rush into the Colony.<sup>5</sup> The ravages of war again visited Albany, and in greater measure than in the previous war, when Pato had kept the Gudukwebe tribes friendly. The Gudukwebes occupied the coastal reaches of the "neutral belt"; in the War of the Axe Pato joined the enemy not least because the location of Pingoos around Fort Peddie seems to have excited in him the fear that he might suffer the loss of part of his land. Lower Albany soon felt the effect

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1. G.T.J. extra 18/4/1846; 786 of 1847, pp.119-20.

2. See Stubbs, I, notes 124, 129.

3. G.T.J. 18/4/1846; C.F.T. 14/4/1846; Stubbs, I, 81-2

Three of this band of eight Xhosa were later given up by Stock who had not yet joined the warring Gaikas. They were brought to Grahamstown on 19 April. (G.T.J. 18/4/1846, 25/4/1846). Stubbs attended their trial at Port Elizabeth on 2/10/1846, where he identified one of the Xhosa. All three were sentenced to be hanged in Grahamstown. (G.T.J. 17/10/1846.) En route they escaped from the jail at Uitenhage, but were recaptured single-handed by another prisoner, Thomas Bailie, himself in prison for murder. G.T.J. 14/11/1846.

4. See Appendix D.

5. Maitland explained to Gladstone on 11/6/1846 that the ordinary force on the frontier had "no more power to prevent it than the piers of a bridge to stop the rush of a torrent through its arches."

786 of 1847, p. 142.

of his hostility as Pato conveniently used a boat to pass his troops over the mouth of the Fish River.<sup>1</sup> Reports of stock loss soon began to reach Grahamstown, to which Stubbs and the Sporting Club responded whenever they could. On 14 April 150 cattle were swept off from the neighbourhood of Grobelaar's Kloof, a bare 7 miles from town. Tom Stubbs immediately mustered 11 men and set out, only to return next day with the knowledge that the cattle had been spirited off into the favourite haunt of the Xhosa, the dense Fish River Bush.<sup>2</sup> On 20 April Collingham, to the east of town, was attacked; the attack was beaten off by the defenders who had collected in the Wesleyan Chapel. Next day Stubbs led the Sporting Club towards Botha's Hill and Grobelaar's Kloof where the attackers were believed to be ensconced. This time they saw such a large number of Xhosa that Stubbs realized it would be fatal to venture into the bush defiles and ravines. The Xhosa tried to lure the Sporting Club into the bush by revealing themselves in small groups; Stubbs, however, was alive to their tactics. He would not risk the lives of his men, and returned to town instead.<sup>3</sup>

The War of the Axe came to an end only in December 1847. The war itself ran on ill-directed and rambling course, characterised by dissensions between the regular forces and the burgher auxiliaries, and was prolonged unduly by extreme drought. This hindered the arrival of burgher reinforcements from the west, and forced Maitland to establish a camp at Waterloo Bay at the mouth of the Fish River since it proved almost out of the question to transport supplies from Port Elizabeth up to the front. The war within the Colony was fought mainly as a guerilla war with a minimum loss of life on the colonial side as the lessons of 1835 had been remembered and defence points were established. Yet little could be done to roll back the first shock of invasion till it receded by itself. In this the skirmishing phase of the war, the Sporting Club played an invaluable and major part. All were well mounted, and with the commissariat finding forage for their horses, they were able to maintain their patrols whereas the burghers in the defensive camps could not as local forage became scarcer and scarcer.

The war was fought with intelligence and courage on both sides. The Xhosa tactic seems to have been to avoid a pitched battle by the simple expedience of avoiding open ground.<sup>4</sup> They also attempted to cripple the mobility of the colonial forces by the destruction of forage. The open countryside from the Winterberg to the sea, and as far westward as Enon, which was attacked in July,<sup>5</sup> was in the hands of the marauders, who took every opportunity to burn forage. The one bright spot before the advance began in July, was the activities of Col. Somerset in Lower

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1. G.T.J. 2/5/1846.

2. G.T.J. 18/4/1846.

3. G.T.J. extra 18/4/1846, 25/4/1846.

4. The only time occurred on 8/6/1846 when Col. Somerset caught a large body of Xhosa on flat ground near the Gwanga River. 786 of 1847, pp. 150-1, 162.

5. G.T.J. 11/7/1846.

Albany in May, where, with a puny force of 170 mounted men, his efforts had been directed as much towards securing such forage as had not been burned, as to provide protection,<sup>1</sup> since the commissariat had not heeded the sensible advice more than a month before to collect the forage.<sup>2</sup> Stubbs gave his willing assistance, and on 7 May he took 30 of his corps towards Manley Flats where they managed to secure 20 loads of forage.<sup>3</sup> When Maitland, moreover, eventually took the offensive on 3 July 1846, it was only to discover that the Xhosa had deliberately burnt the little pasture that did remain about his camp at Waterloo Bay, as well as along his line of march.<sup>4</sup>

Within the Colony the burghers had been forewarned by Col. Hare's notices of 21st and 31 March,<sup>5</sup> which had enabled them to form no less than 21 defensive camps, which could save life but not stock, as the Xhosa deliberately thrust against these strong points.<sup>6</sup> By 15 May seventeen of these camps from Leeuwfontein to the Fish River Rand had been attacked. The Xhosa tactic was to remove cattle and let near-starvation force retreat;<sup>7</sup> one after another the camps were abandoned, thus leaving the line of the Fish River completely open except for various military posts established mainly at the principal drifts. Even these posts were unable to render effectual assistance in guarding the frontier line, for the shortage of forage caused by the drought had crippled their horses, so that in some cases the men at these posts were reduced to patrolling on foot.<sup>8</sup> The Xhosa were, therefore, left more or less free to come and go as they pleased, as Stubbs soon found out. For example, on 3 August a band of Xhosa managed to drive off 460 commissariat cattle which they had cut off from a larger drove near the Little Fish River. This represented a serious loss as the troops in Kaffraria were precariously short of rations and draught oxen.<sup>9</sup> The news reached Stubbs only on 7 August, too late to be of assistance. None-the-less he immediately led 30 of his men in pursuit. They found and traced the spoor to beyond Botha's Post, but the marauders had been unchecked and got clean away with this large herd of cattle.

It was in connection with three of these burgher posts that Stubbs and his Corps earned the praise and thanks of the frontier. The gallantry at these isolated posts had been conspicuous, but they had been unsupported. The plight of the camp under Walter Currie on the Fish River Rand<sup>10</sup> eventually filtered through to Grahamstown from Fort Beaufort. Stubbs, at the head of about 100 mounted men of the Sporting Club, Yeomanry and L.H. Meurant's Hottentot troop, immediately went to Currie's assistance. They set out on Sunday, 10 May, and headed for the

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1. G.T.J. 2/5/1846, 9/5/1846; 786 of 1847, pp. 130-5.

2. C.F.T. 19/5/1846.

3. C.F.T. 19/5/1846.

4. Maitland to Gladstone, 18/9/1846. 786 of 1847, p. 153.

5. G.T.J. 21/3/1846; 786 of 1847, p. 113.

6. 786 of 1847, p. 131.

7. G.T.J. 2/5/1846.

8. G.T.J. 8/8/1846, 15/8/1846.

9. Maitland referred to the "extraordinary embarrassment" caused by drought. 786 of 1847. p. 153.

lager of Field Cornet Jury Lombard near Botha's Drift on the Fish River. Shortly before Stubbs arrived, Lombard had removed to join Currie on the Fish River Rand.<sup>1</sup> But here too shortage of feed made it impossible to kraal the cattle. To leave them to graze, was to lose them to a Xhosa band camped in the nearby hills. This was the main reason why Currie and Lombard had decided to break post and withdraw.

Stubbs immediately took command of the camp. Next day Meurant was sent back to Lombard's old camp to retrieve two or three wagons laden with wool and meal which had been abandoned. Stubbs himself led the rest of his force plus some 40 recalcitrant Cradock burgers who had joined Lombard, towards Thorn Kloof where the Bowker brothers, John Mitford, William, Miles, Thomas, Septimus and Octavius, had foregathered for protection. Stubbs' assistance was not needed here as this camp had already been abandoned on 4 May after two men had been killed and three wounded. At Thorn Kloof a desperate tale could have been told, yet theirs was but the epitome of what others were suffering: they could save their lives only to starve and to lose their stock, so they too had retired northwards.<sup>2</sup>

Shortage of oxen made two trips necessary before the combined Currie - Lombard camp was moved to a securer lager on the East Riet River by 14 May. Stubbs was unceasingly active all the time, and his conduct was spoken of by all in terms of the highest commendation.<sup>3</sup> On their way home on 15 May, Stubbs and his force touched on the hamlet of Riebeek. Riebeek had survived a near disastrous attack a few days previously, and the men were resolved to fall back on the camp of G. Cumming at Hilton. Stubbs begged them to stay, and continue to hold the vital point of ingress, but they refused. He therefore left them Meurant with his Hottentots to cover their retreat, while he led the Sporting Club and Yeomanry back to Grahamstown on 16 May. They had been away for six days, and had been instrumental in saving property estimated at at least £2,000, as well as 25,000 sheep, 200 oxen, and possibly the lives of over 300 people.<sup>4</sup>

In the meantime reinforcements had slowly begun to reach Grahamstown. The first burghers to arrive, on 7 May, came from Cradock, but it was not before 25 May that the first contingent from the Western Cape arrived.<sup>5</sup> All Maitland could do was to build up his supplies at the base camp at Waterloo Bay. He had indeed sent Col. Somerset in

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1. C.F.T. 7/8/1846; cf. 786 of 1847, p. 133.

2. Cf. J.M. Bowker to G.T.J. 30/5/1846:

"It is a new thing for me to be running on foot, before Kaffirs mounted on horseback and the balls whistling like hail about me; ..... we are determined to try to take our stock and families out of this, for they have suffered enough; ... we left our lager with heavy hearts, for we knew not where we were going, and know not yet."

3. G.T.J. 23/5/1846, Stubbs, I, 86-92.

4. In Garrison Orders of 18/5/1846, Stubbs and his men were singled out for praise and thanks. (G.T.J. 23/5/1846.) At these two camps there were 57 burghers, 164 women and children, 14 Hottentots, and about 120 other persons of colour. C.F.T. 7/4/1846.

5. G.T.J. 9/5/1846, 30/5/1846.

May to operate in Lower Albany, which merely caused the Xhosa to switch their attention to the north of Grahamstown and into Oliphant's Hoek. During this time Stubbs kept the Sporting Club actively on patrol towards Botha's Hill and the Fish River bush, to the Kariega River bush, and to Riebeek. Col. Somerset had also changed his area of activity towards Riebeek, but was recalled at the end of May to undertake the urgent task of supplying Fort Peddie which was to be Maitland's advance base. This had become necessary after Pato's people had destroyed a train of 43 wagons en route to Fort Peddie on 21 May.<sup>1</sup> When therefore, a report reached Grahamstown on 7 June that two large Xhosa bands had been sighted near Riebeek, the report was treated with more respect than it deserved. The Commandant of Grahamstown, Lieut.-Col. Johnstone collected a mixed force of troops, burghers and levies about 350 strong, and moved off on 8 June. In his "Reminiscences" Stubbs gives a mocking picture of what was, after all, intended as a serious expedition. He was astonished to find that regular marching order was insisted upon, but that no attempt was made to scour the noted Xhosa haunt of Hell Poort: that at night when the troops bivouacked blazing fires were permitted to give away their position. To him it seemed more like a picnic than an advancing army, and to his skilled eyes such an expedition was "All Bosh," which served only to tire men and horses, "when they could have been employed much better, in hunting Caffers, where they were to be found."<sup>2</sup> Stubbs could stand it no longer; he was granted permission to lead his men off alone to waylay and scour in their own fashion. In the process they learned that the presence of any large Xhosa band had been largely imaginary, an opinion that was confirmed by Fingo scouts.<sup>3</sup>

This expedition lasted three days and served no purpose. Stubbs grasped that the way to wage the war within the Colony was by incessant mounted patrols to harass the marauders: it was primarily a war of movement in which the slow moving British infantry, encumbered by equipment and inexperienced in bush warfare, were of relative importance only. No skirmish within the colony in any of the three wars in which Stubbs was active, was of a decisive character. But each skirmish gave a measure of security where it had not existed before, and in this kind of work the Sporting Club were invaluable. Their worth was recognised by none other than the Commandant-General of the burgher forces, Sir Andries Stockenström, who in June proposed that the Sporting Club should join his forces, an offer which Stubbs declined.<sup>4</sup> The best way to fight was demonstrated time and again by Stubbs and the Sporting Club. This was his system of "waylaying tactics" which required not only patience to lie in ambush, skill in shooting at moving targets, but important also was an acquaintance with Xhosa habits and an intimate knowledge of the

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1. G.T.J. 23/5/1846, 30/5/1846; 786 of 1847, pp. 149-50.

2. Stubbs, I, 99.

3. G.T.J. 13/6/1846; C.F.T. 9/6/1846, 16/6/1846; Stubbs, I, 95-9.

4. G.T.J. 6/6/1846.

countryside and the various Kaffir paths. Stubbs had that experience as a result of his boyhood familiarity with the Xhosa, while all his men knew the surrounding geography as well as Stubbs did from their regular weekend hunts.<sup>1</sup> The policy was illustrated by its success, and Stubbs himself said:

"It certainly is the most effectual way to fight the Caffers, for I have known Caffer foot paths deserted for a long time after some had been shot in them."<sup>2</sup>

In July 1846 the Sporting Club had two noteworthy successes using these tactics. On 3 July the defensive phase of the war came to an end as the military advance finally began after an interval of nearly 3 months since the outbreak of war. From the encampment at Waterloo Bay, Sir Peregrine Maitland marched towards the Amatolas, while Col. Somerset set out for the Kei, which was crossed on 21 July.<sup>3</sup> Somerset captured over 5,000 head of cattle from Pato's people, whereafter he fell back to the upper reaches of the Buffalo River to participate in the general attack on the Amatola Mountains. These desultory and inconclusive operations continued to mid-August: the Xhosa avoided the open ground, while they had long since driven off their cattle to safer pastures. The only achievement was the characteristic Xhosa appeal, from Macomo and Unhala, for peace, which was rejected.<sup>4</sup>

The advance of the troops into Kaffraria was followed by a renewal of guerilla attacks on the Colony by the Xhosa. Such a pattern was a feature of all frontier wars, and for Stubbs it was the signal for renewed patrols to combat the spate of depredations. When a drove of more than 400 head of cattle were driven off on 12 July from the flats above Grahamstown where they had been herded for security, Stubbs automatically headed the Sporting Club towards Grobelaar's Kloof where he anticipated the marauders would rest. It was after dark on 13 July when Stubbs and 30 of his men set out. At Collingham he arranged his plan with a party of Stellenbosch burghers who had been posted there, and had orders to co-operate with Commandant Stubbs. They were to beat up the kloof on foot, while Stubbs and the Sporting Club lay in ambush at the top of Grobelaar's Kloof near the main road to Trompetter's Drift. The Sporting Club had not long to wait before a solitary Xhosa came up the path. He was allowed to pass; close on his heels came a body of about 30 more, who had no sooner emerged from the bush than they were fired upon. The Xhosa beat a hasty retreat up the kloof under cover of the bush. Stubbs countered this by scrambling his troops up the hillside in skirmishing order, but the Xhosa fled over the road into the defiles and escaped into the night. The results were a little disappointing as only 9 head of cattle were captured. It was discovered at daybreak that the main Xhosa body had passed through the previous night. All the same, numerous blood spoors were found which showed that not all

1. See above, pp. 6-7, 20.

2. Stubbs, I, 123.

3. G.T.J. 18/7/1846, 1/8/1846; 786 of 1847, pp. 164-9.

4. G.T.J. 22/8/1846.

the shots of the Sporting Club had gone astray.<sup>1</sup>

A more successful ambush occurred a few days later on 20 July, when Captain William Stubbs with a combined patrol of Sporting Club and Stellenbosch burghers rode out after dark into the bushy ravines of the Fish River, where they took up a position to watch one of the usual Kaffir paths. Before long the stillness of the mid-winter night was broken by the rustle of cattle. Again three Xhosa came on in advance, who were allowed to pass unmolested as before as the ambushers waited for the main body to appear. Only three appeared, who were immediately shot and killed; 27 cattle were recaptured and brought in triumph to town. This caused the Journal to sum up accurately the effect and purpose of such patrols:

"Success in these marauding expeditions is sure to lead to their multiplication, - defeat, and especially defeat of this fatal character, in an inverse ratio, puts a stop to these ruinous proceedings....."<sup>2</sup>

In this the offensive stage of the war, the bulk of the troops and burghers were in Kaffraria, so the defence of Albany devolved on the mounted forces raised in Grahamstown, with the assistance of the Stellenbosch and George burghers whom Maitland had had stationed in Albany to give added protection. The winter months with short daylight hours were traditionally the time for increased depredation, and especially as the real offensive had begun only in July. The Sporting Club were constantly in the saddle on patrol. For example, between 24th and 29 July Stubbs led the Sporting Club on a wide circuit past Driver's Hill, along the Kap River, to Bathurst, Port Frances and back to town. During the patrol they ambushed a party of Xhosa at the Kap River, wounded several and took 6 horses.<sup>3</sup> Patrol followed patrol so that Godlonton had cause later to remark that their services were of "equal or more importance in the defence of the frontier, than any regiment of the line in Her Majesty's Service."<sup>4</sup>

By September active hostilities in Kaffraria had abated sufficiently to allow Maitland to dispense with most of the burgher forces,<sup>5</sup> while on 17 September Macomo again sued for peace for the Gaikas.<sup>6</sup> The Sporting Club was, however, still active, as Stubbs' report on 7 September to the Town Commandant showed:

"Sir, - I have to report to you that according to your instruction I called out the Albany Sporting Corps, to proceed after Cawood's cattle ... We found the cattle all right, but heard that a young Pankhurst was missing. We rode at full speed to the place he was last seen, where we found the spoor of five Kaffirs, leading into a deep kloof. My brother ... got sight of the Kaffirs at the fire ... They were then from fifteen to twenty yards off, sitting round the fire. We then poured in a smart fire, knocking them about in all directions, and that instant received a shot from them. We followed them into the rocks, and killed four, and took their four guns and ammunition. The other received several shots, and was knocked

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1. G.T.J. 18/7/1846; C.F.T. 21/7/1846; Stubbs, I, 83-5.  
2. G.T.J. 25/7/1846.  
3. G.T.J. 25/7/1846, 1/8/1846.  
4. G.T.J. 29/5/1847.  
5. G.T.J. 26/9/1846; 786 of 1847, p. 177.  
6. 786 of 1847, pp. 182, 187.

down four times, but got away with his gun. It was then dark, and after being certain that the four were dead, we returned home. We were not three hours absent...." <sup>1</sup>

Next day the Sporting Club turned out again to search for the 18 year old James Pankhust. He was found dead, as was the fifth Xhosa shot the night before. <sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile Macomo's overture for peace on 17 September had resulted in a meeting of all the Gaika chiefs with Lieut.-Col. Johnstone and Rev. Calderwood at Block Drift. Maitland's stipulation that the Xhosa give up their arms and all stolen cattle, and line on locations which he would assign to them, were rejected. <sup>3</sup> But the sowing season was at hand, and the Xhosa adopted a policy of non resistance assuming, correctly, that the troops would not fire on them. <sup>4</sup> The Governor was convinced that the hostile tribes had been dispersed and that the chiefs were all fugitives in the bush. <sup>5</sup> His next idea was to register as British subjects all those Xhosa who were prepared to give up a bundle of assegais or one gun. The Xhosa tribes seized the opportunity to plant their crops, <sup>6</sup> but they were by no means as close to submission as Maitland believed and Sir Henry Pottinger who replaced him on 27 January 1847, was to find out.

During this period until the new Governor arrived, the activities of the Sporting Club were rather desultory, without much excitement or action on patrol. No peace had been signed, or was to be signed till a year had passed when on 23 December 1847 Sir Harry Smith met the Gaikas, Ndhlabes and Gunukwebes at King William's Town, where he abrogated the Treaty System and established the province of British Kaffraria between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers. The war had in fact reached a period of stalemate, and at the end of 1846 the chief occupation of Thomas Stubbs as Commandant of the Burgher forces of Grahamstown, <sup>7</sup> was to organize a levy of Grahamstown citizens. Maitland wanted this levy to occupy the posts in Albany which had previously been manned by the Stellenbosch burghers who had gone home contrary to orders in September. <sup>8</sup> The decision was extremely unpopular, and evoked angry protests. <sup>9</sup> Grahamstown, and Albany at large, was not interested in any new levy; the

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1. G.T.J. 12/9/1846.
  2. G.T.J. 19/9/1846.
  3. G.T.J. 3/10/1846; 786 of 1847, p. 188.
  4. This was first noticed by Col. Somerset on 16 September as he patrolled along the Keiskamma River. 786 of 1847, p. 184.
  5. Maitland to Gladstone, 18/9/1846. 786 of 1847, p. 155.
  6. By 12/1/1847 Maitland calculated that 3040 Gaikas including every chief had registered, while most of the Ndhlabes except Pato's people, had followed suit. 912 of 1847-8, pp. 8, 15.
  7. Stubbs, I, 79; Stubbs was given this rank after Maj. A.A. O'Reilly, the previous Commandant of the Grahamstown burgher forces, was appointed in June as commanding officer at Grahamstown. Cf. Stubbs' to O'Reilly, 4/2/1847. Cory Library, MIC. 113, Reel 26.
  8. G.T.J. 26/9/1846.
  9. G.T.J. 24/10/1846, 31/10/1846, 9/1/1847.

preoccupation of the moment was the drawing up of a petition to the British Government about adequate protection for the future and compensation for war losses.<sup>1</sup> A scheme was also afoot to collect subscriptions to procure for three years the services of a British Member of Parliament to put forward forcibly the case of the Cape, and especially the plight of the frontier.<sup>2</sup> The subject of the settlement required after the war had occupied men's minds since the war had begun,<sup>3</sup> and may be summed up in the words of Robert Godlonton, that "the independence of Kaffirland is not consistent with the peace of the Colony."<sup>4</sup> Stubbs meanwhile had proceeded with the organisation of the levy; on 10 November a ballot was taken, while his old friend, S.W. Dell, who had helped form the Sporting Club in 1843, was elected as captain of the "Dismounted Albany Burgher Force" or "Guffies" as they became known.<sup>5</sup> The "Guffies" served only a few months before they were disbanded, though not before they had seen action on 4 February 1847, when a party under Samuel Dell waylaid three Xhosa near Collingham, wounding one and recapturing 11 oxen.<sup>6</sup>

In the summer of 1846-47 the only chiefs still actively hostile were Pato, Kobus and Toise who lurked between the Buffalo and Kei Rivers. Col. Somerset spent December and January trying to bring them into action, during which time his troops captured 6,000 cattle which were driven back to the Colony for distribution to the farmers.<sup>7</sup> It was a time of nominal war only, which was the situation as the new Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, found it, when, escorted by Thomas Stubbs and the Sporting Club, he rode into Grahamstown on 27 February 1847.<sup>8</sup> It soon became clear that Maitland's decision to lift martial law on 13 January and to disband the burgher forces, had been premature. Pato and Kobus had not been at all chastened by Somerset's expedition, and the Gaika Commissioner, Rev. H. Calderwood, reported that their example had induced a spirit of defiance into the Gaikas.<sup>9</sup> On 3 March Pottinger was forced to appeal to the burghers to come forward for one month, to enable him to attack Pato.<sup>10</sup> The Sporting Club, too, were active, especially as <sup>the</sup> rate of depredations increased momentarily as Pato's tribesmen followed up the cattle that they had lost to Col. Somerset in January. The attacks were more sporadic, though as successful as before, which gave the Sporting Club plenty to do around Grahamstown in the first four months of 1847.<sup>11</sup>

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1. G.T.J. 21/11/1846.
  2. G.T.J. 28/11/1846.
  3. See e.g., G.T.J. 11/4/1846, 20/6/1846, 15/8/1846, 7/11/1846.
  4. G.T.J. 22/5/1847.
  5. Stubbs, I, 79; cf. Stubbs to O'Reilly, 4/2/1847. Cory Library, MIC.113, Reel 26.
  6. G.T.J. 6/2/1847, 13/2/1847.
  7. G.T.J. 26/12/1846, 9/1/1847, 23/1/1847, 6/2/1847, 13/2/1847; 912 of 1847-8, pp. 16-19.
  8. G.T.J. 27/2/1847.
  9. 912 of 1847-8, p. 28.
  10. G.T.J. 6/3/1847; 912 of 1847-8, pp. 42-3.
  11. See Appendix D.

But the active days of Stubbs' Corps were at an end, though desultory war continued in Kaffraria. The new commander of the forces, Lieut.-Gen. G.F. Berkeley, began active hostilities in March by a drive towards the Kei.<sup>1</sup> The Xhosa had never been a highly organised striking force, and withdrew. One by one Berkeley subdued the chiefs; in August Macomo was allowed to retire from the frontier and was sent to Port Elizabeth;<sup>2</sup> on 19 October Sandile surrendered after sustained operations against the Anatolas;<sup>3</sup> Pato who held out to the last, surrendered to Col. Somerset near the Kei on 21 December 1847.<sup>4</sup>

During the first months of his rule, Pottinger had conducted an investigation into the organisation of the burgher forces. Undoubtedly there was a lot of profiteering from the confusion, and even the Sporting Club was not free from irregularities: Stubbs records that most of his men were tradesmen, and whenever anyone got work to do, he put them on leave which allowed them to draw rations and pay all the time.<sup>5</sup>

Astonished at the "recklessness with which irresponsible persons seem to have been allowed to go on with regard to public expence," Pottinger issued a general order on 6 May which disbanded most of the levies and auxiliary forces.<sup>6</sup> The Sporting Club was notified that it was to be disbanded on 31 May along with the rest.

Stubbs doubted the wisdom of this action; he realised full well that the war was not over, so made a special journey in May to see Pottinger at Fort Peddie to represent the impolicy of disbanding the only really effective body of men in Albany. His journey was fruitless as Pottinger refused to give him an audience. On his journey home, Thomas Stubbs, excellent horseman though he was, was thrown from his horse and fractured his collar-bone.<sup>7</sup> For Stubbs the war had come to an end, and with it his hunting club which had lost its identity with the admission of volunteers during the war. The Journal also disapproved of the decision to disband the Corps, and paid Stubbs and his men the well-earned compliment when they were described as having done "as much hard and good service along this border, as any force at present in the field, ... who have approved themselves so valuable in the common defence."<sup>8</sup> It must have been frustrating for Stubbs, as the war dragged on for another seven months, until the tribes in Kaffraria accepted submission in December 1847 as a matter of policy for three years until December 1850, when for the eighth time in seventy years "the land was dead" and the War of Umlanjani began.

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1. G.T.J. 27/3/1847.

2. 912 of 1847-8, p. 113.

3. 912 of 1847-8, pp. 144-5.

4. G.T.J. 25/12/1847.

5. Stubbs, I, 79.

6. Pottinger to Grey, 14/4/1847. 912 of 1847-8, p. 54; G.T.J. 8/5/1847.

7. G.T.J. 29/5/1847.

8. G.T.J. 29/5/1847.

CHAPTER V

STUBBS, THE EIGHTH FRONTIER WAR, AND  
THE HOTTENTOT REBELLION.

The War of the Axe terminated on 23 December 1847, and the territory from the Keiskamma to the Kei River was annexed to the British Crown. This earned the acclamation of the colonists; the Journal with its usual extravagance described the year 1849 as a year of "unexampled exemption from depredation,"<sup>1</sup> while in February 1850 Godlonton said that the new arrangement was exactly what the frontiersmen had striven for over the past 14 years.<sup>2</sup> But, whereas the hated Treaty System had given a decade of uneasy peace between 1836 and 1846, the peace by annexation and control lasted precisely three years, and confronted the Colony with a Xhosa-Hottentot alignment such as had not been seen since 1799.<sup>3</sup> Within the Colony the period 1849 to 1853, which opened with the anti-convict agitation and closed with the Constitution Ordinance, was one of conflicting political tensions which reacted on the frontier zone. Beyond the Cape, in Trans Orangeia, the victories of Moshesh at Viervoet and Berea in June 1851 and December 1852 strained the resources of Sir Harry Smith and later Sir George Cathcart, and added to the general pattern of alarm and rumour. There is no causal link between Moshesh, Kreli and Sandile which can be established, yet the scale of movements, even if coincidental, was alarming, and it is this which explains why Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for War and Colonies, sent reinforcements to the Cape long before Smith asked for them in October 1851, nearly 10 months after the war had actually begun.<sup>4</sup>

The war of December 1850, the eighth war on the Cape frontier, was the climacteric in Gaika history. It was given an almost millennial quality by the prophecies of that "regenerated Mahomet," Umlanjani, heir to the traditions of Makana;<sup>5</sup> but on analysis the basic causes for the war of 1850 were associated with two fundamental problems, the one as land, and the other as status. The pressure on land from the Xhosa point of view, was in 1850, as before, a factor in bringing on a war. The old "neutral belt," occupied on suffrage by the Xhosa from 1836 to 1846, was added to the Colony as the district of Victoria East; repossession of the area between the Fish and the Keiskamma was the first thing Sandile wanted when Smith met the chiefs on 7 January 1848 to explain the new arrangements concerning British Kaffraria,<sup>6</sup> which was to be occupied by nearly 2,000 British troops in a series of garrisons and posts. This proved no less irritating to the Gaikas than the establishment in the choice Tyumie River valley of the four villages, Ely, Juanasberg, Auckland and Woburn, where grants of land on

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1. G.T.J. 29/12/1849.
  2. G.T.J. 9/2/1850.
  3. J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937, pp. 113-4.
  4. Smith to Grey, 15/10/1851. 1428 of 1852, p. 166.
  5. Umlanjani's influence extended beyond Kaffraria, and it was noted that his prophecies had the tendency to prepare the Xhosa for war. 1334 of 1851, pp. 17-20.
  6. G.M. Theal, History of South Africa Since 1795, III, 57.

military tenure were made to men discharged from the various regiments. These villages became the first target of Gaika resentment after war broke out on 24 December 1850, for next day all, with the exception of Ely, were attacked and destroyed.<sup>1</sup> All these new arrangements reacted strongly on the Gaikas, and by March 1848 Sandile was known to be refractory,<sup>2</sup> so that in November 1850, Thomas Stringfellow, Civil Commissioner at Fort Beaufort, reported that Sandile was determined to die fighting for the land of the Rarebes, because he saw "so many boundaries being made; he does not like white men, white houses, nor white surveying flags."<sup>3</sup>

Part and parcel of the new order in British Kaffraria were Smith's "eleven commandments" which he proclaimed to the chiefs assembled at King William's Town on 7 January 1848.<sup>4</sup> Some of these stipulations were subversive to the whole framework of Xhosa society, especially when they were put into application. Moreover, little reference was made to the chiefs, as Col. Mackinnon, the Chief Commissioner, ruled by martial law and the "application of common sense,"<sup>5</sup> with the assistance of two assistant commissioners, Capt. John Maclean for the Ndhlambes, and Charles Brownlee for the Gaikas.<sup>6</sup> The chiefs, especially the Gaikas, resented the loss of power which the system represented, so that Umlanjani was seized upon as a convenient way to recover lost prestige.<sup>7</sup> The chiefs, too, felt the loss of their revenue when they were forbidden to "eat up" their people at will, while their discontent was not really offset by the annual distribution of presents, which, Mackinnon discovered, were rarely retained by the chiefs themselves who were slaves to cattle, not to presents.<sup>8</sup> In the final analysis, Smith managed seriously to impair the authority of the chiefs, but he was not able, as events proved, to substitute his own authority.<sup>9</sup>

Towards the end of 1850 the alarm on both sides of the frontier was sufficient to cause Smith to make two trips to Kaffraria. He himself believed that war was out of the question,<sup>10</sup> and hoped that the deposition of Sandile as paramount chief of the Gaikas would cure the unrest.<sup>11</sup> This was on 30 October, but by December he was forced to agree with Col. Mackinnon

1. Cory, V, 306-315.
2. G.T.J. 25/3/1848. In February 1849 Sandile said to Col. Mackinnon: "we want land, we ask for land; we will ask, and will not tire." G.T.J. 3/3/1849.
3. G.T.J. 16/11/1850.
4. Theal, *op. cit.*, III, 57.
5. A.E. du Toit, The Cape Frontier: A Study of Native Policy with Special Reference to the Years 1847-1866, p. 31.
6. Du Toit, *op. cit.*, p.30.
7. 1334 of 1851, pp. 28-9.
8. Du Toit, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 57.
9. Cf. The observation of Charles Brownlee: "The reasons for the disaffection ... were the suppression of the power of the chiefs, the loss of their income and patronage derivable from fines and confiscations, nothing having been substituted as an equivalent for this loss, as has since been done by Sir G. Grey." C. Brownlee, Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History, p. 182.
10. 1334 of 1851, pp. 64-5.
11. 1333 of 1851, p. 44; G.T.J. 9/11/1850.

that only a display of overwhelming force could reduce to submission the disaffected party among the Xhosa.<sup>1</sup>

Three columns of troops were ordered to advance towards the Anatonlas; one of these under Col. Mackinnon penetrated the Gaika stronghold, where in the Boomah Pass he was attacked on 24 December 1850, losing 13 men killed and 14 wounded out of his force of 587 men.<sup>2</sup> In an instant the familiar scenes of war were re-enacted: on 25 December martial law was proclaimed, and on 26 December the news of the first stock theft in Albany reached Grahamstown.<sup>3</sup>

The war differed from the previous two wars in that the Gudukwebes and Ndhlabes remained loyal, with the exception of Seyolo who joined the warring Gaikas. Seyolo, with the chiefs Stock and Tola, occupied the bush along the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers and effectively cut all direct communication between Grahamstown and military headquarters at King William's Town. The main foci of action was, however, localised in the Anatonlas and the valleys of the Blinkwater, Waterkloof and Fuller's Hoek. Had Sir Harry Smith only had the Xhosa tribes to deal with, Sandile's reign would have been a "transient one,"<sup>4</sup> but the rebellion of many of the Hottentots at Kat River and the Moravian Mission at Shiloh extended the danger to the area from Fort Beaufort to Whittlesea. The total number of Hottentots in the Kat River - Shiloh region who took up arms against the Colony, probably did not exceed 1,200;<sup>5</sup> what was dangerous was not so much the number of Hottentots involved, but their organisation learned as levies in previous wars, their marksmanship as compared to the Xhosa who were generally poor shots, plus the fear of further widespread rebellion within the Colony, as did occur at Theopolis in June 1851, so that the Hottentots generally were regarded with distrust and suspicion.<sup>6</sup>

In this war, the War of Umlanjeni, the real danger came from rebellious Hottentots within the Colony far more than from the Xhosa marauders. Smith's occupation of the posts in Kaffraria, especially Forts White, Cox and Hare in the Amatola foothills, held the attention of thousands of Gaikas who might otherwise have rushed into the Colony as was their wont.<sup>7</sup> As a result Albany enjoyed a comparative security compared to the area to the north where the Gaikas, the Tembus beyond the Winterberg, and the rebel Hottentots wrecked havoc. Yet Albany was peculiarly vulnerable to the attacks of Stock, Tola and Seyolo ensconced in the Fish River bush, and especially after they were joined by the rebel Hottentots from Theopolis.

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1. 1334 of 1851, p. 97.
  2. 1334 of 1851, p. 73; G.T.J. 28/12/1850.
  3. G.T.J. 28/12/1850.
  4. Smith to Grey, 5/4/1851. 1380 of 1851, p. 32.
  5. Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 242; see below, p. 78-9.
  6. Cf. J.J. Breitenbach, The Development of the Secretaryship to the Government at the Cape of Good Hope under John Montagu, 1845-1852, p. 267.
  7. Smith to Grey, 27/1/1851. Smith reasoned that the Ndhlabes would also go to war were he to abandon the posts in Kaffraria. 1352 of 1851, pl; 1334 of 1851, p. 77.

Grahamstown was the supply point for the entire Fish River and Fort Beaufort zones, just as East London served to supply the forces in British Kaffraria; as such it was vitally necessary that Grahamstown and Albany should be secure. Smith was hampered by a lack of men: to begin with he had only 1700 British infantry at his disposal, of whom half were employed in garrisoning the various posts in Kaffraria, while the rest had to control nearly 4,000 Hottentot auxiliaries of doubtful loyalty after the rebellion at Kat River and the partial disaffection among the Cape Mounted Riflemen, and who in any case had literally to be taught the art of Kaffir warfare as they were almost all from the West Cape.<sup>1</sup> In addition Smith had no burghers to assist him, so that the total strength of the defensive forces left in Grahamstown on 1 May 1851 amounted only to 543 men. Of these, 85 belonged to Stubbs' Rangers; 322 were Fingoes and their officers, leaving 136 other military of all ranks.<sup>2</sup> The defence of Grahamstown and vicinity rested heavily on Stubbs' corps of men, as they were the only mounted force left after the Cape Mounted Rifles had been ordered up to the front on 13 January.<sup>3</sup> Smith came to rely upon the Rangers, and wrote to Earl Grey that "very good, continued, and most active service has been performed by a volunteer Graham's Town corps, consisting of 50 men under a Mr. Stubbs. Their exertions merit every encomium."<sup>4</sup>

It may be said that Stubbs became the life and soul of local defence. It must be admitted that he had no interest in the major political crises of the period, or in sub-continental strategy, but the peculiar character of the war as it developed in the Eastern Cape, made him not only a local leader, but one capable of shrewd comment, and a man whose active advice was sought. The impression lent by Stubbs' "Reminiscences" is that he did not ponder why there were wars, but applied himself, virtually to the exclusion of all else, to recounting his experiences in the wars, selecting events in which he became closely involved and where his tactics had paid off.<sup>5</sup> As early as 1841 his name, together with that of William Stubbs, had appeared on a requisition asking for permission to call a public meeting to consider the "present alarming state of the frontier," and the best way in which to avert "those daring outrages, attended with murder, which have lately been committed by the Kaffirs."<sup>6</sup> In the War of the Axe, Stubbs had had the leadership of his own body of men, the Sporting Club, which had enabled him to give a focus to his ideas as to the best way to fight a frontier war, so that by 1850 when war again seemed imminent, he was prepared to give

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1. Smith to Grey, 7/4/1852. 1635 of 1852-3, p. 72; cf. Du Toit, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 59; Theal, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4.
  2. 1428 of 1852, p.13. The loyalty of the Fingoes was implicit as they had been denounced by Umlanjeni. 1352 of 1851, p.12.
  3. G.T.J. 18/1/1851.
  4. Smith to Grey, 19/4/1851. 1380 of 1851, p. 42.
  5. This is most strikingly illustrated by the fact that Stubbs was at pains to include two articles he had written to the press, dealing with the best mode of frontier defence. Stubbs, Appendices III, and IV.
  6. 424 of 1851, pp. 91-2; cf. G.T.J. 24/6/1841.

expression to his opinions, as his letter to the Journal of 21 December 1850 shows:<sup>1</sup>

"Sir, - I think something ought to be done without delay for the protection of the stock we have left on this part of the frontier ... I firmly believe that 50 or 100 men could be obtained for the duty required on the following terms, viz:- The men to be allowed rations for themselves and horses, and pay as soldiers, the public to subscribe a sufficient sum to pay them while on duty, the same as they would get at their business.

"Such a Force would have great effect in stopping the depredations committed in the present state of excitement by the strolling vagabonds in the colony ...

"I am sure, without something is done quickly, we shall lose more in a few months than would pay five times the amount required for the support of such a force ...."

In December 1850 there was no time for theorising or experiment as the war broke out only days after this letter was published. This concern for initiative in defence may explain why Stubbs in January 1851 made himself responsible for the formation of a Volunteer Artillery Company of 28 volunteers to man three field-guns in the event of an attack on the town; this was a wise move since the batteries at Fort Selwyn had been dismantled.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, when nightly ward duties were discontinued after the initial scare had died down, it was Stubbs who urged upon the Board of Defence the necessity of a night watch to patrol the environs of Grahamstown. At a meeting of the Municipal Commissioners on Saturday, 26 April, the proposal to levy a rate of 6d. in the pound to defray for three months the expenses of a night-patrol was outvoted. The Commissioners decided to escape the costs by resuming nightly ward duties which the inhabitants of Grahamstown were pledged not to relinquish.<sup>3</sup> They had in fact, little option, as municipal income from all sources, and especially from rates, had fallen markedly from 1849 and was not to increase again till the end of the war in 1853.<sup>4</sup>

Stubbs was always disgusted to know that there were able-bodied men in Grahamstown who could have been of assistance, but were hardly lending their aid.<sup>5</sup> His own concern for defence had prompted him to place a notice in the Journal of 7 December 1850, calling upon the old Sporting Club to reassemble in case their services should be needed. This was in fact three days before Sir Harry Smith himself issued an appeal to the burghers to arm and enrol themselves.<sup>6</sup> In contrast to Stubbs' activity was the fact that others did not share it: in January 1851 several residents of Grahamstown were court-martialled for refusing to do duty as guards;<sup>7</sup> in March, the Commandant of Grahamstown, Maj. Burnaby, remarked upon the distinct reluctance of "a certain portion of the inhabitants" to come forward for the "general protection" of the town,<sup>8</sup> which was an opinion that

1. G.T.J. 21/12/1850; cf. Stubbs, II, 28.

2. G.T.J. 11/1/1851; cf. Stubbs, II, 27.

3. G.T.J. 3/5/1851.

4. K.S. Hunt, The Development of Municipal Government in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope with Special Reference to Grahamstown, 1827-1862, p. 277.

5. Stubbs, II, 33, 57.

6. G.T.J. 14/12/1850; 1334 of 1851, p. 58.

7. G.T.J. 1/2/1851.

8. G.T.J. 4/3/1851.

Smith came to share.<sup>1</sup> Stubbs was continually hampered in his efforts by a lack of men prepared to volunteer for the Rangers. In desperation he outlined his difficulties in the press in May, and pointed to the dangers he anticipated, calling for more men and assistance from Grahamstown:<sup>2</sup>

"Sir, - The war which has been waged against the Kafirs hitherto is military; the war now to be waged must be colonial. The Kafirs press it on. Our frontier is altogether undefended, - and as far as I and my Rangers may be named as defenders, we feel ourselves unequal to the task: because we have not numerical strength to execute the duty required in our district. This arises not from any unwillingness of the people to turn out in defence of our common interests, but in the actual inability of persons, fitted to go into the field, to leave their families unsupported and without the means of gaining a subsistence; whilst it must be obvious to any one that the paltry allowance of six-pence per day, to a man on duty, can hardly support the smallest family.

"I am certain that a sufficient number of able young men, well fitted to the duty, are to be found, provided a reasonable recompense be made to them for their absence from their occupations - speedily to put an end to this warfare; but I am certain that so long as the Government expends its thousands upon the inefficient armaments of the Hottentot Levies and Western Burghers, those parties not being accustomed to border warfare, that the war must be protracted, and the expence enormously increased: whilst its operations will be altogether ineffective, and fearfully destructive of the property of the frontier.

"Hitherto, the warfare has been extra colonial; it will now, from the season and the necessities of the Kafirs, become colonial in its true sense. My men and their horses are altogether unequal to the duties; and the duties I anticipate to be required of us, are such as demand a vast increase of numbers. I therefore leave it in the hands of my countrymen to adopt such a procedure as may to them seem proper. ...

"And, I have only to add, that however painful the step might be to my own feelings, I shall feel it to be my duty to resign my command, unless the men under it receive the support to which I conceive their services entitle them, - and, above all, unless their numbers are sufficiently increased, so as to enable them to do the work before them in an efficient manner.

"I am, Sir, &c.,  
T. STUBBS,  
Field-commandant, Rangers."

One of the features of the Eighth Frontier War was the general reluctance of the burgher population, both Dutch and to a lesser extent the British, to do duty, which hampered Smith's war effort.<sup>3</sup> The war had begun against a background of political tensions left by the anti-convict agitation, and this with the fact that wool farming was thriving behind the danger zone, help to explain the reluctance of many to enrol. Stubbs had already expressed himself freely, but as Field Commandant of the Grahamstown district, he persevered in his efforts: there were grounds for concern as

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1. Smith to the Grahamstown Board of Defence, 22/7/1851:

"However much I admire the conduct of the Albany Rangers, ... I cannot admit that the Inhabitants of Graham's Town have done as much as might have been expected to contribute towards the general defence, and I ground such an assertion upon their noble conduct in 1835."  
G.T.J. 9/8/1851.

2. C.F.T. 20/5/1851; cf. Stubbs, II, 35.

3. Cf. Smith to Grey, 7/4/1852. 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 72-3.

Albany was being plagued by rebel Hottentots especially after the Theopolis rebellion on 31 May 1851, while Stubbs realised full well that Smith's pending offensive against the Anatas in June<sup>1</sup> would have as its reaction a rush by the Xhosa behind Smith's forces and into the Colony. Stubbs tried again to rouse the population to their own defence, as his letter to the Journal of 28 June shows very clearly:<sup>2</sup>

"I think every man must feel that there is now a positive necessity for adopting some measures for our own immediate protection, and that until the Colony is cleared of the hordes of Kaffirs and Hottentots at present infesting, or in fact completely overrunning it, we shall be constantly subjected to the most ruinous losses. Recent events have shown the utter state of insecurity in which we are at present living. Valuable property, and the lives of some of our best and bravest men have been sacrificed, and this unless checked will go on increasing, until I fear the frontier will be so weakened and impoverished as to be unable to assist itself.

"I would, therefore, propose that each Field-cornetcy in the frontier Districts give a certain number of men, so as to raise a force sufficiently strong to ensure perfect success, and clear the whole Colonial frontier; and in order that this may be carried out to the fullest extent, and make the effect universal, let every man suspend business for the required time, and with good will and unanimity such a check would be given to our enemies, that we should be comparatively safe for some time. As regards numbers, I think in Graham's Town, Districts of Bathurst, Sidbury, Oliphant's Hoek, Bushman's River, Salem and Farmerfield, a force may be raised of at least 500 men, who I have no doubt would be rationed by government whilst they were in the field, and would be a sufficient number to rid us of the constant harassing we are at present subject to; and further than this, I think such a movement would do more towards putting a satisfactory end to this cruel war than all that has hitherto been done.

"That something of this kind is absolutely necessary, I have only to remark, that it is generally understood the troops will take up a position in the Anatola mountains, which will have the effect of driving the Kaffirs into the Colony, and give them the better opportunity of pursuing their depredations. My wish in this communication is to draw the attention of parties interested in the welfare of the Colony. I am happy that in Graham's Town there appears to be a feeling awakened of the critical position in which we are situated, and I shall be glad to co-operate with those who will come forward and assist them as far as lies in my power."

This appeal fell on deaf ears, and his only reward for his efforts and service was to find that to be "engaged in actual hostilities against the Queen's enemies" was sufficient to cause the "Mutual Life Assurance Company" of Cape Town to cancel his life insurance policy since their policies were "not calculated to cover risks of such a hazardous nature."<sup>3</sup>

In 1852 Stubbs did, however, have the satisfaction of seeing one of his ideas put into practice, even before the war was ended. In 1846 he had suggested the need for an armed rural police to be organised along the same lines as the Sporting Club.<sup>4</sup> The demand from the frontier for such a force came to assume a place of importance second only to Separation,<sup>5</sup> so that Smith who favoured the idea,<sup>6</sup> issued a proclamation on 25 November

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1. Between 26 to 29 June 1851 a simultaneous assault from four points was made on the Anatas. G.T.J. 5/7/1851; 1428 of 1852, pp. 61-9.

2. G.T.J. 28/6/1851.

3. G.T.J. 28/6/1851, 19/7/1851, 16/8/1851.

4. Stubbs, I, 93, and Appendix III; cf. above, p. 24; cf. p. 42.

5. G.T.J. 6/4/1850; cf. 1334 of 1851, p. 53.

6. Smith to Grey, 26/11/1850. 1334 of 1851, p. 49; G.T.J. 16/11/1850, 23/11/1850.

1850 providing for the formation of a rural police force.<sup>1</sup> The outbreak of war prevented the implementation of the plan, yet the idea was not lost. Stubbs took the opportunity to raise the matter again in May 1851 when he rode to King William's Town to see Sir Harry Smith.<sup>2</sup> On 21 January 1852 Smith directed the formation of a police force along the lines of the defunct Kaffir Police which had worked well in British Kaffraria until the men had deserted in 1850.<sup>3</sup> When Stubbs heard of Smith's plan, he wrote to the Governor and urged that any police force should be composed of frontiersmen or soldiers discharged from the regiments, and not of Fingoes and Hottentots officered by Europeans. He guaranteed to have such men "perfect in the practice of following spoor and Bush fighting" within three months.<sup>4</sup> The recall of Smith left Sir George Cathcart to carry out the plan,<sup>5</sup> and in May 1852 Stubbs was summoned to meet Cathcart at Fort Beaufort, so that the arrangements could be worked out. Both agreed that the police should consist only of Europeans, but disagreed as to the function of the force. Cathcart visualised it as a military levy which would replace the irregular levies and so allow him to concentrate the regular troops; Stubbs saw it as a permanent civil force which could be used as a reserve in times of hostility.<sup>6</sup> Eventually, on 1 June an "Armed Police Mounted Force" was authorised for the districts of Albany, Somerset, Cradock, Albert and Victoria. The men were to be enrolled for six months at a time.<sup>7</sup> Stubbs was offered the command of the Albany division of the police, but declined.<sup>8</sup> Walter Currie was appointed instead on 13 June 1852,<sup>9</sup> and later became the Officer Commanding when the police were reorganised as the "Frontier Armed and Mounted Police." During the latter portion of the war, the Rangers and the "Armed Police Mounted Force" worked together on several occasions till February 1853, when the Rangers were disbanded since most of Stubbs' men had joined the better paid police.<sup>10</sup>

While he had been exerting himself in these ways for the common defence, Thomas Stubbs had also done all in his power to give effective protection to Albany. He had anticipated the outbreak of war, and so he had collected together the old Sporting Club which had been disbanded in May 1847. Their first meeting was on Tuesday, 10 December, when no fewer than 40 volunteers turned out for their old and popular commander.<sup>11</sup> Stubbs soon had them at work, for on 29 December 20 men were ordered to Trompetter's Drift to provide an escort for the military mail from King

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1. Samuel Loxton of Whittlesea was appointed as superintendent with orders to raise a police force. 1334 of 1851, pp. 56-7; G.G. 28/11/1850; cf. Stubbs, I, 93.
  2. Stubbs, I, 120.
  3. G.T.J. 31/1/1852.
  4. Stubbs, II, 36.
  5. Cathcart to Sir John Pakington, 20/5/1852. 1635 of 1852-3, p. 105; cf. pp. 106, 220.
  6. Stubbs, II, 47-9.
  7. 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 121-3.
  8. Stubbs, II, 51.
  9. G.T.J. 19/6/1852; Notes and News, VIII, 2-29.
  10. Stubbs, II, 76.
  11. Stubbs, I, 106.

William's Town.<sup>1</sup> Soon after, on 6 January 1851, their first real action occurred when Captain William Stubbs pursued a drove of cattle which had been driven off from the race-course on the flats above the town. With the assistance of a troop of Cape Mounted Riflemen they managed to recover no fewer than 52 head of cattle and three horses in the bush near Committee's Drift.<sup>2</sup> The editor of the Cape Frontier Times pointedly declared that they were

"undoubtedly entitled to great praise for the promptness with which they proceeded to the spot of this daring robbery, which, had it been successful, would instantly have been followed by other attempts on a large scale. It was certainly of great importance that seven Kaffirs should not have been able to spread the report that they had swept a drove of cattle from Graham's Town flats, under the very nose of the inhabitants, with impunity."<sup>3</sup>

As in the previous war, Stubbs found that the services of his men were in constant demand as escorts to wagons or as despatch riders.<sup>4</sup> These essential duties were in addition to their offensive work as the only organised body of mounted men,<sup>5</sup> who were constantly out on patrol to ambush and attack the Xhosa and rebel Hottentots whenever possible. Their numbers increased so that by 1 May 1851 Stubbs had an efficient corps of 85 men under his command<sup>6</sup> as Field Commandant for the district of Grahamstown.<sup>7</sup> Every man who joined the Rangers was a volunteer who had not only to provide his own horse and gun, a double-barrel for preference, but had to pass Stubbs' expert scrutiny before he was enrolled for pay and rations.<sup>8</sup> They were intended by Maj.-Gen. Somerset to be used as in the previous war, purely for the defence of the town and surrounding district. It was Somerset too, who was responsible for the change in name from the "Sporting Club" to the "Graham's Town Corps of Yeomanry," or as they became known, Stubbs' Mounted Rangers.<sup>9</sup>

Stubbs, as commander, had always been concerned for the welfare of his men who were all local men, many being in humble circumstances with a living to make, including Stubbs as a saddler and contractor.<sup>10</sup> For their services the Rangers received a paltry pay of 6d per day, with no compensation for horses when these were killed or worn out by heavy duty;<sup>11</sup>

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1. G.T.J. extra 31/12/1850.
  2. G.T.J. 11/1/1851.
  3. C.F.T. 14/1/1851.
  4. 1428 of 1852, p.113; C.F.T. 4/2/1851, 18/2/1851, 11/3/1851, 8/7/1851; G.T.J. 25/1/1851, 17/5/1851, 5/7/1851.
  5. i.e. after the detachments of the C.M.R. in Grahamstown were ordered up to the front on 18/1/1851. G.T.J. 18/1/1851.
  6. 1428 of 1852, p. 13.
  7. Thomas Stubbs received the appointment on 31/12/1850. William Stubbs was appointed as captain, and E. Harley and D. Mitchelly as lieutenants. 1334 of 1851, p. 78; G.T.J. 4/1/1851.
  8. The Rangers were attached to the C.M.R. for purposes of regular payment. (C.F.T. 18/2/51). By a general order dated 13/1/1851 the rates of pay were fixed at 15/- per day for a commandant, 11/7 for a captain, 6/6 for lieutenants, and 6d each for the men. Rations consisted of 1 lb. of bread and 1½ lbs. of meat with groceries per man daily. "A Lover of Justice" to G.T.J. 5/4/1851.
  9. Somerset relied on Stubbs' "great experience, activity and intelligence" for this task, and directed that the Corps should be increased as much as possible, and was not to be used outside the Colony. G.T.J. 11/1/1851.
  10. Lieut.-Col. Eyre referred to them as "honest traders". G.T.J. extra

and according to one correspondent to the Journal, they wore out more suits of clothes than they were given.<sup>1</sup> In the first months of the war the treatment they had received had been so bad that Stubbs eventually decided to do what everyone considered impossible, to ride to King William's Town through the country held by the hostile chiefs Stock and Seyolo, to see Sir Harry Smith. With 5 volunteers Stubbs set out on 7 May and returned 5 days later,<sup>2</sup> armed with a general order authorising the issue of regulations to 36 women and 77 child dependants of the Rangers. Smith had been unable to grant Stubbs' request for more pay, but gave permission to draw upon the ordnance department for essential supplies like duffel clothing, forage and other requirements for their horses.<sup>3</sup>

Stubbs' own attitude to his men was explained to Lieut.-Col. Eyre when he said: "my Men are all pretty well my equals - and I know all their families and all their circumstances, and should I loose any off them through any mistake of mine, I should never be forgiven, and as I am likely to live among [them] all my days I should be very uncomfortably situated."<sup>4</sup> It was this regard for his men which led him to offer a £5 reward for the arrest of that person who had "from a dastardly malicious feeling, or in a fit of insanity" spread a rumour that eight of his men had been shot while on patrol in January 1851.<sup>5</sup> It was not surprising then that the Rangers rallied to Stubbs' defence as Maj. Burnaby learned to his discomfort, when in Stubbs' absence at Uitenhage, he had paraded and abused the corps in February.<sup>6</sup>

A fine spirit permeated the Rangers, which revealed itself in their song to the air "I'm Afloat":<sup>7</sup>

"We're away, we're away, on our own well-tryed  
nags,  
The saddle's our home and a Ranger ne'er lags,  
Join, join in our song, let it sound o'er the lea,  
We're away, we're away, and bold Rangers are we,  
The Kafirs we fear not, nor Totties one straw,  
We've a Ranger to lead us, we have triggers to draw,  
And ne'er from our foes were we yet known to turn,  
For the battle we court and all dangers we spurn.  
Saddle up! saddle up! 'tis the whistle is heard,  
Now stand by your horses to mount at the word,  
Join, join in our song, let it sound o'er the lea,  
We're away, we're away, and bold Rangers are we.  
We're away, &c.

At night in the bush we so watchfully lie,  
And woe to the Kafirs that path who dare try,  
Our foes we will crush and the cattle regain,  
We have done it before and will do it again;  
The quivering assegais around us may fall,  
The Totties may fire but we laugh at it all.

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1. "A Lover of Justice" to G.T.J. 5/4/1851.
  2. C.F.T. 13/5/1851, 20/5/1851; G.T.J. 24/5/1851; Stubbs, I, 117-20; II, 79-82.
  3. General order, dated 9/5/1851. G.T.J. 17/5/1851.
  4. Stubbs, I, 134.
  5. G.T.J. 22/2/1851.
  6. C.F.T. 18/2/1851; Stubbs, II, 6-9, 37-8.
  7. C.F.T. 27/5/1851.

With darkness above us and darkness below,  
Through bush or through kloof right onward we go.  
Hurrah! my brave comrades, ye may rest where ye  
are,  
The son is o'er head and the coffee is "klaar,"  
Then join in our song, let it sound o'er the lea,  
We're away, we're away, and bold Rangers are we.  
We're away, &c. "

With such a spirit Stubbs was able to preserve a strict discipline, and whenever anyone disobeyed orders, it was put to the vote whether the offender should be turned out of the Rangers or not.<sup>1</sup> Stubbs had also no hesitation in laying charges, which he did but once, "by way of example, to preserve regularity in the troop" when two ex-members of the Rangers, James McNally and William Fynn appeared in court in August 1851.<sup>2</sup> Such management of the corps was diplomatic, and their order was sufficient to earn and to live up to Godllonton's praise that Stubbs was able to mount "the most effective force that can possibly be used for the protection of the frontier."<sup>3</sup> They found less favour, however, in the eyes of a regular soldier, Lieut. C.M. Bell, C.M.R., who described them in his diary on 27 August 1851:

"They wear no uniform but almost everyone seems to agree in wearing a drab wide-awake with a band of panther skin round it. They also, without any reference to their Commandant, fell out to water their horses or galloped off the road and racketed their horses about to no purpose"<sup>4</sup>

What the Rangers lacked in formal discipline they made up by their skill and readiness to assist. The corps was widely known, and many appeals were directed straight to Stubbs instead of via the Town Commandant.<sup>5</sup> Whenever possible Stubbs responded to every appeal at any time of day or night. For example, during the night of 2 May 1851 news was brought to him that a wagon had been attacked a bare one and a half miles beyond Fort England. A party of the Rangers with Stubbs at their head, immediately rode out to render assistance. They found that the wagon had been stripped, the oxen driven off and the leader, a Fingo boy, stabbed to death. After a search for any of the attackers still in the vicinity, they returned home at 2.00 a.m.<sup>6</sup> Many of their patrols were in fact by night when the fires of the enemy could be spotted in the intricate kloofs and dense bush, while the hours before dawn were known to be the best time to waylay marauders on the move. The policy proved itself on 1 February 1851 when Thomas Stubbs set out after dark with 30 Rangers for the Kariega bush where it was suspected that a party of Xhosa were ensconced. Near one abandoned farm,

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1. Stubbs, I, 107.

2. They were charged with illegal possession of government equipment. The case was eventually withdrawn, but Stubbs had made his point. G.T.J. 23/8/1851, 30/8/1851, 13/9/1851.

3. G.T.J. 5/4/1851.

4. Notes and News, IV, 95.

5. e.g. B. James' letter from Hilton, dated 16/5/1851, to Stubbs after 55 head of cattle had been driven off. G.T.J. 17/5/1851. See also G.T.J. 26/7/1851, 30/8/1851.

6. C.F.T. 6/5/1851; cf. Stubbs, I, 120-21.

"Orange Grove," the Rangers caught the smell of roasting meat. Fifteen immediately dismounted, and led by Stubbs, were astonished to see eight Xhosa calmly cooking a turkey garnished with pumpkins, in the farmhouse kitchen. When challenged by Stubbs, the Xhosa fled, but not before one was shot dead and two more mortally wounded whose bodies were found next day.<sup>1</sup>

When stock was lost, and provided he knew in time, Stubbs was able to send out patrols with a reasonable hope that they would overtake the marauders involved. The Rangers knew every Kaffir-path leading out of Albany, as well as all the likely spots where cattle could be driven across the Fish River with its wooded and often precipitous banks. The system of wayling these footpaths again proved itself, as on 11 February when W. Stubbs led 30 Rangers towards De Bruijn's Poort. As they had patiently waited in ambush, a solitary Xhosa was spied shortly before dawn. In an instant the Rangers were in the saddle, and were astonished to see a party of seven Xhosa leisurely tramping the main road towards Cradock. The Rangers made a thorough steeplechase of the affair and succeeded in killing five before the other two escaped into the bush leaving fifteen assegais and one gun to be captured.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the patrols mounted by the Rangers were within Albany, though when occasion demanded they went further afield, as in March 1851 when Stubbs volunteered to take a wagon load of gunpowder and lead to Cradock. Communications with Cradock had long since been interrupted, so that the entire district was desperately short of ammunition, especially the defenders at Whittlesea. Whittlesea lay to the north of the Winterberg, and was to the district of Cradock what the military posts in Kaffraria were to Albany and Somerset; it was the strongpoint holding back the rebellious Hottentots from the mission at Shiloh and the Tembus under Mapassa living near the Swart Kei River, and by 18 February had survived no less than twelve district engagements.<sup>3</sup> Stubbs set out on 12 March with 20 Rangers and 100 Pingoos under Jonathan Ayliff, and by travelling by day and night managed to reach Cradock safely on 19 March.<sup>4</sup> Stubbs rightly regarded this duty as being of as much or more importance, than any other he performed during the war. In no small measure this timely arrival of ammunition contributed to the offensive. Capt. R.D. Tylden, the Commandant at Whittlesea, was able to launch on 10 April; on 14 April at the head of a force of burghers and Native allies, Tylden attacked and defeated nearly 4,000 Tembus and Gcalekas, which was the first major success of the war after the storming of the Fort Armstrong on 22 February.<sup>5</sup>

Stubbs meanwhile left Cradock on 21 March and reached Grahamstown on Tuesday night, 25 March. With him he brought David Hume, a trader and

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1. C.F.T. 4/2/1851. Stubbs' own report is printed in G.T.J. extra 4/2/1851. See also G.T.J. 1/3/1851.
  2. G.T.J. 15/2/1851; C.F.T. 18/2/1851.
  3. G.T.J. 8/2/1851, 22/2/1851.
  4. C.F.T. 18/3/1851, 1/4/1851; Stubbs, II, 1-4.
  5. 1428 of 1852, p.5; G.T.J. 26/4/1851, 3/5/1851.

explorer, who had no less than seven wagons loaded with more than £5,000 of "up-country" produce. He had willingly paid the Rangers £100 for their protection.<sup>1</sup> This was the first of the many patrols mounted by the Rangers as a result of the Hottentot rebellion. Even before Thomas had returned from Cradock an event had occurred on 22 March which was to emphasise Stubbs' conviction that the real enemy was to be the rebel Hottentot, well armed and frequently well mounted, and as events proved, more dangerous and ruthless than the Xhosa.

It was late on a Saturday afternoon 22 March 1851 when H. Castings, Benjamin Booth and Charles Trollip were ambushed by Hottentots at the entrance to De Bruin's Port. Booth was shot from his horse, but desperately wounded as he was, managed to stumble through the night to Jeremiah Goldswain's farm at Burnt Kraal.<sup>2</sup> News was immediately sent to Grahamstown, whereupon William Stubbs set out on Sunday to the spot, where they found Castings' body. Trollip had managed to escape and later reached safety. The Rangers took up the trail of thirteen Hottentots, and after a pursuit which was to demonstrate their skill and utility in tracing a spoor and to carry the offence to the enemy, came upon the rebels on 24 March. They were too strongly posted, so Stubbs returned to Grahamstown for more men, and at the head of 38 Rangers and volunteers again took up the trail till on 25 March the rebels were caught. Three were shot and three wounded. One of those that managed to escape was recognised as having shortly before been employed at Finlayson's Hotel in town. The patrol returned in triumph on Thursday 27 March, bringing with them seven horses including the one Booth had been riding, as well some property belonging to the dead Castings.<sup>3</sup>

Initially the Hottentot menace had been confined to the districts of Fort Beaufort, Upper Somerset and Cradock which bore the brunt of the attacks mounted from the Kromme Mountains which the rebels, who had joined Macomo, found to be as secure a refuge as any. The menace to the frontier and Albany in particular suddenly doubled in June 1851 when the Hottentots at the London Mission's institute at Theopolis also rebelled. But even before this the Rangers had encountered Hottentot rebels close to Grahamstown, as on 5 April when a patrol under William Stubbs came upon four mounted Hottentots near Botha's Hill. The Rangers immediately attacked: One Hottentot was wounded, and another killed, who was later identified by George Cyrus, the Fingo Superintendent, as one of two he had seen in Grahamstown

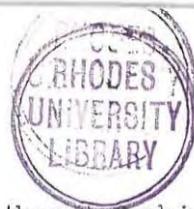
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1. G.T.J. 5/4/1851. On 2/4/1851 James Temlett auctioned Hume's goods:	
22,333 lbs. ivory (highest price 4/9 $\frac{3}{4}$ per lb.)	£5,260/7/7 $\frac{1}{2}$
67 lbs. white ostrich feathers (highest price 81/- per lb.)	£ 271/7/-
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " coloured " " ( " " 15/6 " " )	£ 3/9/9
196 Karosses	£ 240/9/6
Various curiosities	£ 27/-/9
	£5,802/14/7 $\frac{1}{2}$

A second trip in 1852 realised £3,660/12/5 $\frac{1}{2}$ . G.T.J. 13/9/1852.

2. Goldswain, II, pp. 144-148.

3. G.T.J. extra 25/3/1851, 29/3/1851; C.F.T. 25/3/1851, 1/4/1851, 8/4/1851; The Cape Monthly Magazine, XII, 240-41; Stubbs, II, 4-6, 41-2. The sequel to this episode is interesting: near George three armed and mounted Hottentots were arrested in May, and from their depositions, a full disclosure of the tragedy was revealed. One of them, Kiewiet Brander, was the actual killer of Castings, and had Castings' gun in his possession. They were returned to Grahamstown where two were sentenced to death, and hanged on 24/3/1852. G.T.J. 3/5/1851, 17/5/1851, 24/1/1852, 27/3/1852.



that very morning. They had continued to steal four horses, three of which the Rangers recaptured, and discovered that one even belonged to a Ranger.<sup>1</sup>

Worse than this had been the death on 3 April of two Englishmen, Ashley and Radford, along the Queens Road, a bare 12 miles from Grahamstown.<sup>2</sup> Such was the alarm that the Rangers and another volunteer group called the "Farmers Association" held a muster on 10 April to reassure the townsfolk.<sup>3</sup> This attack had been the work of a band of rebels led by Jan Pockbaas, who with his brother Gert, had had notorious careers as sheepstealers and bandits and who had found the rebellion as good an occasion as any to collect a few followers and extend their activities.<sup>4</sup> On more than one occasion Stubbs tried to trap Pockbaas, always without success, even when the Rangers had on 14 April been guided by a Hottentot woman to the very lair in the dense bush along the Ecca Pass.<sup>5</sup> Pockbaas and his gang were a constant threat, so that even a large convoy of 23 wagons under military escort was not safe, as a near disastrous attack on 2 August proved.<sup>6</sup> Another attack on 27 June on a patrol of eleven men from Fort Brown led to the death of two men, Macqueen and Kelly, and the wounding of a third. Stubbs immediately collected 20 Rangers and rode to the spot where they spent the night hunting for enemy fires. Next day, 28 June, the Rangers returned to town with the two bodies and the wounded man.<sup>7</sup> The sight of the grim cavalcade as it passed up High Street excited the spectators to a frenzy, so that when the magistrate, Hougham Hulson, decided to search the Hottentot huts in Grahamstown for arms, a number of Grahamstown men proceeded to the location and in their zeal commenced the search before the constables detailed for the task had arrived.

The recent rebellion at Theopolis was still very much in mind, while there was a well founded suspicion that a regular intercourse was kept up between the rebels and their compatriots in town. At Philipton, the location,<sup>8</sup> the discovery of many guns plus a good amount of powder and lead in places of concealment all added to the excitement, so that when some resistance to the search was offered, no less than ten hovels were fired. In the conflagration several guns which had not been discovered, exploded, suggesting that they had been carefully hidden at a time when Hottentots, as British citizens, were entitled to own arms. In all 49 guns were found plus lengths of lead water piping which had been disappearing around town. Such was the overall excitement that that night five more huts were fired

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1. C.F.T. 8/4/1851; G.T.J. extra 8/4/1851.
  2. G.T.J. 5/4/1851.
  3. G.T.J. 12/4/1851.
  4. G.T.J. 30/3/1852, 18/10/1852; cf. G.T.J. 5/7/1851.
  5. G.T.J. 19/4/1851. The Pockbaas brothers finally met their death in 1852 when a party of farmers ambushed them near the Brak River Vlakte. G.T.J. 21/2/1852; C.F.T. 6/4/1852.
  6. G.T.J. extra 5/8/1851.
  7. G.T.J. 28/6/1851; C.F.T. 1/7/1851.
  8. The Journal used the name "Philipton" for the Hottentot location in Grahamstown. It must not be confused with the village of Philipton at the Kat River Settlement. G.T.J. extra 1/7/1851.

near Fort England.<sup>1</sup> Grahamstown was highly alarmed, so that proposals were again made to mount a town guard, while another suggested that all the Hottentots in the locations should be forced to wear tin badges. The Rangers, he suggested, should then be periodically sent around to arrest all Hottentots who did not have badges, and who should then automatically be put on a spare diet and hard work!<sup>2</sup>

Most of this excitement was the direct result of the Theopolis rebellion which had begun on 31 May, and in which Stubbs and the Rangers were to play the most important part. News of the outbreak reached Grahamstown the same day; the commandant, Maj. Burnaby, immediately ordered out 100 Fingoes under George Cyrus and 35 Rangers under Capt. W. Stubbs to follow up the Hottentots who were reported to have moved to the Karraa in the Bushman's River bush.<sup>3</sup> Next day, Sunday 1 June, an express reached town from Stubbs calling for reinforcements as the enemy were in great force and had taken up a secure position. In town at the time was the 74th Regiment which was en route to Fort Hare to take part in Smith's first major offensive against the Amatolas towards the end of June. Maj.-Gen. Somerset countermanded their order to march, and sent two companies with Thomas Stubbs and 22 more Rangers to the danger spot.

On 2 June Stubbs hastened on in advance of the troops and joined his brother about noon, so that the total mounted force at his disposal was 59 Rangers with 25 other volunteers from Kowie and Oliphants Hoek. With this force Thomas decided to attack the rebels who had that morning returned to Theopolis for supplies. He did not wait for the troops to arrive lest a favourable opportunity to attack the rebels on the open road be lost. The mounted force charged, but were received with an accurate fire from about 100 rebels. In the excitement the prearranged signal which Stubbs and George Cyrus had agreed upon, was not given, so that the Fingoes were never called into battle which might indeed have been more decisive. In the mêlée which ensued, the rebels fell back into a kloof, so that the burghers and Rangers were able to capture seven of the eleven rebel-owned wagons, and eight spans of oxen. The fight lasted for two hours, during which time seven rebels were shot, though not without severe loss to the attackers. The rebels had selected as targets the various leaders among the burghers, so that the Field Cornet of Southwell, W. Gray, who had been first to give the alarm, received two shots which killed him; Capt. W. Stubbs had his

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1. G.T.J. extra 1/7/1851; C.F.T. 1/7/1851. On 19/1/1852 six persons were indicted before the Circuit Court on charges of public violence, and assault against eleven Hottentots at the location. The case was withdrawn. There is no evidence to suggest, as Stubbs claimed, that the L.M.S. was concerned in the trial. G.T.J. 24/1/1852; Stubbs, I, 117; cf. D.H. Varley and H.M. Matthew, ed., The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman, 1848-1855, pp. 153-4. ✓
  2. C.F.T. 1/7/1851.
  3. G.T.J. 31/5/1851.

right arm shattered by a ball; Thomas Stubbs had a whole volley fired at him which missed him, but mortally wounded his horse; Barend Woest, the leader of the Oliphant's Hoek contingent, was wounded in the thigh; E. Deli, the leader of the "Farmers Association" received a wound in the knee. In addition, 2 Rangers were wounded, as well as a man from the Kowie.<sup>1</sup>

The rebels managed to get away without serious loss. Maj.-Gen. Somerset, who had arrived from Fort Hare to cover the march of the 74th Regiment to the front, therefore decided upon a second attack. Meanwhile Sir Harry Smith had sent out strong patrols on 5 and 6 June under Col. Mackinnon and Maj. Wilmot to patrol both banks of the Keiskamma to prevent if possible any attempt by the rebels to link up with the rebels in the Amatolas.<sup>2</sup> This did not occur as the rebels as a result of Somerset's attack on 5 June, scattered and made for Stock's camp in the Fish River bush. Somerset had collected a force more than 600 strong, which included eighteen Rangers under Lieut. D. Mitchelly. During the dawn attack the Rangers and other burghers were detached, and managed to capture no less than 632 cattle from the rebels, who lost another seven dead, for one Fingoo killed and one wounded.<sup>3</sup> The enemy were only temporarily scattered, not broken, and later were to launch their forays as they pleased from the shelter of the Fish River bush, from where several attempts were made to drive them, and in which Thomas Stubbs and the Rangers were involved on two occasions.<sup>4</sup>

The revolt at Theopolis had serious consequences, for while by no means all the Hottentots in the East Cape rebelled, it was nevertheless impossible to distinguish friend from foe; and whereas the Hottentots had assisted in the common defence in the previous wars, they too were added to the enemy. The rebellion generally cramped Smith's movements and protracted the war. He himself spoke of the "almost general rebellion" which "paralyses my movements in British Kaffraria."<sup>5</sup> This was on 17 June 1851, by which time he had not yet been able to mount a major offensive against the Amatolas. To add to his problems was the reluctance of all but a few of the levies from the Western Cape to sign on again when their contracts began to expire in June.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, Smith began the first major move on 26 June, which Macomo countered by precipitating his forces once more into the Koonap district to such an extent that Maj.-Gen. Somerset was forced to withdraw his force into Somerset to protect as far as possible the countryside.<sup>7</sup>

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1. i.e. W. McGraw and T. Webb of the Rangers, and Lavin of the Kowie Party. G.T.J. extra 3/6/1851, 7/6/1851, 14/6/1851; C.F.T. 3/6/1851, 10/6/1851, 17/6/1851.

2. 1428 of 1852, pp. 44, 52-3.

3. 1428 of 1852, pp. 43-51.

4. See below, pp. 54-6.

5. Smith to Grey, 17/6/1851. 1428 of 1852, p. 56; cf. below, pp. 78-9.

6. G.T.J. 28/6/1851.

7. G.T.J. 12/7/1851; 1428 of 1852, p. 86.

This offensive had its repercussions in Albany where a renewed spate of depredations under cover of the long winter nights broke out, so that the incidence of patrols mounted by the Rangers in June, July and August 1851 increased appreciably.<sup>1</sup> They gave what protection they could. In Albany the feeling in the interim was that Smith was pertinaciously refusing them adequate protection.<sup>2</sup> The situation became so bad that Smith was eventually forced to detach some troops from Kaffraria, and on 15 August Lieut.-Col. Eyre was sent into Albany to take command.<sup>3</sup> The war had in fact deteriorated as the Xhosa slipped behind Smith's secure hold on Kaffraria into the Colony, so that Grahamstown, Fort Beaufort and Cradock were on the immediate front.

Of all the regimental commanders in the Eighth Frontier War, Col. Eyre proved to be the most adept and active. He soon won the confidence of the inhabitants including Stubbs who found Eyre ever ready to profit from his, Stubbs', experience.<sup>4</sup> One of Eyre's first moves was to reconnoitre the Fish River bush where the great danger to Albany lay, and to where Smith had already ordered no less than four patrols between July and September.<sup>5</sup>

Lieut.-Col. Eyre hoped to launch a combined attack, and expected Lieut.-Col. Michel to be sent from headquarters at King William's Town to join him. The Rangers and Fingoes were ordered to help Eyre, and accordingly on Wednesday 1 October Thomas Stubbs led 22 Rangers with 100 Fingoes to Committee's Drift. Eyre's force then amounted to nearly 500 men, and for three days they experienced severe patrolling in the Fish River bush without encountering the enemy, apart from learning the site of Stock's kraal on the left bank of the river between Committee's and Double Drift. Any hope of a combined attack on this camp was dispelled when Lieut.-Col. Michel did not turn up. He had been at the last moment redirected to the assistance of Maj.-Gen. Somerset who was making no progress in the Amatolas.<sup>6</sup> Lieut.-Col. Eyre had been prepared to attack but had been forced to demur to experience of his guide, Edward Driver, as well as George Cyrus who commanded the Fingoes, and Stubbs, who all pointed out the danger of being ambushed, as they would have to descend in single file down a precipitous ridge; they were forced to leave the camp untouched, where rebel Hottentots and Xhosa were noticed to be freely intermingling and guarding the hundreds of stolen stock which they had amassed there.<sup>7</sup> Stubbs returned to town in company with Lieut.-Col. Eyre; his opinion of the Colonel was sympathetic enough when he characterised him as a "brave & dashing Soldier," ever ready to charge the enemy, but "More fit for Civilized Warfare, than Caffers."<sup>8</sup>

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1. See Appendix E.

2. G.T.J. extra 3/6/1851; cf. 1428 of 1852, p. 56.

3. 1428 of 1852, p. 113; G.T.J. extra 23/9/1851.

4. Stubbs, I, 124.

5. 1428 of 1852, pp. 83, 96, 112, 142-3, 159-63.

6. Smith to Grey, 15/10/1851. 1428 of 1852, p. 165.

7. G.T.J. 4/10/1851; C.F.T. 7/10/1851; Stubbs, I, 127-135.

8. Stubbs, I, 135.

Meanwhile Smith's offensive had at long last begun to make progress; in October Maj.-Gen. Somerset penetrated the Amatola stronghold of the Gaikas,<sup>1</sup> whereafter he was packed off to deal with Kreli. This movement across the Kei lasted from December to January 1852,<sup>2</sup> and since most of the Gaika cattle had been secreted in Gcaleka territory, Somerset's expedition resulted in an overture for peace from Sandile on 22 December.<sup>3</sup> These overtures were rejected, as was a similar approach in January, unless the Gaikas were prepared to accept unconditional surrender.<sup>4</sup>

To force the issue Smith determined on a general assault on the Amatolas in March 1852, while a simultaneous thrust was to be mounted by Lieut.-Col. Perceval into the Fish River bush, where Stock's kraal, barely a half day's ride from Grahamstown, menaced the entire district down to the sea. The enemy had in fact, carried their raids to the very outskirts of Grahamstown, as on 30 January when a kraal overlooking the town was attacked and 60 head of cattle driven safely away despite a pursuit by the Rangers whose strength and skill were quite insufficient to allow them to follow marauders into the dense Fish River bush.<sup>5</sup>

To facilitate the move, Smith on 6 February 1852 ordered all the burghers in the frontier districts to take the field by 8 March on the old commando system.<sup>6</sup> Such a general muster was what Stubbs had called for before,<sup>7</sup> and so he did all in his power to get the burghers of Oliphant's Hoek to respond to Smith's call; all his efforts were in vain for not one turned out.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Stubbs was able to muster 33 Rangers, who, along with 45 others balloted in Grahamstown, 35 from Lower Albany and 150 Fingoes, set out for Fort Brown on 8 March to join Lieut.-Col. Perceval and the 12th Regiment.<sup>9</sup>

At 2.00 a.m. on 9 March the whole force marched by way of Botha's Post. Next day they had a brief skirmish with some of the enemy in Funa's Kloof; these were soon dispersed by the expert marksmanship of the Rangers who were using rifled guns and conical bullets, which not only gave a range in excess of 1000 yards, but made accuracy possible. Soon after Perceval's force was joined by Capt. Armstrong's cavalry from Fort Peddie, bringing news of the location of the main enemy camp in Tola's Kloof. This was attacked next day, 11 March, by the Royal Artillery with rockets and a

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1. 1428 of 1852, pp. 188-92.
  2. 1428 of 1852, 200-201, 221; G.T.J. 20/12/1851, 27/12/1851, 10/1/1852.
  3. G.T.J. 27/12/1851.
  4. 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 16, 18. Smith even suspended hostilities for eight days in January 1852 to give the Gaikas time to consider his conditions. (1635 of 1852-3, pp. 27-8). Earl Grey had ordered Smith not to accept "any imperfect submission," and to demand "their complete subjection and unconditional surrender. It is only thus that a real peace, and not a short and hollow truce, can be obtained." Grey to Smith, 13/5/1851. 1380 of 1851, p. 58.
  5. G.T.J. 31/1/1852.
  6. 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 32-3, 67-8.
  7. See above, p. 44.
  8. G.T.J. extra 9/3/1852. Similar apathy was noted at Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet. G.T.J. 20/3/1852.
  9. G.T.J. 20/3/1852.

12 pounder howitzer. The burghers and cavalry, with Stubbs and the Rangers in their midst, then charged and succeeded in killing 35 of the enemy, who were driven back upon the infantry, who despatched fifteen more. In the process a minor chief, Doda, was killed, for the loss of one infantryman wounded in the shoulder. While the rest of the force were driving the enemy from every point, the Rangers galloped off in pursuit of the cattle which had stampeded up river. A five mile chase brought them to a spot where more of the enemy were discovered trying to drive the cattle across the swollen Fish River; no fewer than nineteen head of cattle and one Xhosa were shot in the act of swimming. Altogether the attackers collected 201 head of cattle, some of which were recognised as the stock of Dr. Atherstone and George Wood of Grahamstown. All the huts were burned.

While Perceval led the rest of the force towards Breakfastlei, and sent some towards Fort Willshire to scour the country, Stubbs and the Rangers undertook the perilous task of driving the captured cattle to Fort Peddie. There they collected rations for Perceval's force, and returned by 15 March to participate in the second attack on the camp of the Chiefs Stock and Tola in Tola's Kloof. The enemy had attempted to reoccupy it, but were thoroughly dispersed with the loss of a further 115 cattle. Thereafter Perceval led his force back via Funa's Kloof, as he himself had received orders to advance towards the scene of the major conflict in the Amatolas. En route the bush was scoured, but the enemy was not to be found, so the Rangers were allowed to return on 19 March to protect Grahamstown.<sup>1</sup> The expedition had been long and arduous, but it was not without results as Stock on 18 March asked the friendly chief, Pato, to intercede on his behalf for peace.<sup>2</sup>

The result of these simultaneous operations was to give the Gaikas their severest check in any of the wars, while the danger from the Fish River bush was dispersed, for no large enemy combination, as distinct from small bands, mustered there again during the war. Much of the effort and success of this operation belonged to the Rangers in their co-operation, first with Lieut.-Col. Eyre in October 1851, and then with more success in March 1852 under Lieut.-Col. Perceval.

The effect of this check was temporarily lost when Smith was recalled and replaced by Sir George Cathcart in April 1852, which gave heart to the wavering Gaikas who hoped for easier peace terms.<sup>3</sup> Cathcart, however, was as adamant as Smith had been,<sup>4</sup> though initially his policy was not to undertake a further expedition till he could provide for permanent occupation.<sup>5</sup> The exception was another punitive demonstration against Kreli, which Cathcart soon came to believe was

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1. 1635 of 1852-3, p.65; G.T.J. 20/3/1852; C.F.T. 16/3/1852, 23/3/1852, 30/3/1852, 6/4/1852; Stubbs, II, 11-18.  
2. 1635 of 1852-3, p.78.  
3. 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 76, 79, 83.  
4. 1635 of 1852-3, p.110; G.T.J. 1/5/1852.  
5. Cathcart to Pakington, 21/6/1852. 1635 of 1852-3, p.124.

necessary.<sup>1</sup> On 1 July he issued a proclamation calling upon the burghers in the frontier districts to meet on 6 August at the Umvani River to the east of Shiloh, from where he planned to lead them in person against Kreli.<sup>2</sup>

The response to the proclamation was enthusiastic in most of the districts with the dismal exception of Colesberg and Graaff-Reinet.<sup>3</sup> The proclamation was no sooner known to Stubbs than he began to prompt the population. He wrote to the Journal urging that all should respond to the call, and offering the opinion that if there was any backwardness, the consequences would be not merely disreputable, but disastrous to the whole Colony:<sup>4</sup>

"Sir, - I think the Colonists never had a better opportunity of doing valuable service to the Colony than at present ... The colonists may depend upon it, that without they shew a disposition to assist themselves as far as possible, this miserable war will not be brought to any satisfactory conclusion. There are already many young men who have entered their names on a list at my place, who have no horses, and I have no doubt many more could be had, if a sufficient amount was subscribed to equip them, which I think would be a much better plan than for those parties who cannot go themselves endeavoring [sic] to find substitutes. By this means I think a much more efficient force would be sent to the field, at a much less expense than by providing substitutes. I have opened a list for those parties to enter their names who wish to go, as also what will be required by them. I should recommend that a subscription list be taken round for those parties who cannot go themselves to state what help they are prepared to afford. For my own part I am willing to render all the assistance in my power to forward the object. If possible I intend going myself, and my brother will certainly go, Providence permitting. He is in the meantime getting all he can to join him. Those who may wish to proceed with him will do well to enter their names as soon as possible, so that the necessary arrangements may be made. The time is short, and permits of no delay.

"I think it would be well for all those going from Albany to muster on the 31st inst., and then to make an arrangement to start, if possible, on the 1st proximo. There would then be ample time to reach the place of muster without distressing their horses, - a most important point, and especially at this season of the year.

"I am, &c.

T. STUBBS,  
Commandant."

Many of these practical ideas were used by the special committee of 24 members appointed on 24 July to administer to the needs of the Albany contingent. Thomas Stubbs was one of those elected to this committee. Stubbs revealed how active he had already been when he handed in a list of 103 volunteers from Grahamstown, while he indicated that 40 more from Bathurst and Lower Albany had responded to his canvassing.<sup>5</sup> It was decided that every male in Grahamstown should contribute either by service, substitute or subscription. As a result no fewer than 153 men were sent from Grahamstown where £1732/17/6 was raised in cash to cover costs.<sup>6</sup> A special subcommittee was formed, and with

1. 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 125, 144.

2. 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 144-5.

3. G.T.J. 21/8/1852.

4. G.T.J. extra 13/7/1852.

5. C.F.T. 27/7/1852.

6. G.T.J. 21/8/1852; C.F.T. 24/8/1852.

Stubbs' expert advice arranged for equipment: 78 horses, 46 saddles and 44 guns were bought, to which were added 29 horses, 36 saddles and 30 guns which had been lent by subscribers. Most important of all was the proviso that all clerks and apprentices who volunteered would be retained in their situations without prejudice to their interests.<sup>1</sup>

The first group started off at 3.00 p.m. on Friday, 30 July, and were heartily cheered as they moved down High Street, with the bells of St. George's Church adding to the hubbub. At their head rode William Stubbs who had been elected to lead the Albany contingent; William was still ever ready to meet the enemy, despite the fact that his right arm had been crippled during the Theopolis rebellion.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Stubbs, meanwhile, had done all in his power to facilitate the march of the Albany contingent; his efforts received their merited acknowledgement from one of the volunteers, who wrote that "too much praise cannot be awarded to the Messrs. Stubbs for their excellent arrangements, affording as they have done, satisfaction to all concerned."<sup>3</sup>

In the action beyond the Kei the Albany burghers were attached to the column under Lieut.-Col. Michel. Stubbs and his men were singled out by Cathcart for their "energy and activity" and helped in the capture of more than 1000 head of cattle.<sup>4</sup> The whole expedition lasted only till 21 August, during which time about 9,800 head of cattle, 100 horses and several thousand goats were taken, while only one man was killed.<sup>5</sup> *sept* Cathcart, as he had promised, allowed booty, so that 2000 head of cattle fell to the Albany and Port Elizabeth contingent. These cattle, when sold, fetched over £4,000, which gave £26 to each volunteer for his services.<sup>6</sup> The Kei expedition had the desired effect, for no more trouble came from Kreli, who was to be the first chief to conclude peace later, on 14 February 1853.<sup>7</sup>

Most of the Rangers had not gone on the expedition as they had been needed for local defence. They continued to mount patrols in their usual active manner, as for example when a party patrolled between 10 to 13 August towards Tola's Kloof with troops of the 12th Regiment, or when another party patrolled with the "Armed Police Mounted Force" on 13 August into the Fish River bush, where a few banditti still lurked.<sup>8</sup> Cathcart's hopes of providing security by means of the police were beginning to be realized, so that Albany began to enjoy repose, apart from isolated attacks

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1. C.F.T. 24/8/1852.

2. G.T.J. 7/8/1852; C.F.T. 24/8/1852.

3. G.T.J. 7/8/1852; cf. C.F.T. 28/12/1852.

4. 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 166-7.

5. Cathcart to Pakington, 20/9/1852. 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 167-9.

6. G.T.J. 4/9/1852, 11/9/1852.

7. 1635 of 1852-3, p. 231.

8. G.T.J. 14/8/1852; C.F.T. 24/8/1852; see Appendix E.

by small bands of rebel Hottentots, or more rarely by disheartened Xhosa marauders. The danger was not past, so Stubbs kept up his patrols, but the presence of the 12th Regiment in Albany and the efficient police force lifted considerably the burden which the Rangers had for so long carried almost alone.

When the Albany police reached its full complement of 100 men under Commandant Currie, it was at the expense of the Rangers. Stubbs found that many men had left to join the police where they could sign on for six months at a time and get 5/6 per day; with the effective strength of the Rangers standing at eight men, Stubbs on 4 February 1853, tendered his resignation as Field Commandant to Lieut.-Col. Cole, the Commandant of Grahamstown.

Throughout the war the work had been strenuous, but their service was always willing and energetic, so that when the Rangers were officially disbanded on 28 February 1853,<sup>1</sup> it was Godlonton who seized the opportunity to say that it was "due to that body of gallant men that they should not be disbanded without an expression of that public commendation of which they are deserving. The long protracted character of the war, and the establishment of the Mounted Police Force has impaired their utility of late; but let it not be forgotten that the Rangers were the first in the field - to stand forth in common defence - and that amidst peril of no ordinary character, and under circumstances of the greatest difficulty they have approved themselves men of sterling quality and doing the Colony as hard and gallant service as any Corps in the field during the present contest."<sup>2</sup>

In the light of the evidence, this was fair comment.

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1. General order, dated 9/2/1852. G.T.J. extra 15/2/1853.  
2. G.T.J. extra 15/2/1853.

CHAPTER VI.

THE STRUGGLE TO ADJUST, 1853-1877.

The closing years of Stubbs' life were filled with personal disappointment and misfortune. With the coming of peace in 1853, he tried hard to pick up once more the threads of ordinary life. He maintained, for example, his interest in the turf, and was elected on to the committee of the Albany Turf Club in April 1853.<sup>1</sup> In the same year preparations were begun to elect the long promised parliament. The first task was to elect a Legislative Council of 15 members. When the electoral roll for Grahamstown was published on 27 August 1853, Stubbs' name was included along with 715 others. He had a special interest in these elections, for on 14 June he had been elected to a special canvassing committee to secure the election of Robert Godlonton, George Wood, senior, and William Cock as three of the seven East Cape members to the Legislative Council. Stubbs took a prominent part in the activities of this committee,<sup>2</sup> while his name was included among the 25 persons who in July 1853, drew up a Requisition to Godlonton to stand for election.<sup>3</sup> Voting in Grahamstown took place between 9th to 14 January 1854; when the results were announced,<sup>4</sup> the canvassing committee had the satisfaction to see that Godlonton with 4534 votes had polled the second highest number after Sir Andries Stockenström's 6315 votes. George Wood was third with 4427 votes, but William Cock with only 1820 votes in his favour, was not elected,<sup>4</sup> though he was later elected to the House of Assembly.<sup>5</sup>

Life otherwise did not prosper Tom Stubbs, who soon found himself in awkward circumstances. When the Eighth Frontier War had broken out, Stubbs had had a fairly thriving business as a saddler and post-contractor; after the war he found his business connections gone, and his trade shrunk, which prompted him to say:

"I found that while I was out protecting the Frontier, my business had passed into other hands, who had been looking out for the loaves and fishes, while I had been looking after the Enemy."<sup>6</sup>

Stubbs found it difficult to compete successfully, so that by 1858 he was a declared bankrupt. This happened despite his partnership with another saddler, George Wallis, which dated from October 1852 when the Stubbs brothers and Wallis had advertised business as usual from their saddlery shop at No. 1 High Street. Added attraction was the notification to the public that stock was to be imported directly from England, so that they would be

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1. G.T.J. 16/4/1853; see above, pp. 19-20. (2) G.T.J. 16/7/1853.

3. G.T.J. 9/7/1853. (4) G.G. 16/3/1854.

5. William Cock became the member for Albany in the House of Assembly in 1854. Later he served on the Legislative Council as a member for the Eastern Divisions for 1856-57, and 1865-68. R. Kilpin, The Romance of a Colonial Parliament, pp. 129, 141.

6. Stubbs, II, 57.

able to sell "at low prices articles of best quality."<sup>1</sup>

William Stubbs had meanwhile decided to break his partnership with Thomas, and applied to the Victoria Land commission which awarded him a farm near Whittlesea on 29 April 1853 where he took occupation on 15 January 1854.<sup>2</sup> The partnership as post contractors was also necessarily broken up, and in February 1853 most of their post horses were sold.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Stubbs, however, kept on as a contractor: he had a temporary contract for the Somerset to Graaff-Reinet route till the end of 1854; he also took on the contract to Bathurst which he held from September 1853 to December 1856, while in January 1856 he became the contractor to forward the mail to and from King William's Town.<sup>4</sup> Stubbs also made a second attempt at running a passenger coach to Port Elizabeth.<sup>5</sup> The first trip by the "coach and six" was on 9 July 1853, which was thereafter scheduled to leave Grahamstown every Tuesday, and return from Port Elizabeth the following Thursday. The fares were £3 for a single journey, or £5 return.<sup>6</sup> This speculation did not last long as it was badly supported, partly because the Postmaster-General, J.A. le Sueur, had lifted the restrictions preventing passengers travelling by the mail carts, which offered a cheaper and faster trip, even if it was more exposed and uncomfortable.<sup>7</sup>

When, therefore, the saddler's shop went insolvent in 1858, it came as a disaster to Stubbs, who was forced to surrender his estate to R.G. Stone, as trustee, to enable him to meet his creditors.<sup>8</sup> Stubbs' house at the top of High Street was sold to William Keys on 6 July 1858,<sup>9</sup> while even his life insurance policy was put up for auction by Joseph Lawrence on 19 October.<sup>10</sup> Stubbs found himself without a roof over his head,<sup>11</sup> till he managed to hire a premises at the corner of Hill and Beaufort Streets, from where he made an attempt to start up again, and advertised for orders for "any description of Mattrass" and any other type of upholstery work.<sup>12</sup>

1. G.T.J. 2/10/1852; cf. their advertisements in G.T.J. 19/3/1853, 6/8/1853, 29/10/1853; see the Account with Receipt, dated 27/3/1856 at Grahamstown, sent by Stubbs and Wallis to Mr. Hyde for repairing a saddle at the cost of 12/6. Cory Library MS. 4687.
2. G.T.J. 30/4/1853; Farm Register, Queenstown, Vol. 3, Folio 57; Queenstown Quitrents, Vol. 2, Folio 199<sup>A</sup>.
3. G.T.J. 5/2/1853.
4. See Appendix C.
5. See above, pp. 18-9.
6. G.T.J. 25/6/1853, 9/7/1853, 27/8/1853.
7. G.T.J. 4/6/1853. The mail carts travelled to Port Elizabeth at least twice a week, which robbed Stubbs of possible passengers. Stubbs had planned to start his coach service before J.A. le Sueur lifted the restrictions preventing post contractors carrying passengers in the mail gigs. See, Stubbs to Postmaster-General, 11/4/1853. G.P.O. 1/43; cf. Stubbs' advertisement in G.T.J. 9/4/1853.
8. Stubbs, II, 59. Stubbs' partner, George Wallis, also suffered, for all his tools and furniture were sold on 8/9/1858. G.T.J. 7/9/1858.
9. Deed of Transfer, No. 21, dated 1/3/1862; cf. G.T.J. 2/10/1858.
10. E.P.H. 17/9/1858; G.T.J. 9/10/1858.
11. Stubbs, II, 60.
12. G.T.J. 14/9/1858. This is the only reference to Stubbs' address in Grahamstown after 1858, and was misprinted by the Journal as the "corner of Hill and Bathurst Streets." Probably "Hill and Beaufort Streets" was intended as these intersect, whereas Hill and Bathurst Streets run parallel to each other.



Thomas Stubbs, the Veteran.

The upholstery business did not pay, so that Stubbs' mainstay became his mail contract to King William's Town, which he held from 1856 till the early 1860's, when the fatal disease of glanders killed off most of his horses.<sup>1</sup> In 1860 Stubbs therefore, took on the toll at Botha's Hill,<sup>2</sup> and by 1864 had a second toll contract, probably that at Carlisle Bridge.<sup>3</sup> Once again luck deserted him when the contracts for 1865 were awarded to others. He was destitute,<sup>4</sup> and left Grahamstown early in 1865, for his brother's farm, "Harrison," in the Queenstown district.<sup>5</sup>

The decision to move had been forced upon Stubbs by circumstances, but it was not before he had made every effort to secure some recognition from the colonial government for his war services. In 1853 when he had tendered his resignation as Field Commandant,<sup>6</sup> he had asked to be considered for any vacant situation; but the days had passed when appointments were made indiscriminately, for a proper civil service had emerged in the Colony. His only chance had been the offer in June 1852 of the command of the Albany "Armed Police Mounted Force," which he had declined.<sup>7</sup> By 1863 Stubbs had only his toll contracts to support himself, his wife and three children,<sup>8</sup> so he increased his efforts to get government assistance.<sup>9</sup> He petitioned the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, for a grant of land, and enclosed sixteen documents in support of his application. Eight of these were memorials signed by the inhabitants of villages where Stubbs was well known; they all referred to his sterling services in defence of the Colony, and stressed the fact that Stubbs' illness<sup>10</sup> and own personal losses were the direct result of the attention he had paid to the Eighth Frontier War.<sup>11</sup> The Governor did not, however, have the power to alienate Crown Land.<sup>12</sup>

1. Stubbs, II, 64.
2. Stubbs, II, 59-66; cf. Stubbs to Southey, 20/9/1864. Southey Papers, Vol. 14.
3. See, Stubbs to Postmaster-General, 16/5/1864. G.P.O. 1/79. The toll prices in Albany were standardised in 1865 as:-
  - a) for every 4 wheeled vehicle without brakes, 2½d. per wheel;
  - b) do., with brakes, or 2 wheeled vehicles, 1d. per wheel;
  - c) for every head of cattle, ½d. per head;
  - d) for every horse, mule, ass, 1d. per head;
  - e) for every 100 sheep, goats, pigs, 1/- per 100 or portion.G.G. 11/7/1865.
4. Stubbs to Southey, 20/9/1864. Southey Papers, Vol. 14.
5. Stubbs, II, 77-8. William Stubbs may have been running "Stubbs' Hotel" in Queenstown. D.B. Hook, With Sword and Statute, p. 37. He was also a field cornet of one of the Wards. Almanac, 1875.
6. Stubbs, II, 57, 76.
7. Stubbs, II, 51; cf. G.T.J. 19/6/1852.
8. See Appendix A.
9. He had already applied to Sir George Grey for a grant of land, and to the commander of the forces, Lieut.-Gen. Sir James Jackson for some form of employ. Stubbs, II, 58; A.6-64 (Cape), p. 14.
10. Stubbs was suffering from rheumatism. Stubbs, II, 56, 58, 60; cf. C.3-65 (Cape), pp. 9, 16-17, 24.
11. These memorials were from Grahamstown, Alexandria, Sidbury, Riebeck, Fort Beaufort, Fort Peddie, Bathurst, and British Kaffraria. A.6-64 (Cape), pp. 5-15.
12. L. Adamson to Stubbs, 14/7/1863. C.O. 5328. A notice dated 15/5/1844 in the Government Gazette made it quite clear that the Governors at the Cape could not alienate Crown Land to private individuals without purchase.

When Parliament assembled in Grahamstown on 27 April 1864, Stubbs petitioned both Houses. On 7 June Charles Pote presented Stubbs' petition to the Legislative Council,<sup>1</sup> while George Wood, junior, did the same in the House of Assembly on 21 June.<sup>2</sup> In both instances select committees were appointed.<sup>3</sup> The Assembly recommended that a grant of land in the Victoria district should be made to Stubbs; the Legislative Council was more guarded when it recommended that Stubbs' case "should be brought under the special consideration of His Excellency the Governor, being one peculiar in its circumstances and entitled to be favourably treated."<sup>4</sup>

Stubbs had meanwhile written to the Deputy Colonial Engineer, M.R. Robinson, asking for employment of any sort.<sup>5</sup> When nothing materialised from this application, or from the recommendations of Parliament, Stubbs wrote on 20 September 1864 to an old acquaintance, Richard Southey, who was Colonial Secretary, but received a non-committal reply.<sup>6</sup> He then wrote directly the Governor, only to receive a reply from Southey that Sir Philip Wodehouse was not prepared to carry into effect the recommendations made by Parliament.<sup>7</sup> Nothing daunted, Stubbs got George Wood to present his petition for a second time to the House of Assembly on 1 June 1865,<sup>8</sup> and next day Robert Godlonton introduced Stubbs' case to the consideration of the Legislative Council.<sup>9</sup> Another select committee of the Legislative Council was appointed, which proceeded to examine Southey, M.R. Robinson, and Charles Scanlen<sup>10</sup> about Stubbs' petition.<sup>11</sup> Southey's opinion that Stubbs' situation was not fit for special consideration, carried with it the weight of the Colonial Secretary, so that the committee refused to recommend any specific course of action beyond submitting Stubbs' petition and their deliberations to the "favourable consideration" of the Governor.<sup>12</sup>

This amounted to a final refusal. Stubbs had already moved to Whittlesca, there to live out his days and reflect upon his own plight,

1. The Select Committee of the Legislative Council consisted of G. Wood, J. Barry, J.H. Wicht, R. Godlonton; they presented their report on 7 July, which was adopted on 15 July. Votes and Proceedings, 1864, pp. 93, 266, 284. The report was printed as C. 5-64 (Cape).
2. A.6-64 (Cape), p. iii.
3. The Select Committee of the House of Assembly consisted of W.M. Bowker, C. Scanlen, H.W. Gird, W.M. Harries, G. Wood, junior. The report was printed as A. 6-64 (Cape).
4. Votes and Proceedings, 1864, p. 236.
5. Stubbs to Southey, 20/9/1864. Southey Papers, Vol. 14.
6. Southey to Stubbs, 29/9/1864. Southey Papers, Vol. 53.
7. Stubbs' letters were dated 11/1/1865 and 28/2/1865. C.O. 2496. Southey to Stubbs, 16/3/1865. C.O. 5329.
8. Adv. and Mail, 3/6/1865.
9. Adv. and Mail, 3/6/1865; Votes and Proceedings, 1865, p. 42.
10. Charles Scanlen was the Member of the House of Assembly from 1856 to 1868 for Cradock. Kilpin, op. cit., p. 154.
11. This Select Committee of the Legislative Council consisted of P.E.de Roubaix, G. Wood, J.H. Wicht, and R. Godlonton. They presented two reports, on 7 July and 18 August, which were adopted on 14 September. Votes and Proceedings, 1865, pp. 82, 164, 231. The report was printed as C.3-65 (Cape).
12. Votes and Proceedings, 1865, p. 165.

with the irritating knowledge that the very chiefs he had fought against in defence of the Colony, were in receipt of "pensions."<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of 1869 Stubbs began a desultory correspondence with William Porter and G. Slater,<sup>2</sup> in the hopes that they might be able to procure for him a grant of land, which was legally impossible, or a cash grant, which was financially out of the question at a time of extreme depression; all the government departments were trying to retrench since there had been an annual deficit from 1859.<sup>3</sup> When, therefore, John Cyprian Thompson rose in the House on 27 July 1869 to ask what action had been taken on Stubbs' petitions, he was reprimanded by the Colonial Secretary who suggested that the case "had better be no more mentioned."<sup>4</sup>

Stubbs did try once more, in 1870, but was firmly told by L. Adamson, the chief clerk of the Colonial Office, that it was "quite out of his Excellency's power" to authorise a grant of land.<sup>5</sup> By this stage Thomas Stubbs was a man of 62 years, aged by rheumatism; while his two sons, William Richard and Tom Campbell, worked the farm which belonged to William Stubbs, Thomas applied himself in 1874 and 1875 to write his "Reminiscences". He had much to remember: his life was begun in adventure to South Africa; it was chastened by early tragedy and steeled by constant exertion and action in defence of the Colony, while thereafter he had seen all his hopes and prospects blighted. When Stubbs wrote, he had little for which he could be thankful, yet little of the bitterness he felt emerged in the "Reminiscences," which became a treatise on the way Xhosa wars ought to be fought as distant rumblings of renewed trouble came from beyond the Kei. And so Thomas Stubbs died on 15 October 1877 at the age of 69 years,<sup>6</sup> and was buried on the banks of the Ox Kraal River.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Stubbs, II, 73; cf. Du Toit, op. cit., pp. 94-6.
  2. Stubbs, II, 69-75.
  3. Southey's Budget Speech in the Assembly on 20/7/1869 makes astonishing reading. Adv. and Mail 21/7/1869.
  4. Adv. and Mail 28/7/1869.
  5. Stubbs to the Governor, 1/2/1870. C.O. 2501.  
L. Adamson to Stubbs, 17/2/1870. C.O. 5335.
  6. Q.T.F.P. 20/10/1877.
  7. E.T. Stubbs, "Stubbs Family, 1820-1882." Cory Library MS. 7134.

SECTION B.

THE "REMINISCENCES" AS A SOURCE FOR  
THE HISTORY OF THE PERIOD.

Bibliography divides the written sources of history into official sources and unofficial sources. It is often the unofficial sources which throw light on the official sources by setting them in a human context and reflecting the impact of official action or inaction, on men living at the time. What people think is part of the Historian's data: it also is a challenge to the Historian, since he must try to discover on what grounds opinion was based. In this section of the thesis it is proposed to examine the opinions of Thomas Stubbs, to explain why he thought as he did, and in selected instances to test the evidence on which that opinion was formed.

In his "Reminiscences" Thomas Stubbs reveals a fairly consistent attitude to the Xhosa, the Hottentots, and towards the missionaries whom he made the scapegoat for all the ills from which the frontier suffered. To some extent, a division into categories is artificial, since Stubbs' reactions were partly the result of experiences which linked together in his mind the missionaries and the groups they allegedly corrupted. His attitudes were also partly those of his friends and associates, the devoted readers of The Graham's Town Journal, the "Settlers' Bible,"<sup>1</sup> which was the common source, as well as the vent, for settler opinion at the time, and of much historical opinion since. The war of December 1834 was the first that the Settlers experienced and that the Journal reported. There was widespread havoc, undeniable suffering, no financial recompense, and no rewards in the shape of land grants. The restoration of the territorial status quo after the war was a disappointment to many, and seemed an act of unwisdom to most. The fact that Dr. Philip was commonly held to be the prime author of Ordinance 50, and also to be responsible for the disallowance of the Vagrancy Ordinance of 1834,<sup>2</sup> provided the back-cloth to the suspicion that his visit to the frontier in the spring of 1834 had been the main cause for the war.<sup>3</sup> Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for War and Colonies, was seen as the tool of the London Missionary Society; when further in December 1836, Stockenstron established a treaty system not unlike that which had been provided for in D'Urban's original instructions, the whole set and tide of Eastern Cape opinion was against him.

Men were often bitterly divided: those who were not for the Settlers were against them, and opinion tolerated no recompense. On the one side were ranged the villains. On the other side were ranged the hero and the prophet. The hero was Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who had won the war, and, it was said, would have won the peace but for the disastrous

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1. C.T. Campbell, British South Africa, p. 116.

2. Marais, op. cit., chap. V.

3. Marais, op. cit., chap. VI; Macmillan, op. cit., chaps. VIII-IX.

intervention of Lord Glenelg.<sup>1</sup> The prophet of protest was Robert Godlonton, staunch Wesleyan and committee man, and the editor of The Graham's Town Journal. He too was profoundly shocked by the war of December 1834; his editorials helped to shape public opinion, while the correspondence columns of his paper gave vent particularly to the ideas of those who illustrated the points of view which he laboured to establish. The war of 1834 was one of a series of three wars in the space of sixteen years: the War of the Axe in 1846 was followed by the annexation of Kaffraria, and annexation was in turn followed by a great amaRarabe struggle for recovery assisted by some of the Hottentots of the Kat River Settlement. Throughout this period, and indeed beyond it, the views of Robert Godlonton did not change. As Le Cordeur has pointed out, Godlonton "over a period of years, ... consciously strove, step by step, to mould and consolidate frontier opinion on certain issues which he regarded as fundamental to the safety and prosperity of the area."<sup>2</sup> Godlonton himself took great pride in his remark that "we have a duty to perform, and will not shrink from it. The colonists look to the Press for an exposition of the true state of affairs, nor ought they to look in vain."<sup>3</sup>

Stubbs fought in each of these three wars, and his ideas and attitudes were in part the product of his experiences, and in part of the climate of opinion in which he lived and worked. It is interesting that Thomas Stubbs was never bitter or vindictive against the Xhosa. There is nothing in the "Reminiscences," or in any writing of Stubbs so far traced, which matches the invective of John Mitford Bowker in his famous "Springbok Speech," where the Xhosa were compared to the springbok which had vanished before the face of the white man much to the country's great benefit.<sup>4</sup> Bowker was not alone in his "cup of bitterness," for others expressed themselves equally freely: one correspondent in the Journal in April 1836 summed up the Xhosa character as having "all the baser qualities ... without anything either noble or generous, or possessing one spark of honour or integrity."<sup>5</sup> The Governor at the time of the Sixth Frontier War, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, called them "irreclaimable savages,"<sup>6</sup> while Godlonton saw the Xhosa as "hordes of robbers, crafty, faithless, debased, and cruel," who were the "inveterate enemies of the Colony."<sup>7</sup> Thomas Stubbs had cause for recrimination: his father was murdered in 1823; his friends John and Robert Shaw were killed in the war of 1834-35, while his elder brother, John, was slain in Natal in 1838 by the Zulus. Yet he took no delight in

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1. D'Urban was lionized by the frontiersmen, who in June 1835 hailed him as "the honored [sic] liberator of a whole people from a state of the most galling and degrading bondage." G.T.J. 19/6/1835. After he had handed over the government to Sir George Napier on 20/1/1838, D'Urban retired into private life, and remained at the Cape till April 1846, during which time his policy was continually referred to as the panacea for all frontier ills. G.T.J. 25/4/1846.

2. Le Cordeur, op. cit., p.16; cf. pp. 15, 149. The Journal was not trusted by people like C.L. Stretch, Sir Peregrine Maitland, and Sir Harry Smith. See, "The Diary of C.L. Stretch," p. 198, in Crankshaw, op. cit.; Maitland to Grey, 26/11/1846, in 786 of 1847, p. 198; Smith, Autobiography, p. 725.

3. G.T.J. 5/1/1843.

4. Bowker, Speeches, p.125.

5. G.T.J. 7/4/1836.

6. G.T.J. 3/7/1835; cf. Glenelg to D'Urban, 26/12/1835.

7. G.T.J. 3/7/1835.

revenge, and found it an unpleasant duty in time of war to hunt down and kill the Xhosa, for he said:

"It is far from being pleasant, to command a Waylaying party - You sit there - you hear them coming on - perhaps humming a tune you see then, and almost look in their eyes and you have to give the signal for their death warrant. I have heard people talk very lightly about shooting Caffres, But, I believe it is by those, who have never experienced it, for I have always felt grieved - that my duty compelled me to it, you certainly don't think much about, after the first shot is fired, But before that, and after the excitement is over is the time any Man must feel it."<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that such a spirit prevailed among Stubbs' Rangers in the war of 1850-53, and by inference prevailed probably among frontiersmen more widely than the outbursts of Godlonton and others have led us to believe. We find, for example, that S.W. Dell wrote to the Cape Frontier Times to describe an action by thirty Rangers under William Stubbs in February 1851, when they ambushed and killed five Xhosa near Dell's farm. Dell's remarks are salutary:

"Even when the foe had fallen there was not the slightest signs of a brutal joy manifested in any manner. No, - everyman seemed rather to lament that it had been his painful duty to assist in depriving those fine young forms that lay outstretched before them, of that life that neither mistaken policy nor a false philanthropy, however repentant, could ever restore."<sup>2</sup>

Stubbs had the hall-marks of a fine soldier and leader of men. In retrospect he wrote dispassionately about war, yet at the time he was very much caught up in the sentiments of the moment. For example, Stubbs was caught up in the wave of indignation which swept through Grahamstown early in January 1835 when it was felt that the editor of the South African Commercial Advertiser had no real sympathy for the plight of the frontiersmen, so that 421 irate colonists, including Stubbs, signed a declaration to boycott the Advertiser. As a result of the difference of opinion between the editors of the Journal and Advertiser, almost a feud developed after the outbreak of war in 1834; before the war the Journal had been content to mock the Advertiser as an "adroit special pleader," which was guilty of "flimsy sophistry."<sup>3</sup> In frontier opinion there was little to commend the Advertiser: it was edited by John Fairbairn, son-in-law of Dr. Philip. Fairbairn was believed to have communications with Thomas Pringle overseas and so to be partly responsible for Pringle's "sly and studied misrepresentations,"<sup>4</sup> and to be in the habit of supplying anti-colonial propaganda to overseas detractors of the frontier and its inhabitants. It is interesting, therefore, to enquire whether there were any grounds for this movement to boycott. During 1834 only 21 articles dealing with the frontier had appeared in the biweekly Advertiser: of these, only ten from Fairbairn's pen dealt directly with frontier problems and criticism thereof;<sup>5</sup> six were reprinted extracts from the Journal itself;<sup>6</sup> one dealt with a meeting

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1. Stubbs, I, 123. (Italics mine.)  
2. C.F.T. 18/2/1851; cf. above, p. 49.  
3. G.T.J. 12/12/1833.  
4. G.T.J. 13/8/1835.  
5. S.A.C.A. 18/1/1834, 22/2/1834 (two), 1/3/1834, 14/6/1834, 21/6/1834, 27/8/1834, 30/8/1834, 8/11/1834, 20/12/1834.  
6. S.A.C.A. 1/2/1834 (two), 8/3/1834, 5/4/1834, 19/4/1834, 30/4/1834.

of the Auxiliary Missionary Society at Kat River;<sup>1</sup> two on frontier trade,<sup>2</sup> one even praised the Colonists,<sup>3</sup> while the fatal article in the Advertiser of 27 December 1834, which sparked off the boycott, dealt with the patrol of Ensign Sparks on 2 December 1834.<sup>4</sup> The simple truth of the matter was that Fairbairn was more directly concerned with the emancipation of slaves, the progress of the Vagrancy Ordinance in the Legislative Council, and his campaign to get the Legislative Council to hold its debates open to the public.

Ensign Sparks had been assuaged in the arm after he had carried out his orders to take some cattle from Eno's people in lieu of stolen horses.<sup>5</sup> Fairbairn's article on this patrol contained some mild, though not unjustified, strictures on the treatment then being meted out to the frontier tribes. It was based directly on the report on the patrol contained in the Journal of 11 December, and which Fairbairn quoted in full. This edition of the Advertiser reached the frontier only after the Sixth Frontier War had broken out. It was a war which the Settlers were quite unprepared to meet, so that exasperation gave way to fury at Fairbairn and his paper, which had, said the arraignment, indulged in "some expressions of scorn at the sufferings of the inhabitants of this frontier, and in which he has endeavoured to advocate the proceedings of the ruthless barbarians who are now ravaging the colony." This was "calculated to affect our hopes of succour from other quarters," and gave to the frontiersmen "one deep and universal feeling of indignation and disgust."<sup>6</sup> Included among the signatories were 3 Wesleyan missionaries, the agent for the Advertiser on the frontier, namely A.T. Caldecott, as well as Stubbs, who was with the rest, undoubtedly carried away by the circumstances and mood of the moment. Fairbairn pointed out that of those who had signed the declaration, only 20 were subscribers to the Advertiser, while only 25 copies of his newspaper were sent to Albany. There is, therefore, every reason to believe him when he claimed that the majority who had signed, knew nothing of the "character" of the Advertiser, except from the "mistaken reports of others" and from the "constant skirmishings going on against it in the other two Journals."<sup>7</sup>

To the colonists the Sixth Frontier War was born out of the "inefficient policy" pursued towards the Khosa tribes,<sup>8</sup> which they were apt to attribute to a disregard to their petitions for protection and redress of grievances. This disregard they believed could be blamed partly on

"those calumnies on their characters, as loyal British subjects, and to those misrepresentations of their actual conduct, situation, and circumstances, and of the dispositions, habits, and character,

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1. S.A.C.A. 19/11/1834.
  2. S.A.C.A. 1/11/1834, 15/11/1834.
  3. S.A.C.A. 26/3/1834.
  4. S.A.C.A. 27/12/1834.
  5. G.T.J. 11/12/1834; 503 of 1837, pp. 58, 157-8.
  6. G.T.J. 2/1/1835. At Graaff-Reinet, the members of the Reading Room also resolved that on account of the "repeated falsehoods, base insinuations, and general mistatements [sic]" to discontinue the Advertiser. G.T.J. 13/3/1835.
  7. S.A.C.A. 10/1/1835. The other two Journals were The Graham's Town Journal and the De Zuid-Afrikaan.
  8. Address of the Inhabitants of Albany to D'Urban in June 1835. G.T.J. 19/6/1835; cf. G.T.J. 15/5/1834, 4/8/1834.

of the tribes beyond the colonial boundary, which had been published to the world by mistaken or designing writers, and so widely disseminated to their prejudice."<sup>1</sup> The circumstances of war and its aftermath were not easily to be forgotten. The colonists, led by Godlontonian editorials, came to regard themselves as unfairly treated.<sup>2</sup> To them there had to be a cause for a war in which they became the victims, so amidst strained and bitter feelings the witch-hunt began, and Dr. Philip, John Fairbairn, Rev. James Read and Andries Stockenström all fell further into popular disfavour.

It has been seen how Thomas Stubbs was caught up in the outcry against the South African Commercial Advertiser; he was soon to be involved again in the popular outcry which was associated with the arrival of Andries Stockenström as Lieutenant-Governor. On 10 December 1835 the first reports of the proceedings of the Aborigines Committee began to appear in the Journal. These reports reacted on the frontier, where the colonists became desperate to clear themselves of any blame. Repeated calls were made for a commission of enquiry on the spot, while it became necessary to malign Stockenström for his part in the evidence submitted to the Aborigines Committee.<sup>3</sup> It seemed as if their "very existence as colonist [was] being aimed at by a faction - who do not hesitate to go to the most desperate lengths to effect their dishonest purposes."<sup>4</sup> This was the state of feeling when it was learned that Stockenström had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, whose task it was to be to carry out the original instructions sent to D'Urban before the Sixth Frontier War. The appointment was regarded as an "act of flagrant injustice," as "national punishment,"<sup>5</sup> while his statements to the Aborigines Committee were represented, incorrectly, as shown by Urie,<sup>6</sup> as being at variance with his earlier sayings and doings so that he could get the appointment as Lieutenant-Governor.<sup>7</sup>

As frontiersmen imagined and Stubbs remembered,

"we were not long before we were awakened out of our happy dream - that confounded False Philanthropist society - soon managed to upset all the good Sir B D'Urban had done, He was recalled, and that fellow Sir Andries Stockenström, sent to Graham's Town as Lieut. Governor, the Caffers were brought back to the Fish River, ... and every thing that had been done before; and done, by a lot of the greatest I can't call them fools, but mistaken & unprincipled Scoundrels."<sup>8</sup>

News of Stockenström's appointment on 5 February 1836 had barely reached the Colony before a petition was forwarded from Grahamstown to D'Urban on 27 April, for permission to hold a public meeting to ask for

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1. Albany Petition to the King in June 1835. G.T.J. 25/6/1835; 279 of 1836, pp. 73-5.
  2. Cf. Godlonton, Irruption, pp. 86-7; cf. J. Philipps to G.T.J. 31/5/1836.
  3. e.g. G.T.J. 28/1/1836, 4/2/1836, 11/2/1836.
  4. G.T.J. 3/3/1836; cf. the resolutions adopted at a public meeting in Grahamstown on 23/1/1836 where the Aborigines Committee was seen as having been supplied with defective and erroneous evidence which betrayed a want of information on the true state affairs along the frontier. Stockenström was represented as the most objectionable witness of all, whose evidence was prejudicial to the character of the inhabitants. G.T.J. 28/1/1836.
  5. G.T.J. 28/4/1836.
  6. Urie, op. cit., pp. 73-87.
  7. See, G.T.J. 28/4/1836, 4/8/1836; "A Farmer" to G.T.J. 5/12/1839; Bowker, Speeches, pp. 2,5.
  8. Stubbs, I, 72.

Stockenstron's suspension from office.<sup>1</sup> On 9 May a similar request came from Graaff-Reinet; both were refused.<sup>2</sup> The temper in the East Cape towards Stockenstron was displayed upon his arrival in Grahamstown on Saturday, 3 September 1836. He was met outside the town by only a handful of the inhabitants; outside his hotel the crowd of onlookers was ominously silent, while that night, according to the Journal, only two out of the thousand houses in Grahamstown were illuminated by candles as a sign of welcome.<sup>3</sup>

Grahamstown had been preparing a welcome for Stockenstron in the form of an address, which was signed by 412 persons including the names of Thomas and William Stubbs. This address asked Stockenstron to answer 4 questions pertinent to the evidence he had given before the Aborigines Committee. The Stubbs brothers were caught up in this excitement which showed the frontiersmen in the very worst light, excited, irrational and prepared to deny to Stockenstron the right to the fair chance which they believed ought justly to have been theirs.

In the address they stated "their deep apprehension lest His Majesty's Government should be labouring under such fatal and erroneous impressions respecting the real character of the colonists in general --- as cannot fail ultimately to the disappointment of their just hopes of future support and adequate protection." They considered that the recent "scenes of suffering" had been caused "mainly by misrepresentations, widely circulated in the parent country to their prejudice by uninformed or partial writers," and that Stockenstron's evidence to the Aborigines Committee had "made an impression on the public mind exceedingly derogatory to their character for humanity and justice; injurious to their future prospects as a young and rising community; and fatal to their claims to that compensation for their losses ... to which in equity they conceive they are entitled from a paternal government." Then followed the 4 questions: Stockenstron was asked whether he considered that the conduct of the Settlers had been such as to justify the Xhosa invasion; whether he knew of any instance when they as a community had acted "inconsistent with the British name and character;" whether he believed that they had derived any advantage from war with the Xhosa, or that instead they had had continually to suffer "daring and unprovoked inroads" with the risk of death, destruction of homes and loss of property; and finally whether his evidence had not been intended "to make on the public mind such impressions as are calculated to lead to a conclusion that the inhabitants of this Colony, or of this Frontier, deserve, as a people, by their ill treatment of the Native Tribes, or any other course of misconduct, to be reproached by their country

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1. This was signed by 35 inhabitants of Grahamstown, who wanted Stockenstron suspended from office till a rigid inquiry could be made on the spot into the charges he had allegedly made against the frontier inhabitants. G.T.J. 12/5/1836.
  2. G.T.J. 26/5/1836, 7/7/1836.
  3. G.T.J. 8/9/1836.

with having brought disgrace upon the British name, or acted inconsistent with the requirements of humanity and justice."<sup>1</sup>

Stockenstron declined to accept the address, whereupon a public meeting was immediately convened on 6 September. This was attended by 400 persons. Stockenstron's refusal was voted to be "at variance with the spirit of the British constitution, and degrading to a community of free and loyal British Subjects." Stockenstron, said Godlonton, had denied to them the act of justice to remove the aspersion that they had "very often" served on commandos.<sup>2</sup> It was at this meeting too, that Godlonton received his crown of glory when a vote of thanks was passed for the zeal he had manifested in "maintaining unsullied the character of the British settlers from the puny attempts of those who had busily and secretly endeavoured to cast odium on it."<sup>3</sup>

With the Stockenstron treaty system a new chapter in colonial history began. The bitterness of the war gradually passed, though opinions and emotions lingered on, many of which were remembered by Stubbs in 1874. Stubbs, however, remained open minded about the Khosa whom he had come to know as a youth and to respect as a soldier. This makes it the more startling to consider his attitude to Dr. Philip as well as to the Hottentots.

In the frontier districts a notion developed that the disastrous wars had resulted largely from "mistaken" or "false" philanthropy, not only because the missionaries were labouring under a delusion which prevented their forming a correct estimate of Khosa and Hottentot character,<sup>4</sup> but because certain "political" missionaries had meddled in matters that did not concern them. This stems from the crises which led up to the war of December 1834, and more particularly from the visit of that "Reverend agitator,"<sup>5</sup> Dr. Philip, to the frontier earlier that year. Dr. Philip was accused of having raised up false hopes among the Khosa for a redress of grievances and a resumption of lost land,<sup>6</sup> so that it came to be believed that the agents of the London Mission had by their activities given unwarranted encouragement to the Khosa.<sup>7</sup> Further, the idea developed into accepted belief that the abandonment of the D'Urban system was caused by "mis-guided philanthropy, led on by missionary persuasion."<sup>8</sup> The colonists had come to see in the D'Urban settlement of May 1835 the fulfilment of

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1. G.T.J. 8/9/1836.
  2. Cf. 538 of 1836, pars. 1090-94.
  3. G.T.J. 8/9/1836.
  4. W. and G. Southey, and W. Shaw to G.T.J. 23/1/1835; cf. G.T.J. 22/12/1836, 13/6/1846, 7/12/1850.
  5. G.T.J. 13/12/1838. Cf. "Observer" to G.T.J. 31/11/1835:-  
"All hope of the London Societies Missions contributing even in a fair proportion to the advancement of the colored [sic] classes in this colony, without at the same time endangering its peace and security, fled to Heaven on the viewless winds, when the temperate and judicious Mr. Miles left this colony and John Philip reigned in his stead."
  6. G.T.J. 3/11/1836, 22/12/1836. Cf. the evidence given to the Aborigines Committee by Col. Wade (538 of 1836, pars. 2778, 3498-500), and by Capt. Aitchison and Maj. Dundas (538 of 1836, pars. 140-141, 1250-96). The latter two were both trapped during cross-examination, into an admission that theirs was purely hearsay evidence. Dr. Philip's own version of his visit to the frontier in 1834 was that he had kept the utmost secrecy in all he had said, as he knew of D'Urban's intentions to introduce a new system of frontier relations with the Khosa. 538 of 1836, p. 722.
  7. Cf. 503 of 1837, pp. 91, 265-6; Godlonton, Irruption, pp. 50-1.

hopes long cherished.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have gone almost unnoticed that D'Urban himself realised the impracticability of the May policy, so that the plan he eventually tried out in September 1835 before Glenelg's despatch arrived, was fundamentally very different. The Glenelg despatch of 26 December 1835, labelled by Godlonton as "disgraceful and unjustifiable,"<sup>2</sup> was believed to have ordered the abandonment of the Province of Queen Adelaide; word of the despatch was no sooner known than the name of Dr. Philip was linked to it. Glenelg had outlined the instructions which D'Urban was to follow with regard his May policy; but, Glenelg gave D'Urban an interval of discretion in which to explain himself, and to get a more favourable verdict. The Secretary of State stated clearly that D'Urban was not being saddled with "peremptory and inflexible injunctions," so that if D'Urban felt that some of his, Glenelg's, conclusions were mistaken, then D'Urban, as Governor, was at liberty, "until further directions," to suspend "any part of the following instructions."<sup>3</sup> This dispatch reached D'Urban on 21 March 1836,<sup>4</sup> but it was not till June that he began his reply, which was not sent off till January 1837,<sup>5</sup> by which time D'Urban himself had abandoned the Province of Queen Adelaide.

The colonists on the frontier were not in a position to know these movements, and when the news of Glenelg's despatch leaked out in November 1836, it was in the form of an account in an overseas newspaper, the "Morning Chronicle," which had published extracts from the despatch after it had been printed in mid-1836 in a "Blue Book." Disappointment gave way to unreasoning rage, and Godlonton immediately attached the responsibility for Glenelg's "decisions" to Dr. Philip and the London Missionary Society. It is difficult to discover on what evidence Godlonton based his allegations other than rumour, since, as far as is known, his first acquaintance with Lord Glenelg's despatch was limited to the account in the "Morning Chronicle" of 5 August 1836. Certainly, as one scurutinises Godlonton's remarks on Dr. Philip in the Journal of 3 November 1836, and compares them with the text of the despatch, it is impossible to correlate them. The only section, moreover, which might conceivably have led Godlonton to assume the implication of Dr. Philip, was not mentioned in the

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1. The Journal saw the annexation as an "act of justice," which entitled D'Urban "to the everlasting gratitude of the frontier inhabitants and indeed the colony at large." G.T.J. 22/5/1835.
  2. G.T.J. 10/11/1836.
  3. Glenelg to D'Urban, 26/12/1835. 279 of 1836, pp. 68-9.
  4. D'Urban to Glenelg, 23/3/1836. 503 of 1837, p. 19.
  5. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 172.

"Morning Chronicle."<sup>1</sup> Godlonton's editorial must, therefore, be seen as a falsehood, and one which readily found acceptance on the frontier. By 1851 with another war and rebellion, beliefs that "political Missionary Institutions" were the "bane of this once - promising country,"<sup>2</sup> had become entrenched. Fear, and ill-grounded and untested suspicion, reached something like a logical climax in a letter to the Journal in November 1851, when one correspondent found cause to say:

"There can be no question but these men and their immediate followers, namely, Read and coadjutors, laid the basis for all the wars, and consequently all the murders and political agitations that have followed."<sup>3</sup>

As late as 1874 Stubbs, for instance, was still prepared to blame "that confounded False Philonphosist society," the London Missionary Society, for upsetting the D'Urban settlement.<sup>4</sup>

The truth seems to be that the average colonist had no understanding of the D'Urban system, either in theory or practice, but associated the term with a simple policy of annexation and displacement of the Xhosa from their lands. The opposite of "false philanthropy" of the allegedly missionary type was "true philanthropy," namely annexation for European expansion. Most believed that D'Urban's occupation of the Province of Queen Adelaide was "just and honorable [sic] ,"<sup>5</sup> and as Godlonton claimed, the right to ownership after conquest was "supported by the opinions of the best writers on the law of nations."<sup>6</sup> The colonial point of view was that land grants in the conquered territory was a reward due to them, and that it was the function of the government to forward their interests and welfare.<sup>7</sup> This they reconciled with a somewhat Roman concept of empire, Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos. Colonial farmers and the pax Britannica, would, after conquest, note out "stern, unflinching, even - handed justice," and raise the Xhosa to civilization, "if it be possible."<sup>8</sup> "True philanthropy" was, therefore, in colonial parlance, an almost martial type of philanthropy, or a determination to subdue the Xhosa, and later the Hottentots, to ensure peace and prosperity for the Colony.

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1. The first edition of the Journal after it had got news of the Glenelg despatch, reported as follows:

G.T.J. comment	Glenelg Despatch
"We pass over that part of the despatch which refers to Dr. PHILLIP [sic] and the London Mission, because we think that the despatch itself would have been more satisfactory had this paragraph been altogether omitted.	"I have thus been led to the study of a large mass of documents, of which some are accessible to the public at large, and others have been brought under my inspection by the voluntary zeal of various individuals, who, from many different motives, interested themselves in this discussion."
G.T.J. 3/11/1836.	Glenelg to D'Urban. 279 of 1836, p.60.

2. G.T.J. 3/5/1851; cf. "Observer" to G.T.J. 5/2/1853.
3. "John Boon" to G.T.J. 15/11/1851, (*Italics Mine*). Cf. the Journal's reaction to the Glenelg Despatch of 26/12/1835: the war was caused by the "Jesuitical tampering with the colored [sic] classes on the immediate border." G.T.J. 3/11/1836.
4. Stubbs, I, 72.
5. G.T.J. 22/5/1835.
6. G.T.J. 30/7/1835.
7. G.T.J. 20/10/1835, 29/10/1835, 5/11/1835.
8. G.T.J. 7/12/1850.

The retro-active working of Stubbs' imagination was closely related to the war of 1834-35 and its subsequent settlement. This settlement more than anything else, caused the frontiersmen to construe subsequent history in terms of the ways in which they had been wronged. It may aptly be called the Godlonton-Cory interpretation, which Stubbs was inclined to hold even in old age, namely the conviction that frontier problems were not only ignored, but were obstinately underestimated, misunderstood and, worst of all, misrepresented, sometimes deliberately. Stubbs' own words were that he knew how "we poor Settlers, had been misrepresented, and brutally abused in England,"<sup>1</sup> while he declared: "I hope if anyone does attempt to write the History of Africa, they will be particular in getting the facts, and not send a lot of lies to be published to the World."<sup>2</sup> Yet Stubbs was himself guilty of reading into history an association of events and ideas that does not stand up to scrutiny. The impact of the Hottentot rebellion of 1851 clouded Stubbs' whole approach to the Hottentots. This becomes quite clear in the way in which he treated the Hottentots in the Sixth Frontier War of 1834-35. Stubbs came to accept as fact the current rumours that the fidelity of the Hottentots in this war was suspect. Much of the evidence which gave foundation to any belief of this nature was hearsay opinion collected mainly after the war, by which time the Hottentots had proved their loyalty. No reliance, for instance, can be placed on Stubbs' allegation that the death of John Brown, who had been his father's partner, together with P. Whittaker, while in charge of an outpost manned by Hottentots, was caused by Hottentot treachery.<sup>3</sup> The incident happened on 14 January 1835, and according to Stubbs:

"Piet Lowe and his Men if they can be called such never fired a shot. The Caffers allowed them to leave the House and return to Grahams Town in safety leaving Brown and Whittaker were they had been murdered, I am quite satisfied they were sold by Piet Lowe."<sup>4</sup>

Brown and Whittaker had left the safety of the post to parley with the Xhosa, who beat and stoned them to death. The Hottentots were powerless to fire a shot as Brown and Whittaker had been lured out of range. Afterwards a retired sergeant of the old Cape Corps, Piet Lowe, rallied the Hottentots to maintain their position while the news was forwarded to Grahamstown.<sup>5</sup> Further, Stubbs remarked on the incident that

"It turned out that the Caffers had agreed with the Hottentots for them to Rebel, the Murder of Ensign Crow at Frazers Camp, shortly after, by the Cape Corp proved it."<sup>6</sup>

1. Stubbs, I, 104.
2. Stubbs, I, 105.
3. See above, pp. 14-15.
4. Stubbs, I, 59 (Italics mine).
5. G.T.J. 16/1/1835; cf. Smith to D'Urban, 17/4/1836. 503 of 1837, p. 31.
6. Stubbs, I, 59.

Although the Xhosa do appear to have anticipated some sort of assistance from the Hottentots, no proof exists that there was any plan to rebel. The death of Ensign Crowe on 19 February 1838, which Stubbs considered as proof, happened two and a half years after peace had been concluded. The "mutiny" was confined to a detachment of 21 Hottentot recruits of the Cape Mounted Rifles who were responsible for the shooting of Crowe.<sup>1</sup> A certain amount of dissatisfaction was present among some of the Cape Mounted Rifles at the time,<sup>2</sup> but the incident itself served only to show the susceptibility of the colonists to rumours of the wildest nature. The Journal took the opportunity to report the incident as "the natural result of those factious proceedings which for several years past have been carrying on in this colony under the name of philanthropy."<sup>3</sup> Moreover, only one chief, Umkye, was implicated, and he pleaded ignorance of the whole affair.<sup>4</sup> Stockenstrom showed, and even Godlonton was inclined to believe, that Umkye's motive was to profit from the confusion and make an attack on the hated Fingoes who had been placed in the "neutral belt", which the Xhosa had been allowed to reoccupy, though only on suffrage.<sup>5</sup> There had, in fact, already been one attack on the Fingoes at Fort Peddie in August 1837,<sup>6</sup> while it was reputedly the presence of the Fingoes nearby that caused the Gunukwebe chief, Pato, to go to war in 1846.

In this case Stubbs was avant garde even in relation to Godlonton, who later became the arch-critic of the Hottentots. Godlonton was able to say in 1836 of the few rumours which doubted Hottentot fidelity, that "it does not ... appear that there were any just grounds for this report - or that it was anything more than a mere rumour propagated by the confederate Chiefs, to inspire their followers with confidence - still it was quite certain that it was very generally circulated amongst and believed by the Kafir people."<sup>7</sup> The only ground for the Xhosa hopes of support, or at least Hottentot neutrality,<sup>8</sup> seems to have developed out of the unrest that was felt at Kat River in 1834 as a result of the proposed vagrancy ordinance.<sup>9</sup>

1. G.T.J. 22/2/1838; Notes and News, VII, 43.

2. G.T.J. 1/3/1838.

3. G.T.J. 22/3/1838.

4. G.T.J. 1/3/1838, 29/3/1838; Bowker, Speeches, pp.67-68. Stubbs, I, 67.

5. Crankshaw, op.cit., p.101; G.T.J. 1/3/1838.

6. Crankshaw, op.cit., pp. 100-101.

7. Godlonton, Irruption, pp.14-15. By 1839 Godlonton was quite prepared to blame the Kat River Settlement for "provoking a war with the Kaffirs." G.T.J. 31/10/1839; cf. G.T.J. 5/12/1839.

8. See the depositions of the chiefs Tyali and Xoxo after the war. 503 of 1837, pp.75, 234, 238.

9. Read, op.cit., p.x.

It must be concluded then, that Stubbs was seriously in error in his judgment of the Hottentots in 1835, for he read back the tensions of the 1850's into the events of the 1830's.

In contrast to the attitudes which Stubbs held towards the Xhosa, his approach to the Hottentots generally did approximate to the outlook which developed along the frontier, and which was given an apparent reality as a result of the Hottentot rebellion during the War of Umlanjeni, 1850-1853. Stubbs commented that the Hottentots

"have to thank the London Mission for a great deal of it - for it was principally through them, they rebelled and joined the Caffres in the War against the whites." <sup>1</sup>

The implication of the missionaries in the rebellion is a myth that has never been fully explained, nor can be understood unless the high state of feeling in the Eastern districts be remembered, when, in the midst of another Xhosa war, the frontiersmen were confronted with a rebellion. Many of the tried and trusted Hottentots joined the enemy to despoil the countryside, whereas before great dependence had been placed upon them to help in the common defence, and to come forward as ready, and cheap, auxiliaries to the forces.

Stubbs' attitude is understandable; in the war of 1850-53, the Hottentot stations of the London Mission along the frontier had a discreditable record. In January 1851 many of the Hottentots at Kat River rebelled, which was followed in June by the Theopolis Institution in Lower Albany, while in July 1852, J.C. Chase who was Resident Magistrate at Uitenhage, uncovered a plot to rebel at Betherlsdorp. <sup>2</sup> The excited public imagination was prepared to believe and accept anything, except the fact that the Hottentots did have their grievances. <sup>3</sup> At a public meeting in Grahamstown on 19 February 1851, irate and exasperated speakers pointed it out as a "notorious fact" that the missionaries had all remained at the Kat River Settlement after the outbreak of the rebellion, while they had been allowed to move about unmolested! <sup>4</sup> The opinion was expressed that the rebels could not have got up such a scheme of disorder without "aiders and abettors" since 1835; the Hon. W. Cock, M.L.C., was even prepared to suggest that the rebellion had not originated with the Hottentots themselves, but that they had been "led into it by designing men". <sup>5</sup>

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1. Stubbs, I, 12

2. G.T.J. extra 13/7/52, 17/7/52.

3. See A.12-54 (Cape), pars, VII-X, XVI-XVI; J. Read, The Kat River Settlement in 1851, pp. xiv-xxi, 119-120; Stockenstrom, Autobiography, II, 377-82, 428-9; Marais, op.cit., pp. 231-42.

4. These missionaries were J. Read, senior and junior, H. Renton, R. Niven, J.F. Cumming, J. Thomson, A. van Rooyen.

5. G.T.J. 22/3/1851.

Similar sentiments were echoed by letters printed in the Journal. One frequent correspondent, "Caustic", exclaimed how the "weak minds" of the Hottentots had been

"led step by step, until declamation against the English has become part and parcel of their religious creed - the end, REBELLION!! Their religious teachers remained in camp, hand in glove with the rebels, perfectly safe, while the colonists were suffering from the hands of infatuated wretches all the horrors of war and rebellion - their spiritual teachers now being their friends and justifiers!"<sup>1</sup>

This was the tone of the Journal too, namely that the Hottentots had had their minds "seriously poisoned by itinerant politicians, disguised in the garb of philanthropic friends,"<sup>2</sup> that the "overflowing majority" of the Hottentots along the frontier were "thoroughly steeped in crime" and had no other excuse for the rebellion than "an incipient indolence, fostered by too lenient laws, and worked upon by designing teachers."<sup>3</sup>

The Commission appointed after the war to enquire into the Kat River rebellion completely rejected the allegation that the missionaries there had ever done, or said, intentionally anything to foster rebellion; instead, they had done their utmost to suppress it, though the commissioners did suggest that the Revs. Reid had been injudicious in the manner in which they had too frequently listened to the complaints and alleged political grievances of the Hottentots, which had led the Hottentots to "imagine themselves oppressed."<sup>4</sup>

From the "Reminiscences" it is clear that Stubbs was deeply affected by such opinions about the Hottentots. It was apparently against the orders of his corps of Rangers to take prisoners; Stubbs recollected how one of his men had disgraced himself by capturing a Hottentot instead of shooting him.<sup>5</sup> On another occasion on 23 September 1851 Stubbs was on patrol near Dumt Knaal when the Rangers came upon a Hottentot and a Xhosa together. No quarter was given after the Hottentot had taken a shot at Stubbs:

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1. "Caustic" to G.T.J. 29/3/1851.
  2. According to Godlonton, "we cannot hesitate to believe that the Hottentots have had their minds seriously poisoned by itinerant politicians, disguised in the garb of philanthropic friends. They have been told they were an injured people, and they have readily believed it. They have heard it affirmed so often that the aim of the Colonial Legislature, and even of the British Government, was to oppress them, that they have given ear to the calumny." G.T.J. 8/3/1851.
  3. G.T.J. 6/12/1851. Godlonton considered that the Hottentots had been too leniently treated generally. Cf. G.T.J. 1/2/1851.
  4. A.12-54 (Cape), pars. XIV-XV.
  5. Stubbs, II, 10.

"I ... called out to the Men to come straight to me, as the Hottentot was hid away in the bush, close by, they found him; he had his [sic] Gun pointed at them, but had not loaded it - He asked them in English not to shoot him, it was too late, he was well dressed, and even known by some of my Men, as belonging to Graham's Town - a few days before he had been seen in front of my House."<sup>1</sup>

Stubbs remembered, too, how his brother and the Rangers had in March 1851 traced down and attacked a band of rebel Hottentots who had ambushed Booth, Costings and Trollip near De Bruin's Poort, killing Costings and severely wounding Booth.<sup>2</sup> To Stubbs it was outrageous that a Bible and Prayer Book had been found open, "showing they had held their Sunday morning Service, with the blood of Costings on their hands."<sup>3</sup> Their discovery of the Dutch Testament in the rebel camp was evidence only to condemn the London Mission, and not proof of the success of missionary endeavour. This fact seems to have escaped Stubbs altogether, for he commented, "This again proves how the Hottentots were misled by those would be Philanthropists the London Missionary Society."<sup>4</sup>

This attitude expressed so long afterwards is interesting in a man who confessed that he disliked shooting the Xhosa. It is all the more interesting when one considers that by no means all the Hottentots in the East Cape took part in the rebellion. Throughout the war there were many Hottentots in Grahamstown, who, though they were regarded with suspicion, were not hostile.<sup>5</sup> With regard to the Kat River Settlement, the Commission of Enquiry reported that it had clear evidence of rebellion against only 160 out of 509 erf-holders, while only 164 out of 349 non-erf-holders had actually joined the rebellion. From the evidence obtained, the Commission suggested that the number of rebels may have amounted to above 1,200;<sup>6</sup> but, on the other hand, the Commission was able to establish that a good proportion of the Kat River Hottentots had not openly rebelled, that many did serve on the side of the Colony, and that some who had been in rebellion, afterwards joined the levies and behaved well, "even when opposed to those of their own class, with whom they had been previously associated in crime."<sup>7</sup>

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1. Stubbs, I, 116; cf. G.T.J. 27/9/1851.

2. See above, p. 50.

3. Stubbs, II, 6; the Journal reported that "a Dutch Testament lay open, as if the fugitives had just been reading the sacred page." G.T.J. 29/3/1851. Stubbs is wrong in that the day his brother attacked was Wednesday, 26/3/1851, and not a Sunday. Cf. The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman, p.155.

4. Stubbs, II, 6.

5. See above, pp.51-2; and Stubbs, I, note 173.

6. See Government Notice, dated 30/7/1853, in G.18-58 (Cape), pp.40-41; A.12-54 (Cape), pars. IV-V, XII; Kraais, op.cit., pp.242-3.

7. A.12-54 (Cape), par. VI; cf. G. 18-58 (Cape), p.52.

Moreover, individual examples of Hottentot fidelity while in employ in the Colony, were known and reported,<sup>1</sup> and though Sir Harry Smith spoke of the "dogged feeling" that existed throughout the Hottentot classes,<sup>2</sup> it was he who took upon himself the authority to have a special medal cast to be awarded to the levies.<sup>3</sup> The true situation which escaped an excited frontier, was described by Lieut.-Gen. George Cathcart who replaced Sir Harry Smith as governor in March 1852:

"This [rebellion] has not been by any means so general as has been supposed, and as the colonial prejudices would still represent it to have been.

"Nothing could have been more satisfactory than the conduct of the Cape Corps generally, with the exception only of those who deserted at the outbreak, and numerous Hottentot levies have rendered gallant and loyal services throughout the contest."<sup>4</sup>

The London Mission was again indirectly accused of fostering disaffection and rebellion. Kat River was referred to as a "very hot-bed of idleness," while the fruits of this experiment to establish a purely Hottentot settlement, were "disaffection to authority and ultimate rebellion."<sup>5</sup> At Kat River there was a "set of Radical London Society missionaries" who had been "yearning to them like evil spirits that they were an oppressed and ill-used race."<sup>6</sup> Hence the Hottentots needed to be controlled, not let loose to go into rebellion. Stubbs subscribed wholeheartedly to this opinion which had gained ground ever since the passing of Ordinance 50 in 1828, and had its reflection in the attempt to pass a vagrancy law in 1834.<sup>7</sup> Stubbs did not pause to reflect in 1874 when he surveyed the history of the Hottentots, who were once

"obliged to have a Master - and to carry a pass - if any were found without, they were put into Prison until contracted to some White Master for one year - at that time they were good servants, and would have remained so, had it not been for that shoninable false Philanthropy, which made them free and ruined them. We should have had no Hottentot rebellion - and they would still have been an industrious people - for after their freedom thousands perished with Cape Smoke. They were a people that required to be under control, both for their own benefit and the Public."<sup>8</sup>

The London Mission, said Stubbs, had been "the greatest enemies of the Natives ever since we have been in the Colony,"<sup>9</sup> who had taught the

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1. G.T.J. 17/1/1852; C.F.T. 17/2/1852.
  2. Smith to Grey, 4/7/1851. 1428 of 1852, p. 72.
  3. Notes and News, XI, 64, 236, 240-41.
  4. Cathcart to Secretary of State, 11/2/1853. 1635 of 1852-3, p.225.
  5. G.T.J. 12/4/1851.
  6. Smith, Autobiography, pp. 630-1; of. G.T.J. 22/2/1851.
  7. Marris, op.cit., pp. 182-3.
  8. Stubbs, I, 11-12. (*italics mine*).
  9. Stubbs, I, 12.

generality of Hottentots to read and write, "but not to work."<sup>1</sup>

The state of feeling can be illustrated by the events in Grahamstown, in which Stubbs became involved, after the arrival of the Rev. Henry Renton from the Kat River Settlement on 3 April 1851.<sup>2</sup> Stubbs remembered Renton as one "who was put down by the Public to be one of the lot who had preached the right of man, and the oppression of whites on the Blacks, untill they excited them to rebellion."<sup>3</sup> The presence of Renton in Grahamstown made him the scapegoat of popular feeling, already tense as a result of the Hottentot rebellion. His arrival therefore, was the signal for a display of excited feeling, and in the few days before he fled, the populace of Grahamstown did all in their power to convince themselves of the rectitude of their accusations against him.

Henry Renton was a minister of the secessionist United Presbyterian Church, and had recently come to the Cape to inspect and report on the missions of the Glasgow Mission.<sup>4</sup> At the outbreak of war he had been at the Chumie Station, whence he was forced to withdraw first to the Kat River Settlement, and then to Grahamstown.<sup>5</sup> The day after his arrival, on 4 April, an unfortunate event happened, when two men, Ashley and Radford, were ambushed and killed by rebel Hottentots along the Queen's Road about 10 miles from town.<sup>6</sup> To the wild charges that had been levelled against the Kat River Settlement was added the fact that the Rev. Renton had become the object of severe animadversion in Grahamstown, not least as a result of Godlonton's invective. In February 1851 the Journal had announced that Renton and "his active coadjutors, have been busily engaged in getting up a case against the colonists so as if possible to justify this Rebellion as the Kaffir war was justified in 1835". Godlonton even admitted that he knew nothing about Renton personally, yet assured his readers that Renton was "a bigoted traducer"! <sup>7</sup> Thereafter, weeks before Renton set foot in Grahamstown, Godlonton made him one of the main targets of the Journal's criticism.<sup>8</sup> Renton had no sooner reached Grahamstown than he was accused inter alia of having refused to shake hands with a Mr. Thomas Webster because Webster had fought against the rebels at the Shiloh Mission station;<sup>9</sup> that he had construed a remark by Maj.-Gen. Somerset after the combined burgher-military attack on Fort Armstrong

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1. Stubbs I, 13; cf. J.M. Bowker: "I wish the Hottentots were taught to work and to be honest, as well as to pray." G.T.J. 15/3/1851.
  2. G.T.J. 12/4/1851.
  3. Stubbs, II, 21.
  4. Cory, V, 360; G.T.J. 26/4/1851.
  5. G.T.J. extra 15/4/1851.
  6. See above, p.51.
  7. G.T.J. 1/3/1851; cf James Collet to G.T.J. 5/4/1851.
  8. G.T.J. 15/3/1851, 22/3/1851, 29/3/1851, 5/4/1851.
  9. Cf. G.T.J. 13/3/1851.

on 22 February to mean that the burghers would have murdered all the Hottentot women and children there, but for the presence of the troops.<sup>1</sup> He was blamed for his interference which had led Somerset to declare an armistice on 7 February for the rebels at Shiloh as long as they remained passive. The charge was that he, Renton, had endorsed and believed ex-parte statements made by the rebels against a British officer to the effect that Capt. Tylden's forces collected at Whittlesea had been responsible for the first attack on Shiloh. They claimed that Renton's signature had given credibility to a statement which would otherwise have been considered fraudulent.<sup>2</sup> Finally, it was held against him that he had appended his name to several dubious affidavits made by Hottentots at Kat River, who charged the burghers under W.D. Pringle of Glen Lynden with the shooting of innocent Hottentots.<sup>3</sup> Godlonton insisted that the affidavits were designed to vindicate the rebels and incriminate the colonists, thereby helping to "prejudice the case of the suffering inhabitants, and to blast their hopes of ultimate redress."<sup>4</sup> The colonial point of view was the fact that Renton had signed these two affidavits as a witness before the magistrate at Kat River, J.M.B. Wienand, which meant that he had injudiciously sided with the Hottentots against the colonists. It was not till after the war that the facts were clearly established by the Commission of Enquiry, and Renton and the Hottentots were proven right on this particular point.<sup>5</sup>

Renton's presence in Grahamstown soon became known, so that on Saturday night, 5 April, a mob of about 400 persons collected outside "McKenzie's Hotel"<sup>6</sup> where Renton and his wife were staying. Placards were displayed with banners like "Extirpation to the Rebels," or "Renton, thou shalt not bear false witness." An effigy was burnt plus a few tar-barriles, while squibs and gunshots added to the excitement. Stubbs as Commandant of Grahamstown, ordered out thirty Rangers to control the crowd which finally dispersed after midnight, though not before the demonstration had been extended to the houses of two persons known to Renton, namely Francis Ludhope, who had invited Renton to preach in the Independent Trinity Church, and Rev. H.N. Smit. Stubbs himself declared to the Clerk of the Peace that the proceedings were "purely a demonstration of popular feeling," while the affair had had the appearance of a jollification as on "Guy Fawke's Day, or at an Illumination." In his opinion  
the demonstration

1. Cf. G.T.J. 19/4/1851.

2. This was signed by the Revs. Reed, Thomson, Niven, Curming, van Rooyen on 4/2/1851, in addition to Rev. Henry Renton. C.F.P. 3/1/1851.

3. There were six affidavits, of which Renton signed only two. G.T.J. 22/3/1851.

4. G.T.J. extra 15/4/51; see also G.T.J. 12/4/1851, 22/4/51 extra, 10/5/1851; C.F.P. 15/4/1851, 22/4/1851.

5. A.12-54 (Cape), para. XVI-XVIII.

6. See Stubbs, I, note 101; Stubbs, II, note 43.

had been caused by "the imprudence of Mr. Renton in coming into Graham's Town after his conduct at the Kat River."<sup>1</sup> Ill-feeling did not end there, for on Monday, 7 April, another and more determined mob assembled, and got possession of the ground floor of the hotel. Stubbs was again on the scene, and represented to Renton the danger in which he was; Renton finally agreed to appear at a public meeting to explain his conduct. This satisfied the crowd which thereupon dispersed.<sup>2</sup>

The following day, 8 April, a committee of ten leading inhabitants, including Thomas Stubbs, was formed to arrange a public meeting; Stubbs pointed out that this was absolutely necessary to preserve the public peace. Two days later, on Thursday 10 April, more than 500 people crammed the Court House, there to express themselves and hear Renton speak.

Attention was focused not so much on Rev. Renton, as on a general denunciation of "political" missionaries. William Cook declared that it was "in reference to misrepresentations in the Mother Country, which have emanated principally from the friends or Missionaries of the London Missionary Society, that this community has most to complain of. It is to their misrepresentations that we have to attribute all our troubles - their injudicious meddling having done the most serious injury to the Colony."

In the excitement it was forgotten that Renton was not a missionary, and not directly connected with the London Missionary Society. It was sufficient that he had been at Kat River where the rebellion was believed to have begun,<sup>3</sup> and that he had been allowed to move around unmolested by the Hottentots. Renton was not far from the truth when he remarked at the meeting that their object seemed to be a "crusade" against missions, which had "much that is injudicious in its character."<sup>4</sup>

After the meeting a series of 40 questions was submitted to Renton for answer. Many had little to do with him, while others were frivolous or ambiguous; Renton gave no answer to this fresh attempt to involve him, and left Grahamstown shortly after on his way home to Scotland.<sup>5</sup> The excitement that he had unwittingly aroused also died down, though his name lingered on in the frontier press for some considerable time after. The fact that Stubbs recollected the incident so clearly nearly 25 years later, suggests that the frontier complex and colonial attitudes had developed into a lasting assumption.

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1. G.T.J. 12/4/1851.

2. G.T.J. 12/4/1851; Stubbs, II, 23.

3. In actual fact the rebellion began at the Blinkwater where a renegade Xhosa, Hermanus Matroos, had collected a band of Xhosa, half-breeds, and Hottentots. Hermanus was the principal conspirator, and made use of the disaffection and unrest at Kat River to recruit followers. Read, *op.cit.*, pp xix, xxi, 13-20; A.12-54 (Cape), par. X; cf. the remarks of M.R. Hall who had escaped from Kat River, in G.T.J. extra 15/4/1851.

4. G.T.J. extra 15/4/1851; cf. C.F.T. 15/4/1851.

5. G.T.J. extra 22/4/1851; C.F.T. 22/4/1851.

It may be said that the "Reminiscences" of Thomas Stubbs reveal a man who was very much a product of the times in which he lived. He was largely self-taught, self-reliant, and a man of action and dogged determination not to be broken by circumstances. That he had a lively sense of caricature is born out by the thumb-nail sketches in the brief "People I have known," which he wrote in 1868. In more fortunate circumstances, Stubbs would doubtless have distinguished himself as a professional soldier, for that seems to have been where his real bent lay. If he failed sooner or later in almost every commercial venture to which he turned his hand, he did succeed in most of the military ventures that he undertook. His vital, gusty personality was still alert in old age, when the first rumours of renewed trouble, later to blossom into the Ninth Frontier War of 1877-78, began to reach Whittlesea.

It is undeniable that in many respects Stubbs shared the prejudices of the majority of the Settlers, and just as he never indulged in self-commiseration, so Stubbs did not pause to analyse the grounds of the assumptions which had become part of his thinking. It is only gradually that the work of historians and sociologists is reconstructing not merely the pattern of "things as in fact they were," but the causes of misunderstandings and errors of the type illustrated in this brief scrutiny of the "Reminiscences." On the whole, the frontier, point of reconciliation of so many conflicting interests, was, as frontiers go, a humane one.<sup>1</sup> It was also on the whole a law-abiding one, in which freedom of speech, even freedom to vent prejudice and dislike, was a safety valve against violent action. To hold meetings, to protest, to boycott, to sign petitions, to demonstrate, to write a letter to the Journal, were the characteristic forms of protest. If on the one hand Dr. Phillip and Rev. Henry Renton were maligned, on the other hand they were not molested.

The "Reminiscences" of Thomas Stubbs, taken together with the other records and traces of his activity that have survived, offer one of the fullest and liveliest accounts of frontier life and the experiences of Settlers placed in the midst of existing pressures which were almost bound to lead, as they did, to war. Trading and hunting ventures undertaken against colonial law on occasion, and in ignorance of Xhosa custom, added to the risk of conflict. Yet the peoples of the Eastern Cape were interdependent as well as inter-spersed. On these broader issues, Stubbs has little to say, and he certainly did not pause to work out for himself the rights and wrongs of the land question or any other major problem. He accepted such explanations as he offers at second hand, adding his own twist to prejudice, and tempering it with a love of adventure, good humour, and the curious blend of courage, hot temper, cool judgement and basic humanity which Stubbs illustrated.

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1. Cf. E.A. Walker, The Frontier Tradition in South Africa, pp.13-16.

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SECTION C

TEXT OF THE REMINISCENCES OF  
THOMAS STUBBS.

The "Reminiscences" comprise two volumes: the first deals with Stubbs' life from 1820 to 1851, while the second concludes the story in 1876. In Volume II, pages 83 to 180 have been removed from the manuscript, and have not been traced.

The pages are numbered as in the original manuscript. Four newspaper cuttings bound with the manuscript have been placed in Appendices I to IV. Appendix V, entitled "Men I have Known," was written by Stubbs in August 1868: it is included here as it amplifies much that is contained in the "Reminiscences."

1.

[A newspaper cutting precedes the MS. - see Appendix "I"]

We lived at No. 47 Kenton St. Brunswick Squar London, before leaving England, the Ship we sailed in was the Northampton Transport, a regular Old tub.

The boy that fell down the hatch was my Eldest Brother (John) afterwards killed by Zulās at Natal.

The parties that came with us were - 1

Clarkes Party, settled at Collingham  
 Smiths Party, " at Stoney Vale  
 Stubbs & Brown " at Clay Pitts  
 Mahony's " " Coombs  
 Maj. Pigot " " Pigot Park  
 Danguins " " Blue Kranz<sub>2</sub>  
 Polly Longstocking i.e. Ned Shebon  
 The stout settler was Tomlinson \* 3  
 The Capt name was Charlton \* 4  
 The First Mate was Becky  
 The Upstart 2nd Lt. was Haise  
 The Rations consisted of hard salt beef the Sailors said had been three voyages to India - Rusty Salt Pork - Hard Mouldy Biscuit - Oat meal for Burgoo, a little Sago, Cocoa & Sugar - I and my Brother used to exchange for Salt Pork for sugar mix it with venegar and soak the Biscuit, we called it Venegar scouse; we did not get fat on it --

2.

My Father John Stubbs, came out in Partnership with J. Brown,<sup>5</sup> brought out ten Families, who nearly all left shortly after we arrived on the Location - their names were Thomas Fancutt, who owned and drove his own cart and horses in Grahams Town, he done well. Died in G. Town  
 John Waner<sup>6</sup> a Sailor went to Port Elizabeth Dan Wood,<sup>7</sup> Butcher, married our Ser. Girl Betsy<sup>8</sup> in Port Elizabeth, after leaving us lived there many years & died. one of his sons, served with me in the Kaffer war 1852.

G. Blakemore had a large family - lived many years in Grahams Town, died there very Old.

Stephen Denham<sup>9</sup> died in Grahams Town, his Son was apprentice to me to learn the Saddling business in G. Town about the 1840

Robert Renolds, we called Old Bobby, Wheelright remained with us until our famaly was broken up by the death of our Father and Mother, one of the most faithful men ever lived, he afterwards Married a Widow Godfrey & died in G. Town

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1. Heads of parties on the "Northampton": Dr. W. Clarke; William Smith; Thomas Mahoney; Maj. George Pigot; Charles Dalgairns. Records, XII, 424-429, 500.
  2. Edward Shearan, Mahoney's Party. Records, XII, 426.  
 (Note: the asterisks on pages 1 and 3 are in the text of the original, and refer to a newspaper cutting. See Appendix "I".)
  3. George Tomlin, Mahoney's party. Records, XII, 426.
  4. Robert Charlton. Almanac, 1821.
  5. John Shubbs and John Brown were entered on the Embarkation Lists as part of Clarke's party. Records, XII, 424-425; cf. Records, XIV, 241.
  6. Probably Ebenezer Warmer, of Clarke's party. Records, XII, 425.
  7. Dan Wood, Robert Renolds, Tom Voss, Tom West cannot be identified as Settlers. Robert Renolds' name was later connected with the Stubbs party. See M.O., O.C. 13/51.
  8. Betsy is incorrectly noted in the various lists of Settlers as Elizabeth Stubbs, the daughter of John Stubbs. See Records, XII, 424; cf. Appendix "A".
  9. Stubbs refers probably to William Denham of Clarke's party; Stephen Denham was in Dalgairn's party. See Records, XII, 424, 428.

— Mainman,<sup>10</sup> left us and married a Miss Wainwright - was lost on his voyage to England he sailed out of the Cowie (Port Alfred) in 1824 -

Tom Voss left us after My Fathers death and died in G. Town about 1850.

Tom West, ran away in 1821 - I saw him once after about 1846, in G. Town, he lived with a Dutchman in Zwaagers Hoek, I heard while working in the garden; he killed an old Slave with a rake, and had to work 7 years to pay for him, and then worked 7 years to pay for a young slave girl he took for his wife.

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3.

The Fiddler was my Father.\*

My Mother had a cabin, she was ill all the voyage. I and my Brother John were always among the Sailors, so were allowed to be on deck the whole time - I was too young to shave, so was only dipped in the boat, but had my tot of grog and was kissed by Mrs. Nep. - she had a precious hard beard -

We had a great deal of sickness on board - the smallpox raged<sup>11</sup> a great many, were thrown over board, among them our Amorer his things were sold by auction on the Quarter deck - Jimmy Bungs the cooper was auctioneer.

We arrived in Table Bay in the night - of course all hands were on deck early Glad to get a sight of the land, after months at sea, but unfortunately we were placed under quarantine so could not land.<sup>12</sup>

There were some pigs & sheep brought on board - it was laughable, to hear the remarks made by the Settlers & Sailors, about

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4.

about their tails - Our first mate, Becky, said they were all D---n old, for they all had lost their teeth in the upper jaw, One settler remarked he could swear to them being old for they were quite grey in the face - another said - he had heard the sheep had such large tails, that they had to be carried on a sort of small waggon made for the purpose, but he supposed the worst and smallest had been sent for us.<sup>13</sup>

After sailing from Table Bay, we were just a Month arriving at Algoa Bay<sup>14</sup> - it was a very dreary looking place - there was nothing but Sand hills to be seen from the Ship - the next day all hands were busy - preparing to land the road from the beach was round the sand hills by the mouth of the Baakens river, the Tents were pitched in rows - about where the market now is - I had agreed to remain on board and proceed with the Ship to India, as the Captain promised my Parents I should be taken care of, but on seeing my Mother in the Boat all ready to leave the Ship, I just swung my self by a rope from the deck into the Boat - they could not persuade me to return, and so we came a shore.

All the bedding was brought on shore and burnt; (\* see page 5) it was a strange sight - the Canvas Camp, & the strange way some of the Settlers went about the cooking - After we had been on shore a day or two a lot of us Boys took a walk, and on coming to the rocks, just where Old Tees Stables stand, we saw a lot of Hottentots naked - the began to jabber and we began to run, and never stopped untill we reached the tents, We thought it was all up with us

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10. Thomas Mainman (or Mamman), of Clarke's party. Records, XII, 425.

11. Five persons died of the disease on the "Northampton". Records, XIII, 94.

12. Because of the smallpox, and the fact that the first arrivals, the "Nautilus" and "Chapman" had cases of the then dreaded whooping-cough on board. Records, XIII, 93-94.

13. The Cape fat-tail sheep was a novelty to the Settlers. Cf. Goldswain, I, 16.

14. They set sail on 6/1/1820 (Records, XIII, 424); anchored in Table Bay on 26 March (Almanac, 1821); sailed for Algoa Bay on 2 April, to arrive on 30 April (Phillipps, pp. 44, 46).

\* Because we had, had the smallpox the greater part of the Voyage. I recollect one poor Woman that died on a Featherbed, She was sewn up in it, and shot fastened in to the foot end, but it was not heavy enough to sinck her - we were then going about 8 Knots an hour, She floated as long as we could see her.

The armourer of the Ship also died, and a sale was held of his goods and Chattels on the Quarter deck, Old Jimmy Bungs the Cooper was Auctioneer -

It was a well known fact that there had been plenty of Preserved Meat and other nourishing food put on board for the sick, but it was also a well known fact they did not get There was an Agent for every two Ships,<sup>15</sup> ours<sup>1</sup> was on board the Ship Ocean, We never had a chance of Complaining to him, as we lost sight of her after She had run foul of us in the Bay of Biscay, and the Capt. had nothing to do with the Settlers The rations served out, was very bad even to the sick

The saillors had to fumigate the Vessel every week, between decks - by placing buckets of vinegar in different parts, and putting red hot shot into them

My Mother had a small Cabin to herself, She was ill nearly the whole Voyage, My Father and us Boys, had Berths just below the fore hatch, where the other part of our Party, were stowed, We had a servt. Woman

about eighteen years Old, we called her Black Bet, as She had dark rings round her eyes. She was rather a rum one. She occupied the Berth under my Father, they ran in tears (that is two deep) one night my Father heard something like a Mans voice below him, and on getting out, saw a man jump out of Bet's berth and run upon deck, he found a pair of shoes and on looking at them saw the name of Becky our First Mate. My Father showed him the shoes the next morning - when he said by Jove Mr. Stubbs where did you find them, some one took them out of my Cabin - I have no doubt of it said my Father, but, I would advise you, to keep yourself and your shoes from my quarters, Poor Bet was Married to our Butcher Dan Wood - on Board a Man of War - before we left Algoa Bay,<sup>16</sup> and I believe turned out an honest Woman, I have said before one, of her Sons served with me in Stubb's Albany Rangers during the war of 1852. There were many other funny Characters, among the Settlers, some young Men who on going to Bed were continually turning into the wrong Berths, but it invariably turned out, there was a Woman in them, the consequence was there were some fights and lots of rows; at eight o'clock all lights were ordered out: the word douce the the Glim was called out down the hatch, I saw a Settlers Wife at needlework when one night, on the word to Douce the Glim was given, place the candle on the deck, & cover it with her cloths standing over it until all was quiet, then begin her sewing again.

15. Cf. Records, XIII, 20.

16. The warship was H.M.S. "Menai", Capt. Fairfax Moresby commanding who had come to Algoa Bay to supervise the landing. (Almanac, 1821) It was impossible to be married on shore as couples had to appear before a quarterly sitting of the district Matrimonial Court (i.e. at Uitenhage) which consisted of the landdrost and two heemraden. Thereafter a marriage could be solemnized by a Government Chaplain, if one could be found. See Records, XI, 491-512.

## 7.

Waggonns were provided by Govt. to take us up the country, we came up the old road through the Addo Bush - over Quaggas Flat - passed Assegai bush - Zwaart Hogte, Mill River - Slie Kraal - Cypher Fontein and out spanned by the Old Wind Mill, which stood to the left as you go to Oatlands Grahams Town

My Father, Mother and us were invited to take tea with Alexander McDonald, he was Commissariat Store Keeper - and lived in a part of the Building just opposite where Wood Brothers store now stands in High Street, 1874. We then proceeded up the Hill past where the Natives are Located, it was covered with large Thorn trees at that time, we passed the Governor Kop (Collingham) & My Father and family were loaded off at Stoney Vale, with Thackwray.<sup>17</sup>

Smith & others (in Mistake), as the other part of our Party with J. Brown - my Father's Partner, were taken on to the Clay Pitts. It was here that Mrs. Edkins<sup>18</sup> let her child drop off her back, into the Camp Kettle of soup - and where Mr. Comfield<sup>19</sup> shot at some wild pigeons through the top of his tent and his Wife's high call cap, we saw lots of Game - I recollect C. Hobson<sup>20</sup> shooting the first Buck there, the wolves and jackalls kept up a continual screeching every night.

There must have been very heavy rains before we arrived, for the whole country was running with water, and the grass was Knee high, and many poor Settler nearly broke his neck by tumbling into Ant Bear holes, that were covered with grass, and many a Settler began a garden where he saw the water running out an Ant hole on the side of a hill, but which dried

## 8.

up before a Month. They then began as close to the rivers as possible, built houses, made Gardens, and had every prospect of doing well until the Flood came in '23 and cleared everything away, The distress was so great after the Flood that the Govt. raised a Settlers<sup>21</sup> fund for their relief, and those who were always looking out for the Loaves and fishes, got the Lions share while the greater part of the poorer class got nothing -

I must here describe Grahams Town as it appeared when we passed through it 1820

The road came down West Hill, through the river, where the Bridge now stands, there were no Houses until you reached High Street there lived a Doctor where the Club House<sup>22</sup> now stands, the next building on that side was the Trunk - afterwards used as a Library then Thompson's House,<sup>23</sup> occupied by a Mr Dietz<sup>24</sup> - the back part of Woods, occupied by Mr. Wathall,<sup>25</sup> the Parsonage, a small house with the gable to the Street, where J. Aytons Store stands - a Guard House where the Cathedral now stands, with a flag staff where Fletchers Bakers shop stands - Father down were one or two small houses, and at the back of Sheppersons Store<sup>26</sup> a thatched building, called the Somerset

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17. William Thackwray (or Thackary), of William Smith's party. Records, XII, 427.
18. Ann Edkins, of Smith's party. The infant was probably Joseph Edkins; see below, p.18. Records, XII, 427.
19. J.F. Cornfield (or Comfield), of Smith's party. Records, XII, 427.
20. Carey Hobson was 12 years old at the time; Stubbs probably means his elder brother, David, aged 22, and both of Smith's party. Records, XII, 427.
21. There were two "Settlers' Relief Funds," one started by Capt. Moresby, and the other sponsored by Lord Charles Somerset after his return to the Cape on 30/11/1821. This was short-lived, so Stubbs probably means the former, or private, Fund. Records, XVI, 281; Cory, II, 163-166.
22. The "Graham's Town Club" was formed in 1864 by Sir Walter Currie and George Wood, jun. (Deed of Transfer No. 516, 13/9/64). In 1820 this was the site of the Messenger's House; the doctor, W. Milton, lived elsewhere. D.H. Thomson, A Short History of Grahamstown, p.9.

Arms, where Mandys House stands was a Battery, and across the street at the back of the Church, stood the Artillery Barrack that was the one side, on the other was a House at the top of High Street occupied by Mr P Retief, who was afterwards Murdered by Dingaan - Natal, Next him the Commisst.

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9.

Stores - a few small houses further down -- on Settlers Hill were some Huts - the Barracks at Fort England - A Battery on Market Square and one on the side of Hill going to Otlands as also a Black hole - the Wind mill & small Cottages - a Large Thorn Tree stood in the middle of high street - just opposite W. Haws Store it stood there in remembrance of Col Graham<sup>27</sup> off saddling under it when he first came up to form a Town. I think it fell down about 1844 or 5. J. Loxton perhaps could tell for he had a Barbers shop just opposite Old Bertram had a Store and had over his door Nagotie Winkel<sup>28</sup> - the Settlers thought it was his name, and always called him Old Nigerty Winkle. There was also an Old Fellow, called Johnny Cromhoud<sup>29</sup> - he was Sexton, Saddler, Harness maker Upholsterer, Auctioneer & & &. - When he had a Sale, he would go about the Town, with a piece of copper plate & a stick, beating it and calling out to warn people of such a fact. He generally commenced his Sale with, This sale is held on account of Peter Retief, no credit for the Settlers.

I must not forget a disgusting sight; that stood just above, where Albany Brethern Lodge now stands, close to Dundas Bridge<sup>30</sup> - It was a Gallows, and on each side was a Pole with a pulley at the Top, and two cross bars lower down, they were used for the purpose of Strangling, which was done by tying the arms, and pulling them up by the neck with a jerk to the block above They were also used for flogging, I recollect

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10.

A Man named Jones, he had been discharged from the Royal Africans, My Father gave him a piece of land to build a House and to Cultivate - He was a married Man - and She was a remarkable good honest, industrious Woman, He was a hardworking fellow, but he was also a hard drinking fellow, after he had built the House and made a Garden, He took a trip to Grahams Town and found two Horses feeding near the Town, It then struck him, that a trip to Uitenhage would benefit his health, so caught them, and started off - But unfortunately for him on his arrival at Uitenhage - the very Man who had, had charge of the Horses, (for his Master who was a Store Keeper there, had started for Grahams Town a few days before) Met Mr. Jones who offered to sell him the two Horses and stated he had bought them in Grahams Town. The Man said allright come with me, and handed him over to the Jailor, Poor Jones was marched to Grahams Town - tried and sentenced to be scourged under the Gallows and hard labour for five years - The scourging was performed in this way - a pole fastened across the Gallows - the hands fastened in such a way as to bring the body against the Pole and cause the back to slope forward - The executioner then commenced to scourge with a bunch of quince cuttings, that had drawn through the fire, and mixed with a lot of split cane - a bunch in each hand he stood behind the Prisoner, and did not flog across the back as with the cats, but along the strait down the back, and cut

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23. W.R. Thompson. Ibid.

24. A.B. Dietz. Ibid.

25. W. Wathall, deputy sheriff and canteen keeper. Ibid.

26. B.M. Shepperson, Draper, a later foundation. G.T.J. 7/8/1845.

27. Col. John Graham (1778-1821) who founded Grahamstown in 1812. Notes & News, VII, 56.

28. "Negotie Winkel", or all purpose store. Cf. G.T.J. 3/9/1853.

29. J.M. Cromhout was Deputy Messenger to the Court, and Sexton and Bell-ringer to the Anglican Establishment. (Almanac, 1820, 1827). His stock phrase at his auction sales was: "drie monts Krediet for de Christemans - no Krediet for de Settlaar," which speaks volumes for the condition of the Settlers, and Cromhout's good sense. L.H. Meurant, Sixty Years Ago, p.81. See Stubbs, II, 181.

11.

the flesh off in strips, then a quantity of coarse salt rubbed in - that was what they called scourging under the Gallows

After the Settlers arrived on their Locations, they were not allowed to go to Town without a pass except the heads of Parties, and when they did go they had great difficulty to get accommodation I have heard some say - they had to apply to the Commandant (Col Somerset)<sup>31</sup> to get an order to be allowed to sleep in the Tronk No one could ever leave his District, without a Colonial pass - he had a chance of being brought back by the Field Cornet -

There was a tax called Op Gaaf which had to be paid every year - The country being overrun with wild Beasts, the Government offered a certain price for the heads of various animals for a tiger Rds 25 - Wolf-Rds 5, and so on - when the heads were brought to the office, the ears were cut off, and you got a receipt for them (but, no money, these receipts were tokens as payment of the Op Gaaf -

The Hottentots were the principal labour, they were obliged to have a Master - and to carry a pass - if any were found without, they were put into Prison untill contracted to some White Master for one year - at that time they were good servants, and would have remained so, had it not been for that abominable false Philanthropy, which made them free and ruined them, We should have had no Hottentot rebellion - and they would still have been an industrious people - for after their freedom thousands perished with Cape Smoke.

12.

They were a people that required to be under control, both for their own benefit and the Public; The same as the Slaves in this Country, I had a very good opportunity of seeing how the Slaves were treated by their Masters on the Frontiers, and I can say with few exceptions, they were treated well But, as soon as they were liberated, and mixed up with the freed Hottentots, they took to drink, were too lazy to work - and many of them starved to death - Where are they, and the Hottentots now 1874, not to be found, They have to thank the London Missry for a great deal of it - for it was principally through them, they rebelled and joined the Caffres in the War against the Whites.

The London Missionary Society, called I believe the Aboriginees Protection Society<sup>32</sup> - have been the greatest enemies of the Natives ever since we have been in the Colony - they have published to the World that the Natives were always oppressed by the Farmers in the Colony, Now I can state without fear of contradiction that is, by any Honest, experienced Man that the Frontier Farmers are, and always have been, the greatest friend to the Native and, have done more to Civilize them, than any other part of the Community, Missionaries included - Talk to any Kaffir or Fingoe, who has acumited property in the Colony, and who have been taught to wear clothes and use other articles of Civilization, how it is, He will tell you when I first went to my Master a Farmer, I had nothing and Knew

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30. Named after Maj. William Bolden Dundas, R.A., Landdrost of Albany 1825-1827, and Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset 1827-1828. Almanac, 1828.

31. Capt. Henry Somerset, (1794-1862), son of Lord Charles. From 20/10/1819 to May 1821 he was Acting Deputy Landdrost of Grahamstown in the absence Maj. Fraser. The commandant of the frontier in 1820 was Lieut.-Col. T. Willshire. Notes & News, VII, 56-7; XIII, 287-8; Goldswain, I, p.25 note.

32. Stubbs' sarcasm?

13.

nothing - I was a raw Caffer. But by always working for the Farmer, I have been taught to almost become an English Man, and have got all this property you see - My Master always paid and fed me and gave me ground to cultivate - and for my Stock to run on - Look at the generality of them that have been brought up by the Protection Society, They have learnt to read and write, but not to work, some can play the Piano. They can drink lots of Cape Smoke - and are clever at robbing the Farmer and have become so remarkably clever, that they can Forge drafts and Rs Notes - I will here give the experience of a Missry at Shiloh - his name is Stephanos,<sup>33</sup> he says he came to Shiloh eleven years ago (1863) - There were not many that read and write at that time, and there was only one on the Station who was given to Drink and that was a Hottentot Woman, But now they nearly all could read and write - and they nearly all could drink brandy, even to the Children, and were continually getting drunk, When asked what good had been done for the Natives - if he considered the education they had received, had improved their condition, He could only answer by shrugging his shoulders - They have each a small strip of land to cultivate, and as soon as they can reap their crops and sell it they drink it out, and have to, either steal or beg untill they get the next, for they wont work. They are a bad lot of Hottentots, Caffers Bushmen, Mantatees &c &c &c.

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14.

Old Bobby as we always called him, was a great favourite with us all, He was one of the most Honest - Industrious, faithful fellows in the World To shew his industry, he got an order in Grahams for two wheelbarrows, which, he made at our place about twenty miles from Town, not being able to get a conveyance for them, put one into the other, and actually wheeled them into Town and walked home - poor Old fellow his honesty was sorely tried one day ( we all had our guns, amunition was very scarce) Old Bobby took his Gun out shooting, and having fired off his last charge, called at Browns, and, Brown being away from home, asked Mrs. Brown to let him have a little Powder out of Browns Flask, finding it nearly full, could not resist the temptation, so having a large Duck gun, filled the barrels three parts full, put some paper on the top and started, he came home and, forgot to take out the Powder, but, put the Gun into its place and went to work, some time after, My Mother saw two Crows trying to robs a liens nest, close to the end of the House, She took up the gun and looked in the pan (They were all flint locks in those days) and seeing it was loaded, called Old Bobby to shoot the crows, He took the Gun, forgetting the theft of the Powder, crept round the end of the House to within a few yards of them & fired, the Crows were pretty well burned and he was knocked on the broad of his back. After picking himself up, he said - that just serves me wright, for I stole that Powder from Mrs. Brown, I believe that was the only dishonest act he ever committed - (This ought to be at page 18)

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15.

My Father had two holes dug in the ground like two Saw Pitts, Old Bobby and I had to fetch the Poles for the roof - He cut one Pole to stand at the end to support the roof, it was Milk wood that was in 1823 - the Pole was planted in the ground - and when I was there last War 1852 that Pole was still standing, I shewed some of the Men with me where we cut it, and larger tree had grown out of the stump.

One day I and my Brother William were out with the Cattle - about a Mile and half from Home, we had taken some of cloths off, and left them in an empty House that had been built by one of our Men (Jones mentioned in another part of these notes) the Cattle were feeding near the Coombs Bush, all at once I felt a curious sensation, as if something serious was to happen, I told William how I felt, and he immediately said he felt, the same and that we had better go towards home (we were both so frightened that it was some time before we could muster courage to fetch our cloths from the House, we got them and never stopped untill

we were in sight of the Home, My Father wanted to Know we had brought the Cattle so early, we told him how had felt He told us to Keep in sight of the House, what could it have been, we have often talked about it since

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[Page 16 is blank]

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17.

Arriving at Stoney Vale - we found the walls of an Old House and also a tramp floor, we were given to understand the original occupiers a Dutch Family, had been murdered by Caffers there was a laughable scene - Old Thackwray on being ofloaded took possession of the ruins but the Wife and Doctor Clarke - (He was the Head of Clarkes Party, now called Collingham he brought out a Party, mostly of young Men from the Penetentiary) She claimed the ruins as she said the Field Cornet had told her thus, that was on her Husbands Location, so as fast as Thackwray put his tross within the old walls, her and her Men put them out I must remark there was no roof on this ruin at last I think Thackwray got possession and She and her Men had to go back to Collingham - we were told by the Field Cornet who had charge of the train - that we were to get our rations at Bathurst, but where that was nobody Knew We found out it was about eighteen Miles off by a Caffer foot path, over a very rugged Country, But about thirty by a waggon road (if it could be called that name). My Father and Family were put down here in Mistake, as our Location was about eight miles further on, at the Caffer Clay Pitts<sup>34</sup> - Brown with his Party were taken on - There was a great to do ofloading, pitching tents and making preparations to cook some food, We had some Sheep and Cattle, we received in Grahams Town for rations, It was a very dreary looking place - especially to

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18.

to us, We had not been there many days, when there was a great uproar in the Camp - every body, Men, Women and Children, turned out, the Wild Dogs had chased the sheep into the Camp and refused to give them up untill some shots were fired at them, shortly after this Mrs. Edkins on leaning over a Camp Kettle she had boiling with soup, let her Infant slip off her back into it, at the time I am writing this (1875) there are several of that Burnt Childs Children - grown up Men in Queens Town.

My Father and Family having been ofloaded at Stoney Vale and, Brown and the others of our Party being carried on to the Clay Pitts, about ten Miles further towards Cafferland made it very awkward for my

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34. The Clay Pitts, the location of Stubbs and Brown, were on the Kap River (see map). The clay consisted of a highly ferruginous shale i.e. hydroxide of iron diffused through clay. (See, E.D. Mountain, The Geology of an Area East of Grahamstown, p.46). The red clay was highly prized by the Xhosa who used it to dye Karosses and later blankets, for general ornamental purposes, and at the end of the circumcision rites when it had a symbolic value i.e. readmission to society and a state of normality. (See M. de Lange, "Some Traditional Cosmetic Practices of the Xhosa," in Annals of the Cape Provincial Museums, Vol. III, August 1963, pp. 86-95). In 1822 the government attempted to barter the day for Kaffir produce, so a military post was built near-by to control the clay fairs (L.A.C., I, 45-7; cf. Records, XV, 17.) As late as 1877 clay from these pits was advertised for sale as far afield as Queenstown. (Q.T.F.P. 17/8/1877). At the pits the Xhosa soon proved troublesome when they had to barter for the clay (Goldswain, I, 44; L.A.C., I, 40) and so the location became known among the Settlers as "the Forlorn Hope". Dugmore, Reminiscences, p.17.

Father, who had that distance once week to look after the Men - the Family could not be moved untill we got some sort of Vehicle, and trained some Cattle to the yoke

One night as my Father was returning from the Clay Pitts on foot, with a couple of feet of an Ox they had Killed that day, in a sack over his shoulder, when within about two miles of our Camp, He saw what he thought to be three wolves who had smelt his Cow heel, But, on coming closer they all stood up, and as he said had each a bundle of sticks in their hands, and skins round their bodys He thought they were Hottentots who felt inclined either to take him Prisoner or, take his feet, so he turned round, called out all sorts of names, and beckened as if there .....

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19.

were a lot more of his people coming on behind, it had the desired effect, for the three Caffers (for such they were), Bolted and he came in safety and, laughed while telling us how he had taken them in,

He told my Mother that night, and move to where the Men were, as they were not doing any good, he had told one man to plant some potatoes, and when he went to look he found the fellow had merely dug some large turfs, and had put a potatoe under each (that was the last was seen of them.

My Father managed to get a waggon, But now came the tug of war - the Oxen, yokes and riems, had to be manufactured; (page 14) Old Bobby, our Wheelwright, began making yokes and skeys, all the ropes from the Packages were collected, so it was not long before every thing was ready, The Oxen we had, had been supplied by Government as rations, were as wild as bucks, every thing being now ready, all hands in the Camp turned out to assist, the Oxen were surrounded, and were frightened almost to madness seeing so many strange looking People, I suppose they had never seen Men in tail coats and Knee breeches before; after much running and sweating, six of them were caught and made fast to the bushes, as it took nearly all day, it was arranged they should remain fast untill the morning. It was not considered safe to put them to the waggon at first; so a large bush was fastened to the end of a

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20.

of a stout rope which was to answer for a trek tow and yokes fastened on, the inspanning commenced, after many Knocks down and Kicks and runs after Oxen that had pulled away - they were got into the yokes, a Man holding each Ox by a rope. All was now ready for a start, but, as there was some doubt about the Oxen understanding English, a long consultation took place; at last it was decided that Old Fancutt, (One of My Fathers Men) who had driven a Cart and Horse in Convent Garden Market before leaving England was the Man) he had brought his cart whip out with him and he had noticed on the road from the Bay the Boers called out Trek, Trek lope

Old Fancut said now Master if you are ready we will begin, he had hardly got the words Trek out, when the Oxen started at full gallop off into the Veldt, leaving some who were holding them lying on the broad of their backs, the rest chasing and hallowing after them like mad, Old F standing with his whip on shoulder and well! I'm blowed if they'nt off with a vengeance, that's sartain. They were soon out of sight towards the Fish river bush. After another consultation (for I must remark they always had a meeting before anything could be done) It was arranged they should go in search, some to go one way and, some another; off they started, but, not Knowing the country, soon were lost. There were .....

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at that time a great many foot paths in all directions, made by the Game, which was very plentiful, so that when the search for the Oxen was given up and, they wished to return to Camp took the wrong way, and, instead of reaching it had to remain in the Veldt all night, The next day the commenced again but, acted more wisely, for they took some pieces of rag, and as they proceeded fastened them on the bushes as they went along; But this also bothered them, for as, they went in different directions, the one party returning found the rags fastened by the others, which led them on their spoor, it was laughable to hear their different tales they told on their return, they at last managed to span them in allright and get them to work on the waggon- of course they were soon taught to understand English. it was Gee wo't comehither wo't - their Names, were Castor & Polax in front; Ginger & Alequin Belly next, Punch and Wildman behind.

Having all things now ready the waggon was loaded up with some of our Goods and started - Old Fancutt driving, my Father who was upwards of six foot, and walked with a long stick was to lead. (I must here remark, the waggons at that time were not as now - they would consider twenty five hundred weight a good load, now it is 8 or 10,000) They had reached the descent to Drivers Bush when Old Fancutt said Master I think as how we had better lock her (Meaning to reim the waggon), My Father thought

thought he could Keep them back, as he had a good stick in his hand, the had not gone far, before the oxen began going faster and faster, untill they ran, my Father calling out Who'a wo't to no purpose, he beat back the front oxen untill they were nearly level with the hind ones, when he let them go, they ran some distance out of the road - over and Ant hill and, over went the Waggon, Old Fancutt said, I told you Sir she ought to have locked what is to be done now, we can't get her up without assistance, and we can't take the Oxen out, as they will run away, so it was agreed to tie the Front ones to a tree and go home for help, they did so, and returned the next morning with all hands, got the waggon righted, picked up the pieces of the Furniture and reached the Clay Pitts that night Now we had got the Party altogether the oxen trained - Ploughing was commenced wheat, Oats &c. sown, but, which all took the rust and we reaped nothing.

My Father found it would not do to Keep on with Mr. Brown as he was no Farmer<sup>35</sup> but interfered in what he did not understand so they agreed to dissolve Partnership - they had bought some Cattle by this time, My Father proposed to Brown, that, the one should have the choice of the Oxen & the other the choice of the Cows, Brown took the Oxen, my Father the Cows, both parties were satisfied, it then came to the Men & Families they had brought out, after a time it was left to the Men themselves

But most of the Men wished to leave, my Father took Bobby Renolds - Tom Foss and a man named Warner - he soon after left with the others and went to Graham Town Our Establishment, then consisted of My Father, Mother four Boys and one Girl (Mrs. Shaw)<sup>36</sup> Mainman, a young Yorkshire who came out with my Father - Thomas Hood, Son of my Mothers Sister, he came out in the Salem Party, was afterwards a Minister - married to a Miss Hockly, they both died about 1864 and left two Daughters) - Renolds & Tom Foss

My Father had his tents removed about a Mile and a half from Brown, and Ploughed up a large Field, mad preparations to build a House - Mainman and I were to make bricks but he was a very lazy fellow, which suited me at the time, when my Father spoke to him about getting

35. Both Stubbs and Brown were entered as "agriculturalists" on the Embarkation Lists. Records, XII, 424-5.

36. Eleanor Stubbs married William Shaw on 5/11/1835. G.T.J. 19/11/1835; below n. 54. and note 83.

on so slow, he said, dos't ye think I can hug watter - and mak steins  
and hug en too Tam waint work, so the brick making was  
knocked off - Mainman left, and went to live at Wainwrights,<sup>37</sup> married  
the Daughter and was lost after sailing out of the Cowie I recalled  
one day Mainman was helping to inspan and Old Bullock, named Devilman  
he had a piece of rope round his horns as he pulled, the Ox stood  
sniffing at him Mainman called out Devilman yok, and presently the  
rope broke, Mainman fell on his rump, the Ox still standing looking at  
him, whe Mainman said you Damn snuff taking auld bugger, and then gave  
up the job, and walked off -

[For newspaper cutting included here in MS., see Appendix II.]

24.

It was now arranged that I and my Brother, William were to herd the  
Cattle, we had to take our books, with us to learn lessons set by my  
Mother, and say them when we came home at night, this went on for some  
time untill a young Lad named Williams,<sup>38</sup> while herding cattle at Stoney  
Vale, (he was reading his book), was murdered by Caffers and his body  
thrown into a Vley (In talking to old George Wood some years after  
he said - it was his turn to mind the cattle that day, but Williams  
was sent instead

Our books were now exchanged for Guns Shortly after this  
affair, My Father happened to meet Robert Anderson in Graham Town  
he was a Son of Mr Anderson of Bathurst, before leaving England they  
were Neighbours of ours Robert came home with my Father, and after  
spending a few days with us, started for home - it was about eighteen  
Miles across country, My Father went a part of the road to shew  
him the nearest foot path through the Cap river bush (My Father had to

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37. Jonathan Wainwright, a head of party. Thomas Mainman probably  
married Anne (or possibly Ellen) Wainwright. Records, XIV, 241;  
XII, 456.

38. Isaac Williams, killed in 1821. 538 of 1836, p.26.

go the same path once a Month to muster at the round hill (Mount Donkin) in the Albany Levy,<sup>39</sup> My Father went about six Miles, & returned, Poor Robert<sup>40</sup> was never seen after and nothing found for a long time

25.

He had a lot of English letters and papers with him, tied up in a Hankerchief, One day as I and my Brother John where herding Cattle on the top of the Cap River hill, close to the foot path, Robert had taken (we were amusing our-selves roling stones down the hill, when we came upon the remains of Roberts Handkf and papers, they had been put under a large stone, the grass had been burned and the greater part of the Hankf and papers, Nother more was ever seen or heard of him, although search was made in every direction.

Just about this time a Young Boy named Slowmon<sup>41</sup> was murdered close to Mount Donkin he was also herding Cattle - There was nothing that I am aware of done in either case by the Government.

I believe it was the Law of the Colony, for all Caffers found in the Colony, to be shot, still they we always proling about, If we left any Iron out it was sure to be stolen,<sup>42</sup> One night the stole the screw out of our Vice, which was fixed close to our tents, We often saw them, and from my experience since it seems wonderfull we were not all Murdered for we had not the leat protection, as the nearest Military Post was twelve Miles from us, We certainly did see a Patrol now and then, but they were very far a part, and then when they did come we had to Keep our eyes open. I recollect once a Patrole of the Royal Africans<sup>43</sup> came to Mr. Browns, He had been unpacking a case of goods from England had gone into the House, for something - and on coming out, found some of them very busy

26.

with the case, What the Divil are you doing there said he, Oc'h its only looking for white mice we are, then you can just save yourselves the trouble, and take yourselves off. Such was the protection we had on the immediate borders of Caffer land.

1821 We now commenced to build a House with clay, a layer was laid about one foot high and eighteen inches thick and pared off when nearly dry with a large Hay Knife, and as it became dry, another layer was put on

Shortly after we had commenced the House a Caffer Interpreter came and brought a Pass from an Officer at Fort Wiltshire<sup>44</sup> for five hundred Caffers to get red clay at our place<sup>45</sup> the next day they

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39. The "Albany Armed Inhabitants" was formed on 4/10/1822 and disbanded on 18/3/1825. It consisted of two troops of mounted men (50 each), and five divisions of infantry (100 men each). Records, XV, 108; G.G. 19/3/1825.
40. Robert Anderson was 28 when killed in 1822.
41. Mark Sloman aged 8, and Thomas Donovan aged 12, were killed on 20/8/1823. Albany Magistrates Records, Vol. 8/74; Cory, II, 141.
42. Such instances were frequent as the Xhosa used the iron for assegai blades. Philipps, pp. 132,152; L.A.C., I, 50.
43. The Royal African Corps, a penal unit, raised for service on the East Coast. From 1817 there were 6 companies at the Cape, till disbanded on 24/6/1821. Records, XI, 363; XIV, 3; Notes & News, IX, 136 note.
44. Named after Lieut.-Col. Thomas Willshire (1789-1862) of the 38th Regt. He served at the Cape 1818-1822, and commanded the forces during the Fifth Frontier War in 1819. Notes & News, IX, 136.
45. Probably in January 1821. L.A.C., I, 27.

arrived, the Men chiefly on Pack Oxen the women on foot, there could not have been less than 8 to 1000, But there was no protection sent for our Stock and us My Father would not allow us Boys to go with the Cattle, they ran without a herd, and I must here say although this sort of thing lasted for about eight months, we never lost a Beast

The Caffers brought a great quantity of Ivory they had the Camp about three Miles from us on the Coombs river, We bought a large quantity for Beeds and buttons, for a large tooth, we gave from sixty to eighty Bell buttons some times as much as One Hundred, we gave about the same for an Ox; The first Ox we bought was a large Red one - we gave seventy five buttons for

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27.

he was a large red Ox with horns turned a little backwards. My Father wanted one of us to ride him - but as we hesitated He mounted him and rode him about half a Mile from the Hous allright, But when he turned back towards the Kraal, he came at full trot, and when He tried to pull him up the beast put up his nose & and struck my Father across his legs, much to our amusement, I shall never forget my Fater on dismounting, turning to my Mother & rubbing his legs, said Nancy,<sup>46</sup> I have riden a Pack Bullock once, But, if I ride another I'm D--d, - He turned out a splended trotter, I have started from our place in the morning with a couple of sucking Pigs in a basket fastened between his horns, sold them in Grahams Town (a distance of about twenty Miles, and been home the same night, with the proceeds in Tea and sugar.

The best Ox we bought had a white face and four white legs, He was a bronze and had short loose horns about as long as your finger he was what the English would call a Poll He was always as sleek as any Stable Horse We called him Skew Ball, he would travel with any middling Horse. This sort of thing was carried on for about eight Months, when it was recommended to the Government by that wise Landrost, Harry Rivers,<sup>47</sup> Alias pumpkin guts, Alias Humbug) That it should be put a stop to as he considered the Clay too valuable for the Caffers to get for nothing, and also to put a stop to our trading with them He was doing a stunning trade himself

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28.

By sending Boesak, Capt of the Hottentots at Theopolos, to trade under the pretense of shooting Elephants (of which the Country was full at that time)<sup>48</sup> A Company of Soldiers of the 6th. Regement under a Capt. Duke, they pitched their tents about half a mile from us and commenced to build a Fort close to the Clay Pitts, the Soldiers fired at some Caffers getting clay and one of them reached Cafferland Now commenced out troubles, the Caffers stole our Cattle - Murdered a Man named Johnstone<sup>49</sup> in the Cap river, shortly after; Mahonys waggon was bringing a load of Poles from the bush when they were attacked by Caffers, Old Mr Freemantle was on the waggon, His Son John leading, they were both murdered, the other Son Samuel escaped with an assagie through his leg, and Man name Dick Wilton made his escape after having a tussul with a Caffer, the Caffers cut the Oxen loose and made off with them, Samuel Freemantle gave the alarm to the Soldier, who fetched the two bodies home, where I saw them (There was no notice taken of it by the Government)<sup>50</sup>

My Father was continually buying Cattle in Grahams Town, and the Caffers were now continually stealing them, so that his funds ran out, the only chance to get Cattle was to go to Cafferland at the Fish river,

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46. Ann Campbell Stubbs.

47. Henry Rivers, landdrost of Albany from 7/12/1821 to 21/1/1825, when he was transferred to Swellendam. L.A.C., I, 41, 73.

48. Lieut. Thomas Duke, 6th Regt. Almanac, 1822.

49. Robert Johnson, killed in 1822 or 1823.

50. Richard Freemantle and his son, John, killed on 23/8/1822; Samuel Freemantle was wounded, while Richard Wilmot escaped without injury. L.A.C., I, 46-7; Philipps, pp.133-4.

and trade for Beeds and Buttons, as this was against the law, Patroles were continually sent out to intercept them) On their last trip Edward Driver came from Nottingham Party and joined my Father for it

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29.

My Father, E. Driver, my Cousins T. Hood and my Brother John, started to Trumperte Drift on the Fish river, on Horse back with a lot of Beeds and buttons to exchange with the Caffers for Cattle & Ivory - On their way home with about eighty head of Cattle & a lot of Ivory - My Brother & T Hood were riding on in front of the Cattle, my Father and Driver driving on behind - all went well untill they arrived At Frazers Camp, on the top of Trumperte Hill when the two in front saw a fire and some waggons outspanned, the rode back to tell my Father & Driver, My Father rode to the front, and was immediately surrounded by a lot of Hottentots, who wanted to make a Prisoner, but as he threatened to shoot the first man that laid hold of him, they left him and took possession of the Cattle My Father rode back to look for the others but only found Driver (thinking My Brother & Hood had made off towards Home, done the same, About 11 O'clock that night, My Mother and I, had just gone to bed when Driver Knocked at the door - he told us the Cattle had been taken by the Hottentots and, that my Father and the other two would be home directly - He said I must take his Horse and start of to Hobsons<sup>51</sup> (about 8 Miles with a letter, and that if I met any one I was to destroy it, rather than give it up, I started and gave the letter to Hobsons, and started towards Home

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30.

On descending a steep hill just opposite where Dredge's House stands at Drivers Bush, when I saw a lot of darke objects coming towards me, I called out who comes there, but no answer, so tried to ride back up the hill, but the horse refused to move I called again, no answer - I then dismounted and picked up some stones, when I heard voice call out Friend, I waited untill they came up, and found My Brother & Hood Prisoner, on the road to Grahams Town - escorted by a lot of Mounted Hottents - I asked my Brother in a low tone, where Father was, he had just time to say he did not know, When a Fellow in Command ordered them to March on, it was a miserable ride I had home after that - I found my Mother up, But no Father - on my giving Driver the letter, he started off home (He lived then at the Nottingham Party not far from Bathurst) Now comes one of the greatest trials I ever had.

I milked a Cow or two and was with my Brother William driving our few remaining Cattle to the Veldt, when we met my Father being brought home on a Stretcher by a lot of soldiers of the 6th Regt., he had been Murdered by Caffers, his Horse was found tied to a tree not far from where he had been found, with an assagie in his neck the stirrup irons were cut from the saddle his gun was close by - both barrells had misfired - and appeared as if he had fought with the But end of it. He had one wound through his body between the

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31.

Shoulders, one in the throat, and one in the groin. I will leave anyone who reads this to imagine the state of my Mothers feelings My Father lying in the house Murdered My Eldest Brother and Cousin in Prison and her with a Baby - (My Sister Mary Ann afterwards married to Octavius Bowker)<sup>52</sup> We found out by the spoor that my Father and Driver after leaving the Hottentots had ridden to gether untill, they came to the edge of a deep Kloof where they saw some Cattle - Driver's spoor then turned off - and it appeared my Father Knowing the Cattle to be his came on - and there met his death - The night before, I and my Mother had been Keeping a look out for the return of My Father and Party, and

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51. This was David Hobson.

52. See Appendix "A".

had just gone inside, when we heard a noise towards our Cattle Kraal - we both went out, and heard whistling - My Mother remarked, how very like Men whistling those birds are, But looking towards a foot path, that run through a rush bed, some distance from the front of the House, we saw some of our Cattle running when, I started after them (it was a beautiful moonlight night) after running a long way I saw some one driving them at a great rate and finding I could not overtake them I returned and told my Mother - It was these Cattle, my Father had met, that had been stolen by Caffers, and it was them that Murdered my Father -----

My Father was taken to Grahams Town to be buried, my Brother John and Tom Hood -----

32.

were allowed to attend the Funeral ---<sup>53</sup> They were afterwards tried by the Landrost and Neeraden, and sentenced to six Months imprisonment, the cattle Horses, Ivory, Guns &c. Confiscated, But they were liberated the Next day, When Hood laid information against Boosak, Capt of the Hottentots - for having two waggon laden with Ivory they had bought from the Caffers - there was a Mock trial - the ivory was seized - and that ended this affair - It was satisfactorily proved that Boosak was employed by Harry Rivers the then Landrost, to trade with the Caffers under the pretense of shooting Elephants<sup>54</sup>

\* There were a great many in the Country at that time. Driver and John Thackwray shot a great many not far from our House at the Clay Pitts, John Thackwray was afterwards Killed by one in the Fish river Bush, he had a gun that carried a quarter pound ball, it got out of order and, left in Grahams Town to be repaired - so that he was obliged to borrow another All that was Known about his death was, from the Hottentot he had with him, He said his Master picked out a large Bull Elephant in a Troop, and fired at him, he fell - John & the Hottentot, we watching which way the remainder of the troop ran, when the Hottentot called out; the Elephant had risen and, was coming on, they both ran - Thackwray loading his gun the Elephant Knocked the Hottentot

33.

down, and made after Thackwray, who turned round to shoot him, the gun misfired, and the Elephant caught him round the waist, that was all the Hottentot Knew he was found sitting by the side of the Fort Beaufort road almost unconscous, when the body was found, it was almost naked - there was a black mark round the body like a black belt, one tusk had been thrust through the thigh, Thus ended one of the bravest Elephant Hunters in those days, he had been Known to shoot seven Elephants out of one Troop before they got away, I have heard Driver<sup>55</sup> say that he was the coolest man he ever saw On one occasion those two were returning home; and were riding up the Old road from Committees, passed the spits Kop - Thackwray was in front, when they heard a noise in front - and directly after, Driver called out - look out for the Rhinoceros and got out of the road, but before Thackwray could turn his horse - the Beast caught him, and completely took the horse from under him, leaving Thackwray on his stern on the foot path, he said by the Mortal Man - I will have a shot at him for that and fired - he was obliged to walk home, as the horse was so

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53. John Stubbs was 45 years old when buried at Grahamstown on 25/6/1823 by Rev. William Geary. Burial Register of St. George's Church, Entry No. 5.

54. Elephants were protected game from 21/3/1822 to 24/8/1822. G.G. 23/3/1822; 24/8/1822.

\* The asterisk is in the original text, and refers to page 33.

55. Edward Driver married Ann Thackwray, sister of John Thackwray, on 6/10/1825. J.A.C., I, 82.

much injured.

\* There was not the least trouble taken by the Government to punish the Thieves and Murderers -

Field Cornet Currie<sup>56</sup> (Father of Sir Walter came to take an inventory of the goods

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34.

to send to the Orphan Chamber in Cape Town, But is was arranged, My Mother was to Keep possession as long as She lived.

About six months after my Fathers Murder the Fort was only partly finished, when the Troops were withdrawn. and were left to the Mercy of the enraged Caffers, We moved into the part of the Fort that was finished, My Mother was breaking very fast evidently heart broken, shortly after we moved the Caffers stole another lot of our Cattle I and my Brother John were out after them, when we saw my Brother William coming to look for us - That meeting, Ah, that meeting, was to inform us that our Mother had died<sup>57</sup> - one of the most loving Christian Good Mothers that ever left England, it fell on us like a dream, She had been confined about eight Months before with my Brother George Campbell<sup>58</sup> (Campbell after her) There was a home to return to My Brother John the eldest only about seventeen years Old - the youngest only eight Months, there was no Females near us to help, untill a Daughter of Thackwrays came for a short time, I was obliged to wash and dress the Baby, and wash the cloths, I must pass over the next few months)

The Orphan Chamber took all we had

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35.

And sold them by Public Auction, Major Dundass<sup>59</sup> was Landrost at the time, and bought largely of the splendid linen goods, my Mother brought out (they were not to be had in the Colony) On the day of the sale I and W. Shaw who was leaving in Groblors Kloof at the time where I was on a visit, came to Grahams Town He on the Pack Ox Skew Ball and I on another called Prince, we had just got as far as where the old Wesleyan Chapel no stands when, we saw Mr. Cloete<sup>60</sup> and Harry Rivers who was still in Grahams, walking arm in arm, I gave my Bullack a cut with my sambok, and the Brute shyed and shoved his head between them, they got as great a fright as I - they called out for the Police to take us to the Tronk, Butt we rode full gallop up the High street, round by the Tronk - and off Home.

Our Famaly was now to be broken up which came very hard upon us, as, we had always been, while our Parents were alive as happy as Princes - Tom Hood my Cousin, took a situation in a Store with Mr. D. Lewis in Grahams Town, My Eldest Brother John was bound to Mr. Welsford<sup>61</sup> (Merchant also in Grahams Town - I to Old Mr. Thackwray to learn Waggon making, Old George Wood Now the Honorable M L. A<sup>62</sup> was apprentied but

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56. Walter Currie, sen., died at Grahamstown on 22/7/1836, aged 52. G.T.J. 28/7/1836.

57. Ann Stubbs was 43 when she was buried in Grahamstown on 10/7/1824 by the Rev. William Geary. Burial Register of St. George's Church, Entry No. 33.

58. Born 27/12/1823, and baptised on 16/11/1824 by Rev. Thomas Ireland. Baptism Register of St. George's Church, Entry No. 127.

59. See note 30.

60. Daniel Johannes Cloete, Agent to the Orphan Chamber. M.O., O.C. 14/156.

61. According to the records of the Orphan Chamber, John Stubbs went as apprentice to Mr. Ogelvie, gunsmith. M.O., O.C. 14/156.

62. Stubbs is in error here: he refers to George Wood, sen., M.L.C. 1854-1857, and 1862-1882. George Wood, jun. was a member of the House of Assembly. R. Kilpin, The Romance of a Colonial Parliament, pp. 135, 161.

was considered too, stupid to learn he has proved himself far from being a fool, My Brother William was apprentised to Ben Wright, Saddler, the same time a H. Now the Revd Dugmore<sup>63</sup>; My Sister

36.

Ellen (Now Mrs. W. Shaw to live with the Thackwrays, My Sister Mary Ann Now Mrs Octavious Bowker, was taken by Mr. Wilmot at Bathurst, they having no Children adopted her as their own, My Brother Richard Tiplady died shortly after we came to Town,<sup>64</sup> My Brother George Campbell the Infant was taken by Old Mr Hart of Somerset.<sup>65</sup>

I have stated before that Tom Hood turned to be a Missionary, and died in Long Kloof, My Brother John after having many situation went to Port Natal, and was killed by the Zulus<sup>66</sup> - I remained with Thackwray for about six Months when he sent me and G Wood to the Forest on Drivers Hill with a waggon to cut wood, on our arriving at Collingham I left the waggon and went to Shaws place in Groblars Kloof, it was Saturday, the next morning Robert, & John Shaw who were Murdered by the Caffers 1834-35)<sup>67</sup> William Shaw had made up to have a ride on their Pack Oxen, but I had to take a wild brute, that had never carried a white Man - off we started down the Kloof to Liversages place<sup>68</sup> who Kept a Smuggling house, and nothing would, but, we must have some Cape smoke the sun was rather hot, so it made us pretty lively, We had not gone far before we must have a race off we started, my Ox commenced to bellow and bucking and put me on the broad of my back, I was soon on again and off untill we came to a deep hole of water, and nothing would do but swim my Ox this made him almost mad, we started again

37.

and had not gone far before he pitched me onto his horns, running one into my ear, which has made me deaf ever since, the other horn into my stomach, throwing me into the air I came down on the hard road and fractured my skull, I was carried to Shaws House and laid there for three Months, I would not return to Thackwrays, But went on trial to John Rofferty to learn the Saddler trade<sup>69</sup> Rofferty had on the same Premises a Saddler Shop with a Foreman, Journyman and three Apprentices, A Shoemakers Shop, with Three Journyman one Apprentice, a Taylor's Shop - with two Men, a Butchers Shop with three Men, a Tan yard with mostly about twelve or fifteen Men, and among them the lowest blackguards in the Colony He had also a Canteen & Billiard Room, So I was thrown onto this nest of .....

After a months trial I bound myself for seven years, I was then seventeen years Old it was then I began to feel the loss of my Parents and a happy home, many nights I have sat crying for hours, not having a Friend to tell my troubles to, I was very quick at learning and in two years could make a saddle, almost as well as any of them, after the third year finding nothing more to be learnt in the Saddlers Shop I got transferred to the Tan yard to learn that trade - and I must say I have never been with a more Blackguard lot of Men in my Life, there was I, rather a fast youth; with no one to advice me, in a

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63. See, Dugmore, Reminiscences, p.2.

64. Richard Tiplady Stubbs was 7 years and 3 months old when he died at the home of John Brown at the Clay Pits. He was buried in Grahamstown on 23/1/1826 by Rev. Thomas Ireland. Burial Register of St. George's Church, Entry No. 82.

65. Robert Hart.

66. The Natal Settlers marched from Port Natal to aid the Trekkers. On 14/7/1838 a Zulu army wiped out most of their force of native retainers, and most of the Whites and Hottentots, killing John Stubbs and 12 other whites. G.T.J. 31/5/1838, 7/6/1838.

67. See notes 85, 100.

68. Samuel Liversage, a head of party. Records, XII, 500.

69. John Rafferty, saddler to the Cape Corps, was a discharged soldier of pre-Settler days. D.C.F. Moodie, The History of the Battles and Adventures .... etc., I, 198.

in a position with every chance of going to the D -- 1 The only way I can account for escaping is, I found I was the only one who had been educated and that gave me enough pride to Keep me from falling, We had a Slave Woman for Cook, All the Men and boys had to Mess together, the food was not such as I had been used to (in fact it was very bad One day I made a complaint, but was told - that I was causing dissatisfaction among the Men, I was very much disgusted, shortly after they all complained & the Men said the Apprentices ought to take it up, I asked one day at Dinner who would join me and go to the Court to complain, there were four agreed & off we went, made our complaint to the Magistrate, His name was Lawson<sup>70</sup> The next day we had to appear and also Mr. Rofferty, I was called the ring-leader, we were ordered back to work and I was threatened with the Tronk for taking the lead, this so disgusted me, that I made up my mind to run away, I got a lot of Saddlers tools from R Southey (Now Governor at the Diamond Fields, he was then clerk at Heughs' Store in Grahams Town)<sup>71</sup> not liking to go alone, I took one of the Hottentot Servants belonging to Rofferty and took a White Horse of his Master off we started & reached Cradock, wher I found W. Harris - who formerly

lived at Roffertys, and he advised me to get away as soon as possible, as the Post would be there in the morning, The Hottentot left and took my Horse, and left me with the white one he had stolen from Rofferty so I started off not Knowing where I was going to, and being afraid to go to any House - I slept out and was without food for two days, not being able to hold any longer, I went to a Dutchmans which happened to be a Field Cornets' I told him I was an Orphan, had come from Cape Town and was looking for work, He gave me a good feed, and recommended me to push on for a short distance and I should overtake Old Gert Venter, who was trekking with his stock up to the Klaas Smidts river I did so and found him a jolly Old fellow, he said as I had neither Father or Mother, he would take me as a Son we arrived at the Vee place and found a lot more Dutchmen and Famalies there, so it was arranged I should Keep school for all the Children & work at my trade - I was there two Months and had collected about fifty sheep three Cows and two Horses - when the grass getting dry - the had to trek to the Hangklip - the Old people had already gone, and I and one of the Sons were to come on with the horses Ah, but who is this fellow coming - it

is, the Field Cornet to take poor Thomas Stubbs to Cradock for desertion, I was taken that night to his House, where I was treated very Kindly by his Wife - She said she was sure I had not committed anything wrong, as I was in such good spirits, I little thought how much trouble I might get into - by having the Horse with me, the Hottentot had stolen from Rofferty, But he never brought that against me - when I arrived in Cradock was on Sunday - I was handed over to Ben Harris, who was jailor, I asked him to let me see Mr. Marais who was Magistrate<sup>72</sup>, as I knew him well, we met him going to Church, the poor Old Man was much concerned when he found the position I was in He said if I would give him my word I would not run away, I could remain with Harris, untill he heard from Grahams Town which I did - and was there a Prisoner on Parole for twenty

70. Thomas Lawson, R.M. of Albany. Almanac, 1828; see note 73.

71. Richard Southey (1808-1901), Lieutenant-Governor of Griqualand West, December 1872-1875. A.F. de Villiers, Introduction to the Inventory of the Southey Papers.

72. J.J. Marais, resident J.P. at Cradock in 1828. Cradock was a sub-drostdy till 11/3/1825 when it was dissolved, and Marais became a special heemraad. With the Charter of Justice in 1828, Cradock was merged with the District of Somerset, and the deputy landdrost of Somerset was elevated to a full resident magistrate. Almanacs, 1826-1829; Index to Government Gazette.

days, it was then agreed Harris should go with me to Grahams Town we arrived on a Sunday and I had to go to the Tronk untill the morning (That night the Magistrate died, and I was brought before Mr. D. Moodie,<sup>73</sup> he talked very big about putting me in Prison, when I told him all he could so was, to make me serve double the time I had been away, according to my Indentur which I was willing to do - Mr. Rofferty who was very fond of me, said he was quite satisfied, and so it ended - About six Months after I was made Foreman in the Tan yard an befor long had to superintend

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41.

the whole establishment, he gave me the time I was away, We were always great friends after - even untill he died many years after<sup>74</sup> (To Come on Page 35)

I and my Brother John were staying with Mr. John Brown (afterwards called Laver Brown) for a short time before coming to live in Graham Town - He still lived at the Clay Pitt,

His House was about thirty yards from a bush Kloof that came down to the Coombs river - One night a Caffer Chief named Kassa - one of Eno Tribe, came there with ten Men, each having an Elephants tooth, to exchange for Beads and Buttons (not as now for Guns and Powder) We Killed an Ox for them and they were about having a feast (it was about 11 O'clock A.M.) My Brother was with Kassa in the Kloof when to our surprise, we saw a Patrole of Hottentots coming over the ridge, from the direction of Mahony's, they came strait to the House, there were four of the Kaffirs in the house at the time, the Sergt. asked if we had seen any Caffer spoors, as they had been told at Mahony's that some had been seen not far from there, the Hottentots were pretty well drunk, they must have been treated at Mahony's, Brown said he would take his Gun and go with them and have a look in the direction of Our Old Place as soon as they were out of sight, the four Caffers left the House for the Kloof, shortly after we hearing firing and a great shouting about half an hour, My Brother came to

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42.

to the House and stated, the Hottentots had captured one of the Caffers (He and Kassa were together at the time, when Kassa saw one of his Men Prisoner, said he would give himself up, as by that means, they would get off, as, the Government were making arrangements with Old Eno to have a Caffer fair at Fort Wiltshire, and that Eno would be sure to get them off, The two Men were then Marched to Grahams Town, Brown saddled up and started also for Town to point out to the Authorities, the danger his Famaly would be in if the Caffers were not liberated.

I and my Brother were left with Mrs Brown Miss Whitfield and the Children, the second night after Brown had left - about 8 O clock, we were astonished by ten Caffers each with one assagie drawn and a bundle in the left hand, they surrounded the House, two came and asked for Long John (Brown) We told them he had<sup>gone</sup> to Graham Town to get their Chief free, the two Caffers then searched the House, sticking their Assagies into the Beds and every corner, not finding Brown, they demanded food which we gave them all we had in the House, they then took up their places round the House and Kept watch all night, now and then one would come and ask for water, and to have a look round about 1 or 2 O'clock one of them came for water My told him it was all done, he said well you must fetch some and I will wait here The water had to be fetched from the Kloof in the bush, as my Brother was going down the steep foot path, he stumbled over something

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73. Thomas Lawson died on 19/6/1828 (F.P.H. 1/7/1965). He was succeeded by Lieut. D. Moodie, who had been landdrost at Port Frances from 20/2/1825 till appointed clerk of the peace at Grahamstown on 14/12/1827. G.G. 4/7/1828; L.A.C., I, 74; II, 21, 27.

74. Rafferty died on 31/5/1848. G.T.J. 8/7/1848.

and fell, on rising he saw a Caffer standing over him with an Assagie, my Brother shewed him the jug and told him what he was there for, He was then allowed to return to the House They Kept watch untill daylight and then went into the bush; About 12 O clock that day we saw Brown coming from the direction of Town and we saw the Caffers creeping from the corner of the Bush to surround him. I ran off to meet him before they could do so, and told him the danger there was, of him coming to the House, He then told me the two Prisones had been sent to Fort Wiltshire to be liberated, and He then rode off there also. The Caffers Kept guard over us for the two next nights as before. On the following day, much to our delight; we saw Brown coming in Company with Kassa the Caffer Chief, He called the Caffers out, and asked them what they were there for, they said they thought, seeing Brown leading the Patrole, He had been triatorous and was the cause of their Chief being taken Prisoner - they were then asked what they intended to do if Brown had been at Home, they said they intended to set fire to the House and murder us as we come out, rather pleasant that, Things were explained the ivory and every thing settled, and they marched off, much to the satisfaction of all parties, especially to us,

I and my Brother thought we had seen enough of that sort of things, so made our tracks to Graham Town, Poor Brown and a Man named Wittaker were stoned to death about a Mile from that House by Caffers in the

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in the Caffer war of 1834-5<sup>1.75</sup>

Fatgani Command 1827-8.<sup>96.</sup>

A report was brought to Graham Town, that there was a Nation of Canibals destroying the Caffers in the neighbourhood of the Bashee the whole Frontier was in an uproar, that fat Fellow were especially uneasy - orders were issued by Major Dundas. (then Commandant) for preparations of defence and attack, the Troops were to march to Cafferland, the out Post to be occupied by Civilians, who could not muster a horse - the Mounted Men to go to the front, there was only one Man to be left in each House in Grahams Town (I was apprentice at the time, but, as My Brother John, Richard Southey and others of my friends were going I asked to go also - I mustered a Horse, and we were served out with guns and ammunition, that had been taken from the Dutch, at the taking of the Cape, Mine was a Corabene about two foot six inches long mounted with brass, with a lock large enough for a Cannon, it took a Strong arm to pull it off, the powder was so bad that if you fired at anything at forty yards, it went click - then fiz for some time and then Pop - about as loud as the grunt of a middling sized Pig, the bullet which was split into four fell about half way (well such were the arms we had to fight the Connibol with - The Troop I was attached to was about one hundred strong under the Command of Capt Crause a half pay officer, The Force were ordered to Fort Beaufort, and started in the Morning, I and Mr. Rofferty were not quite ready

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as we had to make up our Pack, for we had a Pack Horse, We got away about four O clock P.M and reached the brave army some time after dark of course Rofferty joined his Mess of Middle aged Men, and I joined mine some distance from him they were all young Men, after some time talking - I proposed we should open a Bottle of Wine, as I Knew Mrs. Rofferty had two Bottles packed up for him, one was a glass bottle the other a stone one, there were also a lot of sanwiches and cakes done up in a cloth, We emptied the Glass bottle, and put it into the Pack and broke it. The next morning on the top of the Koonat

randt I, and some of my Friends remained behind where we emptied the other bottle and finished the cakes, We off saddled at the Koonap river - Rofferty and Stringfellow (He is just now dead 1875)<sup>76</sup> were sitting together when I was called to get the wine and cake out - O'h lor how now Tom) I put my hand into the pack; of course I kept my back to them and pulled it out quick, and said the Bottle was broken, try the other one it is stone that will not brake, said Rofferty, I said so but here was another misfortune, the cork had come out and it was empty Poor Rofferty swore a bit and then said get out the cakes this was almost too much for my gravity. I Pulled out the cloth, at the same time telling him they were all smashed to pieces - He said with an Oath, pitch them to the Devil I was glad when the word saddle up was given, for I felt vexed with myself for what I had done - But their, it was - it was no use

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46.

crying over spilt wine, We next offsaddled at Lowe fontein for the Night, William Stanton was on Horse Guard But left his post as he said he heard a Lion, the next morning there was a report, that Old Bill Clayton had stolen his Comrades rations, Stanton was also reported. But Capt. Crause said he would leave it to the Men themselves, Donald McDonald Father of the McDonalds in the Queens Town District was Sergt. of the Guard, the two Prisones were brought up to the Guard House - Alia a Caffer Hut, I shall never forget Stanton, who was a very young Man at that time, refusing to go in, when McDonald, who was as strong as a Giant, said Gang in we ye Mon, and just took him by the breach and the neck and put him as easy as I could a Cat A Court was duly formed, and Old Mr. Thomas Nelson, Merchant in Graham Town was Judge, the Prisoners were each sentenced to a Dozen cuts with a double Bridle rein Stanton threatened all sorts of actions at law so, to give him an opportunity of having plenty of it - it was arranged for one out of each Mess to give a cut, after he had received his share poor Old Bill was brought, it was the fashion to wear leather crackers,<sup>77</sup> at that time, Old Bill had a pair on, that had been whet, and dried on his breech in a sitting position, so when he stood upright they formed a large Bag behind, and a small one on each Knee when the cut was made, he drew himself in the rein fell harmlesly on the bag behind, which sounded like a drum, the Old fellow giggled .....

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47.

and laughed to himself, untill Old Pote, who was a Portegues, and had been in a Man of War, came to give his cut, he swung the rein round his head, and gave a grunt, Old Bill drew himself in, but unfortunately for him, Pote reserved the blow untill, Old Bill filled the bag, with his posteriors, when down it came fit to cut him in half - O'h my G -d he cried I aye goten, this was the last, so we saddled up, and started for Fort Beaufort - which consisted of about a dozen Huts - which we took possession of, the next day I was ordered to join a Patrole to look for spoor and on my return to Camp that I found rations of Grog had been served - I asked Rofferty if he had received mine, he said Oh yes, but the one bottle is broken, and the cork has come out of the other, that was enough for me -

The next night there were a great many of the Men having a spree, there was one Mess, called Gilberts Party - He had brought most of them from Cape Town to Build the Cathedral in Graham Town for which he had the Contract, (and out of it Made his Fortune)<sup>78</sup> One Man of the Party named

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76. Thomas Stringfellow of Bailie's Party. Became R.M. and C.C. for Fort Beaufort on 31/1/1850. (Almanac, 1851). Died 17/2/1875. G.T.J. 19/2/1875.

77. Leather trousers, much favoured on the frontier for bush work.

78. George Gilbert, a speculative builder, who included among his contracts part of the Drostdy House, St. George's Church, and in 1849 the Town Hall. In 1848 he sold Stubbs a house at the top of High Street (see p.76). Cory, II, 188, 192, 433.

Dennis Cary was put on Sentry above the Drift to see no one passed, about 9 O'clock P.M. Joe Buller came to me and said let us have a bit of fun with Dennis Cary, he is on Sentry - alright, when we got pretty close to him he called out Who comes there (Friend) Advance Friend, Ah, be the powers is that yourself Joe told him he thought it very hard he should standing Sentry all alone, while his comrades were having a spree, if he liked he would take his place while he went and got a drop

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48.

He embraced the opportunity, Gave Joe the Gun, and off he started, he had not been gone long, when Joe said, you go and tell him I have bolted with the Gun, I found him about half screwed, told him that fellow had gone with his Gun, off he started to the place, and called out all sorts of names, without effect at last he took a piece of Old rofter, and marched up and down with it over his shoulder, Joe had hidden himself behind an old wall some little distance off) I started for the Guard House and found Old Mr. John Mandy Sergt of the Guard, I told him the man above the Drift, was walking Sentry without a Gun, He called out two Men and went to make Dennis Prisoner, on their arrival - Dennis called out who comes there! Guard said Mandy, where is your Gun, Men, Make him a Prisoner, as the two men advanced Dennis, brought the Pole to the charge - and then brought it round with such force, that he felled one of them to the Ground, the others rushed in and made him Prisoner, marched him off But when they came opposite the Hut where Gilberts' Party were drinking and singing, Denness said - Be the powers Mr. Mandy lot's be going in and, have a whet before we go to the Guard House, which they did, and remained there untill the morning, the Guard House had to look after itself, after a weeks spree, we were ordered back to Graham Town I believe the whole thing was got up by the Frontier Caffers - to draw the Troops out of the Colony, for them to make a rush in, But finding the whole Frontier on the elert and

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49.

Out Posts occupied by the Civilians they funk't it, and so ended the great Fetgona War, which often puts me in mind of Knickerboker's History of New York.<sup>79</sup>

1832 See appendix) [unnumbered page at the end of the volume]

My time now being out with Rofferty, I was twenty four years Old - I left, and took a Farm in Morgans Party in Partnership with John Kestle - there Married Miss S. Miller<sup>80</sup> after some time, I found there was not work enough for both I and Kestell, I tryed a trip at Kerveying, I took a load to Fort Wiltshire, not Knowing much about driving I had a great deal of trouble, sticking fast &c. &c. Leaving Fort Wiltshire, I got half a load of fat & Hides- and made up the load with an Old Woman and a lot of Soldiers Old Joe Yelling - that Kept the Somerset Arms in Grahams Town was one of them it was the middle of Winter, and on coming into the Fish river at Trumperters Drift Capsised - the waggon fell into the river Old Joe Yelling who was on the Box with me fell head first into the mud, and there he would have remained if I had not pulled him, the water rushed into the tent of the waggon, the Old Woman called out, She was Kilt and murdered W had to span out in the river, and as the river was rising - to tie it fast with the trek tow, to some trees, all the Blankets were wet, and we had to carry the hides and fat onto the bank, it was not long before, the water covered the waggon The Soldies mad a fire, but every thing being

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79. Diedrich Knickerbocker (Washington Irving, 1783-1859) wrote in 1809 a "History of New York to the End of the Dutch Dynasty". Oxford Companion to English Literature.

80. Stubbs was married to Sarah Miller by Rev. William Carlisle on 26/3/1832. Marriage Register of St. George's Church, Entry No. 303.

being wet, and it commenced freesing I thought the Old Woman have died, in fact She said She was dead entirely, fifty times. On the opposite side of the river about five hundred yards from the Bank was a Canteen, I proposed one should go through to get some brandy, they all made out they could not swim, so that at last, about 11 O'clock (it was star light, I stripped off and swam across, I was carried down some distance, but on reaching the other side, my trouble commenced - the place was covered with thorns (doblejies) when within about fifty yards from the Canteen a lot of fierce Brutes of Dogs came at me, I never called out Vortsak quicker in my life, the Man came out, I got the brandy, and swam back much to the delight of the Old Woman in particular, the day after the river went down, we got the waggon and I reach Town in two days, and gave up Kerveying

While writing about the Fish river I will just what happened to Old Mr. Turvey Father of the Old Turvey now in Queens Town He had returned from Natal - with Mr. Thackwray - was stopped at Botha's Drift on the Fish river Rofferty having a waggon the' I took some food from Graham Town, on Horse back, I took it through fastened on an Ox's head, I swam and drove him, Mr. Turvy was very anxious to get to Town, so I offered him one of the horses, he tied his clothes on the saddle and drove him into the river and swam through himself, not so the Horse

for the brute turned down the river, the clothes were washed away, and he went out the same side he came in, there was the poor Old Man without a rag on - There were a great many Waggon with Soldiers, and among them was a Mrs. Sergt. Majr. Brown, She was rather a run 'un.) sitting on the diselboon, the Old Man walked up to her - one hand over his ..... and shook hands with her, with the other, She gave him one of her Shirts - the Soldiers mustered a jacket & trousers, we started for Town - with the one Horse, ride and tye.

Having given up Kurveying - I thought a Smousing trip might pay, I got a waggon load of goods from W. R. Thompson at 6 Months Credit, and started, when I got to Cradock (My Brother John was living there Keeping a Store for H. Joseph - on looking over my Invoices he told me he was selling the same goods there, cheaper than I was to pay for them in Graham Town after I left Cradock - I was laid up with Rheumatic fever - fancy that in a waggon on the Stormberg spruit - before there were Many people living there, my goods were so dear I had get rid of them at less than cost price, on arriving in Graham Town being over my time Thompson had sued me, I was then obliged to sell off at once, the prices they brought, I have no doubt will be laughed at by those that may happen to read this, But I can assure them

them it is a fact - Fine large fat Oxen 24 Rds £1.16.0 - Fat Cows 10 Rds. £.. 15 - Horse worth now from 20 to 30 £ brought from 24 to 30 Rds. £1.16.0 to £2.5.0 -- Large fat Kapaters like Jackasses, brought 10 skillings - £.. 1.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ , they cost me in good 4/6 - the Oxen cost the price the fetched & and so did most of the others, I had just held the sale when I had another attack of Fever, and was given up by the Doctor. I have been back about three Months, when one day an Old Woman (a Nurse, came, and said She was sure, as sure could be, if I would try what She recommended, I should get better, of course it was all the same to me - She said I must get three penny worth of Bitter alloways<sup>81</sup> & put it into a bottle of Gin, let it resolve it was very nasty, But I must be dissolved to take a wine glass of it every morning - I took a glass the next morning - of course it made me drunk, but I had a good sleep which I had not had for a long time, the Doctor came that morning, and asked what I had taken, He was told - he said it was rank poison for me, but it did not matter, now what I took, I kept on at it and, was out of bed in a week, and recovered fast --

81. Stubbs means the resin of the aloe.

Old Mr. Miller had us out to his Farm for a change of air - I remained there for about two Months working on the Farm, untill I got strong, I thought - although I Married his Daughter he had no right to support us, so finding My Partner, Kestell had gone on very badly in my absense, I gave up the

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53.

Farming speculation, and having not a baubee in my pocket - But I had a trade and some tools and rather an independant spirit, I came to Grahams Town and took a House from Old Alexander McDonald at three Pounds per Month Mr. Miller lent me a few things for the House and I shall never forget my feelings when I moved in - I had the world before me, and that was all except a Wife who expected to be confined in a short time - I stuck a Notice up in the Window T. Stubbs Saddler, and, that day, a Man brought a saddle to be repaired - luck'ly there were no materials wanted for it - I had it done and he called and paid me five shillings and six pence. How many fifty Pounds I have had since that, I did not think so much off as that small amount; at the end of the Month I was able to pay my rent, and had enough to go on with, That House was opposite Tenlets corner on the Market - I had been in it about six Months - My Eldest Daughter was born,<sup>82</sup> and I moved to a cheaper House that stood where John Heytons large Store now stands - there I had to pay sixteen Rds. Per Month, my buseness increased & I was able to get some materials for my trade, When just before the War of 1834-5 broke out, W.R. Thompson sued and got a writ against me for the ballance I owed him, for the smousing trip - but I had nothing - but my tools and Leather for him to seize, which was taken possession of, they were not taken away

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54.

and the War broke out, which put a stop - to any farther persecution from him then -

The week befor Christmas day 1834 - all the talk was of War- W. Shaw, my Brother in Law now<sup>83</sup>, was living at the Fish river not far from Southeys, they had a great quantity of Cattle and Horses, it was some little distance above Trumperters Old Drift, John Shaw was Clerk at Rutherfords in Grahams Town My Brother John had gone to Port Natal 3 three day before Christmass, John Shaw came to me, and said, he must go to see about his Brother William, and wanted me to go with him - I advised all I could not to go - but, the next morning he started alone - that was the last I saw of him, William Shaw came<sup>n</sup> to Town, two days before Christmas day - he told me his Brother John, had arrived at his place the same day he left Grahams Town, and, they went to Southeys place, to see how they were getting on, when they found the Caffer Chief Umkye<sup>84</sup> there, William Shaw told Southeys', he was sure - Umkie had a lot of Men concealed in the bush, and wanted Southey's, to let him shoot him, they would not. So He and John rode back to their place and found the Caffers had taken all the Cattle and Horses; while William was hiding some of his things in the bush John, much against William's entreaty rode back to Southeys, but they were gone, William came there shortly afterwards, and

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55.

and on coming in sight of the House, saw a lot of Caffers run out, and try to surround him, He had two guns with him, one a double barrell and one single, Knowing the country well, he got away from the Caffers hid one gun in the bush and worked his way to the top of Trumperters Hill, where he found the Southeys with their Cattle

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82. See Appendix "A".

83. This is incorrect: William Shaw married Eleanor Stubbs only on 5/11/1835. G.T.J. 19/11/1835.

84. See Appendix "F".

and Mrs. Sterk and Children in a waggon, but no John Shaw<sup>85</sup> (It was ascertained from Caffers after the war that as soon as W. & John Shaw left, Southeys, they thought it better to make a track, that they were in the House when John Shaw came in sight, they kept quiet until he was close then rushed out and murdered him, Unkie at their head who had John's Gun afterwards)

Southeys and Shaw had not gone far towards Town, when the Caffers attacked them, headed by a young Caffer named Kosani,<sup>86</sup> who had been a long time a faithful servant to Southeys, they pushed on until they reached Drivers Hill, and then, as, Richard Southey and Charles Gray who had married Miss Shaw were living on the Cap river, William Shaw started for their place, and had just managed to get them away, when the Caffers set fire to their Houses, they had a narrow escape - but reached Grahams Town - Grahamstown was now all alive. Gun and ammunition were served, Barracades being put up round the Church for the protection of the Women and Children

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56.

every body appeared to think of nothing but Grahams Town - The Farmers who could were, rushing in with their Goods and Stock Shaw asked me if we could not muster some fellows to go in search of his Brother John, and any others who might not be able to reach Town, after much trouble we got together about twenty nine, we mustered at the burial ground, when we received orders from the Magistrate, we were not to leave the Town, and that no ammunition would be served out to us, if we did, I and R. Southey went to the Church, where they were serving out the ammunition and managed after hard fighting to fill our shooting jackets full, we raced off to the Party and served it out, just as we were ready to start, Col England<sup>87</sup> rode up, and asked us what our intentions were we told him, to go out and assist our fellow Country Men, after appointing W Southey<sup>88</sup> to Command, he gave us, some good advice and off we started with three cheers from him: in the direction of Collingham, on the flat about four Miles from Town, We met Old Mrs Mahony on foot, her bonnet much crushed and blood on it, a black servant, with two of Her Grand Children (Hendersons'), we were informed that Mahony and Henderson were both dead<sup>89</sup> and that one of the Caffers had taken a shawl out of the waggon, put it round Mrs Mahony's shoulder, and told her to lope, Poor Shaw was very much excited - thinking of his Brother and I was pretty well, thinking of my Father I had travelled that same road with him

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57.

many times, We then rode on until we came to the Cooms, found Percels<sup>90</sup> House deserted, the Milk & every thing just as they had left it We found about half a Mile from the House, a Man named Cramer,<sup>91</sup> lying on his back in a foot Path murdered, We buried him as well

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85. The Stirks were related to the Southeys by marriage, (Bowker, Speeches, p.8). John Shaw was killed on 24/12/1834. G.T.J. 25/12/1834.
86. Known to the Settlers as "Kaffir Jack," he rendered good service as an express carrier in the Seventh Frontier War, 1846-47. C.F.T. 26/5/1846.
87. Lieut.-Col. Richard England, 75th Regt. Almanac, 1831.
88. Richard Southey, not William, commanded. Southey Papers, Vol. 4; C. 3-65 (Cape), p.12.
89. Thomas Mahoney, and his son-in-law H.W. Henderson, were killed on 24/12/1834. Stubbs and party rode to the scene next day. On 26 December Stubbs went with a second party to bring in the bodies. G.T.J. 2/1/1835.
90. William Purcell, a Kaffir trader, killed at the Kei Heights on 13/7/1834. G.T.J. 24/7/1834.
91. Robert Cramer, killed on 24/12/1834. G.T.J. 2/1/1835.

as we could in an Ant Bear hole, and proceeded towards Mahony's before reaching the House, we saw a waggon about half a Mile on the road to Caffer Drift Post - on reaching it we found the waggon had been turned over by the Oxen running short round, the Oxen were gone - the feather bed had been ripped open, and the feathers flying all over the Veldt (The Caffers done it in many instances - as I have heard to look for ammunition)

We found Mr. Henderson lying on his face, with one hand holding an Assegie wound in his stomach, he had a black coat on, and his back wad riddled with wounds, about a hundred yards from there we found Old Mr. Mahony Dead - he had evedently been on Horse back, as he had his spurs on, one Assegie wound in the throat, when he had thrust the collar of his shirt in to stop the blood, We put the waggon on its wheels, and put the Bodies into it - I Shaw and two others went to Brown House to see if we could find anything of Him, while there we heard a great shouting from the other party, we thought they were attacked but found, they were all starting of home I wanted them to remain and waylay that night, it was no use, there had been too much funck established, at seeing the Dead Bodies, so started off towards Town as hard

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58.

they could pelt; We reached Town about 11 O'clock P.M. and found it barracaded in all directions round the Church, A Cannon placed in front to fire up the Main street (very wise, as it would shake down the Church, which is a rotten building and, shoot the Inhabitants at the upper end of the Town)

The next morning another Party started off with a waggon to fetch the Bodies of Mahony and Henderson, on reaching the top of the Cap river hill, above where Mahony's waggon stood, they found Brown and his son Leo they said they were with Mahony & Henderson when they saw the Caffers, they started off over the Cap river hill, and hid themselves in some rocks in the bush, they saw our party the day before, but were afraid to move, as there was a large body of Caffers not far from them That quite satisfied me that if we had laid there that night, should have had some sport and have done good service.

A few days after Browns return to Town He and his Son started off with a lot of Hottentots - under the Command of Piet Lowe a Sergt. in the Cape Mounted Rifles, they reach Mahony's place, and seeing a large body of Caffers, the took refuge in a building, that been built for a Brewry,<sup>92</sup> the floor of the upper story was still good, so that they could defend themselves against any number of Caffers, at that time, for they had very few guns of a very inferior description among them, it appears from all we could find out that when the Caffers came close

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59.

not a shot was fired by either party, and that they asked Brown, and a Man name -- Wittaker<sup>93</sup> to and talk to their Chief, as he wished to make piece, they were allowed to to unarmed, they had not gone more than two hundred yards from the House, when they were seen running and the Caffers stoning them untill they fell dead - Piet Lowe and his Men if they can be called such, never fired a shot The Caffers allowed them to leave the House and return to Grahams Town in safety leaving Brown and Wittaker were they had been murdered, I am quite satisfied they were sold by Piet Low - For his brave conduct He was promoted to Ensign - in the Cape Corps and returned on half pay after the war<sup>94</sup> It turned out that the Caffers had agreed

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92. Mahoney got the licence to brew porter on 31/12/1822. L.A.C., I, 50.

93. John Brown and P. Whitaker, killed on 14/1/1835. G.T.J. 16/1/1835.

94. Piet Lowe was a discharged sergeant of the old Cape Corps. He was promoted to ensign in 1835, and received a pension of 1/6 a day after the war, till arrested in Grahamstown in June 1851 charged with plotting with the rebel Hottentots, and conspiring to burn Fort England and other thatched buildings around the town. G.T.J. 27/2/1835, 27/6/1851.

with the Hottentots for them to Rebel, the Murder of Ensign Crow at Frazers Camp, shortly after, by the Cape Corp proved it<sup>95</sup>

All in Town who could muster a Horse were formed in a Mounted Corp - and the others into Companies of foot,<sup>96</sup> Mashal Law was proclaimed<sup>97</sup> on the arrival of Sir Benjamin<sup>98</sup> & Staffs' arrival on the Frontier - the Mounted Corp - of which I was one, was Commanded by Capt. C. Maynard and we had Old Sergt. Major Price for our drill Sergt, it was very laughable to see us drill We had one old fellow named Fitzgerald he was always in the wrong place, Price would say, Now Mr Fitzgerald, your horses head is where his tail out to be - our Corpl. was a very small man named Beddy

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60.

He always rode a very large Horse - with his hip bones standing higher than his back you could hang your hat on them, he wore spectacles, a sword, brace of Pistols in his holsters, and when he was mounted, you could not see much of him, for on top of his holsters he had his cloak, and behind his valeesse and Blanket roled up, One morning the word was given to trot, Beddy's horse made a stumble with his hind legs, and Beddy fell of behind, on his stern, Old Price called out, well done Corporal Beddy, being a good rider you fell on your stern - others would have fallen on their Head - we had lots of out duty escorting Posts &c. and I found it always fell on a few, I among them, it was no use complaining, I had a good deal of work repairing saddles and accoutrement, and had an order for five hundred Pouches, for the Levies, they were delivered by fifties, and served out as the Men proceeded to the front untill completed, when Orloof Stockenstrom<sup>99</sup> arrived with his Levye from Uitenhage, he made some complaint about them to Col Smith (afterwards Sir Harry<sup>100</sup>), there were still fifty in Store, so a Board of survey was ordered and they were condemned, I was sent for by Col. Smith, who told me, all my pouches had been condemned, I said it was no Matter they had better be all sent back, as I had plenty of customers for them, he said that Major Stockenstrom said the water would run in at the bottom (He Stockenstrom was setting on a Sopha behind Smith, when

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61.

I remarked, I was not aware the water would run up hill, and it could not possible get in with out the Men stood on their heads in the rain, well, he said they are condemn and you won't get paid, after he arrived in King Williams Town he sent an order to Old G Wood, (who was then called Major Wood for five hundred of Stubbs' pouches to be made exactly like the last, which was paid for, But not the others as they were condemn - They were paid for at the end of the war, when I applied for the interest to be paid every six month, I was informed the Government did not allow interest, so they sent me the principal

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95. See pages 67-68, and note 109.

96. The "Graham's Town Volunteers" were formed upon Lieut.Col. Smith's command on 9/1/1835. There were four companies of infantry under Capt. Sparks, 38th Regt. with a local rank of lieut.-col., and one company of mounted men under Capt. Charles Griffith. Charles Maynard was Lieutenant. G.T.J. 9/1/1835, 16/1/1835.

97. Proclaimed on 16/1/1835. D'Urban reached Grahamstown only on 20/1/1835. G.T.J. 16/1/1835.

98. Maj.-Gen. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Governor from 10/1/1834 to 20/1/1838. E.A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa, p. xviii.

99. Oloff Godfried Stockenstrom, brother to Andries Stockenstrom (G.T.J. 25/6/1840), was captain in "The Uitenhage Volunteer Sharpshooters" composed of Hottentots and formed on 24/1/1835 (G.T.J. 30/1/1835); later he was promoted to major when the "Second Battalion of Provisional Colonial Infantry" (Hottentots) was formed on 22/2/1835. 279 of 1836, p.10.

100. Lieut.-Col. H.G.W. Smith, Deputy Quarter-Master-General at the Cape 1828-1840, and Chief of Staff under D'Urban in the Sixth Frontier War of 1834-35. Raised to full colonel on 10/1/1837. Smith, Autobiography, p. xv.

Major Wood so some means or other Wood got into the good graces of Col Smith, He was Quarter Master General, Wood had the Contract to supply clothing to the Levies Shirt, Hat, Jacket, trowsers and Shoes, at a first rate price, When lot arrived in Town from any of the Lower Districts, the Commanding officer got a requisition for a certain number of suites, but generally they were served out with a few yards of Caffer Duffell, a piece of leather for the shoes, the Officer gave the receipt, and Major Wood got his money, He and Joseph Walker, and Doctor A.G. Campbell were to buy horses, the Government allowd eleven Pounds five shillings for each horse, Wood was the head man - the highest price then for a horse was from three to five Pounds, and I believe many horses were served out twice, I

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62.

heard of one instance, where a Horse was bought twice - it was a blue Horse belonging to Old Mandy, the Kraal for them was in the Yard at the back of Mandys<sup>101</sup> Hotel now Woods, the grey horse was sold to G Wood - taken through the passage, and sold again, In another, a Dutchman off saddled at Mandys Hotel, his two horses were taken to the stable, but when the Dutchman wanted to saddle up, they were not to be found, they had been taken through the passage and sold to Government, sent to the Kraal, and after wards brought again through the passage and saddled up for the Dutchman, & he rode off with them (Major Wood made his fortune)

Just before the end of the war, I had returned from capturing a lot of Cattle & Horses in the coombs bush, after three days hard work, when I was ordered for duty to escort ammunition to Somerset, I refused as there were lots, that had not been on duty, the next morning, I was standing at my door talking to R. Southey, when a Corporal and two Men came to take me Prisoner to the Guard House, on my arrival there, I found Witzgerald there, and shortly after W Bower - Rathbone & Caldecott were brought for refusing to do duty. We had not been long there, when I asked the Sergt. of the Guard, if I sent for a couple of bottles of wine, he would

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63.

it, He said of course not, just as we had finished the one bottle an order came for us to be taken to the Tronk - the Guard were formed into a hollow squar and we were marched off - we had a Room given us in the Debtors Yard, it had a fire place in it - we had candles, some Grog, and we were up nearly all night, the next morning after Breakfast, we were sent for into the Warders room, to meet Major O'Rilly,<sup>102</sup> he said the Gov. wished to Know our reason for refusing to do duty, I told my tale, and the others told the same tale, He said we had better write to His Excellency - and he had no doubt, he would be satisfied, I said I had nothing to write about, I had been imprisoned, and I wished to be tried, and if I was guilty I would receive the punishment for it and if I was innocent, then I expected to be honourably acquitted, they all joined me, but Bower - Dutchman like, he wanted to write, but the Major told him, it was no use he writing alone so we were taken back (Rathbone who was a very good draughts man, got some charcoal, and made a splendid drawing on the wall - it was two large weeping Willows, a table in the middle at one end, a good likeness of Sir Benjamin seated, at the other end, was Bower on one Knee, offering a petition to Sir Benjamin and over the whole was written in large letters, The Governors Bower -

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101. John Mandy's "Freemasons' Tavern" established about 1831; it was taken over by James Wood in 1855 as "Wood's Hotel". It is the site of the present "Goodwood Hotel". Note by Rita Snyman in Grahamstown Publicity Association Handbook.

102. Maj. A.A. O'Reilly, Brigade Major on the frontier. Almanac, 1855.

shortly after O'Reilly came again, and told we could all go home, I refused to be made a Prisoner, and then just turned and that I should not go, without I was to be tried - it was afterwards arranged if we would go Home, we should be tried the next morning, we then left, and there was a sort of a trial next morning and, we were acquitted, so ended this Farce. When the war broke out, the Governor was at Cape Town, six hundred Miles off, the greatest part of the murders and damage was done before he could be on the Frontier. Had he resided on the Frontier; if the war could not have avoided, early, preparations could have been made, to meet the blow - instead of that, everything was in a Mess waiting for orders -

After the Governor took the Field, the war was pushed with vigir - Hintza, and that triaterous villiam Umkye pretended to be friendly to us - and came into Col Smith's Camp on the Kyei river, R. Southey with his Corps of guides<sup>103</sup> was with the Camp there, when Umkye came in, and Knowing that if Shaw<sup>104</sup> saw Umkye he would shoot him (had all the guns hid away, but Shaw caught sight of him and looked for his gun, Southey told Col Smith, who, sent and had Shaw brought before him - Well Sir he said what are you thinking about - I understand you want to shoot Umkye, do you not Know that as, he has come into the Camp

as a Friendly Chief - I should have to try you - and you would be hanged, Shaw said only let me get a chance at him, and when I have shot him, you can hang me as soon as you like, Umkye in the mean time had been sent out of the Camp, Shaw was liberated and hunted for Umkye - but, no go -- Hintza agreed to pay a certain number of Cattle to the Governor, and promised to accompany Col. Smith, to where the Cattle were to be delivered. R Southey with his Corps of Guide went as Escort, guessing there some treachery on the part of Hintza - the Guides were told to Keep a sharp look out - on ascending a rather steep hill, covered with bush, and the foot path rather narrow Hintza now tried to push to the front, he was Mounted on a good Horse and had an assagie with him, on reaching the top - Hintza rode past Col Smith who was in front, he called out stop, but Hintza galloped on, Smith after him - and drew his Pistols, both misfired he then threw one and struck him on the back, the Guides by this time had nearly come up, when Smith came up with Hintza, and made a grab at him, Hintza at the same time made a stab at Col Smith with his Assagie, by this time some of the Guides up close up, and there being a very steep hill - Hintza jumped of his Horse, and ran for it - one or two shots were fired at him - he fell once or twice, George Southey had - and would have overtaken him, but the sole of his Shoe was loose, and threw him down, Hintza reached a bushy Kloof, just before G. Southey and Lieut. Balfour<sup>105</sup>

after searching for some time - Southey heard something rattle against a rock in front of him - he then saw part of an assagie, and the head of Hintza - he shot him dead, and very soon found out they were nearly surrounded by Caffers - which shewed that Hintza was leading them into an ambuscade.<sup>106</sup>

During the time this was going on - the Caffers were giving us a great deal of trouble in the Fish river bush - Mr. Harris - afterwards Member of Parliament<sup>107</sup> was, stationed at Trumpeters Drift with a Party

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103. The Bathurst Corps of Guides of about 40 picked men, in which Richard Southey was captain, and George Southey was lieutenant.  
 104. William Shaw. His brothers, John and Robert, had already been killed. See pages 55 and 65.  
 105. Lieut. Arthur L. Balfour, 72nd Regt. Almanac, 1835.  
 106. Hintza was shot on 12/5/1835. G.T.J. 22/5/1835; see Appendix "F".  
 107. William Matthew Harries, M.L.C. 1848; M.L.A. 1858-59 for Port Elizabeth, and 1861-64 for Cradock. Kilpin, op. cit., pp. 126, 146.

of Men, he had brought from Port Elizabeth - they had waggons, and tents and Horses - from all that could be learned from those that escaped, was they were not Keeping a very good look out and were surprised by the Caffers, Haris was playing his Violin in his tent, some were at the river bathing, some asleep, when the alarm was given - Harris and some managed to get their Horses - and started off, some ran holding the horses tails, the waggon Drivers and leaders & and a lot of the Men were murdered at the Camp Robert Shaw,<sup>108</sup> Brother to William Shaw - was on his waggon box - when he was seen to fall, The Burnt the tents, waggons and captured all the Oxen, amunition, and a great many guns, saddle Horses &c. This all happened for the want of an experienced Man at their head.

I heard some time after the war an Officer arrived in Port Elizabeth from England, and on the Market, was talking to some one about the war, and said - he should like to see that Brave Man, Harris who lost his Camp & Men at Trompeters Drift - Harris who was standing

[67.]

close by, turned round, and said Sir, I am that Mr. Harris, and consider yourself horse whipped the Officer, put his fingers to his nose, and said bang ! consider, yourself shot; and walked off At Frazers<sup>109</sup> Camp there was a post of Red jackets under the Command of Lieut. Crowe, and Cape Corps under the Command of Lieut. J. O'Reilly<sup>110</sup>, Mr. Cope was Commissert Officer, about 10 O'clock at night tho their Officers were sitting in their room when they received a shot through the Window Crow was shot dead, O'Reilly rushed out got out the Soldiers, and suspecting the Cape Corps Men - put Sentries over their barracks, untill morning, when they found, that ! Beauty Umkie had been tampering with some of the Cape Corps. The ring leaders were made Prisoner - and one off them with two others that had deserted in the war -, were shot in Grahams Town. It was a sight I shall never forget, the Troops were formed into a hollow square - the graves were dug and, three Coffins in front of them, the Prisoners were brought in their grave clothes with white Caps on, the Coffins were then brought and carried by Soldiers in front of the three Men<sup>111</sup> the Band playing the dead march in front - they marched round the troops, untill they came to the graves, the coffins were replaced and the Prisoners Knelt on them, you could have heard a pin drop, the silence was something awfull, The firing party then Marched out and each taking a Musket from the stack - formed into line - one half standing back, as a reserve, the Sentence was now read, the Caps drawn over their eyes

68.

The Provost Marshall standing on one side with his Pistols, when a muffled drum went, tap, the Soldiers levelled their Muskets and the drum went Tap, Tap, the fatal shots were fired, one fellow sprang strait up fell and, lifted his head up, when the soldiers in reserve stepped forward, & fired and, lifted him completely off the ground, the Provost then examined them and declared them all dead - The Troops formed into line, the Band struck up a lively tune and, off they marched, as jolly as if nothing had happened.

I must now just give a sketch of, the Grahams Town Mounted forced, Volunteers as we were called! escorting Col Smiths Lady to King Williams Town,<sup>112</sup> I think there were twenty of us under the Command of Sergt. Smith, started from Grahams Town in charge of her in one waggon, and her Servants and Baggage in another, all went well untill we reached Fort Brown, where we stopped for the night, Mrs. Smith put up at the Officers Quarters, and we at a deserted Canteen there was plenty of grog, and some of our Men soon got screwed. On applying

108. Killed on 7/3/1835. G.T.J. 13/3/1835.

109. Ensign Thomas Coenraad Crowe, C.M.R., shot on 19/2/1838 and died next day, aged 21. G.T.J. 1/3/1838; Almanac, 1838.

110. Ensign J. O'Reilly, C.M.R. Almanac, 1838.

111. Two Hottentots, Corporal Meyers and Stephanus Windvogel were executed on 21/4/1838. G.T.J. 26/4/1838.

112. Lady Juana Maria Smith reached Grahamstown on 21/6/1835 and departed for King William's Town a day or two later. G.T.J. 26/6/1835.

for forage for our horses, we were told the waggon with corn, was expected that night, it arrived about 11 O'clock, when I and John Phillips (my Comrade) went to the Store, and there found Old Billy Bowes and Mc Kenny sitting in the Store quite top heavy, as Bowes was Issuer, and unfit to serve out the Corn, we shouldered a sack each and gave it to our horses, The next

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[there is no page 69]

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70.

Morning we started at 3 O'clock am - and off saddled at Double Drift for Breakfast, then pushed and met Col Smith about two Miles from Port Wiltshire - on our arrival at the Port We had the Sergt. Mess room for our accomodation and then, some of ours went in for a regular spree - I and Phillips was on the look out for our horses, we prigged some forage out of the Cape Corps Stables, and after seeing them right - began to look out for our own suppers We found there had been a lot of Beef staek cooked in a Camp Kettle lid, by the Soldiers for us, after feeding I took my cloak and turned in, about 3 O'clock in the morning I heard the Bugle sound, saddle up - I and Phillips were not long in getting ready for a start, But where were the others (some still asleep, some could not find the guns some their Horses, I saw one Old fellow still in bed fully acoutred and a Soldier cleaning his boots, that stuck out of the bed, Col Smith - calling out for the Grahams Town Volunteers, and swearing like a Trooper, the Bugle sounded, 'Forward', and away he started our Men came by ones and two's, But some of them neve came at all they were invalided, having lost their senses after crossing the Keeskama, some distance we of saddled for Breakfast, we then started & when we reached Debe neck - the Oxen in the Baggage waggon were Knocked up I and Phillips were told off, to escort it, the other with Mrs. Smith went on escorted by the main body - When I and Phillips had

71.

reached the Cometjie Flats, we rode some distance out in front of the waggon, and off saddled, We there found the complete skeleton of a Caffer, it was the largest I had ever seen - Phillip sat down, while I put it up behind him, against his back, and it was then a head taller than him.

We reached King Williams Town about 11 O Clock that night, and found our fellows, incamped close to the Drift, they had a waggon an tent Col Smith had sent them a Doz. of Wine and Commd. Sanford<sup>113</sup> had sent them, a lot of French brandy, and Blankets, they were all pretty lively when we arrived. I recollect Lieut O Crause was singing, Old Capt. Ross, and a lot of others were sitting round in the tent - I had not been there long, before, some one let the tent fall upon us, there was a Jew name Moss with our party, he bought some Caffer corn for his horse with a bad shilling, and the Caffers stole his Horse that night two days afterwards we left and returned to Town.

The Government formed a Depot at Cold Stream - for the Farmers Cattle to be taken to I Mean those that had escaped, a party of Civilians were Posted there on Cattle guard but, the greatest enemy they had was the Contractor - the Government allowed him to look out fat Cattle there (no matter who owns them) and bring them into Town to slaughter I knew several who saw their favourite Cows slaughtered, and never got a farthing for them

72.

Horses were taken in the same way - and no compensation was ever made.

There was a great deal of distress among those who had only escaped with their lives to Town, Subscription lists were opened

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113. George Charles Sanford, Assistant Commissary General. Almanac, 1839.

an a fund form to purchase neessaceries - I Knew several who were well of -, apply to this Board of relief for supplies, and drew from it the whole war<sup>114</sup>

The war was brought to a close,<sup>115</sup> the Kei was made the Boundary of the Colony, Military Post formed along the line, and we had every prospect of being able to live in peace, their never has been, peace made with the Caffers that gave greater satisfaction, and no Govr. has ever been more respected, than was the Good Sir Benjaman DeUrbun -

We were not long before we were awakened out of our happy dream - That confounded False Philonphosist society - soon managed to upset all the good Sir B D'Urban had done, He was recalled, and that fellow Sir Andries Stokenstrom,<sup>116</sup> sent to Grahams Town as Lieut Governor, the Caffers were brought back to the Fish River, The Hottentots located in the Cat River,<sup>117</sup> and every thing that had been done before; and done, by a lot of the greatest I can't call them fools, but mistaken & unprincipial Scoundrels, even the land in the Peddie Distrit that had been granted to those engaged in the war, was given up - The Fingoes were released from Caffer Bondage and filled the Colony, with good Labour but most absurdly afterwards-Located

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73.

in various parts of the Colony,<sup>118</sup> Head Men appointed over them, and allowed to carry on their Devilish Heathinish practices, instead of making them conform to our Laws, when in an English Country, If they had been compelled to live under our Laws, they would have been now a Civilised People

1834-5

One night G. Wood junr. and another, were posted on Sentry on Settlers Hill, about 10 'O Clock when they saw what they thought to be a Caffer, when George said I'll fire, first, he did so, but like wise men they did not wait to see what they fired at, But made off to the Guard House to report it, Geore said he was sure it was a Caffer, for when he fired he heard the Caffer call out Koeca, of course it was dangerous to go that night, so put it off untill day-light, to go and look at the dead Caffer, what was their astonishment, on arriving at the spot, to find a valuable Horse lying dead with a bullet hole through his body, what George supposed to be Koeca, was the thub of the Bullet, George told me since he had to pay fifteen Pounds for him

Another night during the war Old Mr. Wright was on Sentry below Cawoods Slaughter House there was a ditch and bank close to him, he saw a black object coming along the ditch, he called out who comes there, and then fired, and made off to the Guard House in the Old Wesleyon Chapel, to report it - He told them he had shot a Caffer, he was

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74.

He was sure it was a Caffer, He saw him creeping along the ditch, and when he challenged him, he said something like a grunt, which he could understand, so shot him, it turned out to be a large Pig, at all events, the alarm was given, that the Caffers were close in the Town

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114. The Board of Relief, set up by D'Urban on 27/1/1835, received contributions from India and Mauritius, but none from England. (G.T.J. 30/1/1835). It received 1,817 applications (857 Dutch; 701 Hottentots and persons of colour; 259 English) and assisted about 11,820 persons. 503 of 1837, p.328.
115. Peace signed with Kreli on 24/5/1835 (279 of 1836, p.51), and on 17/9/1835 with the Gaikas and Ndhlabes. G.T.J. 25/9/1835.
116. Andries Stockenstrom, Lieutenant-Governor, 25/7/1836 to 31/8/1839. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. xix.
117. This is incorrect. The Kat River Settlement was established in 1829. See Cory, II, 385-92.
118. This probably refers to the location of some Fingoes at the Tzitzikama.

The Alarm gun was fired, I and W Shaw turned out to see what was up, but on going to the Barracade across high street, the sight, beats all description, the Guard inside had bolted the Gate, and there were more than a Hundred People trying to get in, Women and Children crying, the Husbands swearing I saw one little Man trying to push his fat Wife over, another handing his Children over and letting them drop on the inside. Tar barrels were set on fire, as it was said by the wise, to shew the Caffers, we wer not asleep, I and Shaw then started up high st to see if we could get a shot, But we had not gone far, before we saw Old Mrs. Cumming, standing, with her arm akinbo, at her door, She Knew us both and asked what all the noise was about, we told her, the alarm Gun had been fired and that people were trying to get into the Church, a'h, she said, they are a lot of fools, come in, and have a Glass of Grog - for I'm not going to the Church I'm not afraid of the Caffers coming to Grahams Town, they are not such fools there are no Cattle for them to take here we did go in, and we did have a glass of Grog and then went nearly all round the Town to look for Caffers we nearly got shot by one

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75.

of the Sentries, he fired first and then called out who comes there, When Shaw fired over his head - and called out friend,

Another night I and Shaw was taking our rounds, we came a Gate in one of the Baracades, and found, a Man named Wells supposed to be on Sentry, but was fast asleep his musket standing against, the Baracade Shaw took his gun, and lying it across his head, fired it off, we ran round a corner to see the result, when down comes the Guard and asked him what he had fired at, He said he had not fired at all, they examined his Gun, and there was proof, they took him Prisoner to the Guard House

Another night, there were a lot of spreish fellows on Guard at the Church (the Gallery of the Church was full of Women and Children when two of the Guard started to fetch a little Jew, named Lewitson from his House as he had not attended to his duty (as they said) they found him in bed, and brought him with nothing but his shirt on, march him up the middle of the Church, some women holding their hands up before their faces, & they must have been looking between their fingres, for they said, well, I do declare if it is'nt Poor Mr. Lewitson, what the've got their, they, Kept him, some time, when they allowed him to make his escape - a lot of them chasing him down the street -

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76.

In the War - I made some money--besids doing lots of duty, I then moved into larger Shop in Church Squar, and took my Brother George and James Varety as Apprentices, my businnes increased, and I was doing very well - I Kept a good Stock and plenty of work - finding the difficulty of getting good Leather - I moved to a House of C. Watsens,<sup>119</sup> next to the Post Office, and made a Tan yard, tanned enough leather for my own use and, sent lots to Cape Town, where I got a much higher price, than any one who sent Leather to Cape Town, I was doing very well But one day Old Gilbert, asked me, why I did not get a House of my own, as I was making all the improvement on another Man's Property which would not benefit me. I, like many other young fools - having a few hundred £s before hand, thought it would be very fine to have a House of my own, so bought the House at the top of High Street,<sup>120</sup> paid part Cash and gave a Bond for the ballance - I bought it from Old Gilbert - of course, that was his dodge, When I moved their, I had to make a fresh Tan yard - and make alterations in the House, and also build a Shop, by the time I had moved, my ready money was gone and I found that, instead of my business following me it went to anothis not far from where i had left - and after tanning some time My Neighbours complained of the Nuisense of the Tan Yard - I then found out my mistake - but it was too late, I could not get my price for the House, and my trade had fallen off, so had to look for something

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119. Charles Watson whose premises, known as "The Blue Anchor" and adioined the Eastern Province Bank in High Street, were occupied

something else<sup>121</sup>, I then took the Mail Contracts<sup>122</sup> between Grahams Town & Uitenhage (The Cape Post used to go that way then) in a Cart & Horse that was the first Cart started with Mails from Grahams Town, Had also a Contract between Grahams Town and Port Elizabeth direct, on Horse back, Also between Graham Town and Somerset, I bought lots of Horses and things went on swiningly, I also done something in dealing in Horses, My Brother William managed the Saddlers business, & done very well, untill - the War of 46 - then our Mail Contracts had to be given up, & the Caffers took most of my Horses - and all my arrangements up set.

About 1843 - I proposed to Samuel Dell<sup>123</sup> - that we should form a Sporting Club (There was no amusements for the Young Men in Town at that time except the Billiard table, I thought it would draw many of them from ruin, and be the means of learning them to ride and use a Gun, We managed to get some of them to meet at my House, and about a dozen joined I and my Brother William were appointed leaders, we drew up a set of rules, which all signed, each Member had to Keep a Horse Gun and a Dog, all Members had to be ballotted for after the first meeting. It was not long before we mustered about thirty - On Saturdays we generally went for a Hunt, and on coming Home all game that had been shot was equally divided, I never had happier days than with them out in the Veldt - We generally when on the Hunting ground formed a line

across the Country - and arranged to Hunt to a certain spot, where we would have a feed they were pleasant meetings, every one brought out his Rug, and we had a general Pic Nic and each had something laughable to tell, how he shot his Buck at such a Distance, another racing after a buck, came to grief in a hole & so on -

1846

Some time before the war there was a Yeomanry Corps<sup>124</sup> formed in Graham Town, Josua D Norden was Captain, M B Shaw & Rutherford Lieuts Apothecary Taylor, Surgeon,<sup>125</sup> they came out very swell, gold lace round the Cap, and the Officers had a gold strop down their trowser Tiger skins over their saddles, and mounted with swords - when on Parade, they looked very nice and fine, But they did not look to me, to be fit for Caffer war, some of them were not very expert on Horse back on the Declaration of War, the Commander in Chief appointed J.D. Norden, Commandant

I called a meeting of the Sporting Club & proposed, we should offer our services to the Government, which was agreed to by all the offer was gladly exepcted, and I was voted in Capt. - My Brother William Lieut - I then on our first muster - proposed they should form themselves into tens, when that was done each ten appointed their Sergt. themselves - all our Uniform was a piece of Tiger skin round the Hat - The Yeomanry called us the ragged A-ss Corps, Old Col Somerset<sup>126</sup> Knew which lot he could

120. Stubbs bought this house from George Gilbert on 27/3/1848. It was on the south corner of High Street and Somerset Street. His saddler's shop was then at No. 1 High Street, near the present railway station. Transfer Deed No. 21, 1/3/1862; G.T.J. 6/10/1849.

121. Advertised for sale in the G.T.J. 12/2/1853.

122. MS. confused here. See Appendix "C".

123. S.W. Dell of the Kowie District; later a shopkeeper in Grahamstown. Almanac, 1852.

124. The "Loyal Independent Graham's Town Yeomanry" formed on 19/10/1844 and disbanded on 15/5/1847. The commander was Maj. P. Lowen with a local rank of Lieut.-Col. J.D. Norden took command on 6/4/1846. G.T.J. 24/10/1844, 14/11/1844, 8/5/1847.

125. Joshua Davis Norden; Mathew Ben Shaw; H.B. Rutherford; Edward T. Taylor.

126. Henry Somerset, Colonel in C.M.R. from 1/3/1839. Notes & News, XIII, 287-8.

he could depend upon for duty, Sir John Wilde was holding the Circuit Court<sup>127</sup> in Graham Town - I got leave of absence to go down the road to see what horses I could muster out of our Post Horses, but unfortunately they were all gone, while I was at Port Elizabeth, I received the news that J.D. Norden,<sup>128</sup> was shot, and the Yeomanry routed by the Caffers, I hastened home as quick as possible, and was shortly afterwards appointed Commandant. There was another Corps formed, called the Tullirees<sup>129</sup> and the Command of W. Surmon, and I had to raise a hundred foot men for Garrison duty, appointed Samuel Dell Capt. they were called the Guffies - The Yeomanry being all Big fellows, would not receive pay, but had, half ration of forage for the Horses Not so the Sporting Club, they found their own Horse saddle, Bridles and Guns, and we received full rations for Horse, Man & Family - Commandant Pay - fifteen shilling Per dien, Capt. ten shillings and, six pence Privates six pence, But then, the Mens pay were made up - Horses shod, suit of cloths, Cloak, Blanket, and Long Boots, each & besides as most of them were tradesmen and, any of them that got a job of work I put them down on leave, until they had done, they drawing rations and pay all the time

I had then, the Yeomanry, Sporting Club, Tulleries, & Guffies,<sup>130</sup> under my Command which gave me plenty to do, in regulating

the duty. Patrols were sent out every day and others at night.

On my arrival from the Bay was told by some of my Men, that the day Norden was Killed a Party of them were also out - and not far from the Yeomry, about three Miles, they had ofsaddled, when they heard firing, they upsaddled and proceeded in the direction John Miller<sup>131</sup> rode out in front, and met the Yeomry in full retreat, they told him that Norden, had been shot, He begged of them to return and get the Body, it was no use they were so Panic stricken, nothing could stop them - one or two had lost their Guns Mr. Taylor had lost his Horse with all his fine trappings, and brace of Pistols in the Holsters - There was great excitement in Grahams Town, that night - The next Morning Major Johnstone,<sup>132</sup> started with a Party of the Sporting Club under the command of W. Stubbs, some of the Yeomanry and some Artilery, on their arrival at the place they found the remains of Norden very much Mutilated, the top of his head was blown completely off, they found one of the Guns that had been thrown away by one of the Yeomry - I have often been to the spot since, and must say I cannot make out how they could make such a mess of it The Caffers were in a deep Kloof and the Yeomanry, were on a stony ridge, with a fine open flat behind them - it appeared to me Norden, and some of his Men were standing on the ridge, looking down,

at the Caffers, while some of them crept up unperceived, and shot Norden; for they, must have been within a few yards when they fired, W. Stubbs told, that when they at the place Norden was shot, the Caffers still

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127. Sir John Wylde arrived in Grahamstown on 5/4/1846 for the Circuit Court. G.T.J. 11/4/1846.  
 128. Killed on 25/4/1846. G.T.J. 2/5/1846.  
 129. The "Tirailleur Corps" formed in Grahamstown in May 1846, with John O'Brien as captain, and William Surmon as Lieutenant. Surmon took command on 29/10/1846. Disbanded 15/5/1847. G.T.J. 20/6/1846, 3/5/1847.  
 130. The "Dismounted Albany Burgher Force", nicknamed "Guffies," was formed in November 1846; Stubbs was commandant, and S.W. Dell captain. C.F.T. 10/11/1846, 17/11/1846.  
 131. Stubbs' brother-in-law.  
 132. Lieut.-Col. M.C. Johnstone, 27th (Inniskilling) Regt. and Commandant of Grahamstown till July 1846 when he was succeeded by Maj. A.A. O'Reilly. Almanac, 1846; G.T.J. 11/7/1846.

occupied the Kloof - that they came out, & shewed Taylors Horse, with saddle and accoutrements on, My Brother, W.S. wanted to attack the Caffers, but Col Johnstone who was in command would not allow it, so they returned to Town with, the remains of Norden there were a few very good Men in the Yeomanry But there were also a good many Mufs.

I ought to have begun this war, the murder of young Pike<sup>133</sup> at Bothas Hill, An express came into Town with the news that, the Caffers had murdered a young Pike of Collingham, Commandt. Norden started off, and so did I with some of the Sporting Club - it was dark when we reached the place, We found the waggon loaded with Oat Hay. The oxen gone - We hunted for spoor, but only find some blood spots on the grass, and Pikes hat, it was moonlight, but very misty The Yeomanry finding it rather damp to stop there started over to Collingham. I remained by the waggon and in the morning, we found the spoor of the Oxen, followed by Caffer Spoors, one of them had a crooked big toe, it was no use following them, as the had Cafferland by that time, the Yeomanry brought the Leader of the waggon - from Collingham, He told us, that they just outspanned Pike was sitting on the disselboom of the waggon in the act of lighting his pipe, when the

82.

Shot was fired by the Caffers, Pike ran first in the direction of the bush, and then turned towards Home - and that he (the Boy made off home - and reported it - We found Pike nearly a Mile from the waggon, lying on his face - dead, he received the shot-through one wrist, through his body and grazed the other elbow, some oxen were brought and we placed the body on the waggon and took it to Collingham, We then returned Home Three of the Caffers were given up by Stock<sup>134</sup>, who pretended to Know nothing of the war - the three were taken to Port Elizabeth, and tried by Judge Menzies, as he was afraid to come to Grahams Town. I was summoned to the Bay and when, called I asked the Judge to allow me to look at the Caffers feet, on pulling the crosses on one side, I saw the crooked toe that exactly corresponded with the spoor of the one I had seen, with the Oxen, The Judge stood up, and asked what I saw, I told him - when said A'H - I should never have notised that, The Caffers were condermed and hanged<sup>135</sup>

I applied for my expences, and received 4/6 a day<sup>136</sup>, I wrote a letter to the jude, complaining about the small allowance, as it cost me upwards of a Pound a day - He read the letter in open Court, the next morning, and calling me, said, he was quite satisfied my expenses must be very great, and that he would see about when he reached Cape Town. That was all I ever heard of it

83.

Shortly after the commencement of the war the Levies, and Burghes began pouring in to Graham Town from all directions, and it would have been much better if the greater part of them had remained at Home for they were not fit for anything, but, help to eat our rations, and add to the expence of the war, There were a fine lot of Fellows come from Stellenbosh, und the Command of Mr Onkruid,<sup>137</sup> they were stationed mostly in Albany, and had orders to render me assistance any time I might call upon them, One day a report was brought me that, a Great number of Cattle had been taken, by a very large body of Caffers, and had gone in the direction of Drivers Hill, I had only sixteen Men in Town at the time, so started off with them to Collingham, where a party of the Stellenbosh Burgers were stationed,<sup>138</sup> I ofsaddled there

133. James Pike, killed near Ecce Heights on 11/4/1846. G.T.J. extra 11/4/1846; G.T.J. 18/4/1846.

134. See Appendix "F". The prisoners reached Grahamstown on 19/4/1846. C.F.T. 21/4/1846.

135. Sentenced was passed on 2/10/1846. G.T.J. 17/10/1846.

136. Travelling expenses for a witness had been fixed in 1829 at 1/6 per day for a person travelling on foot, and 4/6 by horse. Adv. and Mail 5/7/1865.

137. Commandant M.J. van Nuldt Onkruidt. G.T.J. 11/7/1846.

138. i.e. on 13/7/1846, returning next day. G.T.J. 18/7/1846; C.F.T. 21/7/1846.

and sent out some of my Men after dark to look into Groblaars Kloof - for fires, they soon returned - and reported to having seen fires in the Government bush - knowing the Country well, I ordered some of the Burghers to go and occupy a foot path leading from where the fires were, to the Fish river bush, I with My Men took up a position farther on, there was some rocks covered with Bush on a piece of table land, just above the Main Forest, and on each side of this bush were a foot-path the moon had not risen when we got there I had the Horses drawn up under the bush as close as possible, and placed a Sentry on each foot path - they of course had to lie down

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84.

We were all on the alert, about 11 or 12 O Clock one Caffer came up the foot path, and walked close past our position, we Kept quiet, He returned unmolested, I then had the two Sentries called in, about ten Minutes after, there were about thirty Caffers appeared about eighty yards in front of us on a small rise covered with large stones, I then gave the signal to fire, almost at the same moment we received a Volley from them, we Kept it up for a short time, the bullets cutting up the grass in front of us, when we received a volley - from the Bush on our flank finding their must be a large Body of them and they were attempting to surround us - I ordered the Men to lead their Horse over a ridge, but to be ready, as the Caffers thinking we were retreating, would most likely make a rush out of the Bush, and we should have a fair chance at them, I was not mistaken, for we had hardly gone twenty yards when out they came - and fired, But before they could get under cover again, we gave it to them, which sent them back, quicker than they came out, after getting over the side I told the Men, that half must, lead the Horses on, and the others were to drop down in the grass, and crawl back to me at the ridge, The Grass was very high - I thought the Caffers might follow us, but we heard a shot in another direction, I was sitting looking over the ridge John Earle, and David Mitchelly were close to me, when Mitchelly said there was a Caffer coming on in another direction, I soon saw he was coming strait towards us

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85.

I told Mitchelly to Keep a sharp look out on him, But not to fire untill I told him, he still came on, when I whistled, he crouched down, and then came on - he was then about fifty yards off, I said I will now challenge him, and if he docs not answer then fire, I knew Mitchelly to be a dead shot he Knelt on one Knee and levelled his gun but most extraordinary both barrell misfired, Earle fired immediately, and what we took for a Caffer was one of our best Men he heard the bullet pass close to his head and called out what the D ---l are you firing at me for, I never felt as I did then, my hair almost lifted my hat off, I asked him why he had not answered me, He said he had never heard either my whistle or call, he had a bullet fast in his gun, and was so taken up with that - We then went to our Horses and rode to the Top of Driver Hill, and there fell in with them again, we had a few volleys at them before they got away. Just at daybreak An Officer of the Burghers came riding up to us alone, he said he and his Party had seen our first firing - and tryed to get down to us, but could not find a path, and that he had got seperated from them -

I left them to hunt the bush where we first fired - they found several dead - and great quantities of Blood - also Crosses, and others things belonging to the Caffers. We found out the Cattle had gone past the night before and that, the Caffers we fell in with were about fifty, who remained to way lay any

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86.

Parties who might follow the spoor.

Shortly after - a Patrolc of Stellenbosh Burghers went from

Niemons Kraal, to Hell Poort, the Caffers had a lot of Cattle in the Kloof, when they saw the Patrole drove them into an open place in the Bush, and hid themselves - the Burghers - being inexperienced, entered the Kloof to take the Cattle, they had scarcely begun to drive them, when they found out they were surrounded, by Caffers, they fought hard - and before long, five of the Burghers fell there was two Brothers, both young, who fought side by side untill both fell, those that escaped gave the alarm at the Camp - about five Miles from Hell Poort,<sup>139</sup> the five Bodies were recovered and brought to Grahams Town, It caused a great excitement, the five coffins were all put on a Gun Carriage, and drawn by Artillery Horses to the grave yard, followed by the Sporting Clubb, and all the Levies, both Horse and foot that were in Town, the Military Band playing the dead march.

I wrote to the Governor<sup>140</sup> and, recommended that some experienced Frontier Men should be stationed at each Camp - It was in some measure adapted, But very badly.

As nearly all the Troops were taken up to the front the duty became very heavy on us, we were continually out, Waylaying - Escorting ammunition &c. to the various Out Posts - One day a black Man brought a letter from Walter Currie (He was Farming on the Fish river when the War broke out, and formed a Camp - with all his Neighbours - on the Fish river) It stated they had been continually attacked, and

87.

and were almost out of Ammunition, and that they had some wounded Men - He also said that they had heard - the last firing at Bowkers Camp - (about six Miles off) two days before and, was afraid - the Caffers had taken their Camp, I mustered twenty of the Sporting Club ten of the Yeomanry, and L.H. Meurant with a lot of Mounted Hottentots, under his Command,<sup>141</sup> We took two horses loaded with Ammunition - for their relief, and getting near Niemans Kraal, my advance Guard, sent word, they saw - some white Blankets, thrown over some bushes, about a Mile to our left, I rode forward, and then saw what satisfied me, it was intended to occupy us, while another party was to way lay us in De Bruins Poort, Our Men was very anxious to to attack them, But I pointed to the risk of losing the Ammunition and then we saw some Caffers running along the ridge towards the road we had to travel, before entering De Bruins Poort which is a very dangerous pass - and having a lot of youngsters with me, I called a halt, and told them, it was a very important duty we had to perform the lives of Curries, and other Camps were depending upon us bringing them Ammunition that let happen what might - we must give it up as long as a Man remained I then picked out four of my best Men and placed them a hundred yards in front - then six more, a little nearer ten Men by the Pack Horses, and the rear

88.

in the same manner - I had a long talk to them about not getting flurried, and to be carefull, not to fire across each other & what ever happened to obey my orders - We passed through without being attacked and I am confident, it was owing to us being ready for them.

On our arrival at Bothes Drift where there had been a Camp,

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139. Killed on 9/8/46, viz. Pieter and Hermanus de Villiers; Jan Basson; Daniel Rossouw; Piet Haushamer. G.T.J. 15/8/1846; 786 of 1847, pp. 173-4.
140. Lieut.-Gen. Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor from 18/3/1844 to 27/1/1847. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.
141. Stubbs commanded the force of 38 "Sporting Club", 15 "Yeomanry" under M.B. Rutherford, and L.H. Meurant's Hottentot troop. They left on 10/5/1846 and returned on 16/5/1846. G.T.J. 23/5/1846; C.F.T. 19/5/1846.

we found One waggon loaded with Government, stores, & one with Produce from the Interior, one or two Oxen dying I thought the People were all taken or murdered, on going to the House, I found a Notice on the door - that they had been obliged to move further up the river, to Currie's Camp - On our arrival there we found them - almost without ammunition there two Dutchmen - severly wounded - and the whole quite Knocked up in watching and protecting the Stock, the Caffers had left them Currie told me, they had not heard any firing at Bowkers Camp - for some time, and that they must have been beaten - or had treked. He had a Field Cornet and twenty Boers of the Cradock Burgers, But that he could not persuade them to leave the Camp - I took Command of the Camp, and issued orders that the Cradock Burgers, was to be ready to go with me to Bowkers early the next Morning, that Meurant was to press Oxen and fetch the waggons, and what more he could find from Bothas Drift Camp - Currie informed me the Field Cornet of the Cradock Men, said he could not go, as his Horses were all Knocked up. Meurant went

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89.

to him and, told him, He must recollect, it was Marshal Law, and that he Knew me well, that any one who did not obey my orders, would be made Prisoner and sent to Grahams Town, that settled it. The next morning, I started with some of my Men - and the Cradock Boers, for Bowkers Camp, On our arrival we saw some of the Houses burnt, some still burning, but not a soul - I thought first, they had been burnt in the Houses, but found some Waggon spoor - in the direction of Bedford, which followed for some time, We saw two Dutchmen on Horse back at some distance, we took them for Caffers, they had their cloaks on, and so had we - for it was the depth of Winter, I told off four Men to give chase, the Boers thought we were Caffers, and bolted, our fellows chased them for about five Miles and then gave it up, we returned, back to Curries Camp, I served out the Government stores of tents, Blankets &c. to the Men. Meurant had brought, he also brought a cask of rum he found in the Cellar, I held a Board of survey, and condemned it, had the head Knocked in, and served it out to the whole Camp. The Country was in a miserable dry state - there was nothing for our Horses to eat. I ordered all our Men to take the Horses about three Miles from the Camp - and - put men out in two - all round then - as there was long sweet grass by the river - five Men at a time to go and cut it, and at night to bring it to Camp for the horses - being anxious about our

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90.

fellows - in the middle of the day, I left Henry Rutherford Lieut of the Yeomanry in Command of Our Men in Camp, while I visited those with the Horses - on riding round - I found - two guns standing by a bush, on calling the Sergt. he told Me John Oglevie and one Named Ensor, (Yeomanry) had against his orders gone to cut grass along the river, and had left their Guns at this Post I ordered him to make them Prisoners on their return, and march then to the Camp and hand them over to ther Officer, When he told them they were Prisoners, they laughed and wanted their Guns, said they were Gentlemen, and were not to be made Prisoners by a ragged H---S Corp, they soon found out their mistake, that night, before the fires were put out - I called a muster, formed a squar and had the two Gentlemen brought forward I told them, I had command then, and that, while I had, I would be obeyed - that they must Know without decipline we were all nothing more than a rabble - and could not possibly carry out the duty that was expected from us I was astonished they should be so stupid to leave their gun and, go to the river, any Old Kaffer Woman could have Killed them with a stick, and if anything of the sort happened the blame would rest upon me - It was not my wish to report them to head Quarters, If I did, they would be tried by Court Marshal I always tried as far as possible to Keep our Men from coning under the Military Officers But at the same time while I had Command I should do my duty, Oglevie stood forward

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and said - he was much obliged to me for what I had done, and said, he could see his folly and would take care it should not happen again by him, I dismissed them - to their duty As the Veldt was completely done, they asked me help them to remove to another farm - higher up the river - that day an express arrived from the Lager at Low Fontein<sup>142</sup> - they told me that the Bowkers - had reached there the same day, they had treked from their own Camp - and that the two Dutchmen we had chased, had reported that they were looking for horses, and that about a hundred Caffers had chased them - when Bowkers treked, they had a young Webb with them, who had in one of their fight received a bullet through his ankle - he died, while my Sister Mrs. O. Bowker was supporting him in the Waggon.<sup>143</sup>

The fifth day after our arrival at Curries Camp, we helped them to move, as there were not enough Oxen for all the waggons, so had to move half at the time, I was afraid we should be attacked - when seperated, so left half my Men with Currie - untill I sent the Oxen back under a strong Escort for him and the remainder of the Camp, there were a great many Women and Children, which made it very awkward When we had them all settled and suppld with amunition, I preposed to move in the direction of Riebeck to see if they required any assistance - Currie said - before you start we must have a dinner, every one must see what he can muster to night - there was a Dick Simpson in the Camp, who had made

himself very disagreeable, who had two Guinea fowls on his waggon, to agreed to get them, after dark the forenging Parties started, some brought fowles some Meat, some bread, and Old Dicks Guinea fowls - they were all put into a large Soup pot and boiled during the feast each was telling how he managed to prig what he brought - Currie - was delighted but when one fellow told about a white Cock he had taken from a waggon on the left, Currie called out - you rascal, that was my white cock I have taken so much care of - all the war. We finished about 12 O clock, when I whistled saddle up, it was the coldest night I experienced the whole war, We started for Riebeck, looking out for fires in the Deep Kloofs as we went, the Next morning just a day break we were going down a Kloof in Sight of Riebeck, when we heard the Women and Children screaming, the Men running to their Barracades, they took us for a lot of Caffers coning to attack them,<sup>144</sup> untill we got close up - then there was great rejoicing in the Camp, finding them all right, we started the next for Town, where we arrived that night During this trip we took, and saved some hundreds of Cattle and thousands of sheep and put the Camp into position not, only to defend themselves, but to form a good out Post.

For this duty we received the thanks of the Commander in Chief.  
Think of that

If I am not mistaken, it was just about this time Sir H Smith<sup>145</sup> arrived in Graham Town there was a Deputaion of the Big wigs of the City, I sent him a letter recommending that a Rural Police be established, conesting of Frontier Men, He handed this letter to Godlonton and asked him to read it out to all present and then asked what they thought of it - I Know Godlonton and I believe all present considered it would be a good plan, he then asked who they thought would be a good Man to get it,

142. Leeuwfontein.

143. John Webb, wounded 2/5/1846, and died of tetanus 3 days later. The Bowkers trekked on 4/5/1846. G.T.J. 30/5/1846.

144. Riebeck had been attacked and nearly carried just prior to Stubbs' arrival. The village was abandoned on 18/5/1846. G.T.J. 23/5/1846; C.F.T. 26/5/1846.

145. Maj.-Gen. Sir Henry George Wakolyn Smith, Governor from 1/12/1847 to 31/3/1852. Walker, op. cit., p.xviii.

when Godlonton said he thought Samuel Loxton, For what reason I dont know - without, it was, he was a good Shaver, at all events he was appointed<sup>146</sup> - & that was all, for I believe the fact was, no one would join him, so the thing fell through

I had to send an orderly every day to the Brigade office, to copy the General and Garrison Orders, I had great trouble to keep our Men from being sent on Escort duty, under the Command of Military Officers, as I knew they would be sure some complaints, as it was not likely our Men who mostly were experienced on the Frontier, and generally the Military Officers, sent on that duty were Young Ensigns, on one occasion I looked over the Garrison Orders, and among others twenty of the Sporting Club for Escort duty with waggons to Fort Brown the next day so sent all my Men off on Patrole for the day, On the waggons being ready, there were no Sporting Club; the Bragad Major<sup>147</sup> came

94.

to me to enquire the reason, I told him my Men were for active service, and not Escort duty and that I had sent them on Patrole.

Sir H. Pottenger<sup>148</sup> was then in Town - to whom I was reported; In the evening Col McLean - afterwards Lieut Governor of British Caffraria<sup>149</sup> He was Aidecompt to Sir H.P., came to my House - and told me, when the report was taken Sir H. Pottenger explained (Who is this General Stubbs, By G—d, I will Kill him with a scratch of my pen, with that he scratched my name out - So you see Stubbs, said McLean you are dead - The next day a Man from Salem came to me to ask assistance the Caffers had taken his Cattle, and they had gone in the direction of the Fish river - I told him I was dead - he must go to Sir. H. Pottinger for assistance, off he started, in the mean time I sent off a Patrole to waylay - a foot path I guessed the Caffers would take - I must here remark, that, there were no Troops in Town at that time, and when Sir H Pottenger asked the Bragade Major who there was they could send, he was informed, when he Killed me he Killed all the Men I had raised, He sent one of his Aide-comps to request me to attend at his quarters, I informed him I was very busy and did not go, the next day I received a Note from his Military Secretary asking me, if I could make it convenient His Excellency wished to see me, I started, but, just then the Patrole I had sent out the day before returned with the Cattle, they had waylaid and shot some of the Caffers, and Captured

95.

All the Cattle, so I took the Sergt. with me, and went to see His Excellency; as soon as I was introduced, He said, there has been some misunderstanding, about my duties, and the duties of my Men, But hoped their would be nothing more of the Kind as I must know that the protection of that part of the Colony, depended upon me and my Men, He then told me a Man had been to ask assistance, to recover his Cattle, the Caffers had taken - I asked for the Sergt to be called, and make his report, He said according to my orders he had waylaid and had captured the Cattle, and shot some of the enemy, this was almost too much for Him, He said well, Sir I hope you will continue your duty - for without you and your Men I cannot see what is to be done, in this District. And we did keep on, and very hard work we had - What we did do was very much

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146. Samuel Loxton was appointed on 26/11/1850, but the outbreak of war prevented the inception of the plan. G.G. 28/11/1850.
147. Maj. A.A. O'Reilly, commandant of the Burgher forces in Grahamstown in Seventh Frontier War, till he became Town Commandant in July. G.T.J. extra 4/4/1846; G.T.J. 11/7/1846.
148. Maj.-Gen. Sir Henry Eldred Pottenger, Governor from 21/1/1847 to 1/12/1847. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.
149. Capt. John Maclean was Diplomatic Agent at Fort Peddie for the Fingoes and Gunukwebes as from 13/11/1845. Became Commissioner for the Ndhlanbe tribes on 2/1/1847 (G.M. Theal, *History of South Africa 1834-1854*, pp. 253,291); then Chief Commissioner for British Kaffraria in October 1852 with the rank of lieut.-col.; then

appreciated by the Frontier at that time, that is while there was any danger - but I am afraid as soon as the danger was over, we were little thought of.

We always tried to avoid going out with the Military, as we could do much more by sending out small parties to waylay the foot paths, we hardly ever failed - when out alone

I will just describe one of our brave expeditions in Company with the Military, Under the Command of Col Johnstone, He was Commandant in

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96.

of Grahams Town at the time.

I saw on the Garrison order, the whole of the Sporting Club, Yeomanry, Tulleries, and One Hundred Malays, under the Command of Able Hoole,<sup>150</sup> & one Big Gun with some Artillery, were to Muster in the Drosdy Ground at three O'clock - the next morning<sup>151</sup> - We mustered at the appointed time & after some trouble in getting the Horses to drag the Big Gun, we started as, I was told to Hells Poort, where a large body of the enemy had been seen - The Yeomanry & Tulleries in advance of the Big Gun then the Malays, and I with the Sporting Club to bring up the rear, We all thought of course that we were to have a regular go in When nearly on the top of Grahams Town Hill, the Col sent one of his Adecamps for to go to the front, He said - he thought it dangerous, to leave the Town, without some mounted Men, and desired me to send half of the Sporting Club Home - But, when, I told the Men, they all with one voice swore that if one returned, they would all go - I reported it to the Commandant A'H said he well I suppose they better all go then, To my astonishment when we got to where the road turns off to Hells Poort they took the one leading to Riebeck - On we marched, untill we arrived at Mr. G. Cummings at Hilton. It was about 8 O'clock, we there halted for Breakfast The Commander, and Officers, I among the rest, were invited to breakfast and

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97.

with Mr. Cummings, while at Breakfast it was arranged we were to remain to Dinner, an Ox was bought, and slaughtered for rations - It looked more like a Pic Nic than an advancing army).

We marched off about 4 O'clock P.M. in regular marching order along the Riebeck road for four Miles - and then in a long valley studded with bush, the halt was sounded & Camp orders were sent round for the different Officers to sign, The Malays at the extreme, the Yeomanry next, the head Quarters and Big Gun in the center and I with my lot on the extreme left, there were some large fires made, Grub cooked untill dark, I found out from the orders we were to waylay, and shoot any Caffers that came that way, of course at dark I ordered my Men to put out the fires, & put out our sentries - I laid down untill 10 O'clock, and then on visiting my Sentries I saw - large fires all up the valley, and in particular at, Head Quarters, it was bitter cold, so ordered my fellows to make up their fires and enjoy themselves, Only fancy, although, we had such beautiful fires all night - No Caffers came to be shot We marched off at 3 O'clock A.M. along the Riebeck road - I, bringing up the rear On arriving at a part of the road that was very bushy, there was a halt sounded and one of the Adecamps, came tearing back to Me, with orders - for me to close up - round the Big Gun, I asked what

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150. The Malay Corps was raised in Cape Town in 1846 and shipped to the frontier where they had an indifferent showing. Abel Worth Hoole was a frontiersman who was attached to the Corps.

G. Tylden, The Armed Forces of South Africa, p. 111.

151. This patrol of 350 men was out from 8 to 10 June 1846.  
G.T.J. 13/6/1846.

was up, if the enemy were in sight - No, but, the danger of being attacked, and loosing the Big Gun, I certainly did laugh, for the whole affair appeared to, be such a farce.

We arrived at Riebeck, without accident Much to the delight of the Inhabitants and the little children, Our Camp was formed rations drawn, I bought seven sheep for our lot, and a general feast commenced. I received an invite to dine at head Quarters at 6 O'clock P.M., after dinner, I asked Our Commander, when we were to start for Hell Poort, He said - he had been told that the report sent to him in Town was wrong, and only a few Caffers had been seen, and that we should return the next day, I asked permission to take the Sporting Club, that night to Hell Poort, as I thought perhaps, we might find some Caffer fires He hesitated some time, and then said, how about the Big Gun, I told him, he could have the Yeomanry and Tulleries and also the hundred Malays - he agreed, But, said - you must be very carefull, I shall send the Malays to support you, and mind, if you find the enemy strong you will send an express to me. When I told my Men to prepare to march in ten minutes, to Hell Poort, they all murmured untill I told them we were to go alone, then they gave three cheers, and off, we soon left the Malays out of sight, and got rid of them, we arrived at Hells Poort, and Kept on the ridge above looking for fires untill daylight - and

offsaddled at the entry of the Poort, for Coffee --- To show the difficulty of managing Civilians, especially youngsters - there were four Horse guards put out - and a Sentry over the saddles, while the remainder, took a Nap, Always being anxious - I took a walk to visit the Horse Guards, and on getting close to a round bush, I heard then talking, and I heard one say - I an high law -, I then Knew they were playing at cards, so called out, and I am Jack, I just saw them bundle the cards together & jump up, and seize their Guns, I talked to then very seriously - and pointed out how stupid it was, for if I had been a Caffier I could have Killed then both, and taken their Guns I never saw fellows in such a funk -- I then took ten men on foot into the Poort we found in a Cave where the Caffers had been, some days before - but no fresh spoors I was just making ready to Patrole towards Town, when I saw Col Johnstone, with an Escort come to look after us, so we all returned together, and arrived safe in Town after three days hardous duty. I often wished I should never have any harder

During the war, we had several such expeditions working our Horses, and Men for nothing when they could have been employed much better, in hunting Caffers, where they were to be found. I believe they called this, in Military phrase - A Demonstration. All bosh.

The war having been brought to some sort of a close - I mean, that, when the Caffers were almost beater, there was a great to do in England about the expence, and no wonder, for I have never seen money wasted as it was then - It appeared to me that, the geral feeling was - to rob the Government as much as possible - it was carried on from the man that swept the Commissariat Store, to the General, As an instance, all waggons employed were paid a Pound Per diem - Nearly all the Officers had waggons - and they were entered in the names of Civilians, I Know of Waggons Kept as store rooms in the various Camps, that have no oxen to them - for Month, many of them they were oblided to put stones under the Wheels to Keep them from rotting, they were all at £1 Per diem, of course it would be asked - how they managed, when the Camp had to broken up for a move - That was easy, there was always at these Camps, a lot of Captured Cattle - and when the Oxen were required for the waggons, the Man in Charge who was a sort of Agent for the Owner, as the Officers could not have them in their homes would just find out, enough Oxen among those captured, and claim them, as having been taken sonetime before by the Caffers But this was only one way of doing it. I Knew another, for One of the Levy Officers told me himself, He was supposed

to have two Hundred Fingoes, all on pay, but he never had more than a little over a hundred . . . . I asked him how he managed, whe he had

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101.

To muster his Men for inspection, O'h he said, that is easy enough, when asked for other Men that were absent, they were out on Patrole, This is only one or two instanes of the robbery carried on, out of hundreds It appeared to me - that nearly everybodys eyes were on the Commissariat Chest. I have often stated in Public in Grahams Town, that I wished the Government would remove it - as then, people would turn out and fight - and put an end to the War.

I Know in England it was believed, that the people on this Frontier, liked a Caffer war better than peace, and I must say I believe so too, That is, by those who were always looking out to make money - But not as a general thing for I am sure if those very Men had - had half the hard work and risked their lives, as I and others did, and had seen the suffering and distress, they would have been ready to cry out for the war to be over. I could if I wished, enumerate a great Many, who owe the present Welthy positions the Caffer Wars, They are all Men who never run any risk, by going out to assist in the wars, But who had their eyes fixed on the Commissariat Chest or any other place, where money was to be had, they Kept up the Old saying Get money - Honestly if you can - But get money . . . . .

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102.

The Silver Jubilee of the Settlers.

In 1844 - A lot of Men that had come out as Settlers, with but very scanty means had some how or other - managed to fill their Coffers, took it into their heads to have a rejoicing - or what they called a Jubilee<sup>152</sup> Notice was given - that there would be a general Pic Nic - on Col Somersets ground and then a grand meeting in the Church to finish up with a dinner - at £1 per head, For my part I could not see that our Family had any reason to rejoice at coming out to this Country - For we left a Comfortable Home in England, where my Father, was very well to do - to come out here - to have my Father murdered and our whole Family - robbed by the Caffers, and the Government, and thrown out into the world to sink or swin, the best way we could,

I and my Brother William took a strole to the Pic Nick, and although there were about three hundred people, there - I could not see a hundred Settlers From there proceeded to the Church where a platform was erected for the speakers the Revd Mr. Shaw made a long speech - But as far as I could understand him - it was all upon the golden side - there was nothing of the distresses - the Settlers had undergone, I must say I felt - dissatisfied and made up my mind not to go to the Dinner, untill my Brother and others - after some time persuaded me - I made up my mind - not to take any Wine or Spirits

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103.

at the Dinner - There were four long tables three across the room, and one across the Top of them - in the Middle of it, was the Chairman<sup>153</sup> (Col Somerset, supported on one side by the Revd. Shaw, and the other by

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152. "Settlers' Day" was 10/4/1844. Stubbs is incorrect in several details: p.102 - tickets for the dinner were 9/- a head, not £1; p.102 - the gathering at Outlands followed Rev. W. Shaw's address in St. George's Church; p.105 - after Somerset's speech the dinner did not fold up as 3 further toasts and a song followed. Godlonton, Memorials, pp. 37-45.

153. The Chairman was Thomas Philipps; on his right was Col. Somerset, and on his left Rev. William Shaw. Rev. John Heavyside, the Colonial Chaplain, was present as a guest. Godlonton, Memorials, p.38.

the Revd. Heavysides; I sat a long way off near the Anetur Band, and opposite me sat - Mr. Stringfellow - There were about three Hundred people present - after the Table was cleared, Mr Shaw made his speech, in the same strain, as the one in the Church, after some time Col Somerset began (He was a very bad speaker) and appeared to be puzzled - at last he began, But he left out all the insults and illtreatment the settlers had received at his hands, when they first arrived, He was Commandant,<sup>154</sup> and acted the part of a Ceaser there being at that time - no Accomodation for Travellers in Grahams Town, they had to apply to him for an order to get a shake down in the Tronk - and even that, was not granted to every one, after talking for some time, something in the same strain as the others had done, he came to the time of the Caffer War of 1834-5, When he said - Yes Gentlemen, you all Know that when the Settlers had to rush into Town with their Wives and Families - and Stock - that they had saved from the Caffers, the Government took care of them and protected their Cattle, I, on looking round, could only see about about one third of those in the room were settlers

104.

and Knowing how we poor Settlers, had been misrepresented, and brutally abused in England I could hold no longer; But said almost in a wisper, it was a lie - Mr. Stringfellow<sup>155</sup> said - I am a Justice of the Peace I will have you turned out - I then said it a D---d lie when the person sitting next to him said are you a Justice, then take that, and throw a glass of brandy in his eyes, Then commenced a general row, some said turn him out - others said let him alone and let him tell the truth - One fellow laid hold of me, but was seized by J Miller and thrown completely over the heads of some others, Some of the Band who were nearly all Settler Sons, broke off the legs of the chairs - to defend me while this was going - I found myself lifted onto the Table, by the, Now Honble G Wood<sup>156</sup> - and Mr. W Smith, and begged I would speak out, and let the people Know the truth, I then began with the Manner the Settles were humbugged by Government from the time we arrived in the Colony and as to the protection they got for their Cattle in the War - I would describe it, when voices from all directions called our Hear, Hear speak out Stubbs, I told them that the Cattle was sent to a Depot about six Miles from Town and that the Contractors - Cock and Lee had the pick of the Cattle to slaughter for the Troops, and that I Knew several Settles who had seen their favorite

105.

Cows at the Slaughter House, and claimed them, but were not allowed to have them, several now called out that, that had been their case, after exposing a great deal more humbugging by the Government - I found the Chainan and that lot, disappeared, when I had concluded, those that remained gave me three Hearty cheers, We then all that remained drew up to one table and spent the evening - Poor Old Somerset and I were ever after the best of Friends.

I one time saw in an old London Journal the following, written by one Revd Avery Albany was Settled by a lot of Pauper Emigrants sent out from England by the Government; and, shortly after the last Jubilee - I saw, the Pamphlet by a Mr. Wilnot, wherin it stated the Settlers lived in perfect peace untill the War of 1834, These and many other lies have been published to the World and have done us immense injury For how could it be called peace when there were seven or eight Settles Murdered, within ten Miles of our Location, and great numbers of Cattle stolen - between 1820 and 1834 I hope if any one does attempt to write the History of Africa, they will be particular in getting the facts, and not send a lot of lies to be published to the World -

154. Somerset was appointed Commandant of the frontier on 19/10/1823.

<sup>x</sup>L.A.C., I, 59. See note 31.

155. Thomas Stringfellow was also a member of the Jubilee Committee. Godlonton, Memorials, p.xi. See note 76.

After the war was over - and people began to turn to business again - I found I had again to make a business - and I also found the Rhuematism had taken a strong hold of me from the continual exposure to all weather, during the war. I soon had Mail Contracts, But nothing worth writing happened untill the Kaffir war and Hottentot Rebellion broke out in 1850 I and my Brother had the Mail Contracts between Grahams Town and Port Elizabeth, Fort Beaufort, Somerset East, Bathurst at a paying price<sup>156</sup> - the war broke out so suddenly - that we had no chance of getting our horses together, that we lost one hundred and forty, and had to give up our Contracts - and of course our incomes -

I then offered my Services again to the Government, and was immediately made Field Commandant of Grahams Town and collected as many of the Sporting Club as I could together, at our first muster I think we had forty - I then called upon them to vote in a Captain they voted my Brother in, after that two Lieuts. were voted in - a Quarter Mast and four Sergts. - I then proposed that every one wishing to join - must be proposed by one and voted for, when that was done - I examined his Horse and Gun &c. - and if I thought him ready for duty - I had him entered on the Roll - I adapted the same plan, When any

misbehaved - by neglecting his duty or disobeying his officer - I called him to the front, when we mustered, and read all the charges against him, then put it to the vote whether he should be turned out or not, I done this, that they could never complain of me shewing any favor, when any Man was dismissed, it was reported to the Brigade Major<sup>157</sup>, and he was enrolled for foot duty in Town, he then neither got rations or pay.

After our first muster I reported it to the Commanding Officer - Col Somerset, who sanctioned what I had done and had it put in General orders, But, he said, We had better not be called the Sporting Club, as it did not sound well, So we were called Stubbs' Albany Rangers

We were now put in General Orders, and attached to the Cape Mounted Rifles, whose Pay Master,<sup>158</sup> had to get the requisition to draw our pay from the Commissariat - It was at this time we heard of the Murders at the Milatry Villages near Alice,<sup>159</sup> also the rising of the Hottentots and Caffers in the Cat river & Blinkwater - nearly all the troops were ordered to the front, and the duty became extremely heavy on my few Men, Forage and other supplies became scarce so that only half rations of forage were issued out - our horses were soon done up and I had the greatest difficulty - in getting any supplies - The Governor Sir H Smith was hemmed in in Fort Cox, and the Commandt.

of Grahams Town,<sup>160</sup> was afraid to take any responsibility upon himself - to supply us with what I required - I managed to raise our Force to ninety Men (I must here remark that, Grahams Town could have supplied three or four hundred but, whethir it was funck, or the attraction of the Commissariat Chest, I won't say - such it was - I tried to rouse them up all I could but still to no purpose - When I heard of Sir H Smith's situation, I tried to get a lot of Volonteers to make a dash for his relief - No, it appeared too dangerous - and so had to give it up - He shortly after - made a rush with a few Cape M Rifles and reached King W. Town - The Caffers now took possession of the Fish river bush, and cut off all communication between Grahams Town and King William's Town - Our work was very hard and I had great difficulty in Keeping my Men up to the it. The Commandant of Albany was afraid to answer my

156. See Appendix "C".

157. Capt. J.G. Rawstone, 91st Regt. was Brigade Major in Grahamstown from 14/3/1851, though Stubbs probably means Maj. Burnaby, the Town Commandant. G.T.J. 5/3/1851.

158. Ensign B.D. Wemyss, Paymaster of the C.M.R. Almanac, 1852.

159. Ely, Juanasberg, Auckland, Woburn. Only Ely was not attacked on 24/12/1850.

160. Maj. C.H. Burnaby, R.A. was Commandant of Grahamstown. Almanac, 1852.

requisition for supplies, with a General Order from the Comd. in Chief, and he could not be reached - The Hottentots at Theopolos, had turned out and formed a Camp on a tongue of land between the Bushmans River Mouth and the Kerieaja Mouth, called the Gora<sup>161</sup> - being cover with very thick Bush - was a good place to defend themselves, A report was brought in by W Grey - F.C.<sup>162</sup> that the Hottentots had left all their grain at Theopolos, and were about returning with their waggons to fetch - I Instructed my Brother to proceed with a lot of the Rangers, and see what Volunteers he could muster to attack them - Also sent a hundred

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109.

a hundred Fingoes under G. Cyrus,<sup>163</sup> after my Brother had been away five days, he sent an express to me for More Men - Col Somerset arrived in Town from Fort Beaufort, to whom I reported the news I had from my Brother, and told him, I was almost at my wits end, to know how to act - for I had continual applications for assistance, and had no Men to carry out the duty, the morning I was prepared to start - The 74th Regt. arrived in Town,<sup>164</sup> Col Somerset ordered one Company to proceed with me, that afternoon they were under the Command of Majr. Hancock and Capt. Duff<sup>165</sup> - to whom I was introduced, the Men were ordered off in such a hurry, that they had no time to draw rations - We marched out about 4 O'clock P.M - the Soldiers having marched from the Bay were very tired, at eight O'clock we halted for the night after they had formed Camp, I drew my few off to some distance and - had our fires put out, we were on much lower ground than the Soldiers, they had made a glorious fire - and I saw the Officers standing round it, a good target for the enemy, I sent one of my Men to ask Cap. Duff to come and sup with me - coming from the light - he could not see, and fell over some of our saddles, Why what the Devil is this - why you are all in the dark After getting him seated - I told him, it was not only to give him some supper - I had sent for him But to shew him the danger of having their fires burning - He was delighted, and asked him to go with him and tell Hancock, the best way

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110.

to act - I objected, as I told him I did not like interfering with Military Men - as they generally were so conceited, and I should not like to be snubbed by him - He said there was no fear of that - that Hancock would only be too glad to get any information, as it was impossible they should know any thing about Caffers war - I went with him - he told Hancock what I had said - but I was soon undeceived for he thanked me and begged I would tell him how to act - I told him to have all fires out, the Sentries to Keep quiet, and that we would move off - at 3 O'clock in the morning, without any Bugle - or other noise, which was done to my satisfaction - We had not gone far before some of the Rangers, who I had sent on in advance captured two Oxen from some Caffers, it was so dark they could not get the Caffers - We halted at Sun rise I told Hancock, he had better let his Men shoot one of the Oxen for his Mens breakfast - He said he was afraid to do that as he might get into trouble, as they had no Commissariat with them - I then told some Men to turn out the best Ox and I shot him, and told the Men to fall to, which they did in earnest - they had fires and their Mess tins on it in a very few minutes - I saw then cut up the meat into small pieces and almost as fast as they put it in they took it out and ate it - they were not long in finishing the ox, On our resuming our March, the Bagpipes struck up, and

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161. The L.M.S. station at Theopolis was founded in 1814 (Cory, I, 283). The rebellion took place on 31/5/1851 (G.T.J. 31/5/1851), whereafter the Hottentots trekked to the Xarrac, a Hottentot word signifying on open space of some extent surrounded on all sides by dense bush. G.T.J. 26/7/1851.

162. William Gray, Field Cornet of Southwell. Almanac, 1851.

163. George Cyrus, Kaffir Interpreter and Fingo Superintendent in Grahamstown.

164. 74th Highlanders arrived in Grahamstown on 27/5/1851 en route to Port Hare. G.T.J. extra 27/5/51.

165. Capt. F.H.W.L. Hancock, and Capt. James Duff. Almanac, 1852.

111.

the Men marched off, as fresh, as if they had just come out of Barraks -

We had gone about six Miles, when I was Met by W Grey F.C. who had been sent to hurry us on - He told me the Hottentots were expected to come out of Theopolos, with their waggons every minute, and that My Brother was on a hill watching for them, on my Arrival - I found C. Cock<sup>166</sup> with a lot of Men from the Cowie, John Woest with a lot from Oliphants Hoek, and a lot of Farmers - But Cyrus with the Fingoes had made some blunder and were not present, I had left the Troops to come on, and was trying to get the Men into some order, when my Brother came down and - ordered to charge down, as the Rebels had come out of Theopolos, we had about two Miles to charge, and just as we turned the corner of a small hill, we came upon them they had an Escort of about seventy picked Men, well armed, - about a hundred yards below them, was a deep Kloof lined with rocks and bush, after firing a few shots, they left the waggons, and took possession of the Kloof - and had every chance at us, that were on the flat - the firing was kept up for about two hours, when I saw J. Woest being carried out by some Dutchmen he had received a bullet through his Knee shortly after E. Dell came to me with his hand to his side and said he had got one in his body, I gave him some Gin and water to drink, and examined his wound and found the bullet had struck him

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112.

just below the ribs - but had turned out again leaving a wound about four inches long - when he found there was nothing serious - he threw his hat up with a Hooray and started back, as he said to have another go in - W Grey F.C. was the next he received a shot in the stomach, and was being carried out by two Men, when he received another wound & which Killed him - Seeing our fellows were getting Knocked over - I mounted my horse to try and get some Men round the Kloof to flank the Rebels, I was hardly on when they poured a complete volley at me - my horse stood for some time completely bewildered, I found he had a looper in his shoulder - I had succeeded in getting some Men to the top of the Kloof, when I was sent for by My Brother, I found him lying on his back with his hat over his face, he had received a shot which completely shattered his right arm, when I asked him how he was, He said he thought he had seen me fall some time before, and begged me to take care - for things looked bad, got him carried out - We then had another wounded through the arm, another in the back - another in the hand - On looking round - I saw some of my Men a long way off Keeping out of the way of the bullets, I rode up to them and asked what they were doing there, one fellow said his horse was Knocked up, I cocked my gun and told them to go and assist - or I would blow the first Mans brains out, who refused

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113.

The Rebels by this time, had made off down the Kloof, it was now getting late, and the Soldiers had not come up, I had our wounded Men put into the waggons (We had captured eight loaded with grain &c. and nine spans of Oxen - While putting the wounded into the waggons - J. Usher was trying to put one of the Oxen right, when a bullet struck the Ox on the ribs close to his head, He called out well, well, I thout I had a gotten)

We arrived at Wiggles Camp<sup>167</sup> about 8 O clock P.M. I never wish to see another sight like the one I saw there on our arrival - Mrs. Grey and Children rushed into the waggon, where he dead Husband lies, their cries were something terrible, - I found the Military Officers and a lot of others in Wiggles House having tea but before I could think of any refreshment I was anxious to get my Brother and J. Woest, off to Grahams Town, there wounds were so severe I was afraid, they would die before

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166. Cornelius Cock, son of William Cock.

167. F. Whittle's camp.

I got them to a Doctor, I asked Wittle to let me have from forage, to put the wounded Men upon, Could anyone emajine his answer, Who is to pay for it ? My blood had been pretty well up all day - and this answer made it Boil - I let out pretty freely and asked him, if that was the treatment Men were to receive, who had sacrificised their lives for his protection - I then ordered a lot my Men take as much as they wanted from the stack, and had some difficulty in Keeping them from giving him a good Mauling, After getting every thing ready

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114.

for a start - I ran into the House to wish the Officers goodbye, as they had to remain there untill further orders, one of them asked to take some refreshment - I had - had nothing from the day before, about thirty hours, I said I had no money, and that Fellow who refused the forage for the wounded Men, was not likely to trust, I shall never forget an Ensign named Baird (afterwards Sir David Baird pulling out his purse, and pushing it across the table to me, and begging me to make what use I liked of it, -

I must here mention, on my arrival at the Camp I had my Men Mustered, and called for two Volunteers to ride express to Grahams Town with my report - and to try and get a Doctor to come out, the first Man who came out to Volunteer, was the one who told me that his horse was Knocked up, when I ordered him to the front - I then proposed he should be turned out of the Rangers which was done at once - We reached Grahams Town just at daylight the next morning - I don't Know at any time I have been so completely done up as I was then

Col Somerset, I believed, remaked to some one that, We had made a Mess of it, and that he would go himself, He did, with a Force strong enough to go through Cafferland, He halted, within five Miles of the Rebel Camp, and allowed them all to escape past him in the night, The Burghers found their spoor, and wanted to follow up, But were not allowed

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115.

If my Brother had made the charge a quarter of an hour sooner, we should have had them on an open flat, and I don't think one would have escaped - I was told afterwards, that several had been shot, and that many more died from their wounds,

The Widow of W Grey was granted seventy five Pounds a year Pension, My Brother received one years pay as Blood money and a Pension of fifty Pounds a year<sup>168</sup> he would have had double if he had, had his arm taken off - My Brother being now disabled, made the work much harder upon me - I lost one Horse in the above affair, he was shot through the thigh - and died on the Field -

I soon found out from the spoors, that the Hottentots at the Location in Grahams Town Kept up a regular communication with the Rebels, and reported it to the Commandant But I might as well reported it to my Grand Mother, When my Brother was well enough to be moved - he was recommended to go up the Country, he took advantage of a train of Waggons going to Cradock, with supplies they had a good escort, I took six Men and went as far as De Bruins Poort, and on my returning near Burnt Kraal, came upon the spoors of a lot of Hottentots - Men, Women & Children, I followed up and found where they had Killed an Ox, and had carried it all away - I followed the spoor - as far as I dare with so few Men, but in looking

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116.

about I found the spoor of one Caffer and one Hottentot quite fresh, going in the direction of Grahams Town, I followed it up sharp and came upon then in a very bushy place, they were walking about eighty yards from the foot path, when I called Hooroosh to my Men, the Hottentot

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168. Mrs. Gray's pension was £70 p.a. William Stubbs got a year's pay amounting to £211/7/11 in addition to his pension. G.T.J. 9/8/1851, 29/11/1851.

turned round and fired a charge of Loopers at me, and then bolted - and hid himself in the bush - The Caffer had Assegies but no gun - I got sight of him and fired at him, he fell and rose again and made off, two of the Men followed him up, untill within about twenty yards, when he turned round and shewed fight untill Killed - I then called out to the Men to come straight to me, as the Hottentot was hid away in the bush, close bye, they found him, he had is Gun pointed at them, but had not loaded it - He asked them in English not to shoot him, it was too late, he was well dressed, and even Known by some of my Men, as belonging to Grahams Town - a few days before he had been seen in front of my House, I reported it to shew the correspondence was Kept up with the Rebels But even that did not satisfy our Wise Men There was a Hottentot and his Brother had a Camp - not far from the Queens Road,<sup>169</sup> ther Names wer Pakbaass,<sup>170</sup> they shot several Men while escorting Post, I was out night and day after then - but could never get a chance, I found out their foot path, and did all I could to get them to attack us - I even went with one man - got off our horses and spoked our pipes, No Go - this time

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117.

I had only just returned home, when a report was brought in, that the Post had been attacked, and two of the Escort shot<sup>171</sup> I was off again - and found, the one Man just where I had been standing not long before and the other not dead - close bye - I brought them to Town - and took them up the Main street - to make as great a show as Possible It had the desired effect, for a lot of my Men and about a hundred all armed, started for the Lacation - on setting fire to the Huts - some were nearly shot by guns they had hid away in the thatch,<sup>172</sup> there was a clean sweep made and from the interference of One of the London Missionary Society two of our Men were tried for Arson, but of course, acquitted<sup>173</sup>

Still being unable to get the supplies I wanted I made up my Mind to go to King Willian Town, to See Sir H Smith, on my Mentioning it to the Commandant, he laughed at the idea, what said he, will you go to the General, whe a Regiment of Soldiers could not get through, and how can you leave this part without protection I told him I should only take five Men<sup>174</sup> I took five Volunteers - and started, I arrived at Tromperters Drift before dark of saddle until eight O'clock P.M. The Officer there begged of me not to go on untill the morning, when there would be an escort, I would not waite, arrived at Fort Peddie at 12 O'clock, I was told it was perfect madness to attempt going

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118.

to go on as Seyolo occupied the country between there and King Williams Town but I started - and - proceeded to the ebb and flow drift on the Keiskama, and passed through all safe, and arrived at King Williams Town, much to the astonishment of all there, especially to Sir H. Smith<sup>175</sup> When I was introduced to him - he was sitting at a table - Col Cloete, sitting at one end - He S.H. jumped up, put out his hand, and give me a hearty shake, then called Hooray Hooray - by G--d there are no more Caffers in the Colony - or you would not be here Well Old Fellow he said -

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169. The Queens Road was built after the Sixth Frontier War, and extended from Grahamstown to Fort Brown. Goldswain, II, 129 note.
170. Jan and Gert Pockbaas
171. Messrs. Macqueen and Kelly killed out of a party of 11 men about 10 miles from Grahamstown, on 27/6/1851. G.T.J. 28/6/1851, 5/7/1851.
172. On Saturday 28/6/1851. G.T.J. extra 1/7/1851.
173. Six persons were indicted on 19/1/1852 before the Circuit Court, on charges of public violence and assault. The case was dismissed. There is no evidence to suggest that the L.M.S. was concerned in the trial. G.T.J. 24/1/1852.
174. Stubbs left on 7/5/1851 and returned on 12/5/1851. C.F.T. 13/5/1851, 20/5/1851. Cf. Stubbs, II, 32, 79-82.
175. Lieut.-Col. A.J. Cloete, Deputy Quarter-Master-General. Almanac, 1851.

and how are you and how did you get here, I told him I had five men with me, Five Men he said why I can't move with five hundred I am surrounded by a lot of D---n rebels If I had your Men I would go through Cafferland, after some time He said well what can I do for you, I pointed out the difficulty, I had in getting my supplies - In the first place I wanted more pay for my Men, I then gave him a letter signed by Honbl. Godlonton Honbl. Cock, Cawood<sup>176</sup>, and others - praying that - as the duty of the Albany Rangers was so heavy, the night have more pay He swore like a Trooper - and said now Stubbs you Know as well as I do, it does not lie in my power to give them more than the regulation pay,<sup>177</sup> if I do it must be out of my own pocket, See the Honbl. Godlonton and the Honbl. Cawood, want me to pay

119.

to give more pay, Why the D---l don't they put their hands in the pockets, and say Stubbs, here is more pay for your Men, who are protecting us while we are making our fortunes, that would be something like E'h Stubbs, I next told him I wanted rations for the Women - No, No he said what the D---l do Soldiers want with Wives, I told him - to use them in the same and for the same purpose as the Officers (He had a Wife) A'h well how many have you - I said sixty well he said Cloete put that down, I then mentioned the Children, He swore he could not agree to that, for if the Men did their duty he was sure they had no time to get Children, I told him they had got them before the war, he said well Cloete put that down, and issue a General Order for two Months, As you see Stubbs the War will be over in a Month, I here remarked I thought had better not be for any specified time because if the order was for two Months & the war was over before, it would be a loss to Government - Now I see said he you are looking out for the Government, as well as your Men - I like that, Well, Well, let it be (They drew rations for two years instead of two Months, We had a great deal more conversation, at last he said - I see Stubbs you can be trusted, and to save trouble I will issue orders, that - your requisitions be supplied, without reference to me, But you Know old Fellow by G---d I shall hold you responsible

120.

I then brought up the Police question, but nothing could be done in it then - it was put off - I then recommended, experienced Men to be attached to each Regt. of Soldiers, as they came to the front, which was carried out and proved to be of the greatest Service --- After finishing my business with Sir H Smith, I prepared to return, He sent for Col McLean,<sup>178</sup> and directed him to render me any assistance I required - Col McLean rode with me as far as <sup>179</sup> and made me stop to dinner, he would insist on me having two guides, he told them I was a great Friend of the Inkosu-Inkulu (The Great Chief Sir H Smith) and that any thing happened to me, they would be both put to death - I then started after bidding him and Mrs. McLean good Bye and arrived at Fort Peddie that night much to the delight of all there - The next after, leaving Trumpeters - we captured a Troop of sheep, which we handed over to an Escort we met with Some Waggon at Frazers Camp - We arrived in Town that night as I had brought a copy of the General order I sent a requisition for clothing for my Men, also cloaks and Boots, which were supplied by Contract - in fact I got everything I wanted for them,

The duty was now extremely hard - I have many times, after returning home from a hard Patrole, completely tired, and just gone to bed, been called up by some one who brought a report of their Cattle taken

176. The title "Honourable" was given to members of the Council of Advice (1825-1834), to the unofficial members of the Legislative Council (1834-1853), and to the members of the elected Legislative Council (1854-1910). Both Joseph and Samuel Cawood served on the Council, but neither before 1859. Goldswain, II, 176 note; Kilpin, *op. cit.*, p. 128. See Stubbs, II, 79-82.

177. i.e. 6d per day per enrolled man. Cf. G.T.J. 26/6/1852.

178. Capt. John Maclean. See note 149.

179. Space left in MS. Fort Murray, Maclean's station, seems to have been intended.

by the Enemy, or some one Killed, when I would send of the Orderly to warn a lot of Men, and be off again before day light, sometimes in the rain.

I wrote to Sir H Smith, and recommended a Map to be made of all the foot paths leading out of the Colony, and each Officer to be supplied with one - An Order was given to the Engineer Officer to have them prepared -- I had to attend his Office - to point them out in doing so - I took my pencil, and drew a line through the Map - remarking first on this path my Father was murdered, on this one - Johnstone, was<sup>180</sup> murdered - on this one Anderson<sup>181</sup> was murdered, and on nearly all some one had been murdered, Why, he said, it appears - Nearly all the paths are marked by some Murder, I have never heard of it before - At all events, they were issued, and was of the greatest benefit to the Troops, and I was thanked by the Commanding Officer -

As all the Post Contracts were thrown up by the Contractors - M. Hudson C.C.<sup>182</sup> was completely in a fix - He asked me if I could not form some plan to assist him I really had so much to do - that I was almost done up - I managed to purchase a lot of Horses, and raise a Corps of Post riders, and Escort - and set all the Mails going and Kept them so untill the end of the war, The only Mail that was carried by the Military, was the one

to King Williams Town, this was the only one the Caffers captured<sup>183</sup> - or perhaps it was given then by the Cape Corps Escort, for there was none of them shot, I was out on Patrole shortly after and found the remains of the Pack saddle and papers, where they had burnt them I had been down in the Cowie Bush - and finding nothing - waylaid on the top of Drivers hill - The plan we adapted was to Keep from the place we intended to waylay untill after dark, then make all fall in and order all single barrel guns to the left, double barrels to the right, those with single to take the Horses - some distance out of the path, the others to waylay, on this occassion, we had a thick bush Kloof at our rear - the foot path ran about six yards from it - but there was an old path close within two yards from where we lie. We had not been lying above an hour when I was annoyed, by one of the Men snoring a poked him several times, with my gun, about an hour before daylight, I heard the tramp of Cattle, shortly after, I saw the Caffer coming along the old foot path (In driving Cattle they always have one or two in advance, I intended to allow him to pass, as he would almost sure to be shot - by the Men, with the horses, But just as he was with in a couple of yards of me, our fellow gave a tremendous snore - the Caffer, turned round, and I heard his gun click, as he was in the act of firing I motioned to fire, the Man on my right

gave him a charge of loopers in his side and as he turned round - he got a bullet in his back, he fell on his hands and Knees, and died still holding his gun at full cock, it was a splendid gun and had six fingers of loopers in it, which we had a chance of receiving, by that fellow snoring) Almost the same time - two others came up, which we Knocked over the Cattle all laid down - We then made some Coffee - and returned home<sup>184</sup>

There is some excuse for a Man going to sleep while waylaying, after he has been at for several nights, Now fire, no smoking and not a word spoken, but to sit or lie with your Gun in your hand - from dark to daylight. It certainly is the most effectual way to fight the Caffers, for I have Known Caffer foot paths deserted for a long time after some had been shot in them.

180. See page 28, and note 49.

181. See page 24-25, and note 40.

182. Hougham Hudson, sen., C.C. and R.M. for Albany from 8/10/1845 to 30/9/1852. Almanac, 1851, 1853.

183. Stubbs refers to the mail lost on 17/5/1852, though another to King William's Town had been lost two days previously. G.T.J. extra 20/5/1851; G.T.J. 24/5/1851.

It is far from being pleasant, to command a Waylaying party - You there sit - you hear them coming on - perhaps humming a tune you see them, and almost look in their eyes and you have to give the signal for their death warrant. I have heard people talk very lightly about shooting Caffers, But, I believe it is by those, who have never experienced it, for I have always felt grieved - that my duty compelled me to it, you certainly don't think much about, after the first shot is fired, But before that, and after the excitement is over is the time any Man must feel it

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124.

I found great difficulty in teaching Troops to waylay.

Col Eyre of the 73rd<sup>185</sup> was ordered to Albany and encamped at Drivers Hill, He sent for me to point out the best places to place his Men, He was quite ignorant of that part I pointed out - the principal foot paths & recommended - a Camp to be formed on each He, like most Military Men, was too conceited to listen to a Civilian, But soon found out his mistake - for the Caffers & Rebels passed him, within a very short distance, & then to took my advice and move his Camps to the places I had pointed out - After he had been in Camp some time he sent for me - to point out the foot paths mostly used by the Enemy, The one his Camp was on, was the principal one - passed the Spits Kop, He certainly did take a great deal of trouble to learn the Country, for every time I was at his Camp we had the map on the table for hours, One day I remarked to him - that about three miles from his Camp, was one of the best places on the whole line to waylay, He said it was both un Soldier like, and Un Englishmen like to waylay, I said, well Sir - my idea is, to destroy all the enemy, without being Killed myself or loosing my Men, and shall continue that plan as long as I have any thing to do with the war - He soon found out that we were continually catching the Enemy & retaking Cattle, close to his Camps, while his Soldiers, were, patrolling and never getting a chance at them - One day as I was returning from a

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125.

a Patrole I called upon him, we had - had some little success, which altered his mind about the system of Waylaying, He asked me to go and show him the best place, and how we did it - I took him to the Spits Kop it is a place just at the top of a very steep hill (Called the penny an inch hill, as I suppose, it was considered to be worth that to climb it) a sort of table land, with several round bushes, close to the foot path - you could see anything coming from either way - I told him - the best plan was to put a few men into each of the two bushes, and that on the Enemy coming, to let the first of them pass, and fire into the last, as the front would run into the hands of his other party, He said he was quite satisfied, and would try it, that night I had five Men with me, and waylaid about five Miles from the Spits Kop - We got some Horses, and done the Enemy some damage, The next morning I returned to his Camp to hear what he had done, the moment he saw me, he called out, it is all your fault, two or three times - He told me I ought to have been with him - for he had hardly got his Men into their places than forty or fifty Rebels came close up, one of his Men made a noise and they all except one got away, and he was caught by a Soldier and held fast, untill another struck him with a bagnet<sup>186</sup>

He then said he thought my plan was a very good one, and he should follow it up, He did so, with very good success and thanked me many times for what I

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184. The date was 19/6/1851. G.T.J. 21/6/1851.

185. Lieut.-Col. William Eyre, 73rd (Mangalore) Regt. He was ordered to Bathurst on 15/8/1851, and on 20/9/1851 to take command of Lower Albany. Almanac, 1851; 1428 of 1852 p.113; G.T.J. extra 23/9/1851.

186. Lieut.-Col. Eyre was away on 14/10/1851 when a patrol of the 73rd Regt. ambushed a party of rebel Hottentots. G.T.J. 18/10/1851.

shewn him, One of his Camps was at Bothas Hill, and being anxious to get them all into the plan I took four Men with me there - and got an Officer to take ten Men - and waylay with me about two Miles from the Camp, as soon as we started after dark - I told him there must be no more talking or smoking, this caused some muttering among the Soldiers, on arriving at the place, I placed the Men in position, but had the greatest difficulty to Keep them quiet - We got nothing that night, and, as I and the Officer were walking on in front - I heard some of the Men calling me all the Old fools they could think, One fellow said, just to think the Cafferes would be such B---d fools as to come to us to be shot - we might as well have been comfortably in our beds. About ten days after I report was brought to me, that the Caffers had taken a troop of Cattle from the Keriega, I knew the foot path they would take, and rode out to Bothas Hill Camp, as I was riding through the Camp, I heard one fellow call out to his Comrades, Here comes Old Shovun along, I suppose were to have another night to watch the stars, I ask the Officer to get ten Volunteers from his Men, to forelay as a lot of Cattle had been taken - and they would be sure to go by - Coesters Drift We started after dark, and took up a good position, about 3 O clock in the morning - we heard the Cattle coming on, and it was not long before, we had them, and some of the enemy - On our road to Camp the Soldiers had a different tale, they were

delighted, and considered Old Shovun along a wonderfull fellow, They managed well after that by themselves,

By this time the Caffers and Hottentots had Kept - all the other Troop and Levies well employed - in the Fish river bush and the water Kloof.

I received a letter from Col Eyere - to say He was going - with three Companies of Soldiers to Attack Tola's Kloof on the Fish river, that Col Mitchell<sup>187</sup> was to come from King Williams Town to attack on the Opposite side, and that He requested me to meet him that night with a suppli of Ammunition, at Committees Post I was to bring all my Men I could spare, and G. Cyrus with One hundred and fifty Fingos It was a dangerous undertaking - as, we must pass through - Pluto's Poort, the road had been washed away, and was almost grown too, and it was just in the run of the Rebels I started from Grahams Town at dusk, with two Horse<sup>l</sup> loaded with ammunition, and luckily reached Col Eyer<sup>l</sup> Camp before daylight - His Men were very tired, so it was arranged - we were to remain untill the next day, as that would be the day Col Mitchell, was to be in position on the opposite side, I found E. Driver Senr. (The same that was with my Father the night he was Murdered) as Guide with Col Eyere, after Breakfast - Not feeling inclined to lie idle all day, I proposed to Driver to go and have a look for spoors, I - Driver and G. Cyrus started from the Camp up

Up the river - we had gone about four Miles when suddenly - a White Blanket was shewn on a bush - about two hundred yards in front we immediately sprang into the Bush - and on looking a little farther, we saw a troop of Cattle feeding - evidently driven there to entice us on, But on looking back towards the Camp we saw another white Blanket hoisted on a rise about three hundred yards from the path - we had just before travelled, I told Driver I thought we were rather in a fix - that it was quite evident - we had the enemy both in front, and in the rear, He said yes I think as you and Cyrus are more active than me you two, had better try and return to the Camp - I will manage to hide away along the river, untill you can bring a party, out to attack them, and take that lot of Cattle, But, I am afraid you will have some difficulty in reaching the Camp - We did reach it, and I

187. Lieut.-Col. John Michel, 6th (Royal 1st, Warwickshire) Regt. Almanac, 1852.

reported what we had seen to Col Eyre & ask him for some Men to attack - He said No, He had formed his plans - to march the Next morning at 3 O'clock to attack Stock's Kraal - I got a few of my Men and fetched Driver.

That night - a Book with the Camp Orders were brought to me to sign, It was there laid down the plan we were to march in the Morning - The Fingoes to take the advance, then the Troops - & I with my sixteen Rangers to bring up the rear I did not like it at all - I would rather be in front - But orders must be obeyed in the Army, whether it is right or wrong - and

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129.

and I was satisfied that this was wrong, We had proceeded about a Miles farther than where we had seen the Cattle the day before, it was just getting day break, When we heard bang - bang - and then a Volley in front - It was impossible to Keep my Men in the rear any longer, and of course I was obliged to go with them, We raced through the Soldiers to the Front, and there found Col Eyre - His Guides with the Fingoes, It appeared the Fingoes in advance - had come upon some huts, with some wounded Rebels in them, at all events what ever they were, they all escaped, We found a heap of bandages that had recently been used, Col Eye was in a great passion, and told Me to take the advance, for the Fingoes could not be depended upon - While preparing again for a forward movement - We saw smoke rising on the opposite side of a thick strip of bush, Col Eyre said - Stubbs I wish you would charge through there, and I will march my Men round - the hill, and come on their flank - I told him it was impossible to charge through - that horsemen would have the greatest difficulty - as the bush was so thick, He asked Driver what he thought Driver said at one time, when there were plenty of Elephants in the Country - to mak paths through it would have easily done but I do not think it hardly possible to get through with a horse.

He completely lost his temper, and said to me, Well Sir, I will try if I cannot get through, so you follow me, and off we

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130.

started, He had a Lieut Engliss<sup>188</sup> with him as Adiconp, and off we started, the one Company of Soldiers (Granadier), were also to charge through to our left - We had not got above 100 yards into the bush - when I saw Col Eyre completely fixed - his horse had got entangled in some thorny runners, he was pulling him by the bridle, and swearing like a Trooper, the poor Horse could neither move one way or the other One of the Soldiers happened to come that way - and Col Eyre called him the stick the Horse with his Bagnet - Lieut. Engliss, was holding his Hankerchief to his face to Keep the Col from seeing him laugh, It certainly was a most rediculous sight, at last I said wait a moment Col. I will release him, and took out my Hunting Knife and cut him loose - The bush was about half a mile through - and we were about an hour getting to the other side - We then saw a troop of Cattle driven by a lot of Caffers about three Miles in advance - but nearly on the top of a bushy hill - the Col said I wish you would remain and get the Grenadiers together - and I will charge with your Men after the Cattle, but on looking about there were only three Men in sight the remainder - and the Soldiers were still struggling in the bush - It took us about four hours to get them together - it was in the heat of summer, and the Soldiers had nothing in the haver sacks - and only a very little water in their canteens - they were getting done up, but had to trot forward and before we got, to the top of the Hill

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131.

they could scarce get one foot in front of the other - I had overtaken the Col., and on gaining the top there was a pretty sight below us - it looked as if all Cafferland was there (It was now time for us to hear

the Big Gun of Col Mitchells - and we waited for an hour, But no Gun - direct in front of where we stood was a perpendicular rock reaching nearly to the Fish river, on the right, was a long ridge running down to the river opposite Stocks Kraal, there were small bush Kloofs on both sides of the ridge, We could see the Women and Children driving troops of Cattle up the Hills on the opposite side, where Col Mitchell ought to have been (But, where he did not come for two days after) - Col Eyre then said to me - I wish you to charge down that ridge, and take up your position at that point opposite Stock Kraal and I will take the Troops down to the Left, and support you, I told him the Caffers would allow us to pass the first Kloof, but that we should never reach the place he pointed out, with sixteen Men: He then called Driver (his Guide) and asked him, Driver told him - the Cattle we saw in the Morning were only brought, there to draw us on, and that he believed - that if we went in, untill Col Mitchell attacked from the opposite side, We should be chowed up, as the 2nd. of Queens<sup>189</sup> were - nearly in the same place a short time before (There was a whole Company of them, led into a well planned ambuscade, and cut to pieces -

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132.

He then turned to me and said well Mr. Stubbs will you go - I said Sir, if you order me to go of course I never disobey orders, But if you ask me to go I certainly shall refuse. Then He said - I don't order you - He then called Cyrus and told him to call his Fingoes, tell them he said to look all the Cattle, Now Mr. Cyrus, tell them if they will go down and fetch those Cattle - they shall then all divided among them - Cyrus talked a long time in the most persuasive manner - The Col at last, lost patience, and said Well Sir what do they say - If you please Sir said George they say, they wont go - I and Driver in the Mean time had gone to have a look at the ridge - Keeping well under cover of the bush, & on reaching the first Kloof we, saw their whole plan, as we had expected - each Kloof was waylaid, and was both plain to him as well as me, that they would have allowed us to pass in, and then closed behind - and as our Soldiers were done up, with thirst and hunger, they would be entirely at the mercy of the Enemy as I and Driver were returning - We stood on the rock - mentioned above, when the Caffers, and Hottentots called out both our Names, and asked why we did come down for the Cattle. When Driver returned and reported what he had seen, Col Eyre said well I suppose as Col Mitchell, has not come according to the arrangement I suppose we must retreat. It is the first time I have had to do so - The sun was now shining, as it never can shine like it any where else, than the Fish river bush

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133.

The Soldiers were lying about - and did not seem to care what became of them On the word to march, I asked the Col to allow me and my Men to remain, as the Caffers would be sure to follow up to the place we had halted - to pick up any thing we might have dropped and that I might have a chance of nobling a few - He was evidently in a bad humour, for he said No Sir We will retreat, and you bring up the rear - which is no easy job, with a lot of exhausted Soldiers, they all like tired Mules - they will lie down behind any bush, not caring what becomes of them We had not gone far, when it was found the Granadier Company had never come up, the Bugle sounded their call, it was a long time before we got an answer & then, they had not got all their Men out of the first bush we entered - On our arrival at the river - it was a sight to see the poor fellows, flat down with their head almost buried in the water - We reached Committes Post after dark - That night Col Eyre sent for me and Driver, and asked if, we did not think - it would be a good plan - to let the Troops, and fingoos, March of early in the morning. I and my Men to remain behind, our horses to be hid in the Stable close to the Western Gate, which was to be closed, and that he Driver and I were to occupy the Guard house at the other Gate, and then as it was likely the Hottentot Rebels and Caffers night, come to see what

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189. The 2nd (Queen's Royal) Regt. was ambushed near Breakfastvlei on 9/9/1851, suffering nearly 70 casualties, including 19 dead. G.T.J. 20/9/1851.

they could pick up - It was arranged that one or two mess tins - a rien or two and some other trifling articles were to be left in the yard, as if they had been forgotten and when - they came - through the Gate way - my Men were to moun, and ride round, and take them, there was to be no quarter - all that were taken alive, were to be hanged at the two Gateways. The rascals must have watched us, for we remained there at 3 hours, but nothing came so we moved off -190

On our road to the Cols Camp I and the Col were riding together, talking about the War when he said - Well Stubbs it was all your fault - we did not have a fight - yesterday I said well Col, you can blame it to me if you like, but I must tell you there is a great difference in you Commanding Troops, and me commanding Civilians If you order a lot of Men to any duty and have fifty or a hundred Killed although - you gain nothing by it - you most likely would be praised in General orders, and another supply of Men sent out from the Depot, you Know nothing off them - But with me it is different, My men are all pretty well my equals - and I Know all their fanalies and all their circumstances, and should I loose any off them through any mistake of mine, I should never be forgiven, and as I am likely to live among all my days I should be very uncomfortably situated

I am satisfied you Know - that although I have never lost a Man, either in this war or the last, That we have done as much good Service, and - Killed as many of the Eney - as any Regiment that has been engaged in the War; He said all this I Know, and I can perfectly understand your situation - and I am glad to Know you have done wonders, with your few Men. I am also glad to see you take so much interest, I was only joking when I said it was your fault - For it was not my intention to go into Stock Kraal without Col Mitchell, shewed up on the opposite side

He and I were always the best of friends untill he left the Colony

I looked upon him as a brave & dashing Soldier - one who I think would be ready to charge at any Enemy - More fit for Civilized Warfare, than Caffers

[Unnumbered page]

1829.

I had at this time, Still living with Rofferty Mustered a good Horse and was going to the Races, and on passing Maynards Store, C. Maynard called me, and said he had some money for me from England, he paid he forty five Pounds which appeared to me to be an immense fortune I rode back, and bought a fine cloak, and New saddle and Bridle, and started off to the Races, a regular swell, treated every body that would drink - I spent the money in every foolish way possible, I ran into debt, and having the money, thought - I could pay any other time, But what was the consequence, before my time was out - my Money was gone, and I had many, hard struggle to pay off what I owed

This just shows, how foolish it is to put a lot of money into - a young fellows hand untill he has had experience, If Maynard had put that money out for me untill my time was out, it would have been the means of, setting me up

[For newspaper cuttings included here in MS. see Appendix III.]

190. This patrol lasted from 1 to 3 October 1851. Smith had intended to send Lieut.-Col. Michel to co-operate, but at the last moment had been forced to send him to reinforce Somerset in action in the Waterkloof. G.T.J. 4/10/1851; G.T.J. extra 7/10/1851; 1428 of 1852, p.165.

War 1850-51 52

1.

1852  
March 21

News was brought to Grahams Town through Cradock that Whittlesea had been attacked, many times and that, the defenders were almost out of all sorts of Amunition; if a supply was not thrown in at once, it would have to be abandoned - leaving the whole Country open on that side, I was sent for by the Commandant (Majr. Burnaby)<sup>1</sup> to try some plan of forwarding the necessary supply I volunteered to take a waggon load to Cradock, this was thought almost impossible - as I could only spare a few of my Men, and there were no other available Force - except Fingoes, and, the enemy were harrassing us on all sides of Grahams Town.<sup>2</sup>

At last, it was arranged I should take twenty of the Rangers, and one hundred Fingoes - one waggon Driver and Leader - We started from Town<sup>3</sup> - and after reaching Table Farm about six Miles from Town, we Outspanned - I then Mustered the Men to point out, the serious duty we had to perform - and to regulate the way of Marching - as I intended to travel principally in the night - The Fingoes were under the Command of Jonathan Ayliff<sup>4</sup> - now attorney in Grahams Town, He had to Keep twenty Men some distance in advance of the Waggon - twenty more a short distance in front, and he and the remainder behind, My Men skirmishing to detect any Enemy - before they could possibly be near the waggon - We had Port fires, in case we should be overpowered to blow up the amunition. We reached Somerset East, all right, the Oxen were done

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2.

and the Fingoes refused to proceed further, they complained of their feet being worn through. I applied a Mr. H. Hudson C.C.<sup>5</sup> for another span of Oxen - either to press them or buy on account of Government - after some difficulty I got another waggon and fresh Oxen, and gave Mr Ayliff and order on Peacock for one hundred Pairs of Boots for the Fingoes - We now travelled night and day and arrived safe in Cradock much to the delight of the Inhabitants there who came out with their Civil Commissioner Mr W Gilfillen Senr,<sup>6</sup> to cheer us as we passed through the Town. A Party of Volunteers called the Cradock bricks,<sup>7</sup> started with a supply of Amunition on Horse back - and after having a little fighting arrived at Whittlesea just in time to save it, and that part of the Country

I found Cld David Hume in Cradock with two Waggons loaded with Ivory and other Interior produce, He had been waiting there for two Months, and was very anxious to get to Grahams Town, and offered me an Hundred Pounds to Escort him down, I told him I would not receive anything, but he could give the Men what he thought proper - and I would command them, He agreed to give them a Hundrd Pounds - with the understanding from me that I took nothing, as I considered we were doing our duty to protect all traffic -

I left Ayliff with his Fingoes to escort a Troop of Cattle to Grahams Town for the Contractor (Cawood)<sup>8</sup> - Before I started I sent my

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1. Maj. C.H. Burnaby, R.A., who in the Eighth Frontier War was commandant of Grahamstown till 18/6/1852 when he went to England. Almanac, 1852; C.F.T. 29/6/1852.
  2. The C.M.R. had been ordered to the front. G.T.J. 18/1/1851.
  3. Stubbs left on 12 March; reached Cradock on 19th; left again on 21st, and returned to Grahamstown on 25 March 1851. C.F.T. 18/3/1851, 1/4/1851; G.T.J. 29/3/1851.
  4. Jonathan Ayliff, First Captain in the "Graham's Town Fingo Levy." G.T.J. 11/1/1851.
  5. Hougham Hudson, jun., C.C. and R.M. of Somerset from 3/5/1847. Almanac, 1852.
  6. W. Gilfillan, C.C. and R.M. at Cradock from 15/2/1837. Almanac, 1852.

requisition for - rations for us and our Horses - for five days - The  
Commissariat

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3.

Issuer refused to supply us, as he had no General order to supply  
Volunteers returning from there (to Grahams Town (What rot) I applied  
to Mr. Gilfillin - and told him if I could not get supplied - I would  
purchase a Waggon load of Oat Hay - that was then in the Town - for  
which the wanted £one P. Cwt and that I should draw upon him for the  
Payment of it - for it was ridiculous to think, that Men should, who  
had at the risk of their lives brought them the only Means for defending  
themselves, be refused the common necessaries He asked me to wait  
untill he had spoken to the Commissariat Issuer - He told him he had  
better get the supplies for me sharp - or I should report him - and he  
would be sure to be dismissed - he had it sharp, and off we started,  
thing went on allright as there was not much danger untill we arrived  
near the fish river We outspanned - a short distance down the Hill  
to an open place in the bush - I had four Sentries put out; with orders  
for them to lie down - and to be relieved every two hours - Being very  
anxious, having several youngsters with me - I visited them several  
times in the night - the second time I found the first Sentry - fast  
asleep, his gun standing against the bush, I took it, and told the  
Sergt. to put another Man there and make a Prisoner of him, his  
name of C. Sheppard<sup>9</sup> a comical rascal as he was taken past me I heard  
him say Ah, the Commandant thought I was asleep but I was just  
waiting to see what he would do - The next time I went round

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4.

I found another - lying fast asleep I took his Gun, and he was made  
Prisoner, The next morning when the Waggons were inspanned I ordered  
the Men to fall in, then gave the two Prisoners a lecture, and ordered  
them to be put on Horse guard every time we halted untill we arrived  
in Town, I heard Sheppard say, the Commandant thinks to punish us  
but, it is just the thing I like, O'h it is jolly We arrived in  
Town without meeting with any obstructions -

I consider the above piece of duty, of as much, or more  
importance thany any we did durg the War -

1851 March 27

I forgot to mention after we had left the De Bruins Poort one day - we  
were overtaken by one of the Trollips, who stated that He - B Booth, and  
Mr. Costings, were coming through the Poort - not long after us, when  
they were attacked by Rebel Hottentots, and that Booth & Costings were  
shot, and that he escaped by riding hard through -<sup>10</sup>

On my return Home, I saw the blood where one of them had fallen,  
My Brother then reported to me - that Booth was seriously wounded and  
after being in the Bush all night, had found his way to Town,<sup>11</sup> and that

- 
7. The "Cradock Mounted Volunteers" were formed on 7/1/1851 by John  
Edward Nelson. They seem to have got the nickname "Cradock Bricks"  
for their gallant ride on 7/2/1851 to the relief of Whittlesea when  
the village was surrounded by 2,800 rebel Hottentots and Tambookies.  
Notes and News, XIV, 24-5; cf. G.T.J. 15/3/1851.
  8. Joseph and Samuel Cawood were meat contractors to the Commissariat.
  9. C. Sheppard later married Stubbs' eldest daughter. See below p.59,  
and Appendix "A".
  10. Charles Trollip, Benjamin Booth (who was Robert Godlonton's son-in-  
law), and Henry Castings, a mason who lived at Daggaboer's Neck in  
Somerset, were ambushed by rebel Hottentots on 22/3/1851. Booth was  
badly injured, while Castings was shot dead. G.T.J. extra 25/3/1851;  
C.F.T. 25/3/1851.
  11. Booth reached "Burnt Kraal", the farm of Jeremiah Goldswain about  
15 miles from Grahamstown, from where news was forwarded.  
Goldswain, II, 144.

Costings was Killed on his getting the report, started of with a party of the Rangers to the place described by Booth where he found the spoor of a number of Hottentots<sup>12</sup> He followed it up through one of the most difficult parts of the Fish river bush - untill he came onto the Somerset road past Riebeck, where he found a Waggon belonging to G. Cummins of

5.

Hilton<sup>13</sup> - loaded with Wines, Brandy &c., which the Hottentots had captured, and taken the Oxen & rifled the waggon, from there he followed their spoor near to a deep bushy Kloof, where he sighted them and very soon received a well directed fire from them, after Keeping this up for some time, and it getting late - my Brother withdrew to secure the Waggon, and what goods were left, (this was on Saturday) He then rode into Town to get some more Men, and started off before daylight the next morning took up the spoor again - and followed it through Zwaartwaters Poort - (A most dangerous defile) and on arriving at the other end, saw two of the Rebels - on the side of the Hill, (This part is very thickly studded with the Prickly pear and bush ( He charged in - and came upon them they had just finished their Breakfast - (I must here remark - that since my Brother had returned from Graaf Reinet where he had been to recruit his health after being wounded, he could not use a gun - but was obliged to use a pistol with his left hand) He was just going between two bushes, when he heard the snap of a gun, and on looking round saw a Hottentot taking his gun from his shoulder, it had misfired, and my Brother aiming at him with the Pistol, begged for Mercy - but too late he was shot - and on examining him, was found His discharge from the Cape Mounted Rifles on Parchment, and after describing his services said he had a good, character, I still have the discharge, My Brother could not say how many, were shot, or how many there were,\* as the bush was so thick, on going to

6.

their fire place, He found, some pots & Kettles, and a Bible and Prayer book open showing they had held their Sunday morning Service, with the blood of Costings on their hands - This again proves how the Hottentots were Mislead by those would be Philonthoriss the London Missionry Society.

From some documents found it was ascertained some of them had come up with the Levies from the Western Districts, a Description of them was sent there and two of them were apprehended, and sent up - tried and hanged.

1852

Col Eyre was releaved by Col Perciful of the 12th Regt,<sup>14</sup> Who took Command in Albany Col Sommerset, was mad General of the 2nd Division, under whose Command we came<sup>15</sup>

1851 Feby

Something was wrong with the Bay Mail and I had to go there to put it right, But as this was a Civil Service - I had to get leave of absence, as I was now considered by our Commant of Grahams Town (Burnaby to be a Milatary Man - I took ten Men of the Rangers as Escort as far as Bushmons River, and then sent them back on Patrole during

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12. William Stubbs set out on 23 March; returned for more men on 25th, and attacked the rebels on 26 March 1851. G.T.J. extra 25/3/1851, 29/3/1851; C.F.T. 25/3/1851, 1/4/1851. See below pp. 41-42.

13. "Hilton" was the farm of G. Cummings about 10 miles from Riebeck East, in the direction of Grahamstown.

\* The asterisk is in the MS. and refers to a footnote:- "This is a mistake see his report page 41"

14. Licut.-Col. J.M. Perceval, 12th (East Suffolk) Regt. He took command of Albany on 14/11/1851. Almanac, 1852; G.T.J. 15/11/1851.

15. Col. Henry Somerset was promoted on 2/1/1851 to the local rank of Major-General. His promotion was confirmed on 5/7/1851. Cory, V, 324; G.T.J. 12/7/1851.

my absence - someone told Burnaby I had taken all the available Men from Town and left that part of the Country open - I believe it was some one of the Old Women of which Grahams abounded during the War, it was only the Commissariat Chest that kept them from making off to the

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7.

Bay, the consequence was - Burnaby - ordered a Muster of my Men in the Drosdy ground for his inspection - at the Muster, he asked my Brother where the other Men were He told him I had taken ten, and intended to send them back on Patrole He (Burnaby) flew into a great rage and said I had no buseness to take any Men without an order from him, and that, He should place me under arrest on my return, My Brother said he had nothing to do with it, all he had to do, was, to Command the Rangers in my Absence, Burnaby then called out in a loud voice I shall put him under arrest. the Rangers on hearing this, left the ranks & came round him, and asked him what he said, he repeated it, And they all gave three cheers for their Commandant, and dismissed themselves - laughed at Burnaby and went home, leaving Him and my Brother standing on the Parade ground -

On my return home,<sup>16</sup> four days after I was informed by my Brother all that had taken place, and that none of the Men would do duty untill I returned - and if I was put under arrest - they would all leave the Service - this placed my Brother and Burnaby in a very awkward situation - for there were some, coming continually for assistance.

I sent a report to the Commandant, Burnaby that I had returned, and that day, received a letter from him calling me to account for taking the Men to Escort me, while I was on Civil Service (Nothing about the arrest

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8.

We kept up a paper war for three days I then sent in my resignation - this appeared to stagger him, as he wrote me again - to know if I really intended to resign, My Answer was, I raised the Corps of Albany Rangers - and the Sporting Club in the War before, and that I had given such satisfaction, no one had interfered with any of my arrangements, before him, and that if he intended to continue doing so, He could forward my resignation to the General (He had Lieut Engliss for his Secretary<sup>17</sup> - he used very often come and spend some time with me, so that I knew pretty well all that was going on (Burnaby did not send my resignation to the General But I wrote to the General<sup>18</sup> myself with a full explanation of the whole affair. After the arrival of the return Post Engliss came to me in the evening, laughing and told me Burnaby had received a regular wiggling from the General for his interference with me, that I had always done good Service, and that if I resigned he knew all the Men in the Rangers, would do the same, and they would be in a great fix, as the Rangers were the only Mounted Men there were to do the duty, that he was not to interfere with me.

I received a Note from the Major that evening asking me to come to his Quarters to spend the evening with him, if I was disengaged On my arrival - he met me - offered me his hand and said let bygones, be bygones, Come in

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9.

I repeated his words let bygones be bygones He had a jolly good fire, and it was not long before we were seated before it - taking some hot punch, as cozy as if nothing had happened (See Page 37)

I must try and describe him, He was a short Man - rather stout -

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16. Stubbs returned from Uitenhage on 11/2/1851; see below pp. 37-39. G.T.J. 15/2/1851.

17. See Stubbs, I, note 188.

18. i.e. Maj.-Gen. Somerset. See note 15.

jolly looking face - rather bow legged - Was in the Artillery, but from all I could learn, had never seen a gun fired in Anger - He had always been on the Peace establishment, a thorough disciplinarian - who thought that a Military Man was a devil of a fellow, and very far superior to any Civilian - We were always very good Friends after -

1852

On Col Percival taking Command of Albany I was introduced to him, and found him a thorough Soldier and a Gentleman - very quiet - and unassuming - In fact such a Man you would take a liking to, at first sight - which I did and found him the same all the time he remained -

He was only just from England<sup>19</sup> - and asked me to take him with some of my Men to visit the Out Posts in the District, and to give him some information as to our mode of Caffer War - We started with ten Men and visited all the Posts - and on the sixth day were returning down the Fish river He and I were riding together - when we heard a shot fired by our advance guard of course we were soon there, I found they had taken a Prisoner (Hottentot,)<sup>20</sup> It appeared one of the Men had levelled his gun, when

10.

One of the other Men struck his gun up and made the fellow Prisoner, I told him as, he had taken him - He must take charge of him - and consider himself - disgraced - by taking a Prisoner, as he knew it was against our orders - He said, he thought as, Col Percival was there it would not do to shoot him - The Col then told him - they were not to neglect their duty, on his account -

I started the Prisoner off; told him to go along the road untill he met some Troops at Janjies Kraal - He went, and, that night Coester (Guide to the 12th Regt)<sup>21</sup> gave him some tobacco - and drew out of him where his Camp was, Coester took a few Soldiers and the Hottentot - and was led - upon the Camp before daylight some Hottentots rushed out of the huts, two of them Knocked over one was the fellows wife, with a Child, and the other was his brother, He then quietly walked into his hut to look for a pair of trowsers The woman was only slightly wounded, & when the Soldiers found out it was a woman and the fellows Wife, they were going to Bagnet him for being an unnatural Brute The Soldiers, put her into the hut, and gave her a lot of bread and meat.

Col Percival remarked, the Hottentots were quite different to what had been represented to him in England He found from this one example, they were only one degree above the Brutes

11.

Sir Harry Smith finding very little progress being made against the Enemy - the Troops were harrassing to death after them - they occupied the Fish river bush, and the Water Kloof, and Blink water He took the Field himself<sup>22</sup> Old Percival received orders - to muster all the available Force he could - and to make an attack on them at the Fish river - at Double Drift <sup>23</sup> That he would march to attack them at the

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19. Perceval had just come with his 12th Regt. from Mauritius. C.F.T. 27/7/1852.

20. i.e. on Monday, 5/1/1852. G.T.J. 10/1/1852.

21. Paul Coetser had been guide to Lieut.-Col. Eyre's 73rd Regt. as well. G.T.J. 25/10/1851.

22. Operations in the Waterkloof, Blinkwater and Fuller's Hoek began on 10/3/1852. On 11 March Lieut.-Col. Eyre stormed and took Macomo's previously unassailable mountain den. G.T.J. 20/3/1852; 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 53, 68.

23. Perceval marched from Fort Brown on 9/3/1852. Thomas Stubbs and 33 Rangers formed part of his force; they returned to Grahamstown on 19/3/1852. G.T.J. 20/3/1852; 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 63, 65.

the Blink water and Water Kloof - on his arrival there, he was to fire his Big Gun which he expected to be answered by Perceval division in Tola Kloof on the Fish river I received orders - to muster all the Men I could spare from Town<sup>24</sup> - I took twenty Rangers and ten Volunteers, and found Col Percival at Bothas Hill, He there mustered two Companies of the 12th Regt.- My thirty Men, about twenty Farmers - about fifty of Armstrongs Horse,<sup>25</sup> under his Command, and a hundred Fingoes - A six pound Cannon, and one Amunition waggon, there were no tents - We had four days rations.<sup>26</sup>

On arrival at at Fort Brown - we found the river full - it was then impossible to get through Double Drift, having no time to spare - to be at our Post to answer the Gun from the other division - We marched over the Bridge at Fort Brown, Koonap and reached the Cat river at Bothas Post after dark - the next morning, was our time to get the signal from Sir H Smith - The Cat river was rather high - and most of the foot soldiers had

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12.

their Guns and amunition wet, We were now pretty well among the enemy, and if they had attacked us then, we should cut a very poor figure, Coester the Guide proposed to Col Percival, that He and I should go off in advance - to look for the best place for the Men to encamp - We rode about four Miles through the bush - and found a fine open place, it was now pitch dark, we waited there about two hours for the Troops, was afraid they might pass us, as we were some distance from the road, Coester left me there, after we had agreed upon a certain signal, I was to give him when I heard him coming with the Troops they had orders to march, with as little noise as possible - After waiting about four hours which appeared to be ten I heard the tramp of the Infantry, It was so dark, that, even Coester who Knew every inch almost of the Country would have passed the place, without my signal, it was answered sharp - and our Camp formed, most of the Soldiers were thoroughly wet through - so at daylight, they had to make fires to dry themselves and cook some breakfast, two fellow fired their gun off and in about fifteen minutes we saw five or six of the enemy come over the ridge to reconoitre - this of course put them on the alert, there was no time now to be lost - we had to march off at once - on arriving on the ridge, above Tola Kloof we heard the Gun fired by Sir H Smiths division,<sup>27</sup> which we answered immediately From a General order issued - Our division was very much praised by S H Smith<sup>28</sup>

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13.

for being puntual at our Post - The enemy being aware of our presence, through the guns fired off by the Men, had driven all their Stock into the deepest Kloofs, and had hid themselves ready for a surprise, I with my Men had the rear Guard - on passing through a Kloof we stopped behind and, let the division get out of sight - for some time - after waiting for

- 
24. Stubbs tried in vain to get the burghers of Oliphant's Hoek to join him. G.T.J. extra 9/3/1852.
25. Capt. John Armstrong, C.M.R., was responsible for the formation of two mounted troops of Hottentot levies drawn from Riversdale and Swellendam; they used the arms and horses taken from mutinous C.M.R. on 14/3/1851. Almanac, 1852; G. Tylden, The Armed Forces of South Africa, p.37.
26. Perceval had the following burgher reinforcements with him: 33 Rangers under Stubbs; 45 volunteers from Grahamstown, and 35 others from Lower Albany; 150 Grahamstown Fingoes; and a party from Riebeeck. He had his on 12th Regt., detachments of the 91st Regt., a few Royal Artillery and 100 C.M.R. and Armstrong's Horse, making a total of nearly 900 men. G.T.J. 20/3/1852.
27. Smith had nothing to do with this expedition. Stubbs refers here to the column under Capt. Armstrong which linked up with Perceval on 10/3/1852. G.T.J. 20/3/1852.
28. Stubbs refers to the Division Order of 25/3/1852 wherein the Rangers were thanked. G.T.J. 30/3/1852; cf 1635 of 1852-3, p.69.

about half an hour - some Hottentots and Caffers came out to the edge of the bush, and thinking we were all passed - made a fire to cook some Mealeas, they were about two hundred yards, from us, we waited until they were all nicely seated round the fire, then gave them a volley, Knocking them -the fire, and their Mealeas in all directions, we had to ride sharp to overtake our division some Hottentots called us from a hill-to Know why we did not come through Double Drift as they had been waiting for us, they had seen the Grahams Town papers, two days before - This again shews the communitcatn Kept up between the Hottentots in Town and, the Rebels,

We were obliged to halt that day for the Soldiers to dry themselves, and thir arms Col Percival, sent for me - Coester, and Majr Armstrong, we walked some distance from the Camp and sat down, He said he was quite ignoront of the Country, and the Natives and wished to form the plan of opporations for the next day.

It was arranged to move off at three Oclock in the morning - Armstrong with his Men

14.

and the Farmers were to take a ridge running down to the left of Stocks Kraal The Troops and my Men a ridge on the right with the Big Gun The Fingoes to take the Kloof in the Center (I forgot to mention - the day before we saw to Caffers coming from towards the Water Kloof at a great pace, they I have no doubt were bringing the news of Sir H Smiths movements they were evidently News runners, they were two smart made Men, about thirty years old pieces of skin with long hairs round thier ancles, armed with assagies - they were soon run in and shot)

Just at dawn of day - we could see all our Men in Position - closing in, on Stock Kraal<sup>29</sup> The Fingoes in the Kloof were Keeping up a continual firing - The Big gun was put in a position to fire over the attacking parties into Stock Kraal (And here again, the conceit, and ignorance of some Milatary Men was exposed, I was standing with Col Percival - when he ordered the Officer in charge of the gun to put a shell into Stock Kraal at the same time asking me what distance I thought it was, I told him it was eight hundred yards - The Artilley Officer, said it was not six - and fired, the shell burst at about two hundred yards, short of the Kraal, and fell among our own Men Percival was very much anoyed, I then ask him to put his glass, up, and that I would fire a shot with my rifle, and elevate for eight hundred yards

15.

The rifle I had was eight to the pound (round bullet, Conncol five to the pound, I had it loaded, with six drahms of Powder and a Conocol bullet -<sup>30</sup> I fire at the Kraal - the bullet passed through one of the huts into a troop of Goats, that were being driven away, by a lot of Women - We had now no more time to try experiments - but had to go at it on all sides I met a Soldier being carried out with a bullet through his shoulder - that was the only casualty that, day. One Party of Caffers, had taken possession of a large rocky Kloof - and had got so close under the rocks they could not be shot, but could, take pot, shots at our Men, Hermanos Bertram - was Office in Armstrongs Horse, a Plucky, determined fellow managed with a few Men to get to the top of the rock, and roll stones over, which soon drove the Caffers from their shelter -

Mose Wiggle<sup>31</sup> had a tussel with a Caffer in the Kloof, they came upon each other rather suddenly - the Caffer had a double barrell gun which misfired, he was quite close to Wiggle he gave the Caffer a charge of shot in his face the Caffer then closed, and after a very

29. See Appendix "F". The attack took place on 11/3/1852. G.T.J. 20/3/1852

30. Stubbs was using a conical shaped bullet fired from a rifled gun, which gave a range of up to 1000 yards. He fired a bullet weighing about 3 ounces, i.e. 5 bullets to the one pound weight.

31. T.M. Wiggle (G.T.J. 20/3/1852) The Xhosa killed was the minor chief Doda, though this was not known at the time. G.T.J. 1/1/1853.

hard struggle - Wiggle shot him -

When we came out that night we had a fine lot of beautiful Cattle, and Goats - The Fingoes we had with us tried hard to steal a lot of the Cattle that night - the next morning we were in again, the third day it was arranged to move to Breakfast Vley - our rations were completely out We killed some fat Cattle, but had no bread -- I volunteered to fetch rations from Fort Peddie

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16.

and take the wounded Man, it was some time before Col Percival, would allow me to go, He considered the risk too great, I took twenty five Men, had the wounded Man made as comfortable in the ammunition waggon, as I could, and reached Peddie that afternoon, the next morning after drawing the rations for six days - I wanted to get a case of French brandy - and a case of Gin, but was informed the Hotel was closed by order of the Magistrate,<sup>32</sup> I ordered the Hotel Keeper to open it - or I would have the door forced open - as my certificate to him was quite sufficient to exonerate him, The Magistrate came in the mean time and forbid him to open, I called some Men to force the door when the Magistrate, said, if I would give my certificate, and would take the responsibility on myself - he would not interfere, The fact was, he found it no use, I got the spirits and a sack of Patatoes, and returned to our Camp at Breakfast Vley the next morning - during my absence, while the Troops were resting one of the Farmers gun while examining the lock, had exploded, and shot a Soldier through the head - a hole had to be dug with Bagnets and he was buried --<sup>33</sup> I divided the spirits out, which gave every Man a taste - and appeared to freshen them up That night we made a night march, so as to attack before day light the next morning - I had the grand rear, it was very dark and after Marching about eight Miles, I saw something move, a short distance from the line of March - on going to the spot I found a Sergt. of the 12th Regt. - He had been taken

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17.

with a sort of Colera, He begged of me to let him remain and die, I sent to the front to call a halt - and got Men with a stretcher - put him and marched on on our first halt - we gave him about a pint of the brandy I had brought from Peddie, which cured him - The Cattle we had captured, had been sent to Fort Peddie, and the Goats had been Killed

The next morning we marched into the Bush and I was requested to take possession of a narrow ridge, between two Bushy Kloofs, where the Gun had passed through, to keep the enemy from cutting off a retreat, I had not been there above an hour when, I heard the Big Gun & small arms playing away at a great rate about five hundred yards in front - and shortly after I heard some cattle bellow in a deep Kloof on my right, I took five men, and went down - and found a Kraal in the thick bush a lot of Cows and Calves in the Kraal, and a quantity of Goats in the Huts, we set fire to the Huts, and brought the Cattle out, having a very particular and dangerous duty to perform - I knew it would be more so by having the Cattle, so had them driven together and shot the lot Col Percival hearing our fire, thought we were attacked, and sent up a party to ascertain - I sent word all right, there were not many Cattle taken that day, but a lot of goats, When Percival came to me he asked what I had been firing at, I told him the Cattle, and that if I had my way I would shoot all Cattle taken, and shew the Caffers we did not come for them - but to fight<sup>34</sup>

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18.

He perfectly agreed with me, but said He could not carry out such a thing without a General order - on our forming Camp that night - it rained untill

32. W.M. Edey, R.M. at Fort Peddie from 5/1/1848. Almanac, 1851.

33. This fatality occurred on 12/3/1852. G.T.J. 20/3/1852.

34. By General Orders dated 12/4/1852, this policy was adopted. The troops were to keep only such captured cattle as were needed for rations; this did not apply to the burgher forces. G.T.J. 17/4/1852.

morning so remain in Camp that day - one of my Men had caught a Milk goat, and fastened it a short distance from where he slept - in the morning he came to me, and asked if I would not like to have some milk in my coffee, He said come along I have got a fine milk goat, on reaching the place we found the head still tied, where he had left it, but the body was gone. I have seen strange faces in my time, but his beat all I ever saw, some one had cut the head off and taken the body.

That night we were surprised by a dreadful stench, I sent some men round the Camp to find out the cause of it - they went on the scent and found Taylor the Apothecary,<sup>35</sup> who had volunteered to join me, had brought one of the Caffers head we had shot the first day, and had taken another mans Pot, was boiling it to get the meat off; The Old fellow had the scull in his shop untill he died

We were out on this expedition for fourteen days we found most of the huts in the deep Kloof and nearly all we found a good supply of dry sneesewood, we burnt all the Huts and made a clearance, we could find nothing more to burn, and nothing more to shoot

We were through the place - where the Company of the 2nd of Queens - were cut up some time befor - under the Command of

19.

Col McKennon,<sup>36</sup> We captured a host of Women both Hottentots and Caffers - they all agreed on one story about the two Brothes Pockbaas that done so much damage in the Queens Road - they said Pockbaas, had found it too warm for him, and had treked to Stocks Kraal, and that about two weeks before they had gone with a strong party to the Somerset District - they had been attacked near Komadaga, a great many of them were shot by Dutchmen, the two Brothes Pockbaas' - had been Killed in a sluit<sup>37</sup> It exactly corresponded with a report of William Bowers<sup>38</sup>

April 16 1851

I think I forgot to mention that one day Pockbaas's Wife was taken in Grahams Town - or rather at the Location She agreed to lead a party to their Camp, My Brother commanded the party and She led them in the night to a foot path just by the 10 Mile stone in Queens Road, it was so steep down into the Kloof - they had to slide on their breach, which of course made some noise, they found the Camp in the thick bush a sort of huts were made under the flat topt Boorbom trees, the fires were burning, but the Men had all escaped My Brother and party drew their Knives and hunted every corner - without finding a soul,

They returned the next morning with the Woman, who managed to get away from Town, shortly afterwards<sup>39</sup>

20.

I and Party returned to Town --<sup>40</sup>

Any Person unacquainted with Caffers, war would scarcely believe, how the Caffers can drive Cattle I will here give one instance, a

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35. Edward T. Taylor. Almanac, 1852. See Stubbs, I, p. 78, 80.

36. Lieut.-Col. George Henry Mackinnon, Commandant and Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria from 23/12/1847 to October 1852. (E.A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa, p. xix) Raised to full colonel, unattached and on half pay, on 22/12/1851. G.T.J. 3/1/1852. For the attack on the 2nd Regt., see Stubbs, I, note 189.

37. Jan and Gert Pockbaas who were waylaid and shot early in 1852 near the Brak River Vlakte. G.T.J. 21/2/1852.

38. Field Commandant W.C. Bower (G.T.J. 30/8/1851) who later on 26/6/1852 became the Commandant for the "Armed Police Mounted Force" in Somerset. G.T.J. 3/7/1852.

39. A Hottentot woman was arrested in Grahamstown on 10/4/51. She guided W. Stubbs with a party of Rangers to Pockbaas' lair on 14/4/1851. G.T.J. 19/4/1851.

40. i.e. from the Fish River bush. See note 23.

train of Waggons had come from Port Elizabeth and out spanned at Glasses' Farm about five Miles from Town their Oxen were scarcely out of the yoke, it being very dark - the Caffers took three spans from the Leaders who were out herding them, It was about 10 O'clock that night when I received the report - I first sent my orderly to warn, Fifteen Men, to muster as quickly as possible - I told the Englishman who brought the report to be ready to accompany me, As I had often been deceived by reports of Cattle stolen, when they had only strayed, He said they heard the Caffers driving the Oxen - but, he did not think they could be very far, as the Oxen were so Knocked up he could hardly get them to the out-span place. Knowing the Caffers would make for Coesters Drift on the Fish river, I started at 2 O'clock the next morning - and reached Fort Brown at daybreak, sent a few Men from there - to look out between there and the Queen Road, I rode hard to Lemon Kraal on the Koonap ridge and reached there about eight O'clock, the Caffers had passed, only leaving an Ox on the road, Now from the time they took the Oxen to the time they passed Lemon Kraal was not more than ten hours, and the way they took could not be less than from thirty five to forty Miles, and that through a rough Bushy Country, with Knocked up Oxen

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21.

We followed up sharp - and they had reached the Cafferland side of the Cat river before we could come up with them, we were obliged to give it up - having so small a force -

They tried it a second time - almost in the same way - and then our party only came upon them at Lemon Kraal - just at daylight, and put several of them in such a position, they would never steal Cattle again in this World.

Rather an exciting evening

The Revd Renton<sup>41</sup> one of the London Missionary Society, who had been in the Cat River when the Hottentots rebelled, and who was put down by the Public to be one of the lot who had preached the right of Man, and the oppression of whites on the Blacks, untill they excited them to rebellion - Well, he made his appearance in Graham's Town just at a time there was great excitement, caused by some Murders by the Rebel Hottentots.<sup>42</sup>

It was no sooner Known, than it was determined to burn his effigy - It was found out that He and his Wife were putting up at Mandays Hotell (Now J. Woods)<sup>43</sup> When I went down I found about two hundred people and a lot of the Rangers among them - in front of the Hotell, after making myself heard - I persuaded them to retire and write out a few questions to put to him before anything more was done, and I would take them to him, and bring his answer & and if they were not satisfactory - we would then burn his effigy in front of the Hotell

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22.

This was agreed to and I took the questions for him to answer. The fact was I was anxious to get him away - as I knew the people were so excited, they would not care what they did - and I was afraid of the consequence. I found him and his Wife and Stephen Manday<sup>44</sup> in a front room upstairs - the Mob making a desperate noise in front of the House

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41. Rev. Henry Renton arrived in Grahamstown from the Kat River Settlement on 3/4/1851. (G.T.J. 12/4/1851) He belonged to the United Presbyterian Church, but was in South Africa to inspect and report on the stations of the Glasgow Society. G.T.J. 26/4/1851; Cory, V, 314.
42. On 3/4/1851 two men, Ashley and Radford, were killed along the Queen's Road. G.T.J. 5/4/1851.
43. See Stubbs, I, note 101. At this stage it was being run by A. McKenzie, and was often referred to as "McKenzie's Hotel".
44. Stephen Day Mandy, the owner of the hotel according to an article by Rita Snyman in the Handbook of the Grahamstown Publicity Association.

I told him the awkward situation he was in, and that he had better try an answer the questions, and I would take them down and that he had better, move from there at once, as I could not be answerable for the consequences, He wrote a statement, But, before he had quite finished it - I heard some fellows coming up stairs - He then wanted to address the people from the window, I said no, he would be sure to receive some injury, as they were almost mad with excitement. I then took the paper from him, and told him to get away as quick as possible. I met a lot of fellows near the door when I came out, and told them to follow me, to hear what Renton had to say, they gave three cheers, and - the whole lot followed me to Hill street, they then brought a chair into the street, and I mounted, and read what he had written I took as long time in doing so, as I could, to give him time to get away, they then called out it is not satisfactory, We must burn him and off they started - they had collected some tar barrels, and his effigy, which .....

23.

where soon in a blaze<sup>45</sup> - There could not have been less than four hundred people there than when someone proposed to fetch him out & tar an feather him,

I tried to reason with them and said I thought we had done enough to shew our disgust at the behaviour of the London Missy Society - But they become outrageous and entered the house - to bring him out - they searched - to no purpose - He was gone I found I could do no more - so left them the Mob then went to the Revd Smidts House<sup>46</sup> and demanded Renton - they broke some of his windows, not finding him there they proceeded to Mr. Tudhopes,<sup>47</sup> broke his Windows, and swore they would pull his house down if they did not bring out Renton, they found out he was not there - and had to give him up -

A meeting was got up the next morning in the Court House<sup>48</sup> - and He wished to attend to explain - or rather to contradict some statements that had appeared in the papers - written by one of the Officers that had escaped from one of the Military Vilages on the Chumie<sup>49</sup> - I Knew it was not safe for him to appear in the stret without protection, I escorted him to the Meeting He there tried to prove their innocense in causing the Hottentots to rebel, But, the excitement was too great for him to Make any impression - I saw him safe back to the House, he was putting up at and I think he left Town at once .....

24.

On returning one day from a Patrole in the Fish river bush, I called at a Camp at Drivers bush occupied by a Capt. Foster<sup>50</sup> - a Lieut - and a Doctor of the 12th Regt. there was also a Cape Corps Officer named Goodeson<sup>51</sup> there - it being late - and we had been waylaying several nights, were tired - so determined to remain there that night to rest, - I dined with the Officers and after dinner, the conversation, turned upon, the war, and the many disagreeable duties the Troops had to perform - especially escorting waggons, when Forster remarked - he did not so much about it if it was not for those infernal saucy waggon Drivers - especially the English men, they generaly thought too much of themselves, and gave

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45. Renton's effigy was burnt on Saturday, 4/4/1851, while on 7/4/1851 another mob assembled outside the hotel. G.T.J. 12/4/1851.
  46. Rev. H.N. Smit, L.M.S. Superintendent of Theopolis, and Native Pastor connected to the Union Chapel in Artificer's Square. Almanac, 1852.
  47. F. Tudhope, government schoolteacher, and a friend of Smit. Almanac, 1852.
  48. The meeting was held on Thursday, 10/4/1851. G.T.J. 12/4/1851.
  49. J.M. Stevenson, superintendent of Juanasberg, who had managed to escape the attack on 25/12/1850 and reached Chumie Station. Cory, V, 312, 314-5.
  50. Lieut. Edward Foster, Adjutant of the 12th (East Suffolk) Regt. Almanac, 1852.
  51. Lieut. W.B.C. Goodison, C.M.R. Almanac, 1852.

a great deal of trouble - I said, perhaps you will allow me to explain, how it is that, the officer in command of an escort - and, the English Waggon Driver, disagree - The Doctor who was a middle aged Man, said, he would very much like to hear - and said go on Stubbs let us have it, for I Know you have seen more than any of us - I then told them, that when a train of waggons was to proceed - anywhere, that the owner of two or three of them went as manager, and that an Officer, perhaps a mere Boy was, to command the Escort, this fellow only just from School, and having a sword tied to him thought, he was a devil of a fellow - and when the outspanned, would walk about ordering this fellow, to do this and, that fellow to do that and perhaps begin to dictate to the owner of a lot of Waggons - who was worth more of this worlds goods, than a Dozen - Commissions would purchase when he would most likely be told to, either go

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25.

School again - or if the waggon owner was not a Saint, might tell him to go to the place where they use nothing but brimstone for fuel - The Lieut said he had been in Command of several Escorts, with waggons but he had never experienced any difficulty Goodeson - said he had Commanded my Escorts and he always made a practice of finding out - the the Owner of Waggons, who would be sure to be an experienced Man - On our first outspanning I would find him out, and ask him what time he thought we ought to proceed - perhaps he would ask me to sit down and have some Coffee - and then would say, well Sir, you see we have a very dangerous piece of country to go through, and if we let the Oxen have a good feed - here we can inspan about 2 Oclock - and push on to the open Country - and there encamp for the night, but if we push on now, we shall be oblidge to outspan before we get through that dangerous part In fact - I have always found them - very oblidgeing when they were treated with Civility - Forster flew into a passion, called Goodeson a Boer and no Gentleman, they both got hot, and stood up to fight over the table - I said Gentlemen I shall be oblidge to place you under arrest for ungentlemanly conduct, I suppose it did not strike them, that I was not a Military Man, and had not that power, they at once sat down, The Doctor laughed, and proposed we should have some more beer - which made them all good friends, We had nothing more about Waggon Drivers - I then left to join my fellows and found them, singing as merry as sand Boys - I have written this to shew how it

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26.

it is that there were so many disagreements between the Military and Civilians.

I had a good opportunity of seing the Character of Military Men, having to nix with them from the General - to the Private Soldier, and I must say - I was not long in finding out those, that were Gentlemen from birth, and those that had risen from the ranks. It was generally the latter that - complained of the Waggoner, and disagreed with the Civilians----

Jan 6-1851 I addressed this letter to the General, but it was not carried out - it was thought, by our wise Military Commandant to be a peace of presumption on my part

Sir, You will much oblidge me by giving instructions, how I am to act as Field Commandant of Grahams Town, An I to call out the Grahams Town People for the defence of the Colony. If I have power to call out the Grahams Town people,<sup>52</sup> for the protection of this part of the Frontier, I would suggest that I draft out 200 Men immediately to form Out Posts in such parts as would be most serviceble I think a sufficient number of Men might be spared out of Town for that purpose, it would be the best protection, even to the Town we could have If 200 Men were drafted - 50 Men stationed under fit and proper Officers in Post along the line, it would assist the Governor in his movements, that is the Governor would

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52. Why Stubbs wrote this is inexplicable. His position was made quite clear in Frontier Distinct Orders dated 31/12/1850 when he was appointed "Field-commandant for the district of Graham's Town, who will receive his orders direct from the Commandant of Graham's Town". 1334 of 1851, p.78.

have no apprehension while working in Cafferland - of the safety of this part of the Colony I would act upon the same plan I have often proposed, that is a party at Clarkes Party to Keep a look out from Governor Kop, One at the Clay Pitts - one at Niemans Kraal - which would

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27.

Command Hell Poort and De Bruins - One at New years river - each station to have a signal by fire that could be seen at Govr. Kop,<sup>53</sup> so that in case of any large bodies of Caffers passing either in, or out of the Colony - their signal fire could be lit - and answered by the one in Govr. Kop - and Men sent out from each Post.

On the same day I wrote the above letter - a report was brought to Town, that a Waggon with arms & ammunition proceeding to Sidbury, had been captured by Caffers<sup>54</sup> I proceeded to the spot and certainly must say there must have been no small amount of Cowardice on the part of the Escort - for the Country was open with only a small round bush on one side In sending in my report, I recommended, that no arms or ammunition should leave Town without a proper Escort, and that I should have no objections to see to it myself - I would, on their leaving Town send a Patrole out the night before to scour the Country

I also recommended all herds - to have a badge - to distinguish them, as I had Known many instances of herds having a narrow escape of being shot by our Patroles - the fact was there had been some shot - it was not reported to me so I was not supposed to Know anything about it - On the 8th Jany 1851 I sent a list of eighteen Name of Gentlemen (most of then officials, who Volonteed to work a Big Gun, which was accepted<sup>55</sup>

One the 9th, I sent a letter from Mr. Roby stating he had twenty five good Men to form a Post at Manly's flat which I succeeded in getting adopted, and had them supplied with rations and ammunition<sup>56</sup>

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28.

On the 14 Jany 1851 - I sent this letter to Commandt. Burnaby, He was a Motherly sort of Man, and was afraid to do anything without a General Order, viz

Sir, As nearly all are aware that some great plot has been laid by the Enemy, for the destruction of life both in, and out of the Colony, and that all the Caffer Servants and Hottentots have understood each other for a long time, I do not think the Inhabitants of Graham Town are sufficiently on their Guard,<sup>57</sup>

I beg to propose the following mode of action, which if it is carried out; Although I have taken more duty on myself than I can well bear, I will do my utmost to carry out

I propose that a draft of two or three hundred Men be made in Grahams Town, to be equipped for the protection of the Town, and have the same rations &c. as regular Troops, by so doing it would not only be the means of protecting the Town, and give great security, but, would be supporting a good number of poor Men, who, cannot find employment for the support of themselves and famalics

I feel satisfied that if something is not done at once and there should be an attack on the Town, it would be all confusion, for it is well Known that One hundred Organized Men are better than a Thousand rabble, I beg Sir You will forward that to Majr General Somerset

The General agreed with it, but it was never carried out properly

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53. Governor's Kop, a hill about 12 miles from Grahamstown.

54. On 5/1/1851, 20 muskets and 600 rounds of ammunition for Sidbury were lost. G.T.J. 11/1/1851.

55. See G.T.J. 11/1/1851.

56. John Robey ran the "Cheshire Cheese Inn" on Manley Flats about 10 miles from Grahamstown. The flats were named after Thomas Manley of Liversage's party. L.A.C., II, 88.

57. Cf. G.T.J. 11/1/1851 where it was reported that a plot had been uncovered at Graaff-Reinet for all Xhosa servants in the district to rise upon their employers before they decamped for Kaffraria.

Luckily we never had an attack on the Town though I almost wished it, as we then should have a chance of fighting them, and not to be continually hunting our life out to get a chance at them ---

29.

Jan'y 28 1851 Made application for rations for Women and Children, and begged I might be supplied with a hundred horses to mount some more Men, as the duty could not possibly be carried out - But no ! Old Burnaby was still afraid to act

Shortly after the commencement of the War - our Magistrate Hudson<sup>58</sup> - had all the Caffer Servants, both Men and Women, apprehended and put in Prison, but finding the expense too great to Keep them there, marched them about six Miles out of Town, and turned them adrift - to starve or steal - or be shot -<sup>59</sup>

On the 30 Jan'y 1851 - I wrote him this letter

Sir, I beg to bring to your notice, the situation you have placed the Caffer women in, who you discharged from Prison a few days ago, As also the awkward situation of any party on night Patrole

Having heard of Caffers being on the other side of Bothas' Hill, I started with a Patrole and arrived there just a day break, and came upon upon two Caffers near a round bush, Just as my men were in the act of firing, they called Umfasi we then saw they wer Women - there was another in the bush - who had just been confined - If we had arrived a little earlier, that is before light they would have been shot, they were without food - except a few Meal-eas they had stolen from a Farm in the Neighbourhood, We saw one Caffer Man at some distance who escaped

30.

The diffiuelty of Knowing Friends from Enemies on the 6 April 1851 I received this report from Capt W. Stubbs - I have the honour to report, that on leaving here on the 2nd Inst, I proceeded through De Bruins Poort, crossed the Fish river at Espags went up the river to Coesters drift - from there to Botha's Hill, where I arrived at dusk on the 5th on rising the Hill, I saw five armed Men, Hottentots dressed in Cape Corps clothing - I challenged them they made off - I then ordered the Men to fire one was left dead, and two wounded, I took two percussion Muskots, a Cap with C.M.R. on it one jacket, and three horses, I returned to Town at 9 O'clock P.M The next morning I started at 3 O'clock and took up their spoor which I found to be about fifteen - I followed their spoor to the top of Committees Hill where they had made a fire and slept - I then returned to Town<sup>60</sup>

On receiving the above report and another about Hunting Pokbaas in the Queens Road, Our Horses and Men were quite don up, when I wrote the following

Sir I have again to bring to your notice the necessity of increasing the Mounted Men by allowing me a supply of Horses and by issuing the rations for the Women & Children of the Men who are continually out on duty and have no time to provide for them.

No! - it was the same story the responsibility was too much

1851 Apl. 23 - To help to Keep the work up I had all the Horses shod all round, but had to pay half the amount myself -

58. Hougham Hudson, sen., C.C. and R.M. for Albany from 8/10/1845 to 30/9/1852. Almanac, 1852, 1853.

59. These were rounded up on 14/1/1851 so that there were no less than 191 persons in the jail. (G.T.J. 18/1/1851). On 26/1/1851, 50 women and 52 children were set free. G.T.J. 1/2/1851.

60. This patrol was on 5/4/1851. C.F.T. 8/4/1851.

1851 April 23 Sir, I beg to apply to you on the subject of Horse shoeing for the Albany Rangers. A requisition was made out in January for that purpose, and approved by the Major General - As we got into work I found it necessary to have them shod all round, But, from the date of the General order attaching us to the Cape Corps,<sup>61</sup> only one penny per diem for each horse was allowed to the Farrier which only allowed two shoes I am therefore minus one half of the Farriers Acct., I shall therefore feel obliged by an order giving the necessary Authority to the Pay Master for providing four shoes for each Horse from the 1st of January last

I found our Commandant was afraid to take the responsibility, so I sent it to head quarter to Capt. Maydwell Military Secretary,<sup>62</sup> and got an order direct

On the 26 April I sent out a Patrole of 30 Men for five days,<sup>63</sup> and on the 28th<sup>64</sup> sent another out to meet them - and allow them to return they shot one Caffer and scoured the Country waylaying every night, and returned the fifth day - On receiving the above two reports I sent the followin letter to the Commandant

Sir, In handing you the enclosed reports allow me, to bring to your notice the necessity of supplying me with Horses to mount a sufficient number of Men - to enable me to Keep Patroles constantly out - I should like to have thirty Men out on the eastern side of the Town, and they same number out on the Western side continually, I feel confident, that if something

is not speedily done, the whole Colony will be overrun, by the enemy, and, nothing Known of it untill too late, We have no organized force to oppose the danger! Let me beg of you, to point out to the Commander in Chief the real want of a Stronger Mounted force in Town -

The Caffers were now coming into the Colony in all directions, I could get no assistance and almost gave the thing up - We were so harrassed - that I had the greatest difficulty of Keeping the Men to the work, One of them died from continual hard work and exposure

1851 May 14 Returned from King William's Town where I had been to see Sir H Smith -<sup>65</sup>

I reported some of the Caffer Chiefs had full possession of the Fish river bush, and again begged a supply of Horses to mount more Men still nothing was done (See Page 79)

The following report will shew the hard duty we had - this was from Capt. W Stubbs

Sir, 1851 May 16 1851

I beg to report that on the night of the 14 I proceeded with a party of Albany Rangers and some of the Farmers Club<sup>66</sup> to ascertain the

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61. Frontier District Orders dated 15/2/1851: "The corps of Stubbs' Mounted Rangers will be attached to the Cape Mounted Riflemen, for the purpose of regular payment ..." C.F.T. 18/2/1851.
62. Capt. H.L. Maydwell, 41st Foot, and Military Secretary to Sir Harry Smith. *Almanac*, 1851.
63. Between 25-27/4/1851 Lieut. David Mitchelly with 25 Rangers patrolled and scoured the bush to the Spitz Kop where they shot one Khosa. They returned via Frazer's Camp, Driver's Bush and Grobelaar's Kloof. C.F.T. 29/4/1851; G.T.J. 3/5/1851.
64. A party of Rangers went out on 28/4/1851 via Clarke's Party, Grobelaar's Kloof to Committee's Drift. C.F.T. 13/5/1851.
65. See *Stubbs*, I, 117-120 and note 174; see below pp. 79-82.
66. The "United Farmers' Association" or "Farmers' Mutual Protection Association" was formed in February 1851 by S.W. Dell from volunteers who were primarily interested in helping each other to save and protect their stock. They volunteered their services on other occasions as

facts of the report of waggons having been attacked on Woest Hill, On arriving at that place I met a Caffer (Servant) who informed me, that the Caffers had just taken a lot of Cattle belonging to Mrs Amos, believing them to be the same Caffers, that had attacked the waggons, I started for the Spits Kop, Knowing they must pass through there, on Committees

33.

road On reaching the Grahams Town flat I met Lieut Mitchelly - returning with his Patrole. I ordered him to go to the Committees Road to waylay - I proceeded to the Spits Kop - on my arriving there after dark I was preparing to waylay. I saw a fire on the opposite side of the dense bush, I dismounted the Men, and placed a guard with the Horses, I then took off my boots and, ordered the Men to do so We then crept through the bush, and came not far from the fire, We saw about five Caffers They had Killed a Beast, but appeared to be rather unsettled, as, they were continually moving about, and they reduced the fire, some going round the Cattle. I waited in that position untill about 4 Oclock, when, they made up the fire and, sat round to have a feed. I then gave the word to fire, and make a rush for the Cattle - we drove the Cattle out of the bush We remained quiet untill daylight, during the time I could hear the Caffers whistling as if, calling their party together. I found one Caffer dead by the fire, what became of the others I don't Knew I took 22 Head of Cattle 22 Assagies, Blankets, Bags, Karosses &c. &c., I returned to Town at 5 O clock P M <sup>67</sup>

To T Stubbs

Commandant

I sent the following report in to show again, the difficulty I had to Keep up the work - and although the People of Grahams Town Knew - how I was harrassed - I could only get the few to work - It was the Commissariat Chest had the most to do with it

34.

1851 May 16, Sir I beg to hand you reports of the two Officers Commanding the two last Patroles. The 21 Head of Cattle mentioned in the last one I handed over to Mrs. Amos, who claimed them I consider the Caffers found with the cattle to be only a small portion, detached for the purpose of taking the Cattle to Cafferland and that a considerable Force are remaining in the Neighbourhood, on the look out for other Cattle or Waggons, I did wish to follow up the affair the next night, but, could not for the want of Men and Horses, the Men have been out so much lately that both they and their Horses are completely Knocked up

In the face of all this - there were Garrison Orders continually putting my Men down for Escort duty - as the following

<sup>68</sup> The Escort ordered to proceed this morning with Waggons to Lieufontein will Parade at the Brigade Office tomorrow morning at 7 O Clock a m Details of the above duty

1 Officer of the 91st Regt., 7 Rank & file

10 Stubbs Corps

21 Rank and file Fingoes (Grahams Town

8 " " Fort Beaufort

8 Burghers for Fort Brown

How was it possible to Keep up the Patrole duty, when the most Men I could muster was under a hundred

35.

1851 Jany 13 - General order to change the name of our Corp from Sporting Club - To Stubbs' Mounted Rangers<sup>69</sup>

67. This report is printed in the C.F.T. 20/5/1851.

68. i.e. Leeuwfontein.

69. The Frontier District Orders here referred to by Stubbs were the same. The Order was dated 5/1/1851. 1334 of 1851, p. 122.

1851 Jany 6 -

Extract of Genl. Order from Genl. Somerset in reference to our Corp - They must receive Pay and rations and be properly equipped - this Corp must be increased as much as possible, But its Members must not be taken from the Bathurst or Salem Districts, and not required to be employed out of the Colony <sup>69</sup>

On the 18 May and on the 19th I had Patroles out both reported to having seen spoors of large bodies of Caffers in the Colony, they shot some, but could not follow up - their Horses being done up I then sent the following to the Commandant <sup>70</sup>

Sir

In handing you the enclosed reports from Lieut Mitchelly, and Capt. Stubbs, I have again, to call upon you, to represent the absolute necessity of having a stronger Mounted Force in this part of the Colony - the events of of the last two or three days confirms it. If I am not supported in my efforts to carry out the plans laid down for the general protection, now so much required, I shall be compelled in justice to myself to resign the Command of the Albany Rangers, finding it a situation, which I cannot hold, with credit to myself or benefit to the Public -

Just at this time I had a few fresh Men join which enabled me to Patrole, but not half of what was wanted, When I received a letter from the Commandant to try to Keep on

36.

Rural Police

1852 Feby 11) Sir,

As I believe I was one of the first, who wrote to His Excellency <sup>71</sup> on the subject of a Rural Police for the Frontier, and as I have seen a Notice to the effect that such a force is about to be formed, I trust it will not be considered presumption on my part in offering a few suggestions. <sup>72</sup>

I have always been of the opinion that a Police Force could be established intirely of White Men, on which the utmost dependence could be placed, and, which would possess the confidence of the Inhabitants. To procure such Men, I would suggest that Men of good character be allowed their discharge from the Regiments in the Colony, on condition of joining this Force, and that any active young Men be enrolled. I feel sure there are a great many in the Colony willing and well suited for the service. They should all enter for a certain period, and be Officered by Men who are Known to be capable of teaching, and Commanding them.

With such Men I would guarantee in three months to have the whole body perfect in the practice of following spoor and Bush fighting. Should the above plan meet with the approval of His Excellency, I deem it my duty to offer every assistance in my power to carry it out, and in any case I trust, that it be taken in no other light than a sincere wish to assist the Govt and promote the interest of the Colony

Lt. Col Garvick Military Secty <sup>73</sup>

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70. On 17/5/1851 Stubbs mounted 3 patrols: Lieut. D. Mitcholly led 20 Rangers to the Kowie Bush where they attacked 4 Xhosa, killed one, wounded two, and took 20 head of cattle and 3 horses; Capt. W. Stubbs led 20 Rangers towards Governor's Kop after the mail had been attacked; a third party escorted Capt. Rawstorne to Port Elizabeth. C.T.J. 20/5/1851, 27/5/1851; G.T.J. 17/5/1851; G.T.J. extra 20/5/1851.
71. Maj.-Gen. Sir Henry George Wakelyn Smith, Governor from 1/12/1847 to 31/3/1852. Walker, op. cit., p. xviii.
72. Smith's notice was dated 21/1/1852. He proposed to enrol Fingoes and reliable Hottentots in the ranks. G.T.J. 31/1/1852; 1635 of 1852-3, pp. 20-1.
73. Lieut.-Col. John Garvock, 31st Foot, Private Secretary and extra aide-de-camp to Smith. Almanac, 1851.

Page 8 About taken Men to Uitenhage.<sup>74</sup>

1851 Feby 12 to Maj. Burnaby, Commandant.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this days date, and beg to state in reply, that the six Men to whom you refer as being absent without leave, applied to me for, and, received my sanction to proceed to Uitenhage, on their own private account, a privilege which I conceived myself authorised to grant to them, by virtue of my office as Commandant, which I hold. If however I have done any wrong I am sorry for it, I have also to remark that my own journey to Uitenhage to which place, I was accompanied by them, was, intirely connected with one of the most important branches of the Public Service, for the due and punctual conveyance of the Public Mails

I cannot conclude, without however reluctantly, to the harsh manner in which (as reported to me) you treated my Men during my absense at the muster held by you on the 8th Inst. and I respectfully submit, to your good feeling as a British Officer, whether you ought in anger to have visited any alledged delinquency of Mine upon Men, who, being in no way responsible for my acts; amongst it; the remarks calculated to bring me into contempt with my Men, It has been reported to me that, you said, there had been a great deal of humbugging during last war, and, that you would take care there should be none this.

I respectfully submit, that, such language ought to have been used without good grounds, and I think it only an act of justice to myself and, Men whom I command respectfully to request some explanation

In conclusion I have only to add, that, I am sorry any unpleasantness should have occured, and, I should be glad to assist in the restoration of a Mutual good understanding between us

His answers to my letter have been lost

1851 Feby 13 - To Commt. Burnaby

Sir, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this day, before replying to its contents, I am desirous of bringing to your notice, that you have omitted to offer any explanation of the disparaging remarks, in presence of my Corps, which, as, reported to me you publickly made at the muster, which you ordered during my absence, and further I shall be glad to be made acquainted with the irregularities which you mention, in order that they may be removed.

In reply to your request to Know whether I am desirous of resigning the Command of the Albany Rangers - I beg leave to make the following remarks, whilst I fully agree that as Commandant of the Town, you have the right, and, it is your duty to have a general inspection of the Men under my Command, with a view to their general effeciency for the Public Service - Yet at the same time I respectfully submit that, my duty as Commandant, gives me the control of the internal arrangement and economy of the Corps, which I command, and renders me responsible for its good order and management.

I shall be under the painfull necessity of resigning a trust, which unless my requests

be complied with, I cannot continue to hold either with honor to myself or with advantage to the Public Service.

On the 17 - 18 & 19<sup>75</sup> I was out on Patrole, and received the report of the Caffers having taken a lot of Horse that were Kept at Cuylers for Post work - I then again applied for more Men - As some time before Burnaby had written me, that I should take no more Men on without his santion

74. See above pp. 6-9.

75. Stubbs presumably meant his patrol on 15-16/2/1851 via Driver's Hill, Coombs, Waay Plants. C.T.F. 18/2/1851.

1851 Feby. 21,

I received this report which I sent in to the Commandant - with my remarks -76

According to your instructions I started from here on the afternoon of the 19th for New Years river, but on arriving at Cumming's Place was informed, that, the day before the Caffers had taken 30 or 40 Head of Cattle, I left there at 9 O'clock that night to try to intercept them, but, missed them, they having 7 hours start - We remained at Potters Farm untill 2 O clock next morning - followed up the spoor and came up with them at the Koonap river, about 5 Miles above the Old Post, I made an attack on them and, after exchanging shots with them, they gave way and, we brought the Cattle out by Leo Fontein, I should think there were from 60 to 70 Caffers and from the position they had taken up, there was enough to cut us up -

This place which I cannot describe, appears to me to be a rendezvous for all Caffers, going in and out of the Colony - that way. I cannot tell if any of them were shot, I thought it not prudent to remain in such a place to look for dead Caffers, A short time before we came upon the Caffers, we saw the places of seven large fires, and spoors of numbers of Horses

40.

Cattle and Caffers, both going in and, out of the Colony. I should have followed the spoor of another large drove of Cattle, but, from the jaded state of our Horses, were obliged to return to Town  
To Comdt. T Stubbs W Stubbs

Sir, I have the honor to hand you the report of Capt. Stubbs and hope you will see the necessity of increasing the strenght of the Corps as Patrole may be continually Kept out  
Comm. Burnaby

Even after this, there came a Garrison Order for a lot of my Men to escort waggons to Leo Fontein, when I sent him the following letter

1851 Feby 25

Sir, I beg to inform you, that I ordered the Escort required to proceed to Leo Fontein and, as I understood nearly all the Men in that Albany Rangers had determined not to escort waggons again. I called them in seperately to hear their objections, which was, that one journey to Leo Fontein did their Horses more harm than a weeks patrole and that in the last war, they were never required to do that service, they ultimately agreed to go this time only.

You Sir are aware of the great difficulty I have always had in getting the Escorts. But when ordered for Expresses or Patrole, I have had none. I do think when you consider the readiness they shew to go into danger after the Enemy, You will

41.

think with me, that this duty will be more serviceable. It must also be taken in consideration that the Men find their own Horses. If I had a supply of Horses, I have no doubt I could get sufficient Men for the Escort duty.

I feel it is my duty to make you acquainted with the above, as, I am afraid if there is not an alteration - the mounted Force we now have will be broken up, which at the present time, would be exceedingly dangerous -

Report of Capt. Stubbs to me March 27, 1851 (To be at Page 5)<sup>77</sup>

Sir, I have the honor to report to you, that I left here on Sunday for the place where Costings was shot, and found the Body at the entrance of the De Bruins Poort, and from there we took and followed the spoor of about

76. This report was printed in the G.T.J. 22/2/1851.

77. See above pp. 4-6, and notes 10,11,12.

20 Hottentots 9 of them were Mounted - through Hell Poort to the rugged country at the back of the Zuur Berg as far as Mr A Bissets Farm - it there became too dark to see the spoor, we halted for the night - At day light the next morning, with much difficulty we traced them up the Mountain of the New Years river, lost it again for a considerable time, at length traced it to the Somerset Road - followed it for about 7 miles and found a Waggon they had captured the contents of which lay scattered about - and the appearance of a lot having been carried away

We had not left long before I saw three Men come to the Waggon, whom we might have cut off and shot, Only I thought perhaps they might belong to the Waggon. I challenged them, they ran away - and joined a party

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42.

We then saw at some distance, armed with guns, they appeared to be about 12 Men, I attacked them at once - and drove them into a deep Kloof, from this place they Kept up a continual fire for twenty minutes, they then retired further into the Kloof, I did not think it expedient to follow them, having only fourteen Men. I then retired to the Waggon and tried to move it, but could not as the Oxen were too exhausted - I then returned to Town for reinforcements and obtained 40 Men of whom were 8 Volunteers - I took up the spoor of the Enemy and after following it for a great way through the most ruggy country that could be imagined, and after a good deal of trouble, came upon them at a deserted Farm of Potgieter - on the New Years river; part of them had off saddled - in the thick thorns.

I immediately dismounted - extended the Men and scoured the bush, We succeeded in Killing 3 Hottentots and wounding 3 More that I Know of - Took 7 Horses and sundry articles, some of them belonging to the murdered Man Castings -

This was one of the hardest Patroles I have had, being 13 hours in the saddle, allowing only one for offsaddling, I cannot speak in too high term of the conduct of our Men and the Volunteers - I also received great assistance from Messrs. Bertram Bowker, Barber and others

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43.

1851 April 6th

Sir, I beg to hand you the report of Capt. Stubbs and also a copy of a declaration of G. Marshall who claimed two of the Horse captured from the Hottentots. I feel satisfied from what I have traced out, that it must have been some of the same Party that murdered the two Englishmen in the Queens Road on the 3rd. Inst,<sup>78</sup> and that a part of them came into Town, I am afraid without something is done with the Hottentots in this place, a continual communication will be Kept up between them and the Rebels and something more serious will happen. I gave the horses up to the owners and took a receipt for them - the other articles are in my Store<sup>79</sup>  
To Maj. Burnaby  
Commandant

I found by continual Patrolling that at various Burgher Camps, there was a system of Humbug - carried on,<sup>80</sup> they nearly all drew rations, and many of them never had Patroles out, which made it so much harder for our Men. I brought it to the Notice of the Commandant,

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78. i.e. Ashley and Radford killed on 3/4/1851 while in charge of two ox-wagons en route from Fort Brown to Grahamstown. G.T.J. 5/4/1851.

79. W. Stubbs and a patrol of Rangers returned on 5/4/1851. They had encountered 4 Hottentots, killed 1, wounded 2, and took 2 guns and 3 horses. G.T.J. extra 8/4/1851.

80. In December 1851 Perceval with Stubbs visited the burgher camps which were found to be generally inefficient. On 28/12/1851 an order was issued which stopped the issue of rations to all Camps and posts not under military control. (G.T.J. 3/1/1852). This was countermanded on 13/1/1852 after a storm of protest. G.T.J. 17/1/1852.

1851 - July 26 -

A strong Party of Rangers will be ready to march on Monday morning the 28th. Inst in such direction and at such hour as Commandant Stubbs will point out - He having his orders from Majr. Burnaby Commandant

I sent in the following report and he issued the above Garrison order

44.

1851 July 18

Sir, I have the honor to report to you that I left here on Monday with 50 men & proceeded to Niemans Kraal, where I ofsaddled untill the noon rose, I then left, proceeded through De Bruins Poort - expecting to find the Enemy at Lombords place or the Old Post Ofsaddled on this side Espags Drift where I found the spoors of a Party of Hottentots going in the direction of Somerset, after crossing the Fish river I saw the spoors of some sheep and Caffers, and a short distance up the randt, the spoors of two parties of Caffers and Hottentots going the same direction as the first Party. I then went over the Randt to Klien Leo Fontein expecting to fall in with a Patrole from the Major Generals Camp & and perhaps some of the Enemy, I am sorry to say without success. I then passed Jellinans to the Read river, a noted place for Caffers, Ofsaddled there untill dark, when I Patroled the Country in every direction, I could think likely to find the Enemy. In the Morning I ofsaddled at Companis Drift on the Little Fish river, and from there proceeded to Stinkums flat, from there to Riebeck - remained untill 10 P.M - Mr Von Rooyen informed me that no Men had been sent either from Hartman or Ferriera,<sup>81</sup> and that he wished to go to Town for the purpose of seing the Commandant about it. I ordered 15 Men to remain to protect the Camp untill his return. I then with the remainder, proceeded to Burgers Muir<sup>82</sup> a well Known Caffer pass, where I waylaid untill

45.

untill daylight, I arrived home last night -

I have never taken more trouble to find the Enemy with so little success, not having seen a human being from the time I left here untill I came to Riebeck.

It is much to be regretted that I have not a sufficient Men to Keep up such Patroles constantly, as I am sure that by following up the system, we should often fall in with the rascals, and do good service, but; at present for the want of Horses it cannot be done

The Country is in a deplorable state from drought, the whole of it is deserted

I should wish to bring to your notice the necessity of appointing some person to visit the various Burgher Camps, to muster the Men receiving rations, and ascertain that no irregularities are permitted, as, without some supervision, I fear a system will be carried on injurious to the Public service and contrary to the plans and calculations of the Commander in Chief - There's too many wrangling for the command, and thus nothing is done. I think if a disinterested person was appointed, as I have suggested it would be of great service.<sup>83</sup>

Major Burnaby

Commandant.

46.

1851 Augt. 22. Report of the death of Lieut. Mitchelly

Sir,

I have the honor to report the return of the Party under Lieut Mitchelly of the Albany Rangers in charge of Waggon with supplies for Col. Eyres Patrole.

81. Probably Commandant P.M. Ferreira at Faber's Kraal, and Commandant S. Hartman at Quagga Flat. G.T.J. 1/3/1851, 27/3/1852.

82. "Burgher's Muir" was a pass in the Zuurberg Mountains between the Bushman's River Poort and the Riebeck range of hills on the New Year's River. G.T.J. extra 21/12/1852.

83. Cf. C.F.T. 15/7/1851, 22/7/1851.

I have also the painful duty of reporting the Death by accident of Lieut Mitchelly, it appears that He, and some of the Men were in pursuit of a runaway Horse, and, when on the point of catching it, His Horse reared and fell back on him, and his foot hanging in the stirrup he was dragged some distance, He was picked up and conveyed to a House close by, and every attention paid to him by the Surgeon of the 75th Regt. and assistant Surgeon of the Cape Corp<sup>84</sup> He died at 4 O clock P.M about 4 hours after the accident, from concussion of the brain.

Whilst feeling the most poignant regret of the loss of so valuable Man, it affords me some Pleasure to speak of his many good qualities. Equally beloved to the Corp which he belonged, as by his private friends, His death may be considered an irreparable loss to the Public. He leaves a widow and five Children.<sup>85</sup>

Major Burnaby  
Commandant

I managed to get his Widow a Pension of 50 £ Per Annum; some time after, She thought another Husband preferable to the Pension, so married and, of course the Pension ceased

47.

Rural Police (Sir G. Cathcart)

May 1852

General Somerset came to Town - and told me Sir G. Cathcart,<sup>86</sup> who had arrived from King Williams Town - at Fort Beaufort,<sup>87</sup> wished to see me about the Rural Police Force, I had been writing about, I told off my Escort of 10 Men and accompanied General Somerset to Beaufort He had an escort of the Cape Mounted Rifles. On reaching Fort Beaufort - I was introduced to Sir George, who remarked - he had been informed of my Services by Sir H Smith,<sup>88</sup> who had spoken very highly of me, and that He - Sir G. wished to hear my opinion about raising a Police Force - I told him, my idea was, to have a Force consisting of such Men, as I had both in this war, and the last - that their pay must be such, that it would induce good and experienced Men to join - to distribute the Men in different parts of the Frontier and Officers, who should be thorough Frontier Men well acquainted with the Country, and up to the mode of Caffer War, - To have Commandant to superintend the whole - He should be paid sufficient to enable him to Keep 4 Horses & devote his whole time and attention to it He would then be enabled, in case of emergency to send off Expresses to make a combined movement in any direction - I was certain such Men as I mentioned could be had, and if properly organised, would Keep the Frontier in perfect security, I should recommend - all Horses & supplies, be obtained by Contract; After explaining the way I should place the Men; and many

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84. Stubbs meant the 73rd Regt. not the 75th Regt. which was not in the Colony. The Surgeon of the 73rd Regt. was D. McCay McDonald, while the assistant surgeon of the C.M.R. was probably W. Stuart.  
Almanac, 1852.

85. Lieut. D. Mitchelly of the Rangers had been a successful farmer at Grobelaar's Kloof before the war had forced him to town. He was killed at Bathurst on 20/8/1851. G.T.J. 23/8/1851; C.F.T. 26/8/1851.

86. Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. George Cathcart, Governor from 31/3/1852 to 26/5/1854. Walker, op. cit., p. xviii.

87. On 7/5/1852 Cathcart moved the military headquarters from King William's Town to Fort Beaufort so as to cover the vital seat of conflict in the Waterkloof, Fuller's Hoek and the Blinkwater. G.T.J. extra 11/5/1852.

88. Cf. Smith's letter of 2/4/1852 to Stubbs, wherein he promised that he would "readily represent the services which you have rendered during the war to His Excellency Lieut.-General Cathcart."

A.6-64 (Cape), p.13.

and many other things - He said his plan was to appoint a certain number of Officer who were to take on the Men, the pay of the Men to be five shillings and six pence P. dien and to equip and find themselves in every thing, He then said, to me, how do you think it will do. I said, I did not think it would answer, it would cause a system of speculation on the part of the Officers, Men would be taken on by the who would be unable to equip themselves, and the Officers would have to do it, and charge their own price for the articles the Officers would become rich, and the Men would be Kept poor, as they would be on stoppages - nearly the whole time they were in the Force, and they would not be able to live; After much more talk on the subject, He Sir George, in rather a sharp tone said, well Sir, that is my plan. I of course thought I was not wanted any longer, so, made a bow - took up my hat - and left the room, I left General Somerset still standing at the end of the table - I proceeded to where my Escort were staying, and, whistled saddle up - I felt that I should not get on with Sir George Cathcart, as well as I had done with Sir H. Smith - Before the Men were ready - Genl. Somerset came to me - and said - you are a Devilish sight too short - I said I did not come there to be snubbed - and that, although, He (Gen Cathcart) was a General, I considered I Knew more of Caffer War than He did, Yes said Somerset I Know that - But you are too short - for your own interest - What

was that whistle for, I said it was for my Escort to saddle up - to return to Grahams Town - I was not wanted there any longer - He replied in a jocular way-I suppose you acknowledge me to be your General - and, you don't want me to place you under arrest for disobeying my orders - I said not of course not - Well, well you remain here to night, and we will all go to Town tomorrow - We rode nearly the whole way together, and he was quite of my opinion about the Police - He said he felt angry with me for not looking more to my own interest. So, it comes to this, if you are in the Service, and a superior Officer asks you opinion, you must first find out his - and, that no matter how you differ - or how wrong you think he is - you must put conscience out of the question, and agree with him

10 June - 1852

I was not given to understand in my conversation with Sir George Cathcart, that the Rural Police, would in any way interfere with the Albany Rangers -

I wrote this letter to Genl. Somerset

Sir,

I beg to inform you that, I have drawn out a requisition for clothing &c. for the Rangers But upon consulting the general feeling of the Men - that are now on, or are likely to join - I am decidedly of opinion that it would be more conducive to efficiency of the Corps, and effect a great saving to Government, if the Men were to find their own, and their pay increased in

in proportion, say to eighteen pence P. dien. My reason for recommending this, are, We have no power to compel Civilians to serve a moment longer than they choose - thus, A Man to all appearance is one of the right sort, joins the troop, and at the end of the month - leaves or, is dismissed for neglect of duty He takes his clothes with him, this I have never had the power to prevent - Now on the other plan on a Man leaving, his pay would stop, and his place filled by another equally as well equipped as the other. thus the Force would be Kept up well and efficiently without any other or fresh expence to the Government, let the change be ever so frequent Again each suit of cloths cost about £5 P. Man If it was added to the dayly pay, it would take 100 days to make that sum, I consider it would be saving to Govt. -

To shew the changes that have taken place in the Rangers I need only mention, that during the present war I have had 154 Men, but there have only been 97 suits of cloths, so that a great many of them have received nothing, which has caused many to leave and prevented many from joining. It engendered a feeling of discontent the Men considering they were not placed on the same footing, as those who had left, But, at the same time I felt I could not consciously make a requisition for clothing, when experience had shewn me, that I could place no dependence on the length of their services

If this proposition should meet with your views, perhaps you will recommend its being put in force

P.S. - Since writing the above; I have seen

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51.

the order for the Formation of the Police Force.<sup>89</sup> I am anxious to Know if it is the intention of Govt that the Rangers should continue distinct from the Police or not, I shall feel obliged by you letting me Know by the next Post

24 June 1852

Sir

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of copy of a Circular from the Commander of the Forces enquiring whether the payment of 1/- Per diem as a commutation in full for the pay & rations granted to the Wives and Families of the Men enrolled in the Levies, would be acceptable.

In reply I have to state, that on submitting the same to the Men of the Rangers under my command, whose Wives and Families have been on the ration list - I find the Majority averse to the proposed change, but most respectfully leave it to the judgment of His Excellency<sup>90</sup>

Shortly after - Mr. Hudson C.O. sent for me to ask if I would take the Commandantship of the Police Force for Albany - I told him I should not be able to carry it out on Sir George Cathcart's plan -

It was then advertised for applications to be sent in for the situation, when Walter Currie applied, and was appointed -<sup>91</sup>

I was still commandant of the Rangers and so things remained, there was nothing said about disbanding our Corps

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52.

The following will skew - how hard our duty was even at this time

29 Apl. 1852, Sir,

I have the honor to report, I left on Monday the 26 Inst. with 20 men in search of a Party of Rebels that have lately infested the road and Country between this and Bathurst, Going by way of Groblaars Kloof I waylaid the first night - a foot path leading into the Cap river, the next morning I proceeded into the Cowie Bush at the back of Curries House - following the course of the river looking for spoors, I waylaid that night one of the foot Paths, the next morning still proceeding in search I left a few Men, with the Horses and entered a deep Kloof, where some time since Lieut. Forrester<sup>92</sup> and his Party Killed one Caffer and wounded two others and recapturing a lot of cattle. I found some huts that apparently been erected for the wounded, a great number of Cattle had been slaughtered

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89. General Order dated 1/6/1852. (G.T.J. 12/6/1852.) For Cathcart's rules and regulations for the police, see G.T.J. extra 22/6/1852.

90. The rate of pay was fixed by a General Order dated 13/1/1851, i.e. Commandant 15/- per day; Captains 11/7; lieutenants 6/6; sergeants 1/4; privates 6d. G.T.J. 25/1/1851.

91. Walter Currie was appointed as Commandant of the Albany "Armed Police Mounted Force" on 13/6/1852. Only later did he become the officer commanding the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police which was established out of Cathcart's mounted police. G.T.J. 19/6/52; Notes and News, VIII, 26.

92. See note 50.

there, I then patrolled up the river up to Woest Hill, I could find no spoor of the Rebels, and think they must in the direction of Kara -  
Majr. Burnaby

4 May 1852

Sir,

I have to report, the success of a small Party of Rangers, I sent out this morning in pursuit of some Oxen, supposed to have been stolen last night, from the vicinity of the Town - The spoor was soon taken up and followed to the Western side of Burnt Kraal when they fell in with a lot of Caffers with

53.

a Troop of Cattle, they only got one shot at the Caffers, but captured the whole of the Cattle in this possession, which are believed to have been stolen from Salem, They also retook the Cattle they were in pursuit of. On returning the caught two black Men proceeding on the road with two Oxen, three Guns and a great quantity of powder & lead which they brought to Town, and lodged with the Clerk of the Peace<sup>93</sup>  
Majr. Burnaby

16 May 1852

Sir,

I beg to report I left here on the 13th Inst. with a Party of Rangers and proceeded towards the Cowie Bush, on my way I saw the spoors of some Hottentots and two Horses, going into the bush, but the ground was too hard to Keep it up. I then went to Fords House to look for fires - I was joined here by 7 Men from Hannys Camp,<sup>94</sup> I started early in the morning on foot to examine some deep Kloofs running into the Cowie, at daylight I found the spoors leading into the Buffalo Kloof - I then returned to my Horses, and found seven Men from Dredges Camp, who reported, that the night before 5 Oxen had been taken from their Camp, We soon found the spoor, which also lead into Buffalo Kloof, I left the Horses again and searched the Kloof from the botton, up, about half way, and found where two of the Oxen had been slaughtered, all the meat was gone there were the remains of ten fires, the Enemy had left, the night before, Believing they

54.

in great force, and not finding the spoors out of the Kloof, I went Hannys Camp, and sent to Salem & Town for more Men. That night I was joined by 7 Men from Salem and 12 Men from Town - partly Volunteers Leaving Hanny's Camp at 3 O'clock the next morning - I Patrolled down the Kereiga, past Filmores, and found the spoor leading in the direction of the Karaa - from there I sent to the Cowie, and at night was joined by Mr. C. Cock<sup>95</sup> and Mr. Dell with 16 white Men & some Fingoes I then proceeded to the Karaa, and left some Men with the Horses, proceeded on foot - after considerable difficulty - it being dark, towards morning I discovered fires in the lower end of the Karaa, where the bush is very thick, we crept very quietly to within a short distance and, poured in a volley with what success I am not certain, several were seen to fall, Being unable to restrain the Fingoes who rushed in, and commenced firing hurriedly - only a portion of my Men were able to get up in time for the first charge The Enemy rushed into the bush and commenced firing upon us, we followed up smartly and captured 15 Guns, 3 Assagies and some Cape Corps caps & Boots marked H 1577 besides a great quantity percussion caps powder horns, Blankets - Pouches &c. which we burned on leaving - They called out from the thick bush, that we must look out, for they had another Camp<sup>96</sup>

To Command Stubbs ..... W. Stubbs  
Capt.

93. J. Campbell, Clerk of the Peace since 1/7/1834. Almanac, 1852.

94. John Hannay's camp at the farm "Begelly". G.T.J. 29/5/1852.

95. Cornelius Cock, Field Cornet of Southwell after the death of W. Gray at Theopolis. See Stubbs, I, note 162.

96. This report was printed in the G.T.J. 22/5/1852.

This sort of work was kept up - but a great many of my Men had joined the Police I was unable to do all I wished - the Men I had were nearly done up, and so was I - In October a report came to Town - that Capt. Urn<sup>97</sup> of the 12th Regt. and his servant had been killed by the Rebels at Drivers Bush within a mile and half from the Camp, (When I arrived at the Camp I saw the remains of Capt. Urn and his Servant & Urns head was completely smashed) Sir George Cathcart was then in Grahams Town, He sent Col Cole to know what assistance I could render. I mustered 20 Men - this is the report

13 Oct. 1852

Sir,

I have to report, that I proceeded on Monday the 11th Inst. with twenty Men of the Albany Rangers to the Camp at Drivers bush I found Majr. Horn<sup>98</sup> who had just returned from the bush, I then proceeded to the Clay Pitts, and waylaid that night, thinking to intercept the Rebels, without success, it rained hard the whole night, and was quite impossible to see spoor the next morning. I then proceeded in the direction of Caffer drift on arriving on the top of the Kap river hill saw a Patrole of the Rural Police on the opposite of the Kap river, on joining them I found the Rebels had slept there the previous night and, were supposed to be still in the bush, A Party of the Police under Mr. Mandy<sup>99</sup> were despatched a long way down the river to intercept them, should the Rebels take that way, My Men and the remainder of the Police under Mr Surmon<sup>100</sup> dismounted, and took up the spoor into

the bush and down the river, the Rebels finding themselves hard pressed, took to the Mountain through an almost inaccessible bush & rocks, they were still followed by our Party on foot, almost to the Coons, when the Mounted Party came up and followed up the spoor, but was obliged to give it up - and fetch the remainder of the Horses as our Men on foot were completely done up - We had been at it from 12 O clock the day before, waylaying at night, and raining the whole time we returned to Town 11 O clock last night<sup>101</sup>

Lt. Col Cole R E<sup>102</sup>

On this Patrole, after waylaying in the rain all night, I had such severe pains in my feet and they were so swollen I was obliged to ride, with my boots tied to my saddle.

9 Dec. 1852

Sir,

I have the honor to report to you, that I left here on the 29th Nov. with 15 Men of the Albany Rangers, proceeded to old Bothas Hill I here had to send two Men back, their Horses being done up - I then took a foot path into the Brak river, where I found the enemy had been encamped - I remained on this side Fort Brown for the night - I started at 4 O clock in the morning, and found the spoor of three Hottentots - but the grass being so long - I could not follow it - on arriving at the Kngo<sup>103</sup> I saw 7 Horses feeding, believing the Enemy were not far off, I made a dash and, saw three Rebels, who managed to escape into one

97. Capt. J.C. Hearn, 12th (East Suffolk) Regt. Almanac, 1852.

98. Maj. Arthur Horne, 12th (East Suffolk) Regt. (Almanac, 1852)  
After Lieut.-Col. Perceval left for England on sick leave in August 1852, Maj. Horne took over command of the military posts in Albany. C.F.T. 10/8/1852.

99. W. Mandy, appointed as an officer in the Albany "Armed Police Mounted Force" on 17/7/1852. G.T.J. 17/7/1852.

100. William Surmon, appointed as an officer in The Albany "Armed Police Mounted Force" on 1/7/1852. G.T.J. 17/7/1852; cf. Stubbs, I, note 129.

101. This patrol reported in C.F.T. 12/10/1852; and G.T.J. extra 19/10/1852.

102. Lieut.-Col. P. Cole, R.E. was appointed Commandant of Grahamstown on 1/7/1852. G.T.J. 3/7/1852; Almanac, 1852.

103. i.e. Kingo Hill (See map).

of the deep Kloof running down to the Koonap river they must have had a good look out, I captured the 7 Horses - 1 Saddle -  $\frac{1}{2}$  Muid of salt, some sacks and quantity of meat - I brought the Horses to Town and destroyed the rest except the saddle. from the spoor I think they must have come from the upper part of the Fish river - I intended to waylay there that night, but having no water within many Miles, I could not do so - I am sorry I have not sufficient Men to Keep up the Patrole system, which I am confident does more good, than waiting untill the property is taken by the Enemy<sup>104</sup>

To Lieut. Col Cole R.E.

T.S.

I Kept this on untill I thought the Police were sufficiently established, and the war was drawing to close - I wrote to Sir G. Cathcart to say - I thought the war was pretty well over, and the Police was now able to do what duty there was - I could give up the Rangers which had dwindled down to a very few Men - and it was not worth while Keeping up the expence - and hoped he would find me something to do under Government - I received an answer - that my resignation was accepted;<sup>105</sup> and that - I should be employed on the first opportunity offering - there never was an offer made to me of a govt. situation - I found that while I was out protecting the Frontier, my business had passed into other hands, who had been looking out for the loaves and fishes, while I had been looking after the Enemy, I also found; 'fron continual'

Harrass and exposure my health was much injured.

I had now once more to try and make a business, which was no easy matter - for things were very bad - I managed to get some Mail Contracts -<sup>106</sup>

In 1855 - I again applied for Government employment through Genl. Jackson,<sup>107</sup> and was again promised, and was informed by Richard Southey<sup>108</sup> the Secretary to the Lieut Governor that my name was entered No. 1. for a Govt. situation; that is all, I heard about it<sup>109</sup> - On the arrival of Sir George Grey<sup>110</sup> - I brought all my Services, and the promises to his notice in a Memorial for a grant of land, but, was informed, that, for the present, all grants were suspended

After the war was brought to a close, I began to make up my books - and found a considerable amount owing me - nothing of course had been collected during the war - and I found that nothing could be collected now, as most of my Debtors were hard up - my losses were very heavy, and to make it worse - I lost a great number of Horses with the Glanders In 1854 - I started an omnibus to the Bay<sup>111</sup> it was made to carry eight

104. The patrol lasted two days, 29-30/11/1852. G.T.J. 4/12/1852.

105. The Rangers were disbanded on 28/2/1853. G.T.J. extra 15/2/1853; see below p. 76.

106. See Appendix "C".

107. Maj.-Gen. Sir James Jackson became the commander of the forces with the local rank of Lieutenant-General on the departure of Cathcart on 15/4/1854 and the arrival of the first non-military governor, Sir George Grey. Almanac, 1855; G.G. 27/4/1854.

108. Richard Southey was Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor in Grahamstown from March 1855 to August 1860, with the exception of the months January to April 1859 when he acted as Auditor-General of the Colony. A.F. de Villiers, Introduction to the Inventory of the Southey Papers.

109. Southey to Stubbs, 9/3/1855, to inform him that his "request has been recorded, and will receive due consideration, should an opportunity for employing you, present itself." A.6-64 (Cape), p.14.

110. Sir George Grey, Governor from 5/12/1854 to 15/8/1861. Walker, op. cit., p. xviii.

111. The first trip was on 9/7/1853. G.T.J. 9/7/53; see also G.T.J. 25/6/1853, 16/7/1853, 6/8/1853, 27/8/1853.

Passengers - It promised well for a short time, and then it was, 2 down - 1 Up - 3 down - none up &c so on a heavy Horse sickness set in and carried off 52 valuable Horses in six weeks and laid me up in bed for two Month, with Rhuematism.

59.

Many times when returning from Patrole, the people of Grahams Town - have flocked round, and said A'h, you will never be forgotten - for the services you are rendering the Country. It proved a fact, for no sooner than it was Known that I had, had such heavy losses - and was unable to help myself than they began to summon me, and take out writs - seizing all they could lie their hands upon, to save those creditors who - had not pressed me - I surrendered my Estate, R.G Stone<sup>112</sup> was appointed Trustee - He sold all I had - and that, was the last either I or my Creditors heard of the matter, they had better have left me alone to work out my own affairs - they would have got something and I could have lived, whereas, they got nothing and, left me to starve, But what was this to what I had to go through, directly after - My Eldest Daughter was married to C. Sheppard - and they were living in the Free State - I received a letter to say She was not expected to live, and also a letter from her begging that we would come up - as it was not possible for he to live much longer - She was dying, with consumption - fancy my position, only just out of a sick bed - sold up rump and stump - I managed to muster a Cart and four Horses among my Friends and, started - on our arrival at a Farm near Burghers Dorp, we had to stop for the night, I think it is pretty well Known how enquisitive the Dutch are - about where you come from, and where you are going - On my saying, I was going to C. Sheppards

60.

in the Free State, - They told us He was in Burghers Dorp, that he had lost his Wife last week - I must pass over this, even at this time - 1875 it is too much for me -

At my sale - there was my gun I had used in the war, when it was put up - I said I should like to Keep it - as it had been a great friend to me, and done good service for the Public, No; it was run up and bought by a Fellow named William Keys - who lately met with an accident by his Gun going off and, carrying part of his face away - I don't Know if it is the same Gun, very likely - He also bought my House <sup>113</sup> - and sued for an ejectment, I appeared at Court my self, and stated to the Magistrate<sup>114</sup> I had not been able to get a House, and I did not feel inclined to move my Famaly into the street - So he was ordered by the Court to waite untill I could get suited - All this was hard work to me, I sometimes wished I had been Killed in the war, as then, my Wife would have had a Pension of 100£ Per annum - but now She had only a Crippled - Rheumatic Husband as poor as, Job after his losses -

After shaking myself and thinking it was no use to give in - I managed to hire a House and set to work<sup>115</sup> - but trade was very bad & the reaction of the War was telling very much on Grahams Town - I managed to get a Post Contract to King Williams Town, and I also got the Contract for the Toll at, Botha's Hill<sup>116</sup> I shall give a little of my experience as a

112. R.G. Stone was a "Land and Transfer Agent." (G.T.J. 22/1/1853.)

Stubbs went bankrupt in 1858. E.P.H. 17/9/1858; G.T.J. 9/10/1858.

113. William Keys bought the house on 6/7/1858. Deed of Transfer No. 21, dated 1/3/1862; cf. G.T.J. 2/10/1858.

114. Robert Graham, R.M. and C.C. for Albany from 1/10/1852. Almanac, 1858.

115. In the G.T.J. 14/9/1858, Stubbs advertised for orders for "any description of Mattrass, which he will warrant genuine," as well as for other upholstery business. The one and only reference to his address was misprinted by the Journal as the corner of Hill and Bathurst Streets. Probably "Hill and Beaufort Streets" was intended.

116. Probably in 1860. Cf. Stubbs to Southey, 20/9/1864:

"My Dear Southey, About four years ago I believe you are aware, I got the right of building an Hotel on Botha's Hill on the Govt. ground and as I understood where th [sic] Toll was, was Gov. ground,

(Continued on next page)

Toll Keeper, it was the first time a toll had been there. on the day I went out - I thought it appear strange to ask for Toll and waited anxiously for the first fellow to pass - I have neither Toll gates or House I had my small Field tent, I used in the war - I had plenty of time to smoke my pipe - and think of my past career - I had only an Old Caffer servant who had been with me, during the last two wars - I was just about getting some dinner, when he came and told me there was a waggon coming it turned out a Fingoes, and when I stopped him and demanded Toll - the fellow opened his eyes as if, he never intended to shut them again, He felt inclined to pass without paying - but on Jack taking charge of the Front Oxen with a Kerre in his hand altered his mind, and dubbed up That was my first Toll money - how I looked at it, and wondered, if I should get enough to pay the Civil Commr. at the end of the month the rent, and have enough to pay the Butcher and Baker - having taken that, I felt more confidence there was nothing more come that day - early the next morning - Jack saw a Dutchman with a Waggon taking an old road - to avoid the Toll He started off - and after a hard fight - the fellow got away and drove on - I had my old war Horse caught, and after him - I came up with him about four Miles from the Toll, and rode in front of the Oxen, and stopped them - He asked me why I had stopped his Waggon on the Govt Padt - I told him he had avoided the Toll, and made himself liable to a Fine of £10 - or a Months imprisonment Myn Got, maar it zal u betaal, and offered

and pulled out the money, I told him that was not the place to pay - He must pay it at - the place appointed - He had to travel back, and pay at my tent, This I found out done a great deal of good, for he published it all over the Country - There was nothing more except Horse Men came for some days - I thought this spec was going to turn out like my Omnibus - A'h here comes a train of Waggons, there were ten - with a lot of Troops, The Officer and the Commt. conductor came on in front, asked them whose Waggons they were, the Officer who was a D --l of a fellow in his own estimation - answered - why? - I told him they would have to pay Toll - He said no such thing, they were carrying Invalids, and were employed by the Military - I said, even that, will not exempt them from Toll - I tell you, he said, they are on Govt. service, and shall not pay, and if you attempt to stop them, I will call out the Soldiers - I told him - I cared not for his Troop - or him either, but they should all pay By this time the first waggon had come up and my Old Jack was in front with his Kerrie

The Officer coming up to me again, said, do you intend to stop Her Majesties Troops on the Highway, I told him he was under a mistake - for the Commissariat paid Toll, He said it was no such thing, he Knew better, (The Commt. when their Muler waggon came, sent me a note to let them pass & payment would be made at the end of the Month) - I took one of them out of my pocket, and said - I don't Know how you

have been brought up - but where I come from, if one man gives the other the lie, it generally ends in something more than words, But if you can read you may look at this note, He must have learned to read - for on looking at the note he said I see this is directed to Mr. Stubbs - are you Mr. Stubbs,

116 (Continued)

I built a House, made a good dam an [sic] I made other improvement, an I after all, it turned out to be privat [sic] property, and thus there was no Gov. ground about there, I have been obldged [sic] to turn out and sell for what I could get, which has thrown me out, even of the little I could get at that, I am therefore without a single thing to do, this will in a farthing, I certainly have the Contracts for two Toll for four Months, but up to the present they are not bringing in oneugh for the rent, so thus I have little prospect there ..... (Southey Papers, Vol. 14) Stubbs' other toll was at Carlisle Bridge. G.G. 11/7/1865; Stubbs to Postmaster-General, 16/5/1864, G.P.O. 1/79,

I said I am he, He then apologized and said he was in error - I told him, I would advise him - to be a little more carefull in future - for he might find some Men who wer not blessed with a mild disposition, like me - and might come badly off - He was one of those things I have mentioned before, with a sword tied to him, I received the toll money, and they went on I found out, he applied to Mr. Huntly then Clerk of the Peace<sup>117</sup> - to Know if I had the right to demand Toll from waggons in Govt. employ - Huntly asked him if I was there & myself demanded the Toll he said yes - Huntly, told him I had the Toll Ordinance, and might depend I was right - He then applied to General Jackson, and He published the Military regulations for Tolls which had nothing to do with me, as I took the Toll from the Colonial Govt -

I shall just give another - out of dozens - I had moved the Toll about half a Mile lower down, and had a toll bar up and a small House and a Boy to help me - I had been in Town for a few days, and on my return - the Boy told me, that an Officer stationed at Fort Brown, had ridden throught the Toll several times, and refused to pay, as he said he was on duty, The Boy called me and said the Officer was coming, I closed the gate -

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64.

and waited for him, He came up full gallop calling out Toll - Toll - He said I am an Officer on duty, and don't pay toll - I said If so you must return and put on your uniform, as I don't Know you in that dress - He looked at me for some time, and then asked what was to pay, I told him two pence, but you have been through two or three times, without paying He then pulled out a shilling and threw it in the ground, saying, I suppose that will make it all right I said, that that would be enough but, that, I always took the Toll here, holding out my hand - He dismounted - picked up the money, and placed it in my hand saying well Old Fellow, will that, do I told him that was the way - He then told me his name was Lieut. Ainsly,<sup>118</sup> and asked my Name - I told him - when he said well Sir I am glad to Know you, now if you have any grog let us have a glass together which we did - I found him a Gentleman and we became Friends untill he left the Colony

My Post Contract to King Williams Town was going on all right - The Toll money increased and things began again to look better - But how short a time did the sun shine upon me - The Horse sickness set in and, pretty well cleared me out - I had to purchase at high prices to Keep the Post going, and nearly as fast as I bought they died, still the Post had to go, I was again completely stumped - luckily the

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65.

the Toll traffic increased just at the time which helped me to drag through to the end of my Contract for the Mails -

I again got the toll at a much higher price & thinking the ground I was on belonged to the Government - I applied for a lease of it for 21 years, which was sanctioned, I then increased the buildings, and took out a Hotel license also a Shop license, business increased and I had every chance of doing well - untill the People of Collingham laid claim to the ground, and gave me notice to quit - I applied to Govt. to have it surveyed - but was informed I must get it done myself - at all events it turned out to be theirs - so I was in a fix Sir W Currie had a share in - Collingham - He proposed I should go with him to meet the other shareholders at their place - we managed to get up a meeting, but the greatest shareholder objected to my having the Hotel - or to having the right there for any Period, but could remain on suffrage, Curry said He should be sorry to be deprived of having his glass of Grog when he called there, He said to them I suppose if you wer travelling and came tired to an Hotel you would not stop there because they sold Grog - or I suppose if you took your passage in a Ship, and you found they had grog on board - you would jump overboard - He said it was all humbug for if I had to give it up, there would soon be a Hotel on the

117. C.H. Huntley. Almanac, 1865.

118. Lieut. W. Grove Annesley, 6th (Royal 1st, Warwickshire) Regt. Almanac, 1855.

the adjoining Farm - not a Mile from my House,      It was no use  
they had made up their minds, that I must

66.

The Toll had again to be tendered for and to my astonishment I was outbid by a Fellow named Van Meerden, so that I was in a fix again, I had gone to great expense and the only Government ground was about a Mile down the Queen Road, which would cut off the road to King Williams Town Meerton bought a piece of ground on the adjoining Farm, but could not get a License while I remained, so was obliged to buy me out for 500 £ so that ended that spec

1863

I memorialized Sir P. Woodhouse<sup>119</sup> for a grant of land - and sent in the followin documents in support of it<sup>120</sup>

- 1 My Memorial signed by 44 Inhabitants of Whittlesea
- 2 A Memorial signed by Sir W Currie and 75 Inhabitants of Grahams Town
- 3 One signed by P.J Woest and 65 Inhabitant of Alexandria
- 4 Another signed by 39 Inhabitants of Sidbury
- 5 Do. Do. by 29 Do. of Riebeck
- 6 Do. " 32 British Kaffraria
- 7 Do. " 62 Fort Beaufort
- 8 Do. " 25 Fort Peddie
- 9 Do. " 25 Bathurst
- 10 A letter from Lieut Governor of British Kaffraria - recognizing Services<sup>121</sup>
- 11 Letter from Genl. Johnstone acknowledging Services rendered.<sup>122</sup>

67.

- 12 A testimonial in my favour by Mr. Hudson Civil Commissioner of Somerset
- 13 Another from Col Bisset, acknowledging services rendered by me<sup>123</sup>
- 14 Letter from Sir H Smith in reply to application<sup>124</sup>
- 15 Letter from Mr. Southey<sup>125</sup>
- 16 Garrison order dated Oct. 1852

To which I received the following letter

Mr. Stubbs  
Grahams Town  
Sir

Colonial Office  
14 July 1863

The Governor has directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, with several enclosures enumerating the services rendered by you in the defence of the Colony; and in returning those enclosures, I am to inform you, that His Excellency has not the power to entertain your application for a grant of land

Sni

L. Adamson,<sup>126</sup>  
for Colonial Secty

On the Parliament being held in Graham Town -<sup>127</sup> applied, and a select

- 
119. Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse, Governor from 15/1/1862 to 20/5/1870. Walker, *op. cit.*, p.xix.
  120. All these documents may be found printed in A6-64 (Cape.)
  121. i.e. Lieut.-Col. John Maclean. (See Stubbs, I, note 149.) The letter was dated 6/8/1862 at Fort Murray.
  122. General Johnstone's letter was dated 1/1/1863 at Mauritius. Cf. Stubbs, I, note 132.
  123. Col. John Jarvis Bisset, C.M.R., Deputy-Quarter-Master-General (Almanac, 1865.) The letter was dated 6/1/1864 at Grahamstown.
  124. This letter was signed by Lieut.-Col. John Garvock, Private Secretary to Smith, and was dated 2/4/1852 at King William's Town. See notes 73, 88.
  125. See note 108.
  126. Lawrence Adamson, Chief Clerk of the Colonial Office. Almanac, 1863. Adamson's letter was recorded as No. 606 in C.O. 5328.
  127. Parliament was hold in Grahamstown from 27/4/1864 to 26/7/1864. Proceedings 1864.

Committee was appointed, with power to take evidence and call for papers, and to report thereon. The Committee to consist of Messrs W Bowker, Scanlin, Gird, Harris, and the mover G Wood junr.

For their report see Printed pamphlet at the end of this book-128

68.

R. Southey was Secty to Government at the time -129 I met him just before he left for Cape Town, and asked what he thought about my affair. He said you are all right, you have no occasion to trouble yourself about it any more, of course I thought there was no more difficulty, and remained quiet for some time, but finding nothing coming from Cape Town I wrote to him a private letter in the usual style I had always addressed him<sup>130</sup>. But got no answer, I then wrote him and began Sir, But still no answer.

Thinking he might be ill - or that the air at Cape Town had effected him in some way or, perhaps - the Constantia had not had time to work off - I wrote the the Governor, asking him how I was to draw the Pension I was given to understand the Parliament had been Kind enough to recommend me.

I received the following answer<sup>131</sup>

Nr. 258  
Sir

Colonial Office Cape Town  
March 16 - 1865

His Excellency the Governor has directed me to acknowledge your letter of the 11 th Jany. and the 28 Ult. - and to inform you in reply, that he has carefully considered the reports of the Select Committees of the Colonial Parliament; upon your claims for compensation for Services rendered during the Kafer wars, but is not prepared to carry into effect the recommendation in your favor, which have been submitted by Parliament

R Southey  
Col. Secty

69.

(A Thorough Tody Page 184)

The next meeting of Parliament held in Cape Town<sup>132</sup> - it was brought on again by G. Wood Junr.<sup>133</sup> - I have never seen what was done then - I saw in the paper Mr. Southey's remark - He said, it was acknowledged by every one that I had done the Colony good and valuable service, especially to the Frontier, and that he thought a subscription should be got up, and He would give - His mite

His mite indeed - I think his Creditors wanted all his Mites, and a groat deal more, If I wanted a subscription - I would ask my friends

- 
128. This was the report, A.6-64 (Cape), of a select Committee of the House of Assembly. The members were W.M. Bowker (M.L.A. for Albany 1864-5); C. Scanlen (M.L.A. for Cradock 1856-68); H.W. Gird (M.L.A. for Malmesbury 1864-69, 1874-78); W.M. Harries (M.L.A. for Port Elizabeth 1858-9, for Cradock 1861-4); G. Wood, jun. (M.L.A. for Grahamstown 1864-8). R. Kilpin, The Romance of a Colonial Parliament, pp. 140, 145-6, 154, 161.
129. Richard Southey had been Acting Colonial Secretary August 1860 to January 1862, and Colonial Secretary from 22/7/1864 to 30/11/1872. A.F. de Villiers, op. cit.
130. Stubbs to Southey, 20/9/1864. (Southey Papers Vol. 14.) Acknowledged on 29/9/1864. Southey Papers Vol. 53.
131. Stubbs' two letters were dated 11/1/1865 and 28/2/1865. (See C.O. 2496). Southey's reply was No. 258 in C.O. 5329.
132. Parliament lasted from 27/4/1865 to 10/10/1865. Notes and Proceedings, 1865.
133. Stubbs' petition was raised in the Assembly by George Wood, jun. on 1 June, and by R. Godlonton in the Legislative Council next day. Adv. and Mail 3/6/1865.

But, I was not asking Government for that I was asking for what I,  
and the whole public thought I was justly intitled to

In 1869 The Honble. W. Porter resigned the attorney Generalship,<sup>134</sup>  
and became a member of Parliament thinking, perhaps - He could be  
usefull to me as - when the claim came on, in Grahams Town He was one of  
the Executive Council in the Hous and, ask G. Wood what he was asking for -  
for me, Wood answered - a Farm or grant of land - Porter replied, he did  
not think either, the Parliament or the Governor, had the Power to alienate  
land at that time, but that the Governor always had 10 - 12 thousand Pounds -  
for such purposes - He, Porter should recommend a money grant should be  
asked for - which was agreed to by G. Wood -

Hearing nothing more about it - I wrote Mr. Porter the following  
letter, and also one to G Slater - also a Member of Parliament

70.

Harrison Whittlesea

May 18 1869

Honble. W Porter Esqr  
Cape Town  
Sir,

I feel certain, Knowing your charitable disposition, - and now  
that you are a Member of Parliament, of forgiving me the liberty I have  
taken in addressing you, when you Know my reasons - which are to ask you  
to give me some advice, How to bring my case again before Parliament  
If Sir you recollect when the Parliamont sat in Grahams Town, my petition  
for some consideration for my services, during the Kaffir Wars, was  
introduced by Mr. G. Wood junr. and refered to a select Committee, all the  
documents and proceedings, published a copy of which I have, and if you  
recollect when the report was brought up, you made the remark, that - you  
thought a grant of land would not be so useful to me, as Money, and that  
would be best to recommend it. The Committee did so, and I afterwards  
wrote His Excellency the Governor praying him to carry out that recommendation.  
I received an answer to say His Excellency was not prepared to do so.  
I have since applied to both Houses of Parliament without effect, I can  
assure you Sir I am very much in need of assistance, and I do think there  
is no one in the Colony, after reading the documents and proceedings of  
the select Committee, can deny my just claim

71.

for consideration

Yours &c. T S.

This is his reply

Cape Town May 26 - 1869

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th Inst.  
I retain a recollection of the circumstances connected with your  
appeal to Parliament in 1864; but, as His Excellency the Governor did not  
see fit, to act at once, or at all, upon the recommendation of the Committee  
in your favor, I should not be decling sincerely with you, if I said - you  
seem to me to have in 1869, a chance of obtaining that, was withheld in 1864.

If the finances of the Colony were in such a state that Parliament  
could, out of surplus revenue - reward Men, who in time of difficulty and  
danger did their duty to their fellow Colonists, and more than their duty  
to them. I shall not, I think, be found amongst those, who would Keep  
back anything in reason for Men who have stood between us and the enemy,  
But, our finances are in a deplorable condition, year after year a  
deficiency appears, We borrowing money to pay our ordinary expenses, and  
undure these circumstances I, for one, believe it to be impossible, for  
Parliament to compell the Executive Government to incur an outlay, which  
the Executive Govt. itself does not deem to be obligatory.

I am sorry to see, that although younger by four years than  
yourself, you feel the effects of age and infirmity, and the world has not  
prospered yous. It would give me real pleasure to advocate in Parliamert,  
the case of a

134. W. Porter, Attorney-General 1839-66, and M.L.A. for Cape Town 1864-73.

72.

deserving Men, as I believe you to be, But I am unable to hold out any hope, that I shall be able to support your claim - or, if I did, the Parliament would be induced by me or, by any Man, to meet the claim recommended by the Committee of 1864

Mr. T Stubbs

Mr. W. Porter

I have no doubt he thought, the soft soap in the above letter, would soften me, but it takes more than that to cool down, a poor Man, who considers himself badly treated, as I do - by the Government -

I sent him the following letter

Harrison Whittlesea

June 1869

Honble. W Porter Esq  
Cape Town

Sir, Your answer to mine of the 18th Ult. I have duly received, and, am sorry you hold out but little hopes, of me getting any thing from Government, upon the recommendation of the Committee - of Parliament which sat in Grahams Town in 1864.

You Kindly say, that, if the finances of the Colony were in a better state, you, would not be among those, who would Keep back any thing in reason, from Men, who had stood between you and the Enemy, I think it has been sufficiently proved that, I have done so, by the Memorials and other documents sent, with my petition to Parliament. I did think, although the Colony was so much in debt, there could be no objection, in granting me a Farm - even

73.

one of those Farms, now being measured in this District, and about being disposed of on Leace, even that, would be of service to me, I could get my Son to work it for me, and enable me to live.

I have served my Country faithfully, during every war since 1820, and, I feel it hard, after sacrificising my all, for the Public service, and proving my loyalty, in fighting the very Rebels and Caffer Chiefs who are receiving pensions, and other rewards, while I, am thrown on one side, like an old worn out garment - Had I, like many others, I could mention, looked out for the loaves and fishes instead of looking out for the protection and the Govt. interest, I could most likely have been wealthy, and, then I am sure I should have been rewarded, as, although it is an old saying it is not the less true - The fatted Hog gets always well greased - I can look round and see, not one, but a dozen, who during the whole wars never had a gun in their hands, or, done one days Public service in their lives, have had grants of land, and some of them even two. But, Sir, I Know you cannot help that I thought I might as well let you Know it. Although Govt. does not see fit to give me any acknowledgement for my Services, I, shall not be less Loyal to my Queen and Country, and impress the same on my Children

There is another thing I cannot help mentioning. At the commencement of the war of 1846 Mr. J.D Nordon was serving as Capt. of the Yeomanry Corps, He was shot by the enemy, His wife was awarded a Pension of £75 Per annum, and since that

74.

many others the same, I only mention for the purpose of shewing, that, if I had been Killed in the war, my Wife would have been provided for as others, But instead of which, She has to fight her way through this cold world, with a crippled Husband, without, any assistance from Govt. I have faithfully served since 1820.

I must apologize for intruding on you with my troubles, as, I have no doubt, you have - other matters of more importance to attend to  
T S.

I received this letter from G Slater,<sup>135</sup> then a Member of

Parliament - in answer to one of mine - I have no copy of -

Assagic River  
June 2 - 1869

My Dear Friend,

I am in due receipt of your favor of the 18 Ult., and in answer, can only say, that you shall have my vote & and all the influence, I can bring to bear on the case, as I think you have been ill used by Govt. - You had better try and get Southey bring this affair on, I will look up the report of the Committee, and do all I can in the matter - I have a good deal of influence amongst the Members, and will work for you all I can

G. Slater

Poor fellow, I am afraid his influence is like a drop in a bucket -

75.

Harrison, Whittlesea  
June 1869

Dear Slater

I thank you for saying you will interest yourself for me in Parliament - But you are wrong in thinking that Southey will bring it on. I have received an answer from Mr. Porter, He says there are little hopes of getting the Pension recommended by the Committee, As the finances of the Colony, are in such a miserable state. I have written to him to say, that a grant of land would not interfere with the finance. I could get my Son to work it for me. I can assure you - had I my health - I would not trouble the Govt. for any thing! Although, as you are aware I have a good claim. Perhaps when you go to Cape Town, you will see Southey, and you can sound him about the probability of getting the grant of land, that could be given by the Executive Council, in lew of the Pension recommended by Parliament.

Perhaps Porter will shew my letter I sent him last -

Thats' all - and thats' all

76.

Feby 4 - 1853 (look Page 57)

Sir

I beg to inform you, that the greater part of Men of the Albany Rangers left, and joined the Police, my strength is as follows

- 1 Capt. Commandant
- 2 Lieuts.
- 5 Privates

I must at the same time, beg to remark, that both during the last war and the Present I have sacrificed my whole time to the Public Levies, and shall always be ready to do so, I hope the Commd. in Chief will take it into his consideration, the above services, and should any Govt. situation vacant that I could fill, I should feel most happy to accept it -  
Lieut. Col. Cole R E T S

77.

After selling out at Botha's Hill - and paying all my money out - I found my position any thing but pleasant, I was continually laid up with my Old Rheumatism, and having the Children to support<sup>136</sup> - I saw no prospects in getting a living, then made up my mind to accept an offer of My Brother Williams to remove to his Farm in the Queens Town

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136. Stubbs had 3 children at this stage. See Appendix "A".

District,<sup>137</sup> I packed up all my traps, and started with my Family in a waggon of W Millers<sup>138</sup> - I had three hundred Angora Goats - We had not reached Fort Beaufort - before the Goats began dying and I shall never forget the night we reached the Kat Berg - We outspanned on the spot where the Hotell now stands - during the whole night the Goats were groaning and crying - it was just like a lot of Human beings suffering great pain & kept me awake the whole night - and gave me plenty of time to think of all my former troubles - the next morning I found twenty of the Goats lying dead, and many more unfit to travel - We reached my Brothers Farm Harrison the third day after, when I found I had just lost one hundred of my small troop of Goats - every thing looked miserable - the House was surrounded by heaps of ashes and filth - and it was here I must try to make a living - I had brought a little leather and tools with me - so commenced shoe making for our own Family, cleared the rubbish away round the House and commenced planting trees - I soon found my small stock of leather was done, and none other to be had - only at a very high price - but high or low I could

78.

I could not buy - for the want of cash I managed to find two half pipes on the place, got a few skins, and commenced tanning - they were scarcely finished, when I sold them for cash, and put in a greater quantity - they also sold well, I bought a few casks, and kept on increasing untill I could send some dozens to Queens Town

79.

To King Williams Town to See Sir H. Smith (from page 52)<sup>139</sup>

Having made continual applications for more Horses, and other necessary supplies without getting any satisfaction, I made up my mind to proceed to King Williams Town to see Sir H Smith, On my informing Major Buraby, Commandant of Grahams Town of my intention, he, laughed at the idea - he said - how do you think it possible to get there, when the whole of the Country between here and there is occupied by Scholo<sup>140</sup> and other Chiefs, & how can you take the men from Town, leaving it unprotected - I told him I should only take five men with me. I started with five men, and arrived at Trumpeters Drift Post at 4 O'clock P.M. this post was occupied by a Capt and Company of Soldiers - they tried hard to persuade me not to venture farther, as they said the whole country was occupied by the enemy, I left there about 8 O Clock arrived at Fort Peddie at 11 O Clock on my reporting myself to the Commanding Officer he said it was perfect madness for me to think of going further, but, if I was determined - he would reinforce my Escort with some of the Cape Mounted Rifles - I told him I would rather go alone than trust myself with them, after many good byes' & shaking hands I started at 1 O clock and passed through the Keeskama river at the ebb and flow drift, and arrived at King Williams Town without meeting any of the enemy as they congregated about the Main Roads On my arrival I went straight to Sir H Smith Quarters, and was taken into his Office by the Orderly Sergt, I had no sooner entered, than

137. William Harrison Stubbs had got a grant of land measuring 1582 morgen, as part of the settlement arranged by the Victoria Land Commission. (G.T.J. 30/4/1853) He called the farm "Harrison" which he occupied from 15/1/1854. After his death ca. 1882, the farm was divided between the two sons of Thomas Stubbs. Queenstown Farm Register, Vol. 3, Folio 57; Queenstown Quittrents, Vol. 2, Folio 77.

138. Probably the brother of Stubbs' Wife. See Stubbs, I, note 80.

139. See above p. 32; Stubbs, I, 117-120.

140. See Appendix "F".

Sir Harry who was sitting at a table with Col Cloete (Dept. Quarter Master General) jumped up, put out his hand, and gave me a hearty shake, at the same time giving three cheers. He said he was glad to see me, for it was a proof there were no Caffers in the Colony, or I should not be there - I told him that I found it impossible to carry on the duties - as our Commandant would not sanction my requisitions without first sending them to Headquarters - and that - all communication had been cut off for some time - I was at a loss to know how to go on, so, made up my mind to see His Excellency myself, and here you are he said, and I am glad to see you - Now what is the first thing I told him the Men serving under me - finding their own Horses, saddles, Bridles & Gun were only receiving six pence per day, and that from the continual hard work, a great many of their Horses were done up, and that I wanted more Horses to mount a greater number of Men. I then produced a letter signed by R Godlonton W. Cock S. Cawood and others - pointing out the hard duty of my Men, and praying they might receive better pay - He read this letter and, throwing it over to Col Cloete, exclaimed My G-d look at that Cloete did you ever see such a thing as that, He gave a few curses, and then turning to me, said Stubbs I have no power to give your Men more pay, without I pay it out of my own pocket. I know they are doing hard and good service I only wish I had you up here with me for I am surrounded with Rebels - If I

I had you and your Men I would go through Cafferland, But the idea of the Honbl. Godlonton Honbl Cock & Honbl. Cawood asking me for more pay for your Men, why the Devil don't they put their hands in their pockets and supply you with money for the Men, who are protecting them, whilst they are making fortunes out of the Government - The next thing is as the Men are always out, they have no time to work for the support of their families - I therefore want rations for them and their children - He said he could not see what fighting men wanted with Wives and if they were doing their duty - they would have no time to get children (of course this was said in a jocular way,) after some more talk he turned to Cloete and told him to put that down - they should be rationed for three months as the war will be over in that time - after much more talk I had a letter to the Commandant to supply me with what I required untill further orders - I told him, I thought the General order about the rations for the Families of the Men serving under me, had better not be for any particular time - as he said the War would be over in three months - and that the order should be for that time, now if the war should be over in two months, those men would be receiving rations a month for nothing which would be a loss to the Government - This remark pleased him - he said I am glad to see you take an interest in Government as well as your Men. I said, I thought if the order for their rations was untill further orders it could be stopped at once any time - He

told Cloete to write the order in that way. It remained in force for upwards of two years. He then asked me when I intended to return. I said the next morning, but how is it possible you can manage to get through with only five Men - when he was afraid to move with Five hundred - He called Col McLean and told him to supply me with every thing I wanted, which was nothing - I arrived the next night at Fort Peddie, to the astonishment of all there - the next morning - Breakfasted at Trumpeters Post & left there at 10 AM - on arriving at Frazers Camp I saw a troop of Sheep in the Fish river bush made a dash for them, and captured them without firing a shot, the Caffers called out from the bush for us to leave them, or they would cut our throats - we met a train of wagons with a strong escort and gave the sheep over to them to deliver them over to the Officer in Command at Trumpeters - arrived in Grahams Town that afternoon,

[Pages 83 to 180 have been cut out of the Journal.]

181.

A Curious circumstance happened in 1830 in Grahams Town - There was a Cricket match being played, up by the Burial ground, - I don't recollect all the names of all the players, there was among them - Old Mr. Gilbert, Rofferty, Stringfellow Smith &c - There was a flight of those little red beak birds flew round Rofferty's house several times, and twenty two of them, fell down dead, in front of the House Mrs. Rofferty who was half dutch, was very superstitious and sent for Old Jonny Kronhaut - (He was Sexton, Auctioneer, Mattrass maker - I don't know what more - at all events, Mrs. Rofferty laid the whole affair of the death of the Birds before him and asked him what he thought of it He pulled a long face - and looked very knowing, and after, considering for some time; He shook his wise head for several minutes, and then replied - that it was plain there were twenty two Crickertors - and from the very circumstance of there being twenty two birds, it showed that the twenty two Crickertors would all die - This put Mrs. Rofferty in a great state of Mind, She was quite satisfied all that Kroomhout told he would come true, Although I laughed at him at the time - I found his words all true, for I don't know one of the twenty two who played that day, still alive in 1876

T S

182.

Thursday 11 May 1876

This day was a sore trial to me and My Wife - our Son William Richard<sup>141</sup> left for the Diamond Fields, We had to say that hard word good bye It is a hard word to speak, some may laugh that it should be, but let them. Icy hearts are never Kind. It is a word that has choked many an utterance, and started many a tear. The hand is clasped, the word is spoken, we part, and are upon the great ocean of time - we go, to meet - where? God only knows. It may be soon; It may be never. I say take care that your good-bye be not a cold one - it may be the last you give Ere you can meet your Friend again, death's cold hand may have closed his eyes, and chained his lips for ever. And he may have died thinking that you loved him not; It may be a long separation, Friend crowd onward and give you their hand; How do you detect in each "good-bye" the love that lingers many, many days! We must often separate, Tear not yourself away with careless boldness that defies all love, but make your last words linger - give the heart full utterance - and, if tears fall, what of it. Tears are not unmanly

T. Stubbs

183.

Harrison May 16 - 1876

Beneath me flows the Klipplaats; and, like the streams of time, it flows amid the ruins of the past, I see myself therein, and know that I am old, thou too shalt be old, Be wise in season. Like the streams of thy life runs the streams beneath. Down from the distant Gaika's Kop, out into the wide world it burst; its way, like a youth from the house of his Father. Broad breasted and strong, and with earnest endeavours, like manhood, it makes itself a way through these difficult mountain passes, And at length, in old age, it falters, and its steps are weary and slow, and it sinks into the sand and through its grave passes into the Great Ocean, which is its eternity, thus shall it be with thee & me -

The bright side

Look on the bright side, it is the right side. The times may be hard, but it will make them no easier to wear a gloomy, and sad countenance. It is the sun shine & not the cloud, that makes the flower. The sky is

blue ten times to where it is black once. You have troubles, so have others, None are free from them. Trouble gives sinew & tone to life - fortitude & courage to man. That would be a dull Sea, & the Sailor would never get skill, where there was nothing to disturb the Ocean, What though things look dark, the lane will turn, & night will end in a broad day. There is more virtue in one sunbeam than in a whole hemisphere of clouds & gloom.

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184.

A Tody

Thus when a little fearful puppy meets  
A Noble Newfoundland Dog in the streets,  
He creeps, and whines, and licks the lofty brute;  
Curls round him, falls upon his back, and then  
Springs up and gambols - frisks it back agen,  
And crawls in dread submission to his foot;  
Looks up, and hugs his neck, & seems to entreat him  
With every mark of terror, not to eat him.

The Newfoundland dog, conscious of his might,  
Cocks his tail and ears, his state to shew!  
Then lifts his leg (a little unpolite)  
And almost drowns the suppliant below;

Then seems, in full blown Majesty, to say,  
"Great is my power - but lo; I'll not abuse it;  
"I'm Ceasar! paltry creature, go thy way;  
"But mind, I can devour thee, if I chuse it".

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The Ship (Northampton) Stubbs' Famaly Passengers arrived in  
Table Bay the 26 March 1820 Sailed on the 2nd April and  
arrived in Algoa Bay 30 April 1820.

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[A newspaper cutting concludes the MS. See Appendix "IV".]

## A P P E N D I C E S

(These four appendices are all newspaper cuttings which have been abstracted from the Manuscript itself)

### APPENDIX I

(This cutting precedes Volume I of the Manuscript)

"Journal of a settler of 1820"

Doings before and after we left England.

I left school in 1819, and was at once taken on board ship, leaving England for what was then regarded as perhaps the most mysterious, as it was certainly the last known, portion of the globe. It was on ship that I had my last dinner of *à la mode* beef. I went on board with my father, my brother, and a lad named Tom, who was bound to my father until he should become of age. The decks were covered with the varied luggage of the Settlers, and everything looked to me strange and incomprehensible. My father proposed that we boys should try and go up the rigging. Tom, the eldest of us, at once started up, but he had not gone far when one of the ship's boys (we afterwards called him Dean Swift, as he was the slowest boy in the ship) went after him with some rope yarn, intending to tie Tom fast to the rigging. The moment he made the attempt, however, Tom held on with one hand, and struck the Dean between the eyes with the other, and the latter returned to the deck in a great hurry. This was not the last of the affair though, for when Tom came on to the deck the sailors, ever ready to get up a fight, backed the Dean against Tom. It was a poor chance for the Dean, for Tom polished him off in about five minutes. Before we sailed one of the ship's boys \* fell down the mizen hatch, and another overboard, so that on the whole we cannot be said to have started under very auspicious circumstances. We now started down the river, but at Blackwall we lay to alongside an old hulk. From our vessel we could see the gibbets on the shore where some mutineers had been hanged. I remember while we were lying here that a heavy fall of snow occurred. Immediately the boys made a slide on the deck of the old hulk, but they had not been sliding long, when, to the astonishment of all, one of the boys went right through a port-hole overboard.

Soon after this incident we put out to sea. We were about three weeks out when one morning, just after the Settlers had brought up their bedding for an airing, an alarm of fire was given. It appeared that some pitch had caught fire near the cook's galley, and was running over the decks. The sailors made a rush for the blankets to smother the fire, while some of the Settlers, not knowing what the sailors wanted the blankets for, made frantic attempts to get them back. Many of the Settlers were Irish, some hailed from Yorkshire, some from Berkshire, and some from London. An Irish woman, named Holland, made a fierce attack on a sailor, and at the same time bawled out to her son ---"Dennis, yer spalpeen, will ye be letting them take all our blankets to have them burned, and us and the childer starved to death with cold." In the meanwhile the sailors had worked so well that the fire had been subdued, and we proceeded calmly on our voyage.

One morning, just after the deck had been swabbed, the cook called out for the settlers to come for their allowance of Burgoo (i.e. bad meal boiled in a large copper. An Irishman, about six feet six inches in height (whom we nick named Polly \* Longstocking) was leaving the kaboose with his wooden bowl of burgoo, when the ship gave a pitch, and threw the Irishman on his back, and the burgoo on the deck. Seeing what had occurred, the second mate, a little proud upstart fellow, who wore extravagantly large frills on his shirt front came up to our Irishman with the intention of kicking him.\* A stout-made settler seeing this, seized the mate by the frill of his shirt and shook him as a terrier would a rat. The mate ran aft to the captain calling out "mutiny".\* The captain immediately called

a muster of the sailors, armed them with cutlasses, and placed them across the quarter-deck. All the Irish rushed to the fore-castle, some armed with pieces of wood, and some with pieces of iron hoop. In the midst of them Mrs. Holland could be heard calling out "Dennis, I say Dennis, will yis be showing yourself a man this day; we're not to be bate like a lot of gilly goolies by them fellows with their big knives; so stand to it for the sake of ye's country". And so the uproar continued for some time

longer, but eventually, after much trouble, it was arranged that the settler who shook the mate should give himself up. He was kept a prisoner for a day, and then released, and all was quiet until we reached the line. But of this anon.

#### The Bay of Biscay.

We were just in the Bay of Biscay, better known than liked, when about midnight a terrific storm came on. The vessel laboured heavily through the huge waves that opposed her progress. The masts creaked the timbers groaned, and the wind whistled through the rigging. In the midst of this another ship, called the Ocean, also laden with "tiger hunters", as the sailors termed the settlers, crossed out stern and took away all our cabin windows. The settlers were about on the deck in their shirts, trying to recover their property - the women groaning, children crying, and sailors swearing, while the sea continued to break over the ship, and threaten her destruction, until daylight. Gradually the wind abated, the waves went down, and again we sailed freely over the water.

#### Crossing the Line.

About 8 o'clock one evening we heard a gruff voice hailing the ship and asking her name. The look-out man replied to the questions as to destination, cargo, &c., and then the voice gave notice that its owner would come on board at ten o'clock the next morning. At the same time a few shots were fired, and some tar barrels lighted and set afloat. The grand and imposing appearance of the tar barrels at night had the effect of frightening a good many old women on board - not only old women but some, who though they wore t-----s, were quite as bad.

The next morning the "tiger-hunters", as the sailors called us, were battened down, with the exception of heads of parties, who, with the cabin passengers, were accommodated with seats on the poop, having an awning over them.\* An old gentleman settler agreed to play the violin for Neptune and his wife, and at about ten o'clock a gun was fired, and it was reported below that Neptune was on board. The old sea god and his wife soon made their appearance, she riding on a gun carriage, covered with the Union Jack, drawn by some fellows in masks, and with the violin playing in front. Neptune, himself was on foot. Two of the followers bore a soap pot i.e. a bucket full of tar, while two others, each carried a razor made out of iron hoop, the one being finer than the other. In this order they proceeded to the quarter deck, where, on the port side, was a small boat filled with water, in which to dip those who were shaved. On the capstan stood a large tub filled with six water grog. The musician struck up "Rule Britannia," and immediately four of the masked men armed with cutlasses, drew on one side, and prepared to carry out any orders given them. Old Neptune then gave orders to bring up the first novice and introduce him to his majesty and Mrs. Nep. A regular chaw-bacon was then brought up from below. He look the picture of misery, his face being elongated to a fearful extent. This poor fellow was blindfolded, brought to the boat, and seated on the gunale, a guard holding each arm. In the meantime one of the men had mixed the suds - tar and fat, and with this decoction the unwilling countryman's face was smeared. He was then asked where he came from, and on opening his mouth to speak the tar brush was inserted in the aperture. The razor was then brought forward, and this took off part of the tar and part of the skin. After three duckings in the water he was taken to see old Neptune and his spouse, whose healths he had to drink.

The next person operated upon was the second mate, a perfect puppy, who was disliked by all on board. He offered anything to be set free, and after getting a gallon of grog out of him he was dipped, but not shaved. As soon as released he rushed to his cabin, and did not show up again for several days. The upshot was that the whole of the crew got drunk, the man at the wheel fell asleep, and the next morning no one knew where the ship was.

What would be thought of such a state of affairs now - the lives of 300 families, beside the crew, risked for the sake of a drunken spree?

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## APPENDIX II

(This cutting was pasted on Page 24 of Volume I.)

### LOCATION OF SETTLERS AT THE KAFIR CLAY PITS

In 1822 we were still living in tents. My father had been summoned to Uitenhage, his party having left without leave. He left my mother, my eldest brother - then about 14 years old - myself, the younger children, and a cousin, about 22 years old, at home. One morning, at about ten o'clock, my mother saw about a dozen Kafirs coming towards our tent, apparently all well armed. (I may mention that we had not seen any Kafirs before.) My mother told me to call my brother and cousin, who were working in the garden, about 500 yards from the tents, and sent my younger brother to our neighbour's to ask assistance. Our neighbour lived about a mile and a half off, while the Kafirs were only 200 yards distant from the tents. My mother told my cousin to go and meet them, and said "I have loaded the guns, but we will not let them see them until we find out whether they are enemies or not". My cousin, not liking the look of them, hesitated, when my mother told him that if he was afraid to go he should say so, and she would go herself. Feeling rather ashamed he went to meet them, when they called- "norrow, norrow." He brought them to the tents, when my mother motioned them to sit down, and then we saw they were all women, with long sticks in their hands. We gave them a lot of Settler's bread i.e. hard biscuit. It was not long before a lot of men arrived from our neighbours, and made all the <sup>old</sup> women prisoners. They then searched the clay pits, and found a lot more. They were all taken to Grahamstown, and we were given to understand, were hired out to farmers. This we learned some time afterwards from one of them who had run away and got safe back to Kafirland. This woman came with about 500 others who brought a pass from the offices at Fort Wiltshire to get clay. This was the first piece of injustice done to the natives by the Government, and this we had to suffer for afterwards.

## APPENDIX III

(This cutting concludes Volume I.)

The Queenstown Free Press, November 30, 1874.

To the Editor:

FRONTIER DEFENCE AND RURAL POLICE.

Sir, - I have had something to do with the defence of the Colony during all the wars, from the time of the Pitgani Commando in 1827-28 to the end of the last war 1852-53. I was one of the first (if not the first) to recommend the establishment of a Rural Police Force on the Frontier. In the war of 1846 I wrote to the Governor upon the subject, and had several interviews afterwards; but before it could be carried out, the war of 1852 broke out. As nearly all the troops had to be withdrawn from Grahamstown and neighbourhood. I offered my services to the Government to raise a lot of men upon something of the same footing as the Sporting Club was raised in 1846, which was gladly accepted. I managed to get one hundred men - nearly all frontier men, most of whom understood their work, and had a good knowledge of the country. I believe I knew, and so did the most of them, every kafir path crossing the Fish River, from the mouth to Estpag's Drift or Carlisle's Bridge; and it is a well known fact that if we knew, in time, of stock taken, the kafirs scarcely ever got clear off. The plan we adopted, after ascertaining the direction the spoor took, was to send out small parties of men to the different footpaths on the Fish River to waylay; and we found it a good plan, for by shooting some of them and leaving them in the footpath it stopped up that path for some time. Another plan we adopted was to start off after dark with a few men to look for fires, and I can assure you we always gave a good account when we found them. I will just give you one instance of many. We left town about 8 p.m., and proceeded through Howison Poort, in the direction of Orange Grove, Mr. G. Jarvis' farm, and as all smoking and talking had to stop then, we halted for half-an-hour. It was not long before one of the men on horse guard told me he smelt some thing like broiled meat. We found that the smell came from the direction of Orange Grove; and we saddled up and started. On reaching the rise about 50 yards from the house, we saw the lights shining in the orange trees in front of the house. We were at the back. But as I thought it might

be another patrol of Friends, I told off four men to go round into the garden right in front of the house and look through the glass door in front as there were no back windows. I was looking in, counting the kafirs, when one of the men in the garden made a noise and started then. They did not wait to open the doors, but rushed through glass and all. The only chance we had of them was then. We drew our knives and rushed in; but all we found was a turkey cooking, which they did not get for their supper. This put a stop to any more visits to that house, I know, by that lot, and, I believe, from any others.

When I was trying for a police force, I thought of getting such men as I had, and keeping them for that sort of duty; and I am sure that 100 such men are worth 500 raw strangers. On Sir George Cathcart's arrival at Fort Beaufort, I received notice from General Somerset that I was to go with him to Beaufort to meet Sir George Cathcart about the Rural Police. Having been introduced to him, he said he wished to hear about a police force I had been writing about, as Sir Harry Smith had mentioned me to him. He then told me his plan of raising the force was to appoint officers, and let them get the men; the men to have 5s 6d per diem, and to equip themselves. He asked me how I thought the plan would answer. I told him I did not think it would do, for many reasons. In the first place, the pay was too small to get first-class men, and it would open a field for speculation. For instance, two men would join - the one a smart frontier man who would have a good horse, gun, &c., the other perhaps a sailor who would have to be equipped by his officer, and put on stoppages for the whole time he was in the service, as, of course, it was not to be expected his officer could lay out his money so long without interest. Now send those two men out on duty. The one would be perfectly useless, as the good man would have to take care of him. I think it has turned out something like this.

My idea was to appoint frontier men as officers, and let them enlist the men for 10 years; their horses and other equipments to be purchased by contract by the Government, and taken over by the men at contract prices; their pay to be 10s per diem; or the Government to equip them, and the men to find themselves and forage for their horses, and give them good pay, and on no account appoint officers unacquainted with the natives and the colony. If the officers were well up to the work, even if they had to get men from England or elsewhere, they could very soon be trained and become good, useful men; and then promotion should always be from the ranks. I consider they require a little drill, but not like regular troops; in fact, if they do their duty, they will find very little time for drill. I feel satisfied that if we had 200 men of the right sort on our immediate frontier, we should not hear of such continuous losses of stock. But then even they would be useless if their hands were tied. I do not think there would be much fear of them shooting innocent people if they waylaid the paths leading out of the colony. The natives would soon find out that the safest way would be to travel on the open road in daylight; that is if they got the stock honestly.

For mutual protection I should enrol every able-bodied man in the Eastern Province, and order the Fieldcornets to see that they are properly equipped and ready for any emergency; a good supply of arms and ammunition should always be kept by the Government in all the frontier towns; the Fieldcornet to muster the men every month, but so as not to take the farmer too far from his home; say 10 farms to form a circle, and appoint the most central for the muster; number the circles so that the Fieldcornet could visit them one after the other - if once a month too often, say, once a quarter; and let him make his report to the Magistrate, or, still better, appoint a Commandant to receive the reports, and forward them to Government. In case of stock being stolen, the Fieldcornet to have power to call out any number of farmers to go in pursuit, and on arrival at any police station to hand over the spoor to them to follow up; the Fieldcornet and the men called out to be paid so much per diem during the time they are out on that or any other duty. On any report of an outbreak of the kafirs each Fieldcornet would be able to muster a lot of men in a very short time; proper places for laagers could be pointed out, so that every farmer would know to what given point to rally, and would save great confusion, as has always been the case in former times of war.

As by the above system the whole of the arduous duty of protecting the whole colony would fall upon the frontier men, it would only be reasonable that the Westerns should contribute something; and it would be hard to have a capitation tax, as those who have property at stake would not contribute more than those who have nothing. This reminds me of a circumstance that happened in the war of 1834-35. There were a lot of

respectable men put into the Main Guard House for refusing to do duty. One of them wrote to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and begged an interview, which was granted. He stated to Sir Benjamin that he thought it very hard he should be imprisoned for neglect of sentry go, as he was a man worth £10,000. Oh! said Sir Benjamin, are you really worth so much? Yes, Sir, was the reply. Then, said Sir B., I am sorry for you, for I thought you are just the man who ought to do this for duty, as you have so much property to protect. Take him back. This is my opinion too. Make an income tax for the particular purpose of paying for colonial defence. I am satisfied the Western people would rather pay than be called to the frontier to fight. It is a well-known fact that most of the levies sent from the Cape and neighbourhood were of little use when they arrived on the frontier; and then reckon the expense of their coming up and returning. They could be much better employed in cultivating and growing supplies for us while we were fighting; so that they would be earning money while we were losing it. It would not be so very hard for them to pay the expenses of the burghers while out. I know from my experience I would rather pay than fight; and so would most people who have had anything to do with it. Or let a pole tax be enforced all over the colony; and those who were down for duty should be exempted, on proving they are properly equipped and ready for duty at any moment.

I am, &c.,

T. STUBBS.

#### APPENDIX IV

(This cutting concludes Volume II.)

To the Editor of the Free Press:

Whittlesea, April 17th.

Sir, - The writer of the leading article in the "Journal" of the 12th inst., offers his opinion upon the Volunteer Corps of Grahamstown, and from what I can make out, thinks in case of war, a Mounted Force would be useless. In support of this, he refers to the unfortunate affair at Burn's Hill, where the dragoons lost all their plate. Perhaps he too forgot the splendid affair at the Guango where Sir H. Darrel with his troop had an opportunity of attacking a large body of the enemy. He charged through the mass, re-formed, and charged again, until he had completely routed them with great slaughter. Perhaps he also forgets the loss of a large train of waggons at Trumpeter's hill, which were escorted by foot soldiers under the command of Captain Colin Campbell. I was on the spot a few days after when the waggons were still burning. I feel satisfied if there had been fifty mounted men, under a good commander, that train or the greater part of it would have been saved. The footmen cannot move quick enough for Kaffirs. He says, that in case of war, the three or four hundred men would be of no avail. It would be madness for them to take the field, but if they defended the city, it would be all they could reasonably be expected to do. I say they could defend it easy enough for the Kaffirs would never attack it, for while they were defending it, the Kaffirs would cut off all supplies, which is their mode of warfare.

Was it ever known that the Kaffirs even took one of our smallest camps? They never fight unless they have all the cattle and then make off. How would Grahamstown have come off during the wars, if it had not been for the Mounted Force, who were continually out, night and day, harassing the Kaffirs, and protecting the supplies for the town. He says Cavalry in a city would be like a swan on a turnpike road, but there would be no objection to the Farmers outside the town and in the adjoining country, combining for the sake of intelligence corps to bring notice of the movements of the enemy, &c., &c. (I dare say there would be no objection by the Town's people). Now what is to become of the Farmer's stock, and what is to become of the city, if all the Farmers' stock is carried off? He says they ought to have swords, better let them have good hunting knives, revolvers and rifles. In the war of 1835, the Kaffirs took a troop of cattle from Waayplaats. A party of the Grahamstown, - I can't call them Volunteers, for martial law was proclaimed, and every able bodied man was obliged to turn out, - at all events, there, I think, was then of them, went in pursuit, under the command of their officer, who ranked, I am not sure what, but I know it was a Ral. Well, he had a long sword, a brace of pistols and a gun. We overtook the Kaffirs in the Coomb Bush. We sent our horses to a safe place, under the charge of two men, and our our Ral sent his pistols and gun with his horse, and drew his sword. We entered the bush as quietly as possible, but that confounded sword of the Rals, or his scabbard was continually getting between his legs, and making a noise. We took the cattle and some horses. Had

he been obliged to retreat, we should either have lost our Ral, or he would have lost his sword. At the time the Kaffirs took the Contractor's cattle on the Grahamstown Flats and murdered Young Pankrus. What would have been done if there had been no mounted men. They were off at five minutes notice, shot five Kaffirs at Cawood's Hole, recaptured the cattle, and were home again in two hours. We were off again that night to attack the enemy at another point. Now if these had only been footmen the Kaffirs would have got off with the cattle, which were the supplies the town depended upon. What would have been done when Castings was murdered in De Bruin's Poort, if there had been no mounted men. The Rebel Hottentots who committed the murder were followed by Mounted men for two days, and overtaken in Zwaatwater's Poort. They came upon them on Sunday morning just as the rebels had their bibles and hymn books out for Church service, with the blood of Castings still on their hands. Mr. W. Stubbs, then captain, commanded the party and gave a very good account of the rebels in his report. How would footmen have had a chance in this case. I could bring a gross of circumstances to prove that in Kaffir war, - mounted men, (I mean men) are the most essential.

As to the Kaffirs attacking Grahamstown I have often during the war, wished they would, that we might have a chance of fighting them, instead of continually patrolling and waylaying, only to shoot a few at a time.

I think the writer of the letter referred to has had little experience of Kafir wars. He puts me in mind of a circumstance in the war of 1846 when a Major O'Grady arrived from England (I believe he had always been on a peace establishment) was put in General orders as Commandant of Grahamstown. One day I was starting on patrol to scour the Coomb Bush, and on going to the Brigade Office, our new Commandant had a long list of instructions, how I was to attack the enemy, and, in case, I was defeated, how I was to place my men for retreat, and a whole lot more bosh, but O'Reilly who was present said "I'll tell you what it is Major, that man has had too much to do with Kafirs for you to instruct him. You had better let him alone, and let him act upon his own responsibility." I have often noticed, people fresh from England think they know more about Kafirs and Kafir wars than those who have been on the Frontier for fifty years.

I say get as many Mounted Volunteers as possible, and in case of war, they can scour the country, help to assist the Farmers, and the unfortunate people in the country. There would be plenty of men in every town to defend it, as long as they allow the enemy to carry off all the cattle and supplies.

I am &c.,

RANGER.

A P P E N D I X V.

MEN I HAVE KNOWN - BY THOMAS STUBBS,

AUGUST 1868.

Men I have Known - About the year 1842 or 3 I had a License to sell Gun Powder, I will just describe one or two of my customers I had - the one was named Larler<sup>1</sup>, he was an Irishman and an old Settler, he lived at Cuyler Ville,<sup>2</sup> afterwards worked two Oxen harnessed to a Cart in Grahams Town, finding it not answer as the Oxen would not live without food, so he moved back to the Location, He came to my Shop for a Pound of Gun powder, and the next week he came for another Pound, as I was astonished at him wanting another Pound so soon after the first, I asked him how it was, He said I will just tell ye how it was, it was this way, ye know - the Wife and I went to bed, and we had not been asleep long, before I heard a groan, and then another, then ses I, Judy ses I, whats' the matter ses I, with that she ses, och Larler be gettin up, will ye, and be getting me some hot water for I shall be dead entirely, with that I gets up, and on going to the fire place I only saw a few coals, I had no matches and I thought of the Powder, so I gets the Powder in the one hand, and the candle in the other, and jest holds the candle about two foot from the coals, and then sprinkled some Powder onto the coals, intending to catch the fire with the candle, as it went up the Chimney, but, by the God of War, the whole of the Powder caught light, and went off like a great big gun, throwing me backwards, into the other end of the room, the Wife screamed out Och Larler - what have you done - Och ses I, I'm Kilt entirely, be gotten up and

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2.

and get a light, which she did, and found me - lying against the wall, but the whole of front of my shirt, burned off - and, all my hair. Och it was I fright, I got, I'll take care I nothing to do with Powder again the treacherous baster- - - Another Old customer was Timmy Devine<sup>3</sup> he lived at Cuyler Ville he told me, that he wanted to get a light and having no matches took his old Musket, and ses he I opened the pan of the Lock, and put in a small bit of rag, and then a small taste of Powder I put the paper with the remainder of the Powder on the corner of the table as it might be there (pointing to a distance of about a foot), and pulls the trigger, and what would ye think but thru as yer there, the whole of the Powder caught alight and I never seed a bit of it since.

Another Old fellow called Billy McGear<sup>4</sup> used to come to our shop, to talk to some Soldiers we had working in the war - and among other stories, was this, in talking about Horse racing, he said, get out will ye, in the Country I came from, there was a Mare, Och thats was the Mare. When she run, Och she didn't run at all at all, but shew flewed, She went the six Miles in three minutes and four seconds but after dat she got so fat, she couldn't run at all, and so the Master had he Kilt and wen the kilt her, they took a thousand pounds of fat out of her, Och the likes was never seed before nor since

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3.

Augt 1868

Recollections of Present Members of Parliament what they were when first Known by me, and what they are now 1st R. Godlontonial, A Constable,

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1. John Larler, and his wife, Anne, of Bailie's party. Records, XII, 391.
2. This was the site of John Bailie's party. The village was named after Col. Cuyler, Landdrost of Uitenhage in 1820. Cory, II, 159.
3. James Divine of Butler's party. Records, XII, 487.
4. William Mageer who was a member of Butler's party, according to H.E. Hockly, The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa, p. 230.

at the same time as the Last Civil Commissionr of Fort Beaufort Fellowstring,<sup>5</sup> then rose to Clerk to Civil Comm. of Grahams Town, then began the Grahams Town Journal in the old house next to J. Heyton<sup>6</sup> High street - and after appointed a Member of the Executive Council, and then a Member of the Present Parliament<sup>7</sup>

2nd. W. Cockie - Came out as head of a Party of Settlers called Cocks Party. Knew little about him, untill he was appointed one of the Executive Council by the Governor, and shew himself a determined fellow on the arrival of the Ship freight of Convicts,<sup>8</sup> sent from England to this Colony, every one was put under the Pledge, that is, not allowed any supply of food & who assisted or in any way countenanced them but Cockie being a government Man - done all he could to assist them, and was put under the pledge He then, having lots of land at the Cowie, commenced the opening a new mouth to that river, and from his pluck and perseverance, against every difficulty and discouragement has succeeded, he was as Godlonton voted a Member of the first Parliament and is now<sup>9</sup>

3rd. C. Pot, Was first assistent Groon, in the Stable of D.A.G. Johnston<sup>9</sup>- who married the Step Daughter of W.R. Thompson, I believe Pot there first learned to ride, and from perseverance got on to be Auctioneer and a Member of Parliament, and is now<sup>10</sup>

4th. Little Dick Pinter I Know very little about him the first I Know is he was Auctioneer with little Timmy Jarman<sup>11</sup> next door to Reads Apothecary' shop in Hill street,<sup>12</sup> he then went farming, and I believe accumulated some Property, was a member of the H. A and then a Member of L. Council which he is still<sup>13</sup>

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5. See, Stubbs, I, notes 76, 155.
  6. John Hayton, a store-keeper in Somerset Street. Almanac, 1853.
  7. Robert Godlonton, of Bailie's party, was entered in the Embarkation Lists as a printer. (Records, XII, 390) He soon gave up farming, to become firstly a constable in Grahamstown, then clerk in the landdrost's office, and then chief clerk to the Civil Commissioner (Cory, II, 168, 432). On 3/6/1832 Godlonton's first article appeared in The Graham's Town Journal; early in 1834 he became editor; on 17/7/1834 he went into partnership with the proprietor, L.H. Meurant, and in July 1839 took ownership. (L.H. Meurant, Sixty Years Ago, pp. 91, 95, 101.) He was an unofficial member of the Legislative Council, 1850-1853; served on the Legislative Council, 1854-1857, and 1862-1878 (R. Kilpin, The Romance of a Colonial Parliament, pp. 126, 130). Godlonton died on 30/5/1884. G.T. Campbell, British South Africa, p. 192.
  8. The "Neptund" arrived on 19/9/1849, and sailed again on 21/2/1850 for Van Diemen's Land. G.T.J. supplement 22/9/1849; Cory, V, 228.
  9. William Cock brought out a party of 91 persons. Records, XII, 492. He was an unofficial member of the Legislative Council, 1847-1853; served in the House of Assembly for Albany in 1854, and in the Legislative Council, 1856-1857, and 1855-1868. (Kilpin, op. cit., pp. 125, 129, 141).  
During the anti-convict agitation in 1849, he was the only nominated member of the Legislative Council to keep his seat, and in defiance of the "Anti-Convict Association," he is reputed to have sailed out of Table Bay with a leg of mutton dangling from the mast of his ship. (Kilpin, op. cit., p. 75; Cory, V, 14); undertook the first large-scale attempt to open the Kowie River for navigation (cf. G.T.J. 24/10/1859 died in 1876. Campbell, op. cit., p. 207.
  10. Charles Pote was an auctioneer in High Street (Almanac, 1853); was a Municipal Commissioner in Grahamstown, 1852-1853 (K.S. Hunt, The Development of Municipal Government in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, with Special Reference to Grahamstown, 1827-1862). He served in the House of Assembly for Grahamstown, 1854-1856, and in the Legislative Council, 1859-1868. Kilpin, op. cit., pp. 133, 152.
  11. Possibly Thomas Jarman of Cock's party. Records, XII, 492.
  12. Robert Read, an apothecary in Hill Street. Almanac, 1853.
  13. Richard Joseph Painter: represented Fort Beaufort in the House of Assembly, 1854-1861, and Somerset East, 1864-1865; served in the Legislative Council, 1866-1868. Kilpin, op. cit., pp. 133, 152.

5th Old George Would First Knew him when Apprentice to Old Thackwray,<sup>14</sup> he was a great bulk of a fellow and was so confoundedly stupid, that it was thought he was not able to learn the trade, he was so filthy in his habits, that Old T would not allow him into the house but made him get his food in the Kitchen, Old T. was a strange sort of a Man, he was very stout, and from his talk, would be taken for a Quaker, as he always said yea and nay and thou but what was the strangest thing about him, he scarcely ever spoke without farting, for instance - he would say George thou art a fool (Poop -) George If thou doesn't alter (Poop) I shall be obliged to (Poop) get rid of thee (Poop) sometimes he would talk to his Daughter Dolly<sup>15</sup> - he would say Dolly ist thou going to (Poop) up the Town, becaus if thou art thou must not (Poop) stay long (Poop), Well Old T. was murdered up in Cafferland, and G. Would was let at large, he then got a situation as Waggon driver to a Caffer trader - and used to travel between Grahams Town and Fort Wilshire, wher all Caffer trade was carried in - Trader were not allowed in Cafferland at that time.<sup>16</sup>

I lost sight of him untill he opened a little shop in Bathurst Street, and when the Caffer war broke out in 1835 - he got a Contract for the supply of Clothing to the Levies, the suit of clothing was Jacket, Trowsers, Hat, Boots, Shirt &c., he got a good price, but, upon the arival of a lot of Levies a requisition was sent to him, say for 1 or 2 Hundred suits, so that the Men could be forwarded to Cafferland, but they seldom got them and generally received a few yards of Caffer duffel or coarse gursej, and for Boots, a pair of soles

Pair soles and a piece of sheep skin, of course the Officer in Command received his fee, and signed the receipt, so that Mr. G. Would could draw the Amount for the Commissariat,<sup>17</sup> he managed somehow, but neither he, or any one else knows how, to get on the right side of Col Smith, acting then Quarter Master General,<sup>18</sup> under Sir Benjamin De Urban,<sup>19</sup> and last war as Govr. of the Colony - O. G. W. got orders to purchase horses for the Govt. at fifteen Pounds each, Doctor A.G Campbell<sup>20</sup> and Old Joe Walker<sup>21</sup> were to assist him, What with getting horses at Two Pounds ten shillings and I believe the highest was not more than seven Pounds ten shilling and supplying the same horses two or three times over he made an immense fortune, he not only made his store, but I believe he humbugged Old Doctor C and Walker both, He then Bought the Premises from Old W Cock, the same now occupied by Wood Brothers, and there carried on first a retail trader he also bought a great quantity of Book, and turned to study,

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14. William Thackwray, a wheelwright and carpenter in Grahamstown (Records, XV, 59). George Wood came out as an apprentice to Richard Smith, a carpenter, of Sephton's party, and on 8/12/1820 was indentured to Thackwray instead (Records, XV, 59-60). It was at Thackwray's that Stubbs and Wood first met (Stubbs, I, 35-6). Thackwray was later killed by Xhosa cattle-raiders. Hockly, op. cit., pp.118, 246.
15. Dorothy Thackwray, aged 15 in 1820. Records, XII, 427; cf. Stubbs, I, 54.
16. A weekly fair at Fort Willshire was established by proclamation on 23/7/1824, where licensed traders could barter with the Xhosa. Records, XX, 404; XXIII, 443-4.
17. Cf. Stubbs, I, 61-2.
18. See, Stubbs, I, notes 100, 145.
19. See, Stubbs, I, note 98.
20. Dr. Ambrose George Campbell came out in Gen. Campbell's party. He founded the first hospital in the Eastern Province (Hockly, op. cit., p.211). It was he who in 1835 spread the rumours about the mutilation of Hintza's body. (Cory, III, 322). He was the editor of "The Echo," a fortnightly magazine first published in Grahamstown on 3/6/1840. South African Pamphlets, Vol. 9.
21. Joseph Walker, of Smith's party (Records, XII, 448). He was a store-keeper in Bathurst Street (Almanac, 1853); was a Municipal Commissioner, 1849-1852 (Hunt, op. cit., p.230); and was elected in 1866 to represent King William's Town in the House of Assembly, though he resigned before taking his seat. (Kilpin, op. cit., p. 159); he died on 28/1/1870. G.T.J. 31/1/1870.

except sometimes, when he thought he should like to have a spree, he would break out and, then nothing would suit him but a game of Cards, his favorite game was Put,<sup>22</sup> I believe he was a good player, I think he learned the Game at Fort Willshire, with the Soldiers, in the Canteen Kept by Charly Watson, now one of Our City Aldermen or Town Councilmen,<sup>23</sup> Old G. W. has been always accumulating money since 1835, and was voted a Member of Parliament from the first, and is so still<sup>24</sup>

This is all I Know of the Members of the upper house - or Legislative Council, I shall now try to give an outline of the Members of House of Assembly, as far as I can recollect - the First will

6.

a short description of Harpers Castle, because one of our principal Member, resided there, or got a job of work from Old Harper,<sup>25</sup> as a jobbing black Smith, Harper Castle stood next to Mr. T. Cockroft's waggon makers shop in Bathurst street, next to the Bridge,<sup>26</sup> Well Old harper managed to get the loan of a piece of ground from his Brother, and what with iron hoops, Old stoves condemned Blankets, night tubs, Old wheel barrows &c. &c. &c. (Old Harper was a great purchaser at the Condemned Sales, or any other sale, when, a quantity of Rubidge could be got a bargain) He managed to put up a sort of a Shanty and commenced Coopering Old Harper was always on the look-out for Stone or Brick waggons passing his place, as he made a practice of picking up all loose stones or bricks found, in, the streets, or any where else, for he was not particular, after some time collecting - he began the Castle, and much to the astonishment of every one, got it two Stories high - but, such a house never had been seen before, and I am sure never will be seen again, in fact, several celebrated Artist,<sup>27</sup> attempted to make a drawing of it, but failed, why - even the celebrated Photographer tried to get a sketch, but you could see nothing, but a Mass of Rubidge heaped together, Well this is the House and Work shop where Mr. Clough the now M.P. was employed, and lodged, he was not clothed then as now, it was more like the clothing of some of our Voorloopers - Elbows, Knees, and Bucksies bare, rich and rare were the gens he didn't wear - what fun it used to be, for Cockroft's Apprentices John Miller<sup>28</sup> among the rest, in the evening after work was done, to tease Old dirty Blacksmith Clough, calling him giddy gout, with his shirt hanging out, and then to see the Smith, chasing them, but not catching them

7.

not catching them, and then sometimes turning round and pulling open the torn trowsers, and calling out Kiss my Hoss - Oh what language for a M P. the must have done well there for all that, for the Public found out, that most of the Articles stolen by their Servants and othes, found their way to the Castle, not to say that Old Harper or his journey man had any hand in collecting them abroad, but it was proved that Old Harper bought them, for a mere trifle from the thieves, the consequence was search Warrants were issued, and the Castle turned inside out, and such a collection will never

22. An old card game, like "Nap".

23. Charles Watson: he was elected as Municipal Councillor of Grahamstown in 1862, 1867, 1871 for Ward No. 8. G.T.J. 5/7/1862; Card index to Biographical Notices, Cory Library.

24. George Wood, senior, was a merchant in High Street (Almanac, 1855); a Municipal Commissioner, 1843-1849 (Hunt, op. cit., p.280); and served on the Legislative Council, 1854-1857 and 1862-1882. Kilpin, op. cit., p.135.

25. Henry Harper, a cooper in Bathurst Street. Harper's brother, to whom Stubbs refers, was probably James Harper, a shopkeeper in Bathurst Street. Almanac, 1855.

26. Thomas Cockcroft, of Wainwright's party (Records, XII, 456), became a coach and wagon builder in Bathurst Street (Almanac, 1853). He served as a Municipal Commissioner, 1848-1852. Hunt, op. cit., p.280.

27. Probably Frederick I'Ons, an artist in York Street. Almanac, 1853.

28. John Miller became a carpenter in Queen Street. Almanac, 1853; cf. Stubbs, I, note 80; Stubbs, II, note 138.

be seen again, the Castle and its inmates were proved a Nuisance - and Old Harpers Brother, threatened with an action - if he did not have the inmates removed - and the Castle pulled down, which was done The next time we met G. Clough, was in a little retail shop at Futters,<sup>29</sup> or formerly Bonnins Row<sup>30</sup> and then we see him at a Public meeting, spouting upon some political question and then as a Member of the Electioneering Committee for Godlonton, Wood & Cock, and then a M.P. - and is so still, and not one of the worst either, I say never despise a Man because he has a hole in the backside of his breeches -<sup>31</sup>

I shall only mention another, and that is our Barber that was, Old Sam Loxton - The first time I had the pleasure of seeing him, he opened a Barbers shop, in the same place where many years before Godlonton began to print the Grahams Town Journal. By the bye, the Old Thorn Tree, commonly called at that time Grahams Tree, as it was said that Col Graham<sup>32</sup> when came to the Frontiers, offsaddled under that tree, and had a nail, hammered in to hang his sword

8.

sword upon, I have often seen the nail in the Tree This Tree stood just opposite his Barbers shop, he was a good Barber, I never had my hair cut better, than when he cut it, I have heard, he learned his trade in Cape Town, was apprentised to a Malay Barber I have a razor I bought from him and must say if all he sold or all his actions since then were one hundredth part as good as that Razor, people could not complain of him, He gave up cutting and shaving, and peruke making, and took the sword offered his services to the Government, which was accepted, Knowing him to be a good cutter it was thought he would soon cut up the Caffers but, the bravest man fall, so did our worthy, now M.P., a Caffer fired at him at about two thousand yards off, and the Ball, after making my jumps untill almost tired struck poor Sam on the back of his neck, some people say it was so far spent, that he could see it coming, and was just stooping down to pick it up, when the trecherous brute gave another jump over his hand and struck his neck, of course he fell as he knew that men fell when shot generally and that if he did not do so, it would not be noticed, he was carried off the field of action to the rear, and the Doctor after a long search saw a blue mark on his neck, which he said must be the place the ball struck, I believe he left the service in disgust, and made a better thing by selling grog (some say for as much as a Pound a bottle, at all events he made money, if honestly all the better, the Queen Town people being hard up for a M.P. sent him, and there is now, and a more conceited - Longworded

9.

fellow they have not in Parliament, but he does as well as any others,<sup>33</sup>

The next one my list is, G Slater in 1830 or thereabouts, worked shoemaking for Old Rafferty,<sup>34</sup> The only thing worth relating about him, is his courtship, He was in love with a girl in Grahams Town, and so was

29. Probably J. Futter, who owned the premises. Almanac, 1853.

30. Probably named after Samuel Bonnin of Sephton's party. Records, XII, 477.

31. George Carver Clough, a shopkeeper in Bathurst Street (Almanac, 1853). He was one of a committee of 25 persons, including Stubbs, which in 1853 canvassed to secure the election of Godlonton, Wood and Cock to the Legislative Council (G.T.J. 14/6/1853, 9/7/1853); served in the House of Assembly for Grahamstown, 1859-1876 (Kilpin, op. cit., p.141); died on 4/9/1876. G.T.J. 4/9/1876.

32. See, Stubbs, I, note 27.

33. Samuel Loxton advertised in the Journal as a "Hair Dresser" (G.T.J. 10/1/1846); Stubbs referred to him as a "good Shaver" (Stubbs, I, 93). Loxton thereafter moved to Queenstown, and on 26/11/1850 was appointed by Sir Harry Smith to raise a rural police force (G.G. 28/11/1850). Loxton represented Queenstown in the House of Assembly, 1866-1868, and 1870-1873. Kilpin, op. cit., p. 149.

a little Barber who lived in a little shop, just where Shepperson Store now stands, in Bathurst Street,<sup>35</sup> he had on his sign Board (What do you think, I'll shave you for two pence and give you some drink. Well this little Barber, and George the Snob got jealous of each other, and George sent a challenge to fight the little Barber - the little Barber agreed to meet him in bloody battle, the next evening in the water Kloof, they met the seconds brought the Pistols, marked off the ground, and gave the word to fire, they fired, the Barber fell, and what poor George thought blood, rushed from the Barbers waistcoat, the seconds gave the alarm of Police, and advised George to Bolt, which he did, over the hill into the Cowie bush, where he remained all night, and the next day - afraid he would be taken to the Trunk, but it all proved a farce, one of the seconds has warned the Police, and the Pistols were loaded with Powder only, and the Barber had a bladder with red ink in his waist coat, which he struck with his pen Knife as he fell, the Goose afterwards got a situation as shop Boy or Clerk with Old Jimmy House,<sup>36</sup> House sent George to the Bay to look after the business there, George had fallen in Love with his present, Wife, and once in Writing

10.

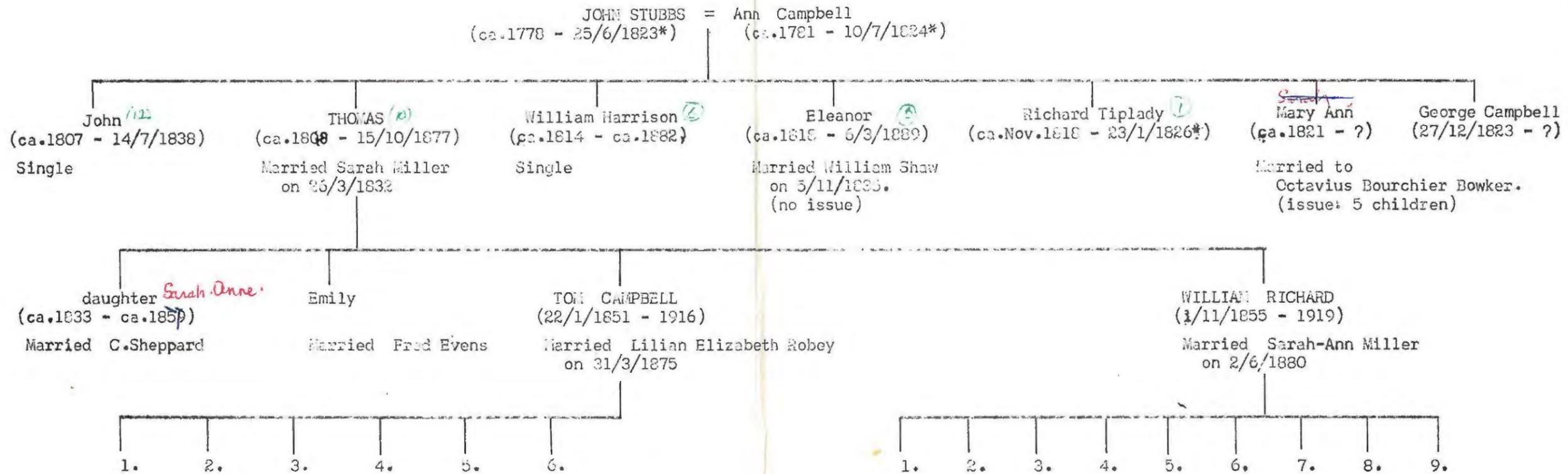
Writing his Letters, he like many others, wrote them all first, that is before folding and directing them, the consequence was, when his Lady love opened her letter, she read My Dear Sir, and a whole lot about the price of Underlinen &c &c. But House was more astonished than her when he opened his letter and read - My Dearest Love I have been very anxious to come up to see you, but that old disagreeable fellow House forgets when he was courting, refuses me a week ) I believe House sent an answer to say he was not a disagreeable fellow and he could have a week to see his sweetheart - from then he got Married, and after farming for himself for some time, got into I.O. Smith employ to Superintend the Farm on Quaggas Flat, where it paid George well, but did not pay I.O. Smith, when George left that, he was well off, and got to be M P -<sup>37</sup>

All the rest of our members are everyday people, that is, there is nothing uncommon about them, they are very well in the herd of Mankind.

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34. See, Stubbs, I, notes 69,74.
  35. Benjamin Matthew Shepperson, a general dealer and draper (Almanac, 1853): served as a Municipal Commissioner, 1854-1855. Hunt, op. cit., p.280.
  36. James Howse, of Sephton's party (Records, XII, 478); served as a Municipal Commissioner, 1837-1852 (Hunt, op. cit., p.280); killed by rebel Hottentots on 22/1/1852 while riding from Alice to Leeuwfontein. G.T.J. 27/1/1852.
  37. George Slater, of Sephton's party (Records, XII, 476); represented Albany in the House of Assembly, 1866-1873 (Kilpin, op. cit., p.155). In 1869 Stubbs asked Slater to try to get for him a grant of land, or a pension. Stubbs, II, 69, 74-5.

APPENDIX A

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF THOMAS STUBBS.



1. Annie Robey Stubbs (1876-1965) -m- Fred W. Brüger  
(issue: 2 sons, 1 daughter)
2. Ernest T. Stubbs (1877-1962) -m- Alice Mitford Bowker  
(issue: 2 sons, 1 daughter)
3. Jessie Mildred Stubbs (1879-1946) -m- George G. Elliott  
(issue: 2 sons, 2 daughters)
4. Cecial Campbell (1881 - ) -m- Ella Bowker  
(issue: 1 son, 1 daughter)
5. Ronald Harrison (1883-1960) -m- Ina Bowker  
(issue: 3 sons, 1 daughter)
6. Lucy Mary (1888 - ) -m- Cyril Benson  
(issue: 2 daughters)

1. Emily Ethel Stubbs (1881 - ?) -m- Harry Byers  
(issue: 3 sons)
2. William Harrison (1883-1951) -m- Doreen Shuttleworth  
(no issue)
3. Agnes Marion Stubbs (1885-1947) - single
4. Douglas Hamilton (1886 - ) -m- May Middleton  
(issue: 2 sons, 1 daughter)
5. John Leonard (1886-1956) -m- Betty Pearce  
(issue: 3 sons, 3 daughters)
6. Margaret May (1892 - ) -m- Claude Bond  
(issue: 1 son, 2 daughters)
7. Edgar Percival (1894-1956) -m- Phyllis Barnes  
(issue: 2 sons, 2 daughters)
8. Ivy Lghorn Stubbs (1901 - ) single
9. Richard Aubrey (1904 - ) -m- Joan Todd  
(issue: 2 sons)

\* According to the Burial Register in the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. George, these were the days when John Stubbs, Ann Campbell Stubbs and Richard Tiplady Stubbs were buried.

A P P E N D I X    B.

LIST OF THE STUBBS FAMILY POSSESSIONS AND PROPERTY

SOLD IN 1824.

(This is a reproduction from the Records of the Orphan Chamber, Volume 10/39, Vendue Rolls, 1826.)

"List of Goods Sold in Grahams Town in the District of Albany on the 5th November 1824 by the Agent for the Board of Orphan Masters on Account of the Estate of the late Ann Campbell, Widow of the late John Stubbs.

		Rds.	Shg.
1 Feather Bed & Bolster	William Penny	75	
1            do	John Dold	56	
3 Blankets & Coverlets	C. Lucas	6	6
1 Bedstead	H. Sparks	1	4
5 Sheepskins	R. Gibsin	5	6
1 Tea Pot & Stone Jar	Maj. Marshall	5	-
10 Plates	Cash	5	-
12    "	T. Keatley	6	-
2 Camp Kettles & 1 Iron Pot	Cash	4	-
1 Washing Copper	Dr. Campbell	6	-
2 Sauce pans	T. Rhodes	6	2
3    do	C. Penny	4	
1    do    & frying pan	T. Keatley	4	6
1 Tea Kettle & ladle	J. Fitzgerrald	7	4
3 empty half auns	J. Rafferty	7	
1 Mahy. Table Top	C. Woods	20	-
1 old book case	J. Wright	71	
3 prs. hinges & Sundries	C. Wood	4	
2    plains    & 2 Saws etc.	J. Rathbone	10	
2 pr. hinges + Sundries	C. Penny	3	4
4 Dung & 1 pitch forks	J. Rafferty	7	-
3 Sickles	A. McDonald	1	5
2 pairs shears etc.	Henry Gray	3	-
3 flat Irons	Cash	6	4
1 Set fire Irons & Tin Pots	H. Sparks	4	4
1 Camp Oven	P. Whichman	10	
2 Coffee Mills	H. Marshall	4	4
2 Bells & 2 Padlocks	A. McDonald	7	4
1 pr Candlesticks	R. Gibson	3	2
12 Iron Spoons	W. Penny	4	4
5 Knives and forks	C. Wood	6	4
1 Grindstone	C. Adcock	7	4
1 Lot of Books	J. Wright	25	-
1 Violin & Case	do	31	4
1    do	Cash	21	4
1 pr Linen Sheets	Dr. Campbell	9	4
1 pr Linen Sheets	J. Fitzgerrald	9	-
3 single do	T. Keatley	18	4

1 Chest of Drawers	J. Dold	69	-
4 Pillow Cases	Wm. Lee	4	-
4 Hand Towels	I. Torcilly	2	4
2 Table Cloths	G. Taylor	17	-
2 do	W. Lyall	5	4
1 Set Bed furniture	R. Gibson	14	-
1 do White	I. Fitzgerald	9	-
1 Table Cloth	Wm. Lee	9	-
1 White Counterpane	Wm. Prentice	18	-
1 do	Danl. Flinn	10	4
1 Cow & Calf	R. Enslie	17	-
1 do	Thos. Woods	14	-
1 do	A. McDonald	16	-
1 Cow	do	10	-
1 Cow & Calf	do	14	-
1 do	do	12	-
1 do	do	12	-
1 do	do	12	-
1 do	do	13	-
1 Cow	Donald McDonald	16	-
1 do	do	10	4
2 Hiefers	F. Woods	21	-
3 Calves 12 Rds 2 Oxen 51 rds	Latham	63	-
2 oxen	D. MacDonald	45	-
2 do	do	42	-
2 do	do	53	-
2 do	E. Hanger	56	-
2 do	Capt. Hope	57	-
1 Cow	David Roer	10	-
1 Watch	R. Enslie	5	-
1 pr Silver Table Spoons	B. Norden	10	4
1 pr do	D. van Royen	13	-
4 Tea Spoons	G. Humphries	9	4
2 Salt do	S. Bonning	3	4
4 Knives & forks	H. Sparks	4	-
2 Razors	Robt. Reynold	1	-
4 do	T. Wood	1	4
1 pr Spectables	R. Enslie	3	-
2 " do	Cash	4	6
1 Pier Glass	R. Enslie	40	-
1 Empty half pipe	do	10	-
1 " " Aug	Edkins	4	4
1 " do "	Enslie	4	4
1 do "	Adcock	4	4
1 Camp Kettle	J. Armstrong	5	-
1 pr Scales	do	3	-

1 plough	S. Bonning	16	4
1 plank	H. Sparks	3	7
Litter of Pigs	John Brown	25	-
		<u>Rds</u>	<u>1315</u>
		<u>or £98</u>	<u>12</u>
			<u>6</u>

Daniel J. Cloete,  
Agent to Orphan Chamber

in my presence  
John G. de Villiers."

A P P E N D I X C

Synopsis of the Post Contracts held by Thomas and William Stubbs

Contract: Grahamstown to:-	Duration of Contract	Conditions of Contract	Observations
Bathurst	1/1/1843 to 31/12/1845	Once a week each way in 4½ hours	
Bathurst	1/1/1846 to 31/12/1848	Once a week each way in 4½ hours	Fee £64/10/6 p.a. with £1/10/- for each extra post required. The contract was given up as a result of the Seventh Frontier War, 1846-47.
Bathurst	1/3/1847 to 31/12/1848	Once a week each way in 4½ hours	Fee £70 p.a. with £3 for each extra post. The contract was later modified to include Port Frances, and the fee was raised to £100 p.a., with the time of 6 hours allowed.
Bathurst and Port Frances	1/9/1853 to 31/12/1856	Once a week each way in 6 hours	
Fort Beaufort	1845	Once a week each way in 8 hours	Fee £75. This was a new postal route, as previously the civil post had been carried in the military mail bags.
Fort Beaufort via Koonap Post	1/1/1846 to 31/12/1848	Once a week each way in 8 hours	Fee £150 p.a. with £2/10/- for each extra post required. The contract was later modified to include Fort Brown along the route, and the fee was raised to £175 p.a. This contract was given up as a result of the Seventh Frontier War, 1846-47. X
Fort Beaufort via Alice	1/1/1849 to 31/12/1851	Once a week each way in 8 hours	Fee £280 p.a. with £9 for each extra post required. Mail gigs were used which allowed Stubbs to carry one passenger, and parcels, to supplement the fee. This contract was given up in January 1851, when Maj.-Gen. Somerset directed that the civil mail was to be included in the military mail bags which were to be forwarded as opportunity permitted.
Port Elizabeth	1/1/1843 to 31/12/1845	Once a week each way in 16 hours	
Port Elizabeth via Sidbury	1/1/1846 to 31/12/1848	Twice a week each way in 12 hours	Fee £300 p.a. with £7/10/- for each extra post required. This contract was given up about June 1846 as a result of the Seventh Frontier War, 1846-47. X
Uitenhage via Sidbury and Commando Kraal	1/1/1849 to 31/12/1851	Twice a week each way in 14 hours	Fee £600 p.a. with £6 for each extra post. This route was the direct route for the Cape Town mails. Mail gigs were used which allowed Stubbs to carry one passenger, and parcels, to supplement the fee. This contract was given up in June 1851 as a result of the Eighth Frontier War. Thereafter Stubbs carried on with government assistance; the post was escorted to the Bushman's River, from where an escort from Uitenhage took over, and carried the post via the fortified post at Commando Kraal to Uitenhage. X

Contract: Grahamstown to:-	Duration of Contract	Conditions of Contract	Observations
Somerset East	1851	Once a week each way in 14 hours	After June 1851, Stubbs took the mail only as far as Company's Drift on the Little Fish River, from where it was forwarded under armed escort to Somerset.
Somerset East to Cradock	15/9/1852 to 31/12/1854	Once a week each way in 12 hours	Stubbs transferred this contract to a Mr. Troskei after June 1853.
Cradock to Graaff- Reinet	15/9/1852 to 31/12/1854	Once a week each way in 17 hours	Stubbs transferred this contract to a Mr. Troskei after June 1853.
King William's Town via Trompetter's Post and Fort Peddie	1/1/1856 to 31/12/1859	Twice a week each way in 10 hours	This was the mail route to King William's Town, which apparently stopped at Line Drift on the Keiskamma River, from where it was forwarded to King William's Town.
King William's Town via Trompetter's Post and Fort Peddie	1/1/1860 to 31/12/1864	Twice a week each way in 10 hours	Stubbs was forced to give up this contract about September 1862 after all his post-horses were killed by disease.

SYNOPSIS OF THE PATROLS MOUNTED BY THOMAS STUBBS AND THE SPORTING CLUB IN THE SEVENTH FRONTIER WAR, 1846-1847.

<u>Date of Patrol</u>	<u>Leader of patrol</u>	<u>Place of Patrol</u>	<u>Observations</u>
24/3/1846	T.Stubbs	Drostdy Parade Ground	The S.C.* paraded along with the G.T.Y.C.* and Fingo Levy. They were inspected and addressed by Col. John Hare, the Lieutenant-Governor.
28/3/1846	T.Stubbs	De Bruin's Poort	Patrolled towards De Bruin's Poort to examine it for Khosa spoors into the Zuurberg area.
4/4/1846	T.Stubbs	Drostdy Parade Ground	The S.C. paraded for a second time with the other mounted municipal forces, viz. G.T.Y.C and Tirailleurs.
11-12/4/1846	T.Stubbs	Ecce Heights	24 members of the S.C. rode towards the margin of the Fish River bush where James Pike had been shot and mortally wounded while in charge of a wagon. A search during the night was immediately begun with the assistance of the G.T.Y.C. and Tirailleurs. Next day the S.C. continued the search alone, till they found Pike's body about a half mile from the scene of attack.
14-15/4/1846	T.Stubbs	Trompetter's Drift	Stubbs led 11 men of the S.C. on a midnight pursuit of 150 head of cattle taken from Grobelaar's Kloof. They rode via the Clay Pits, Koms bush to Trompetter's Drift.
17/4/1846	Party	Another patrol of the S.C.	set out past Driver's Hill on the spoor of these cattle, which were finally traced by the Tirailleur Corps across Committace Drift where 95 were recaptured.
21/4/1846	Party	Grahamstown Flats	The S.C. mounted a cattle guard to protect stock that had been driven close to Grahamstown for safety.
21/4/1846	T.Stubbs	Botha's Hill	The S.C. tried to intercept a Khosa band which had attacked Collingham the day before. The attackers were traced to the Fish River bush where their numbers made it imprudent to strike against them.
25/4/1846	W.Stubbs	Woest Hill	The S.C. formed part of a mounted force of about 100 men who rode out beyond Woest Hill where the existence of a large Khosa band had been reported. The S.C. were detached to patrol one kloof while the rest rode on. They encountered the Khosa who killed Commandant J.D.Norden, commander of the G.T.Y. C.
27/4/1846	W.Stubbs	Woest Hill	The S.C. formed part of a force of about 200 men who brought back to Grahamstown Norden's body.
7/5/1846	T.Stubbs	Manley Flats	The S.C. rescued 30 loads of oat hay before it could be burned by the Khosa.
10-16/5/1846	T.Stubbs	Fish River Rand	Stubbs commanded a force of 60 mounted men, including 30 of the S.C., who rode towards the Fish River Rand to take ammunition and assistance to the camp of Walter Currie which had been repeatedly attacked. They helped Currie and Field Cornet Jury Lombard to evacuate their defensive camps towards the East Riet River. Thereafter they returned home via the village of Riebeek where Stubbs left part of his force to render assistance and protection till Riebeek could be evacuated.
19-20/5/1846	Party	Riebeek,	John O'Brien of the Tirailleurs led 10 of his own corps and 10 of the S.C. to assist the Riebeek burghers in tracking down a party of marauders. These were traced to Hell Poort, where the burghers refused to attack, so the Grahamstown volunteers returned home.
21/5/1846	Party	Grahamstown Flats	The S.C. mounted a cattle guard.
28/5/1846	T.Stubbs	Botha's Hill	Stubbs led a patrol of the S.C. before dawn to examine the bush near Botha's Hill. Several fires were seen, but no Khosas except a solitary look-out who darted off into the bush.
31/5/1846	W.Stubbs	Grahamstown Flats	The S.C. dashed out from town and managed to foil a Khosa attempt to drive off a large drove of cattle.
1-2/6/1846	T.Stubbs	Kariega Bush	The S.C. patrolled into the Kariega river bush.
8-10/6/1846	T.Stubbs	Riebeek	Lieut.-Col. Johnstone, Commandant of Grahamstown, collected a large composite force of 350 men, which included the S.C. They were to march to attack two large Khosa bands whose presence had been reported. <u>En route</u> Stubbs led his men off alone to scour Hell Poort. No Khosa were seen during the entire expedition.
17-19/6/1846	T.Stubbs	De Bruin's Poort	The S.C., G.T.Y.C. and Tirailleurs rode towards De Bruin's after news had been received that 200 Khosa had driven off 34 horses, 87 oxen and over 1,000 goats from a burgher camp at Riebeek. With the local men, a force of 71 was collected, who traced the Khosa to Scholem Kloof on the left bank of the Fish River. Here 1 Khosa was killed and W. Surmon of the Tirailleurs was wounded. Darkness curtailed the attack, which also allowed the marauders to escape with their booty.
23/6/1846	T.Stubbs	Oliphant's Hoek	Patrolled to Oliphant's Hoek.
13-14/7/1846	T.Stubbs	Grobelaar's Kloof	Stubbs with 30 of the S.C. and the aid of a party of Stellenbosch Burghers ambushed a party of Khosa in Grobelaar's Kloof. Several of the marauders were wounded, while 9 head of cattle were recaptured.
17-18/7/1846	W.Stubbs	Grobelaar's Kloof	W.Stubbs led a combined patrol of the S.C. and Stellenbosch Burghers into the Fish River Bush, where they ambushed and killed 2 Khosa and a renegade Hottentot. 27 head of cattle were recaptured.
24-29/7/1846	T.Stubbs	Driver's Hill	Stubbs led a party of the S.C. on a wide circuit past Driver's Hill, along the Kap River to Cawood's Post, to Bathurst and Pore Frances, and home along the Kowie River. At the Kap River they ambushed a party of Khosa who fled into the night and escaped, though the Sporting Club recaptured 6 horses.
7/8/1846	T.Stubbs	Botha's Post	30 of the S.C. follow the spoor of 460 commissariat cattle which had been driven off from the Little Fish River. The spoor was followed as far as Botha's Post on the Kat River before their winded horses forced them to give up the pursuit.

A P P E N D I X D (continued)

<u>Date of Patrol</u>	<u>Leader of Patrol</u>	<u>Place of Patrol</u>	<u>Observations</u>
21-22/8/1846	W.Stubbs	Kingo Hill	A patrol of the S.C. set off in pursuit of a herd of cattle which had been driven off from the Grahamstown flats. The spoor was followed past Botha's Hill, towards the Kingo Hill where they came upon 4 Xhosa round a fire. All 4 were wounded in the attack, but managed to escape into the bush. The S.C. recaptured 13 head of cattle and 3 horses.
7/9/1846	T.Stubbs	Cawood's Farm	The S.C. rode to Cawood's farm after the Xhosa had attempted to drive off the commissariat cattle grazing there. They traced 5 Xhosa marauders into a kloof where all 5 were killed.
8/9/1846	Party	Cawood's Farm	The S.C. turned out again to look for James Pankhurst, aged 18, who had been missing since the attack on the previous day. He was found dead, presumably killed by the 5 marauders that the S.C. had ambushed.
13-14/9/1846	T.Stubbs	Fort Brown	Stubbs commanded a large force of about 200 mounted men of the S.C., G.T.Y.C. Tirailleurs and Stellenbosch Burghers. They rode towards Fort Brown in consequence of a report that a large body of Xhosa had been sighted in the vicinity. En route Stubbs led 10 men of the S.C. after dark into a kloof where they rounded up 23 head of cattle and 10 goats which were driven on to the Fort.
2/10/1846	Party	Collingham	The S.C. patrolled towards Collingham after a Xhosa force had been reported nearby.
12/11/1846	T.Stubbs	Kowie Bush	The S.C. patrolled into the Kowie Bush in search of marauders reported there.
25-28/11/1846	W.Stubbs	Farmerfield	The S.C. were sent after the cattle, which belonged to the village of Farmerfield near the coast, had been driven off. They followed the spoor as far as they could before the spoor was obliterated by a flock of sheep.
28/11/1846	Party	Howison's Poort	Several spans of oxen which had been driven off from Howison's Poort were tracked down and recaptured by the S.C.
21/1/1847	T.Stubbs	Kariega River	Stubbs led a party of the S.C. and Tirailleurs towards the Kariega River after a farmstead had been burned and the occupant, Mr.R.Roods, wounded. The 5 renegade Hottentots who were responsible for the outrage, were arrested and brought to town.
18/2/1847	Party	Cypher Fontein	A party of the S.C. and G.T.Y.C. rode towards Cypher Fontein after the kraal had been raided. The cattle were later recaptured on the Fish River by a party of James Thackwray's Fingo Levy from Burnt Kraal.
1/3/1847	T.Stubbs	Manley Flats	Stubbs set out with a patrol after the military mail to Waterloo Bay had been attacked, and one of the bearers wounded. They managed to trap a renegade Hottentot, who later pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 7 years' hard labour.
8/3/1847	Party	Cawood's Farm	A party of the S.C. rode to the farm of the Commissariat Contractors, James and Samuel Cawood, after their cattle had been attacked. These were secured.
11/3/1847	Kingo Hill	Party	The S.C. traced a span of oxen which had been driven off from West Hill, past Botha's Hill, Fort Brown, to the Kingo Hill. There a patrol of the Cape Mounted Rifleman took over, and finally achieved the recapture.
26/3/1847	Belmont Valley	Party	A party of the S.C. rode towards Belmont Valley after 10 head of cattle had been driven off. They found that too much time had elapsed before they had been informed, which had allowed the marauders to get a head start which made any pursuit pointless.
23/4/1847	T.Stubbs	Jager's Drift	Stubbs led 18 men of the S.C. towards Jager's Drift on the Bushman's River, where they hoped to waylay a party of marauders. These managed to escape as the countryside was too rugged to allow pursuit on horseback.
May 1847	T.Stubbs	Fort Peddie	T.Stubbs rode to Fort Peddie to represent to the Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, the impolicy of the order which directed the disbandment of the S.C. on 31 May 1847.

\*Abbreviations:

S.C. - Sporting Club

G.T.Y.C. - Grahamstown Corps of Yeomanry.

SYNOPSIS OF THE PATROLS MOUNTED BY THOMAS STUBBS AND THE RANGERS IN THE NORTHERN FRONTIER, 1850-1853.

<u>Date of Patrol</u>	<u>Leader of Patrol</u>	<u>Place of Patrol</u>	<u>Observations</u>
10/12/1850	T.Stubbs	Grahamstown	Stubbs called out the old "Sporting Club" to prepare them for possible war.
29/12/1850	Party.	Trompetter's Drift	20 of Stubbs' men went to Trompetter's Drift to escort the military mail from King William's Town to town.
6-7/1/1851	W.Stubbs	Fish River Bush	The Rangers with the assistance of 22 C.M.R. recaptured near Committee's Post a herd of cattle stolen from the Grahamstown flats.
13/1/1851	Party	Sidbury Bush	A party of Rangers waylaid at night without success.
15/1/1851	Party	Botha's Hill	The Rangers recaptured 4 head of cattle from a band of Xhosa near Botha's hill.
16/1/1851	Party	--	The Rangers went on a night patrol.
19-21/1/1851	Party	Leeuwfontein	The Rangers formed part of an escort (to Leeuwfontein) for 3 ammunition wagons going to Fort Hare.
22/1/1851	T.Stubbs	Governor's Kop	A reconnoitring patrol.
23/1/1851	Party.	Fort Hare	The Rangers escorted Maj.-Gen. Somerset with despatches, to Fort Hare.
29/1/1851	C.Penny	Fort Brown	The Rangers escorted some wagons for Fort Hare as far as Fort Brown.
30/1/1851	T.Stubbs.	Botha's Hill	The Rangers patrolled to Botha's Hill.
1/2/1851	T.Stubbs	Kariega Bush	Stubbs led 30 Rangers after dark via Howison's Poort into the Kariega Bush. At the farm "Orange Grove" they found 8 Xhosa in the farmhouse kitchen. When challenged these fled: 3 were shot.
8-12/2/1851	T.Stubbs	Uitenhage	Stubbs with an escort of Rangers went to Uitenhage to arrange for the safe transmission of the mail.
10-11/2/1851	W.Stubbs	Cradock Road	A party of 30 Rangers ambushed 7 Xhosa at dawn. They killed 5 and recaptured 18 assegais and 1 gun.
15-16/2/1851	T.Stubbs	Driver's Hill	The Rangers patrolled via Driver's Hill where they waylaid a Kaffir path. Next day they scoured the bush from the Coombs to Maai Plants.
16/2/1851	Party	Fort Brown	20 Rangers formed part of an escort (to Fort Brown) for commissariat and ammunition wagons for Fort Hare.
19/2/1851	W.Stubbs	Hilton	The Rangers went to "Hilton" the farm of G.Cummings, after his cattle had been driven off. The spoor was traced to the Koonap River where about 60 Xhosa were attacked and about 40 cattle recovered.
23-24/2/1851	T.Stubbs	New Year's River	The Rangers patrolled via the Kariega to the New Year's River.
27/2/1851	T.Stubbs	Kap River	A party of 50 men of the Rangers and "Farmers' Mutual Protection Association" set off in pursuit of a herd of cattle driven off from Lower Albany. They patrolled along the Kap River to the Clay Pits, through the Koms bush to old Kaffir Drift, to Frazer's Camp and Driver's Bush. Their long chase was in vain.
5/3/1851	Party	Fort Brown	The Rangers formed part of an escort (to Fort Brown) for commissariat wagons going to Fort Hare.
12-25/3/1851	T.Stubbs	Cradock	Stubbs with 20 Rangers and 100 Fingoes under Jonathan Ayliff escorted a wagon load of ammunition to Cradock.
18/3/1851	Party	Woest Hill.	The Rangers and "Farmers' Association" set off in pursuit of 24 oxen taken in an attack on 2 wagons which were outspanned at the foot of Woest Hill. Two colonists and the Fingo leader were killed in the attack.
23-26/3/1851	W.Stubbs	De Bruin's Poort	W.Stubbs led a party of Rangers on the spoor of a gang of rebel Hottentots who had ambushed 3 men in De Bruin's Poort - 1 was killed and 1 wounded by the rebels. On 26 March with the assistance of several volunteers from Grahamstown, Stubbs found and attacked the rebels at their camp beyond Kieboek. They killed 2 and wounded 3, and captured 3 guns and 7 horses.
3-4/4/1851	Sergt. Leppan	Queen's Road	The Rangers recovered the bodies of two men, Ashley and Radford, who had been killed by rebel Hottentots.
5/4/1851	T.Stubbs	Grahamstown	Stubbs called out the Rangers to control a mob demonstrating outside the hotel where the Rev. M. Renton was.
5/4/1851	W.Stubbs	Fort Brown	The Rangers returning from Fort Brown, fell in with 4 mounted Hottentots near Botha's Hill. They wounded 2, and killed another who was a C.M.R. deserter and had been seen in Grahamstown that very day. They captured 3 horses and 1 gun.
10/4/1851	T.Stubbs	Grahamstown	The Rangers and "Farmers' Mutual Protection Association" paraded in Grahamstown.
10-13/4/1851	W.Stubbs	Fort Brown	A party of 45 Rangers, and 60 Fingoes under George Cyrus were sent to Fort Brown after it had been attacked by about 100 Hottentot rebels and Xhosa. The party was commanded by Lieut. T. Inglis, R.E. On 11 April the Rangers traced the spoor of the enemy across Double Drift to Fort Hillshire where they were forced to give it up. Then they scoured to Breakfastvlei and Committee's Drift, where they fell in with a party of Xhosa with 8 oxen. One Xhosa was shot and the oxen captured which belonged to one of the Rangers and had been left securely kraaled at Grahamstown before the party had left!
12-13/4/1851	T.Stubbs	Committee's Drift	The Rangers waylaid near Committee's Drift. Next day they joined forces with the party under W.Stubbs which was returning from Fort Brown, and scoured up the Brak River.
14/4/1851	W.Stubbs	Ecca Heights	The Rangers under W.Stubbs were directed by a Hottentot woman to the lair of Jan Pockbaas along the Queen's road, but the rebels had fled.
23/4/1851	T.Stubbs	Grobelaar's Kloof	A night patrol headed towards Grobelaar's Kloof after 60 oxen had been driven off from Woest Hill, Stubbs was

Date of Patrol			Observations
23-25/4/1851	W.Stubbs	Spitzkop	W.Stubbs led 30 Rangers on patrol over Botha's Hill to the Queen's Road, and on to the Spitzkop where they waylaid. Next day they the bush from Committee's Post to Fort Brown, and returned at night to waylay again at the Spitzkop. On the following day they scoured to Driver's Bush, where they met Lieut. Mitchelly's patrol which took over.
25-27/4/1851	Lieut.D.Mitchelly	Spitzkop	They patrolled via Clarke's Party to the Spitzkop where they waylaid and shot 1 Xhosa. Next morning they scoured to Frazer's Camp and Driver's Bush where they waylaid again, and returned next day to town by way of Grobelaar's Kloof.
28-29/4/1851	Party	Fish River Bush	Rangers scoured the bush from Clarke's Party to Grobelaar's Kloof in search of rebel Hottentots, whereafter they patrolled in pouring rain to Committee's Drift.
1-2/5/1851	Party	Botha's Hill	The Rangers rode out after 19 head of cattle and 2 horses had been stolen from the cemetery on the outskirts of town. They found that the spoor headed towards Breakfastvlei to where they headed post haste, only to find that the murderers had got too big a start to be overtaken. They returned via Committee's Drift where they scoured.
2-3/5/1851	Party	--	The Rangers rode out in the middle of the night to a spot 1 1/2 miles from Fort England where a wagon had been attacked and the Fingo leader killed.
7-12/5/1851	T.Stubbs	King William's Town	Stubbs and 5 volunteers rode to Military Headquarters to see Sir Harry Smith in an effort to get more assistance for the Corps of Rangers. They rode through Pato's country via Fort Murray to King William's Town.
14-15/5/1851	W.Stubbs	Spitzkop	The Rangers traced a drove of stolen cattle from West Hill to the Spitzkop where they attacked at night, and out of 4 Xhosa, killed 1, wounded 2, and took 20 assegais and 12 cattle.
17/5/1851	Party	Port Elizabeth	The Rangers escorted Capt. Rawstone to Port Elizabeth where he was to supervise the landing of the 74th Highlanders.
17/5/1851	Lieut.D.Mitchelly	West Hill	20 Rangers encountered 4 Xhosa in the Kowie Bush - they shot 1, wounded 2, and captured 20 cattle and 3 horses.
17-18/5/1851	W.Stubbs	Driver's Hill	The Rangers rode to the spot where the military mail had been attacked and lost. They scoured the nearby footpaths in the Fish River Bush.
21/5/1851	Party	Botha's Hill	The Rangers rode out after the presence of a large body of Xhosa had been reported near Botha's Hill.
23/5/1851	Sergt.W.Wicks	Trompetter's Drift	The Rangers formed part of an escort for some wagons going to Trompetter's Drift Post. <u>In route</u> the Fingoes in the escort captured 26 oxen which the Rangers brought to Grahamstown.
31/5/1851	W.Stubbs	Theopolis	On 31 May the Hottentots at Theopolis rebelled - 35 Rangers and 100 Fingoes were sent to follow up the Hottentots. On 1 June T.Stubbs with 22 more Rangers and 2 companies of the 74th Highlanders were sent to assist. On 2 June the mounted force numbering 59 Rangers and 25 volunteers, made an attack on the rebels near Theopolis. 7 wagons and 3 spans of oxen were captured. 7 rebels were shot, while Field Cornet W.Gray was killed and 6 burghers and Rangers wounded, including W.Stubbs who had his right arm smashed by a bullet.
5/6/1851	Lieut.D.Mitchelly	Karraa	18 Rangers formed part of a force over 500 strong collected by Maj.-Gen.Somerset to renew the attack on the Theopolis rebels. The Rangers and burghers captured 632 head of cattle during the attack on the rebel camp in the Karraa in the Bushman's River bush. The enemy camp was scattered.
15-17/6/1851	Sergt.W.Finn	De Bruin's Poort	17 Rangers patrolled along the Fish River from De Bruin's poort to Espag's Drift.
16-17/6/1851	S.Larter	Kowie Bush	The Rangers encountered a party of Xhosa who fled at their approach, abandoning 38 head of cattle which had been taken from Howison's Poort.
17/6/1851	T.Stubbs	Kariega Bush	The Rangers set off in pursuit of 16 oxen driven off by 10 armed Xhosa.
18-19/6/1851	T.Stubbs	Driver's Bush	The Rangers scoured the bush to ensure the safe passage of a convoy of wagons the next day. They waylaid and shot 1 Xhosa, and captured 1 gun and 13 head of cattle. They also discovered the remains of the mail stolen some time before.
23/6/1851	Lieut.D.Mitchelly	Espag's Drift	Mitchelly and 13 Rangers formed part of a group that rode to the assistance of several wagons which had been attacked.
27-28/6/1851	T.Stubbs	Queen's Road	Stubbs led 20 Rangers to the spot about 10 miles from Grahamstown where rebel Hottentots had ambushed 10 men of the European Levy at Fort Brown. Two men, Macquisen and Kelly, were killed and another wounded. The Rangers brought the bodies and the wounded man to town.
3/7/1851	Party	De Bruin's Poort	The Rangers escorted some wagons (to De Bruin's Poort) for Cradock.
3/7/1851	Party	Trompetter's Drift	The Rangers helped to escort 400 commissariat cattle to Trompetter's Drift.
17-18/7/1851	Lieut.D.Mitchelly	--	A patrol of the rangers encountered a party of Xhosa - they shot 3 and recaptured about 30 head of cattle which had been taken from Oliphant's Hoek.
18-21/7/1851	Party	Riebeck	The Rangers patrolled to Riebeck.
8-10/8/1851	Sergt.W.Wicks	Kowie Bush	20 Rangers set off in pursuit of 300 oxen driven off from Howison's Poort. They managed to outwit a party of Xhosa over 100 strong, and recaptured 67 head of another drove of 110 cattle which had been swept off on 7 August.
19-20/8/1851	Lieut.D.Mitchelly	Bathurst	The Rangers escorted supplies for Lieut.-Col.Eyre's force at Bathurst, where Lieutenant David Mitchelly was killed in a fall from his horse.
27-28/8/1851	T.Stubbs	Riebeck	The Rangers accompanied Maj.-Gen.Somerset to Riebeck where a burgher post was to be established.
29-30/8/1851	T.Stubbs	Hell Poort	The Rangers patrolled to Hell Poort.
17/9/1851	T.Stubbs	Kariega	Stubbs took Maj.Burnaby, Commandant of Grahamstown, on a patrol into the Kariega Bush.
23/9/1851	T.Stubbs	De Bruin's Poort	The Rangers encountered and killed a Hottentot and a Xhosa near Quat Knaal. The Hottentot was identical to

Date of Patrol	Leader of Patrol	Place of Patrol	Observations
1-3/10/1851	T.Stubbs	Fish River Bush	Stubbs led 22 Rangers and 100 Fingoes to join Lieut.-Col.Eyre at Committee's Drift, to co-operate in an attack on Stock's kraal. This was found to be an too strong a position to be attacked without assistance.
24-28/10/1851	Lieut.Hulley	Kariega	The Rangers traced a band of rebel Hottentots whom they attacked and wounded 6.
3/11/1851	Lieut.J.Forrester	Kowie Bush	Forrester led 17 Rangers and 6 volunteers on the spoor of some cattle which had been taken from Howison's Poort. They attacked a band of about 30 Xhosa, wounded several, killed 1, and recaptured 72 head of cattle.

1852.

31/12/1851 - 6/1/1852	T.Stubbs	--	Stubbs took Lieut.-Col.Perceval with a patrol of the Rangers and the 12th Regiment on a tour of the frontier. The troops captured a Hottentot near De Bruin's Poort, who led them to his lair where one rebel was shot, and a Hottentot woman and child wounded by mistake.
31/1/1852	Party	Grahamstown Flats	The Rangers set off on a midnight pursuit of 30 head of cattle driven off from the flats.
12-14/2/1852	T.Stubbs	Riebeek	Commandant Stubbs and Capt.Stubbs with the Rangers accompanied Lieut.-Col.Perceval on a tour of inspection to the districts of Riebeek, New Year's River and Sidbury.
8-19/3/1852	T.Stubbs	Fort Brown	Stubbs led 33 Rangers to Fort Brown where they joined Lieut.-Col.Perceval's force of about 900 troops, burghers and levies to attack the rebel Hottentots and Xhosa congregated in the Fish River Bush. On the 9th they marched; on the 10th they had a skirmish at Funa's Kloof; on the 11th Stock's camp in Tola's Kloof was attacked and destroyed, and 35 of the enemy were killed; on the 12th Stubbs led a party of volunteers to Fort Peddie to get supplies, and returned on 13th to take part in the second attack on Tola's Kloof. The force then retired to the north as Perceval went to take part in the general assault then being mounted against the Amatola stronghold of the Gaikas. Stubbs led the Rangers back to town on 19 March.
11/4/1852	Party	Hell Poort	The Rangers patrolled with the Riebeek burghers to Hell Poort and other parts of the Fish River Bush.
26-27/4/1852	T.Stubbs	Grobelaar's Kloof	Stubbs led 20 Rangers to waylay in Grobelaar's Kloof. Thereafter they patrolled along the Kap River into the Kowie Bush.
4/5/1852	Party	Fish River Bush	The Rangers traced 14 oxen that had been stolen out of a garden in African Street in Grahamstown, to the Fish River Bush. They wounded 1 Xhosa and recaptured the oxen plus 28 other cattle.
13-16/5/1852	W.Stubbs	Karraa	W.Stubbs and a party of Rangers went to investigate a report that a band of rebel Hottentots had been sighted near Belmont. From the spoor they estimated that the rebels were at least 50 strong, so called for reinforcement. They were joined by 45 burghers from Grahamstown and Lower Albany, as well as some Fingoes, so that at 3.00 a.m. on 16 May Stubbs was able to attack the rebels at their campfire in the Karraa. 5 Hottentots were wounded, but all escaped in the night into the bush. 16 guns and 50 ammunition pouches were captured.
17/5/1852	Party	Fish River Rand	A party of the Rangers set out on the spoor of 52 draught oxen which had been driven off from a train of wagons that had been outspanned on the Fish River Rand.
1-3/6/1852	W.Stubbs	Niemand's Kraal	The Rangers searched from Botha's Drift to the Zuurberg for a lot of oxen that had been driven off from Niemand's Kraal.
11/7/1852	Party	Paarde Kraal	The Rangers rode to assist a party of the Armed Police Mounted Force in following up a strong party of Xhosa who had driven off 70 cattle from Howison's Poort.
30/7/1852 - 1/9/1852	W.Stubbs	Kei River	W.Stubbs was elected to lead a contingent of Albany volunteers to take part in Sir George Cathcart's expedition against Kreli. A few Rangers went as volunteers, though most were kept to support the Albany Armed Police Mounted Force in protecting Albany. The Albany volunteers returned on 1 September, bringing with them 2,000 cattle as booty.
10-13/8/1852	Party	Committee's Drift	The Rangers and the Police joined forces to examine the country between Committee's and Double Drifts.
10-13/8/1852	Lieut.J.Forrester	Fort Brown	A party of Rangers joined Capt. Espinasse of the 12th Regiment on an extended patrol by way of Graskop, Double Drift, Adam's Heights, to the junction of the Fish and Kat Rivers. They found that the country was clear of the enemy, so returned to Fort Brown.
22-24/8/1852	T.Stubbs	Kingo	Stubbs with 10 rangers rode after 48 oxen and 2 horses taken from the outskirts of Grahamstown. They traced the spoor to the Kingo where they were joined by some of the Police in the hunt beyond Botha's Post where the spoor was lost.
10-11/9/1852	T.Stubbs	Niemand's Kraal	The Rangers patrolled from Niemand's Kraal to the Kingo.
11/10/1852	T.Stubbs	Driver's Farm	Stubbs led a party of Rangers to scour the bush after Capt.Hearne of the 12th Regiment had been killed by rebel Hottentots near his camp.
12-16/10/1852	W.Stubbs	Kowie Bush	A party of 50 Police, 40 Fingoes and W.Stubbs with the Rangers followed the spoor of these rebels. On 15 October they attacked the Hottentots in the Kowie bush, killed 2 and wounded several. The pursuing party followed up the rebels into the Karraa, and next day 3 more were shot and 5 guns taken, whereafter the rebel band, about 70 strong, scattered and fled.
19-21/10/1852	W.Stubbs	Post Victoria	On 19 October W.Stubbs started again on the trail of some of these Hottentots who were heading for the Zuurberg. They followed up as far as Botha's Post where they were joined by 20 of the Beaufort Police. On 20 October they came across the rebels near Post Victoria. More assistance came from 30 Police from Alice, so that 65 men were able to attack the rebels simultaneously from 3 separate points. They recaptured 90 cattle and about 240 sheep, as well

APPENDIX E (continued).

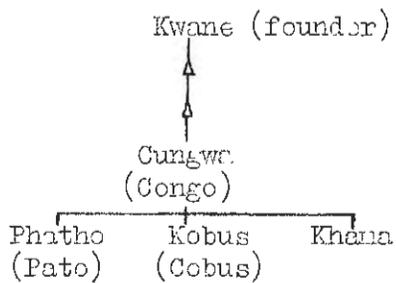
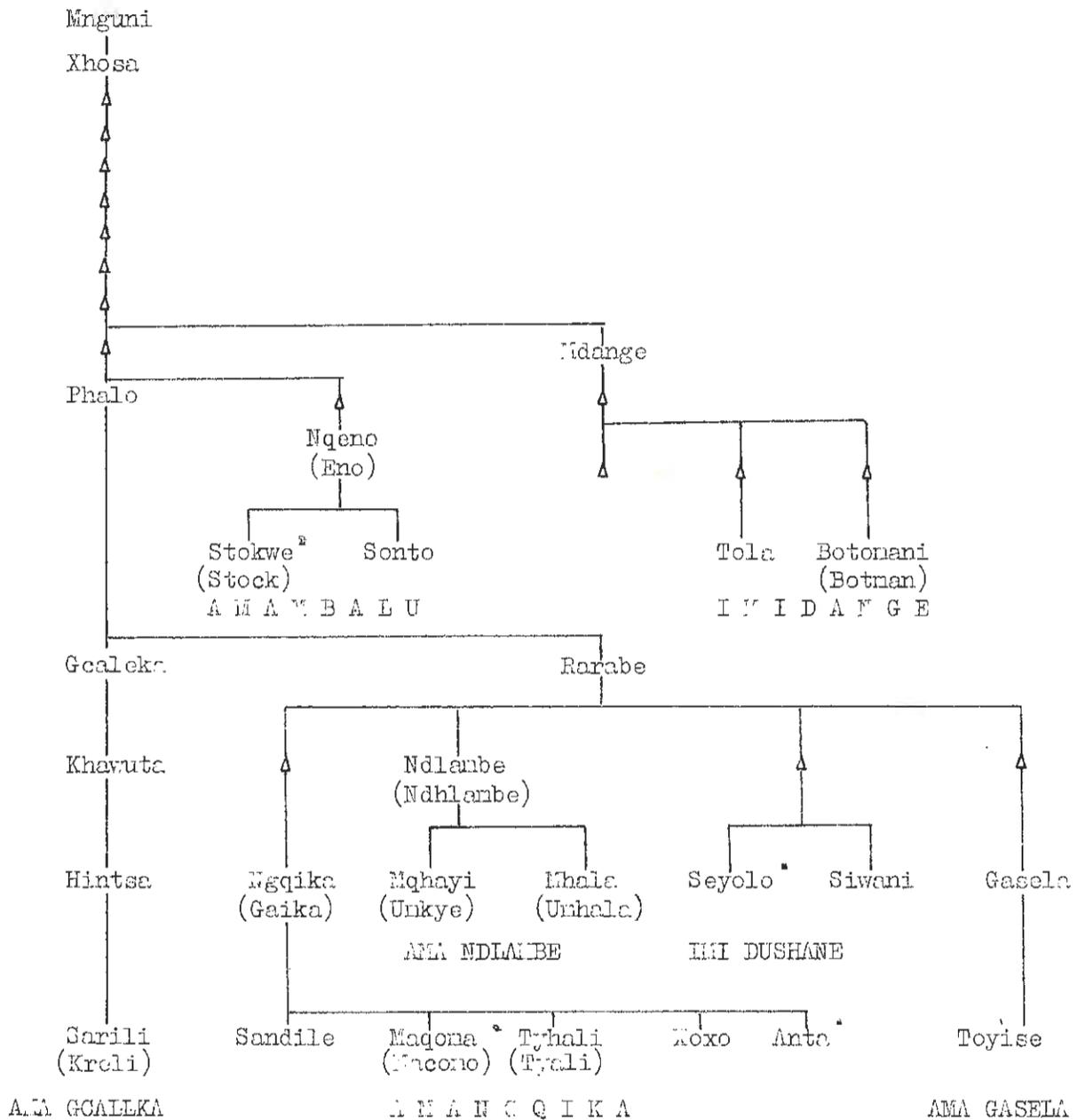
<u>Date of Patrol</u>	<u>Leader of Patrol</u>	<u>Place of Patrol</u>	<u>Observations</u>
24/10/1852	W.Stubbs	Blue Krans	A Party of Police and Rangers set off to waylay the passes near Blue Krans where a large band of rebel Hottentots had been reported
28-30/11/1852	T.Stubbs	Kingo	18 Rangers tracked the spoor of a band of rebel Hottentots to the Kingo where they were attacked, and 7 horses captured.

1853.

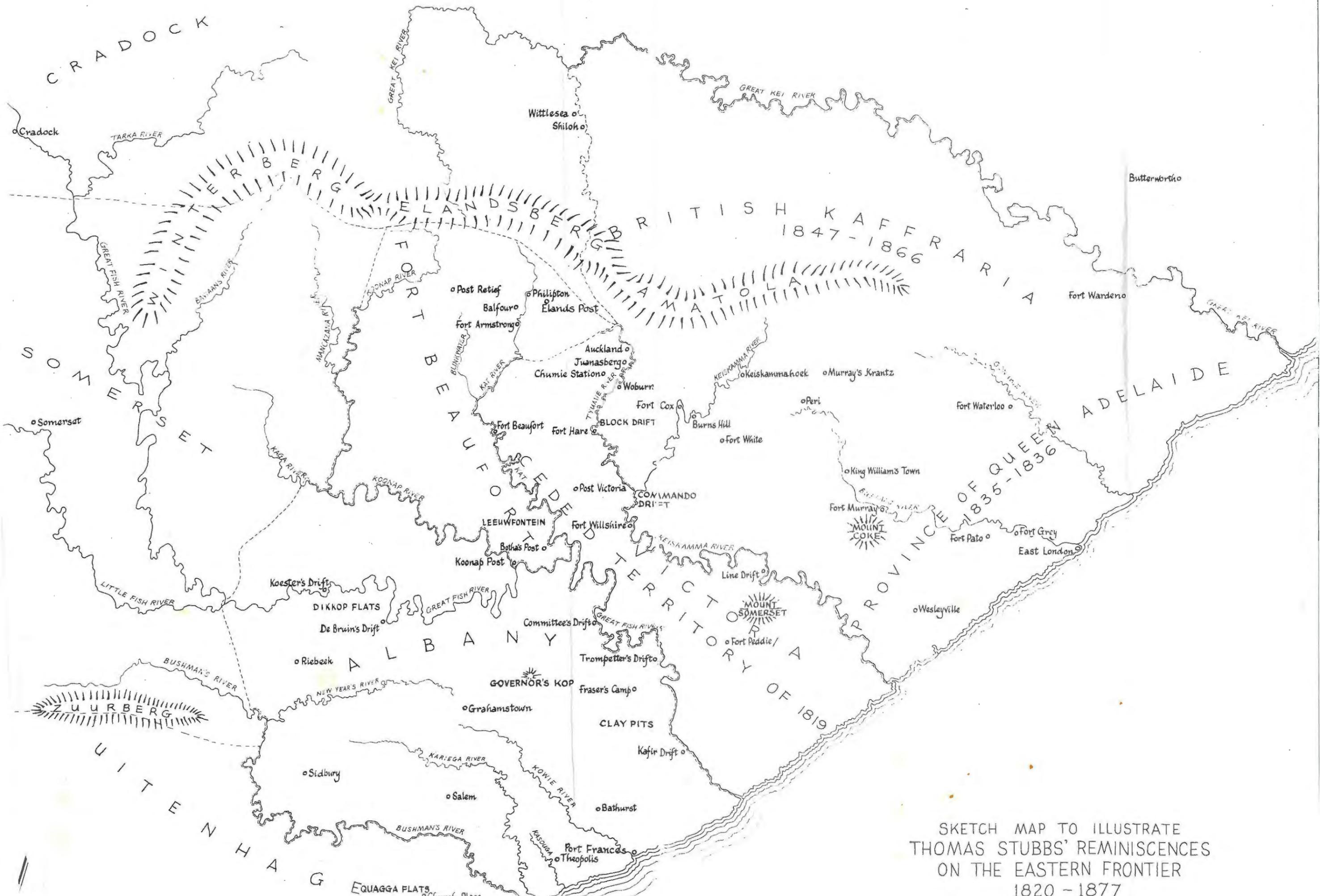
ca 5/1/1853	Party	Botha's Hill	The Rangers rode out after a party of rebel Hottentots had been reported near Grahamstown. They managed to recapture 2 Horses.
15/1/1853	W.Stubbs	Karraa	The Rangers under W.Stubbs with the Albany Police traced a party of rebel Hottentots into the Karraa, where they attacked.
28/2/1853	--	--	Stubbs' Albany Rangers were disbanded by a General Order dated 9/2/1853.

APPENDIX F

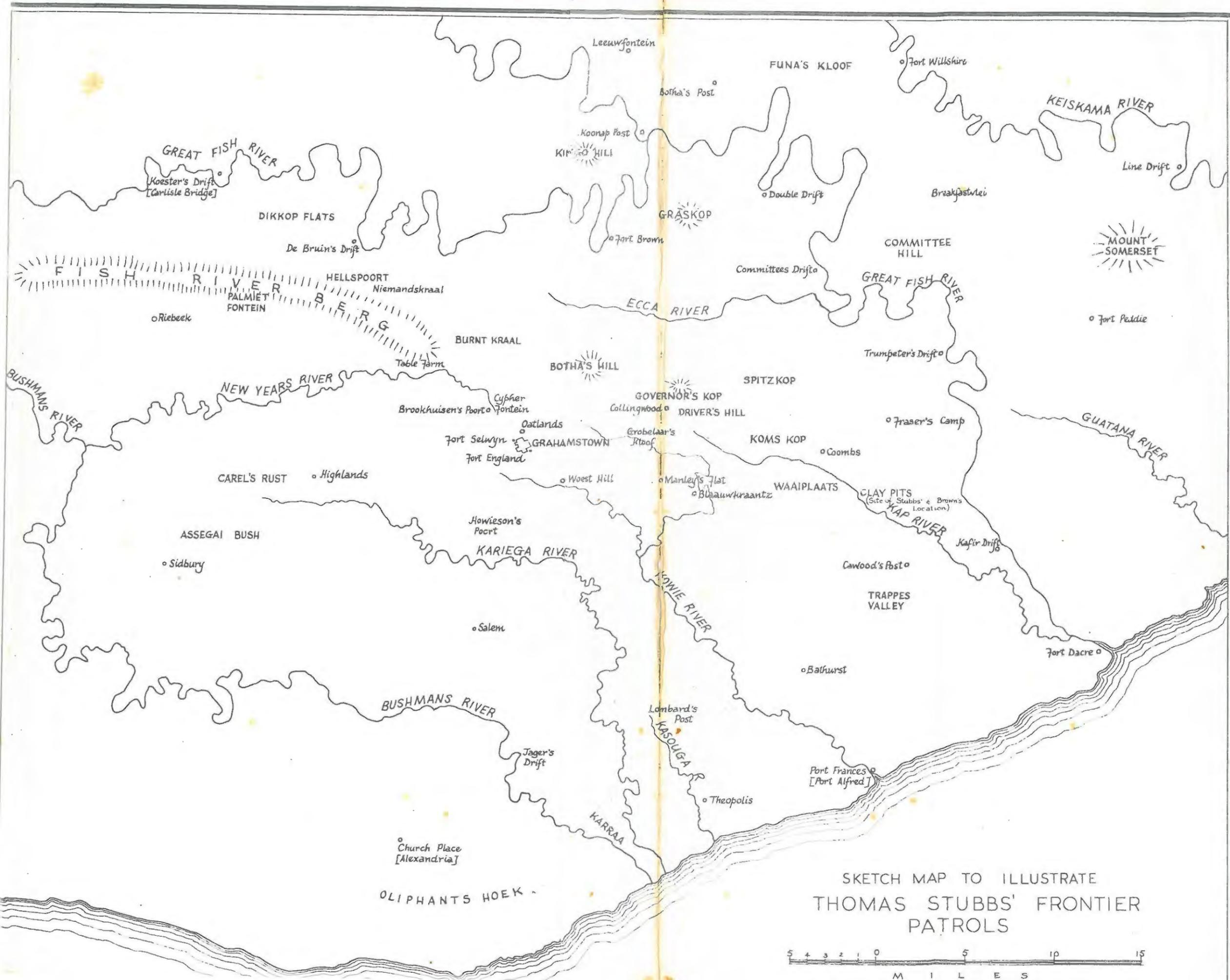
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE XHOSA CHIEFS (to show connections)



AMA QUNUKHWEBE



SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE  
 THOMAS STUBBS' REMINISCENCES  
 ON THE EASTERN FRONTIER  
 1820 - 1877



SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE  
 THOMAS STUBBS' FRONTIER  
 PATROLS

