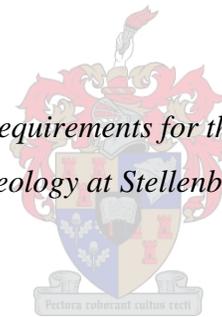


Emma Murray:
An Investigation into Her Person As Well As Her Contributions to
Mission and Education in South Africa - A Historical-Biographical
Study

by
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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is written with the goal of providing an overview of Emma Murray's life as well as the organizations and institutions with which she was involved. This study is being performed as a means to "uncover" the largely ignored figure of the woman who was partner to Andrew Murray, one of the most influential theologians in South African history. In the interest of accomplishing this, an initial chapter is presented which provides the reader with details regarding women's mission work within South Africa during the mid-to-late-nineteenth century so as to provide a context in which Emma's life and work may be placed. Following this, the examination of Emma's influence is begun. This is accomplished by means of the construction of a narrative of Emma's life, beginning with her youth in the Cape and then moving onwards to the early days of her marriage to Andrew Murray, as well as their time in Bloemfontein. The thesis then examines the couple's time spent in Worcester, Cape Town and, finally, Wellington. It was during their time in, Wellington that the majority of Emma's work took place and, thus, the investigation regarding this period goes into great detail. It is within this chapter that the Huguenot Seminary and College, the *Vrouensendingbond*, the Women's Temperance Union, as well as the *Kinderkrans* are inspected and Emma's influence within them is presented. Following this examination of Emma's influence within organizations with which she had direct involvement, her other major area of influence is examined: her role as a mother and the impact which her parenting had on her children and the paths which they took in life. This chapter examines Emma's daughters, and one of her sons, in an attempt to extract the influence which a figure such as Emma would have on other woman, and the work which they would go on to do as a result of this. The final chapter examines all preceding information in the thesis from a critical stand point and addresses some of the major issues which could perhaps be taken up with the research as well as the manner in which it is presented.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie proefskrif word geskryf met die doel om 'n oorsig te gee van Emma Murray se lewe asook die organisasies en instansies waarby sy betrokke was. Hierdie studie word gedoen as 'n poging om die grotendeels onbekende figuur van die vrou, wat eggenoot en medewerker was van Andrew Murray, een van die invloedrykste teoloë in die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis, bekend te stel. Ten einde dit te doen word 'n aanvanklike hoofstuk aangebied wat die leser inlig oor vroue se sendingwerk binne Suid-Afrika gedurende die middel tot laat negentiende eeu, om sodoende 'n konteks te skep waarin Emma se lewe en werk geplaas kan word. Hierna volg die ondersoek na Emma se invloed. Dit word gedoen deur middel van die bou van 'n verhaal oor Emma se lewe, beginnende met haar jeug in die Kaap en dan verskuif dit na die vroeë dae van haar huwelik met Andrew Murray, asook hul tyd in Bloemfontein. Die tesis ondersoek dan die paartjie se tyd in Worcester, Kaapstad en uiteindelik Wellington. Dit was in Wellington dat die meerderheid van Emma se werk plaasgevind het en dit word in groot detail in hierdie hoofstuk bespreek. Dit is in hierdie hoofstuk dat die Hugenate-kweekskool en kollege, die Vrouensendingbond, die vrouesefbeheersingsunie sowel as die Kinderkrans ondersoek word en Emma se invloed binne dit alles word aan die orde gestel. Na aanleiding van hierdie ondersoek van Emma se invloed in organisasies waarmee sy direkte betrokkenheid gehad het, word haar ander belangrike stroom van invloed ondersoek: haar rol as moeder en die impak wat haar ouerskap op haar kinders gehad het en die paaie wat hulle in die lewe geneem het. Hierdie hoofstuk ondersoek Emma se dogters en een van haar seuns in 'n poging om die invloed wat 'n figuur soos Emma op ander vroue sou hê, en die werk wat hulle hieraan sou doen, te ontgin. Die finale hoofstuk ondersoek al die voorafgaande inligting in die proefskrif vanuit 'n kritieke invalshoek en behandel enkele van die hoofkwessies wat moontlik aan die navorsing gevra kan word, asook 'n bespreking van die wyse waarop dit aangebied word.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	6
Rationale.....	6
Source Material Utilized For the Study	8
Methodology and Structure.....	9
CHAPTER 1: Women in Mission in South Africa.....	13
CHAPTER 2: Emma Rutherfoord	23
2.1 Cape Town in the mid-nineteenth century	23
2.2 The Rutherfoords and Emma’s childhood.	26
CHAPTER 3: Andrew Murray	35
CHAPTER 4: Emma Murray.....	40
4.1 Marriage and beginning of partnership (2 July 1856).....	40
4.2 Bloemfontein (6 May 1849 — 28 April 1860)	45
4.2.1 Bloemfontein in the mid to late-nineteenth century.	45
4.2.2 Emma’s life and work in Bloemfontein	46
4.3 Worcester (27 Mei 1860 — 19 September 1864).....	56
4.4 Cape Town (11 November 1864 — 1871).....	57
4.5 Wellington (21 September 1871 — 20 February 1906).....	59
4.5.1 The Huguenot Seminary.....	59
4.5.1.1 The Institution and its Founding.....	59
4.5.1.2 Women’s Education within South Africa in Relation to the Huguenot Seminary	67
4.5.2 The <i>Vrouensendingbond</i>	75
4.5.2.1 Founding and Beginning of the Society’s Operation.....	75
3.5.2.1 Resulting Societies and Projects	81
4.5.3 The Women’s Temperance Union.....	86
4.5.4 The <i>Kinderkrans</i>	88
CHAPTER 5: Emma and her children.....	91
5.1 Helen Murray (22 September 1849 - 20 December 1937).....	91
5.2 Emma Maria Murray (20 April 1857-1938)	93

5.3 Mary Ellen Murray (14 December 1858 – 19 August 1936)	101
5.4 Catherine Margaret Murray (12 August 1860 - 22 September 1928).....	112
5.5 Annie Jemima Murray (25 October 1863 – 5 March 1929).....	113
5.6 John Neethling Murray (7 November 1868 - 1931).....	114
CHAPTER 6: Critical review	117
6.1 The Genre and Methodology Used	117
6.2 The Limitations of the Sources	119
6.3 Emma as a Female Historical Role Model.....	121
CONCLUSION.....	124
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	126

INTRODUCTION

Emma Murray (1835 - 1905), the wife of the prominent theologian Andrew Murray (1828 – 1917), was an influential female figure of the late-nineteenth century. Within a memorial piece published in the Cape Argus in 1917 following Andrew Murray's death, the author makes the statement that Andrew had found a true partner in his engagement to one "Miss Emma Rutherford". It is also commented that Emma's readiness to join him in hardships were in equal parts out of love for her husband as well as her love for the gospel¹. Her work alongside her husband was of the nature which allowed her to see the issues which were plaguing the nation first-hand, as well as possible solutions. Emma became involved in the founding of several women's organisations and was also known for her involvement in the realm of education. Emma's influence was wide reaching and many who came into contact with the couple spoke of her as being Andrew's partner in marriage as well as in work.

Rationale

Over the course of the last decade there has been a renewed wave of interest in the unknown dimensions of history. The uncovering of lost narratives and figures has usually been utilised as an instrument for the righting of injustices which persist in contemporary society. This however is not the only aim which can be pursued when seeking to find lost voices in history; sometimes these voices and figures are excavated for the purpose of examining their contributions to a field such as theology, as well as more generally to the needs of their time. These examinations are also often utilized as a means by which historical figures are uncovered from whom contemporary people can take inspiration and learn. Female voices in particular have seen a rise in interest of this nature in recent years, especially those with prominent theological connections.

The voices of women which previously might not have been heard are especially of interest when one seeks narratives which move past the old imperial centre of the more popular and official narratives of the 19th and 20th centuries. With this in mind much can be found on not only the

¹ Unknown Author. "Andrew Murray" in *Cape Argus* (Cape Argus: Cape Town. January 19 1917) [NGK Archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 304]

figures in question, but also on the state of society and the faith as a whole when one seeks to unearth the voices of those who one might consider to be “fringe figures” of history. South Africa is of particular interest when one seeks to unearth such figures due to its rich history of mission and the lack of interest in female contributions for a portion of its history.

Emma Murray is one such “fringe figure”. Her work in women’s mission as well as in education contributed largely to these fields, a fact most clearly seen in her role in the founding of the *Vrouesendingbond* (Women’s Mission Society) which answered the call for a unified coalition for Christian women throughout the whole of South Africa. The following paper will seek to examine Emma Murray as a person as well as her influence in the spheres of education and mission. Her early life, marriage to Andrew Murray, and her major contributions will be investigated. Another facet of her influence which will also be examined within this paper is the influence which she had on their children, as well as the work which they dedicated their lives to as a result of this. The major organizations and institutions with which Emma was involved were the *Vrouesendingbond*, Huguenot Seminary, Women’s Temperance Union and the *Kinderkrans*.

South Africa experienced a religious revival in 1857, which continued for four years. Revivals are known as a renewed spiritual interest which takes place at a large scale within a nation. They manifest as the restoration of a church or congregation to a deeper relationship with God which takes place after a period of decline, usually of a moralistic nature. The revival which took place in South Africa saw a rise in the interest in mission among the populace. Andrew Murray Jr. (1828-1917) was one of the key pastoral figures who were involved in the revival, and thus interacted with the events thereof and their resulting impact on society on a first hand level.

Andrew Murray is considered to be one of the most influential theological figures in South Africa from the 19th century. His work resulted in him becoming the moderator of the Cape Synod in 1862, where he led the church in its opposition of theological liberalism. His work during the South African revival was extensive. During the years that the revival took place, he worked as a pastor in churches in Bloemfontein, Worcester, Cape Town and Wellington, all of which were centres of the revival at the time. Andrew Murray was also instrumental in the founding of Grey College in Bloemfontein.

As can be inferred from this brief listing of his work in South Africa, Andrew Murray was a central figure to any study of the developments in theology which took place in the 19th century. Therefore, those with whom he was in regular contact are also of particular interest. Despite this, however, his wife, Emma Murray, is a largely overlooked figure in most modern literature on his life and there is currently no study with a specific focus on Emma as an individual. Emma Murray's contributions to the fields of education and mission, as well as her work alongside Andrew Murray, are at best briefly documented and thus she is a figure of interest for further research. This study will therefore hope to contribute to ongoing scholarly investigations into, on the one hand, obscure female figures in mission and theology, and, on the other hand, to the more specific impact which Emma Murray had on Andrew Murray's work and life.

Source Material Utilized For the Study

The sources utilized in the research for the writing of the following thesis are, for the most part, primary sources which have been found in the Dutch Reformed Church archives at Stellenbosch. The documents used are primarily private letters to and from the subject of the study as well as meeting minutes and notebooks of the various organizations with which she was involved. These documents have been largely unused in recent studies and, for this reason, the following study will seek to present this information as it is found, with a critical examination of the findings being performed in a later chapter of this paper.

It is worth noting that, due to the nature of these sources, much of the information is reasonably biased in favour of the subject in question. Despite this, however, the current shortage of information on Emma Murray requires that the bias of these sources is of equal importance as the eventual "uncovered" and unbiased image of Emma Murray, which may be constructed from the critical review of these documents. Another reason for this choice of structure is that, through her personal letters, one gains a window into the being of Emma Murray as she discusses religious problems, "moralizes" (in the words of Joyce Murray), confesses her troubles and shares her joys. Joyce Murray in her book, *In mid-Victorian Cape Town, letters from Miss Rutherford*, comments that the "sincerity and vigour" of her writing is never in question and that her personality clearly

shines through her words², thus leaving them as a valuable, and largely untapped, resource for the examination of Emma Murray's life regardless of bias.

On the topic of utilizing these private letters in a study, Joyce Murray, who in her book publishes a selected collection of Emma's writing, makes the defence that the letters were passed around the family as it was considered selfish to keep one's letters from a family member only to oneself. Thus, in the mind of Joyce, it is fitting that they should also be made available to those who wish to understand and make known the figure that was Emma Murray. It should also be noted however that Emma's handwriting is less than perfect to the point of it having become a family joke among her intended recipients³. In addition to the difficulties which her handwriting poses, the task of reading pages of tight Victorian script in which the looped letters of one line mingle with the next is not one to be taken lightly, and has added some difficulty to this study. Another layer of trouble with these letters is found in the fact that one is reading these letters one hundred years after their conception and therefore many of the turns of phrase and events which are being spoken of are foreign to a contemporary reader.

Other sources which will be used are newspaper clippings, books and pamphlets on the *Vrouesendingbond*, "in memoriam" from the *Kerkbode*, and other secondary sources such as the *Historich album* of the NG church for the years in which Emma Murray lived. Most, if not all, of these sources can be found in the DRC archives of South Africa with some being in the university library's collection. Thus the large majority of sources will be primary in nature with only a few secondary sources utilized in order to provide background and elaboration on the topic.

Methodology and Structure

The methodology which this thesis will employ will be that of the historical biography. "Historical biography" from the Greek words for "inquiry" (*historia*), "life" (*bios*) and "written" (*grafein*) strives to encompass the events of a figure's life with attention to both the narrative and the

²Murray. J. *In mid-Victorian Cape Town, letters from Miss Rutherfoord*. (A. A. Balkema. Cape Town. 1968) p. 9

³ Murray. J. *In mid-Victorian Cape Town, letters from Miss Rutherfoord*. (A. A. Balkema. Cape Town. 1968) p. 8

interpretation of its characteristics⁴. Historical biography as a methodology is utilized when one seeks to research the significance of an individual in history and their subjective experience and responses. Up until the early 20th century biographical studies were largely focused on prominent leadership figures of the time with the intention of immortalizing their stories. In recent years however, historians have begun to research the lives of lesser known members of society in order to uncover the more nuanced responses to events in history as well as to highlight contributions from members of society who have previously been overlooked in favour of larger figures. Biographical methodology is quite well suited to this new shift in focus as it by definition places the individual at the centre of the historical narrative and works from there which allows for a more ground level examination of historical events and figures.

Historical biographies therefore are of particular use when one seeks to elaborate on individuals who are not mentioned in traditional church histories and thus become excluded voices from the history of Christianity. It is within these studies of individuals and their contributions that one finds new and more complex aspects of the history of the church. A biographical methodology when examining a historical figure allows one to tap into the figure's personal thoughts and context as a means by which their responses to events as well as their own works can be explained⁵.

One particular "excluded voice" which has been brought into the spotlight in recent years is that of women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The under-acknowledged role of educated women in developments of a social and religious nature, especially in the realm of education in a colonial setting, is a topic which has recently seen a renewed interest in the academic world. These voices offer one an alternative narrative of the history of South Africa from a far more personal capacity by means of primary sources such as letters and written diaries⁶.

Also, in recent years the topic of feminism and women's contributions to history has been somewhat in vogue. As a result, the spotlight has been placed on these lesser heard voices and an emergence of studies focused on women's experiences and their roles in mission and theology has

⁴ Possing, B. *Understanding Biographies: On Biographies in History and Stories in Biography (Studies in History and Social Sciences)*. (University Press of Southern Denmark: Denmark. 2017) p.2

⁵ Trofimenkoff, S.M. "Feminist Biography" in *Atlantis*. (Mount saint Vincent university: Halifax. 1985) p.5

⁶ Trofimenkoff, S.M. "Feminist Biography" in *Atlantis*. (Mount saint Vincent university: Halifax. 1985) p.3

taken place. Many feminists within the field of theology have published biographies on historical women. Dana L. Robert, in her book, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, makes the statement that over the course of history, women who had prominent roles in missionary fields have been pigeonholed into stereotypical roles of the reactive secondary actor and the “long suffering wife”⁷. In terms of women’s contributions to the field of theology, Roberts claims that the lack of attention placed upon historical women’s theological contributions is demonstrated more clearly by the unmapped state of the sources, as well as the lack of official compilations of letters, diaries and works of these women which serve as sources of information in lieu of the official documents and treaties which one can find if one seeks to learn of a male past theological figure⁸. Roberts goes on in her book to present a brief investigation of American women in mission. The points which she makes on the field of history and its relationship with women’s voices until recent years, however, holds just as much weight for a South African context.

There are currently many authors who have published works with the aim of adding to this recent interest in female historical figures and their stories. One such author is Diana Lynn, the author of *Feminine threads: Women in the Tapestry of Christian history*. Lynn’s work provides one with a good example of the way in which a historical biography may achieve these ends. Her book begins with 1st century women such as Mary and goes on to trace the impact and contributions of women to the faith throughout the years. In this work she places each person of interest within their own time’s social backgrounds and circumstances in order to place their work and responses within the correct context. It is in this way that she achieves a more informative narrative of historical figures⁹.

Due to the subject of this thesis being a fairly overlooked female historical figure, the question of feminism must be raised in connection with this research. Due to the variety of assumptions and ideologies which come with the category of feminist biographies it has been decided that this paper

⁷ Robert. D.L. *American women in mission: A social history of their thought and practice*. (Mercer University Press: Macon. 1997) p.14

⁸ Robert. D.L. *American women in mission: A social history of their thought and practice*. (Mercer University Press: Macon. 1997) p.20

⁹ Lynn. D.S. *Feminine Threads: Women in the Tapestry of Christian History*. (Christian focus publications: Fearn. 2011). No page numbers.

will not actively seek to employ any specific feminist ideologies to its research. Despite this, however, due to the nature of the subject of this paper, the paper may nonetheless become that which can be classified as a “feminist biography”¹⁰. There are, of course, aspects of this which require further criticism. This will be done following the core of the compiled research however, so as to ensure a full overview of the facts and nature of this paper is present within the minds of the reader prior to its critical examination¹¹.

Thus, it is for the reasons discussed above that a historical biographical methodology has been chosen, as the study on Emma Murray is far more concerned with her personal experiences, contributions and viewpoints, rather than providing a broader historical narrative of the time, of which there is no short supply. This research paper will therefore seek to employ this study of Emma Murray’s figure in a far more personal capacity in order to ascertain what of her voice and work may have previously been lost in the maelstrom of narratives regarding the events and figures of the late 19th and early 20th century.

¹⁰ Trofimenkoff. S.M. “Feminist Biography” in *Atlantis*. (Mount saint Vincent university: Halifax. 1985) p.2

¹¹ Trofimenkoff. S.M. “Feminist Biography” in *Atlantis*. (Mount saint Vincent university: Halifax. 1985) p.3-5

CHAPTER 1: Women in Mission in South Africa

- Work and Reception In The 1800's

In the modern day it has become imperative to historians that the integration of experiences, attitudes and actions of women are taken into consideration when one seeks to perform a historical analysis of an individual's life. One of the major contributors to the popularity of these avenues of investigation is Belinda Bozzoli who, in her 1983 article; *Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies*, made the point that women's role in the "domestic struggles" of South Africa requires deeper investigation which goes further than simply the events of the time. She went on to comment that it does the field no favors to investigate women from a sentimental standpoint which only praises the resistance of women against the "patriarchal society". For a study to be complete, she goes on, a more general understanding is required which examines critically the actions of past women in both their roles in society as a whole as well as their domestic lives¹². It is for this reason that the following will seek to give an introduction to the work done by women's missionary and charity organizations in South Africa from a more general standpoint so that the background to Emma Murray's life and work may be provided.

British colonial women were quite different from the image which many have of the sheltered Victorian lady. In South Africa the female British settlers were aware of the ideas which were circulating in the public sphere and were not isolated from the discourses which were taking place in the nation such as those revolving around race. It seems that some of the women, if not the majority, were as avid readers of publications such as the *Graham's Town Journal* as the male settlers were. Despite this, gender expectations were far more present within the conscious minds of Victorian woman. The settler women were aware of the expectations which were placed upon them as well as the standards which they were expected to live up to. This by no means implies that it was easy however and the pressure was definitely felt by young women. Eliza Fairbairn, a young colonial woman, gives one some insight into this in her letters where she comments on the

¹² Daught. S. "Gender & colonial "women's history" and construction of social distance: Middle-Class British women in later nineteenth-century South Africa." In *Journal of South African studies*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town.2000. 26:3) Pp 590

“personal suffering which the ideas of evangelical domesticity could inflict upon an intelligent and independent minded woman”¹³.

One peculiar aspect of these women’s knowledge of the ongoing debates of the public spheres comes in the form of their views on race relations. It was near impossible for the informed settler of any gender to ignore the tension as well as the status difference between the settlers and the Bantu residents of South Africa. The women, however, experienced this social difference from a far more private stance. As Daught comments, within military life it was simpler for men to gain a distanced form of respect for their African allies and enemies while maintaining the social gap which existed between the groups. The women settlers, however, had to maintain the social distance in the private atmospheres of their homes due to the use of African servants to aid domestic work. In order to do this certain mental shifts had to occur in the minds of these women before their interactions with Bantu people who would then be encountered primarily as domestic servants. Thus, in a sense, the Bantu people had to be placed under a sense of “social death” for the social distance between the groups to continue¹⁴.

British colonial women were used to a certain standard of life in Britain which they were under pressure to maintain in South Africa for the sake of their families. This pressure was the source of many a social injustice being committed against the African populace. Van Heyningen, in a discussion of the diary of the wife of a Cape “Indian”, Sarah Le Mesurier describes her attitude to the African and Indian servants as being similar to one’s attitude to furniture in that they were regarded as unacknowledged and uninteresting functional “items” of the household¹⁵. There is also a sense of absence in the letters of colonial women regarding the topic of the African people, even those who worked as servants and farm labourers within their households. Even where they are mentioned, they are referred to without names as a method of depersonalizing them and this only

¹³ McKenzie, K. “My Own Mind Dying Within Me’: Elizabeth Fairbairn And The Reinvention Of Colonial Middle-Class Domesticity In Cape Town” in *South African Historical Journal*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town. 1997. 36) p.5

¹⁴ Daught. S. “Gender & colonial “women’s history” and construction of social distance: Middle-Class British women in later nineteenth-century South Africa.” In *Journal of South African studies*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town.2000. 26:3) p. 560-561

¹⁵ Van Heyningen. E. “The diary as historical source: a response” in *Historia*. (Historical Association of South Africa: Cape Town. 1993. 38.1) p.2

worsened as the frustrations with the African labour force intensified and the cultural and language barriers became more prominent¹⁶.

The methods of reinforcing social distance within the colony are often seen as petty when examined by the modern eye, however at the time it was one of the major contributing factors to the momentum of British colonialism among the population of South Africa¹⁷. Violence against African labourers also fell into this category. A study done by Daught proposed that the violence against labourers and domestic servants was not as a means of control but rather a form of exasperation intensified by the social distance. Despite this, however, this was not the norm and remorse for losing one's temper at one's servants was often expressed by the British women in their letters. It is just as often that one sees these women struggle with feelings of compassion which were intrusive to the expected social distance. The compassion which they felt more often than not was of the nature of which corresponds with the idea of appreciation for a lower servant rather than what one may feel for a friend or an equal. This gives one insight into the changes which took place within the psyche of British female settlers in order to cope with the addition of people with new cultural and ethnic backgrounds into their households and lives¹⁸.

With this in mind, one turns to examine the work done by women in conjunction with the church in South Africa, specifically in the realm of mission. This "social distance" which these women were expected to maintain is that which informed both the ways in which they acted within the sphere of their work as well as exactly what work they found themselves gravitating towards.

In 1822, a South African charitable society was formed in Cape Town and named the "Ladies Benevolent Society" (LBS). Within 19th century Britain socio-economic conditions had worsened to the point of society being in a perpetual state of crisis, and thus there was a growth in the

¹⁶ Daught. S. "Gender & colonial "women's history" and construction of social distance: Middle-Class British women in later nineteenth-century South Africa." In *Journal of South African studies*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town.2000. 26:3) p. 561

¹⁷ Daught. S. "Gender & colonial "women's history" and construction of social distance: Middle-Class British women in later nineteenth-century South Africa." In *Journal of South African studies*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town.2000. 26:3) p. 562

¹⁸ Daught. S. "Gender & colonial "women's history" and construction of social distance: Middle-Class British women in later nineteenth-century South Africa." In *Journal of South African studies*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town.2000. 26:3); p. 563-5

presence of voluntary charitable organizations under the conviction that human suffering was of the nature of which demanded instant remedy rather than lengthy planned social reform. This conviction stemmed from the spiritual revival which Britain experienced in the late 18th century. While it is no surprise that different denominations of the faith had different structures and approaches in place with regards to philanthropic ventures, all Christians of the time viewed benevolence as an obligation of the faithful rather than a simple good deed and some even went so far as to consider philanthropic work as expressions of piety. Therefore, welfare became seen as a means by which social and individual (spiritual) wellbeing could be achieved¹⁹. For Victorian society there was another facet to this - their belief in the importance of the family structure. This importance of the familial unit resulted in the belief that women being included in this voluntary philanthropic work was vital to the preservation of social stability. The maternal figure of women was of the nature of which granted women within these societies the status of being regarded as guardians of the home, and those who required aid which stemmed from compassion rather than conflict, which was seen as the male sphere. These women would however often choose to take part in dangerous or unpleasant work which took them outside of the home sphere²⁰. The role of servants within Victorian society allowed for the women to dedicate themselves to their charitable work with far more confidence. The attitudes which were also required of a Victorian women to run a large household also proved valuable when charitable work called for a more empathetic stance. This only served to heighten the image of the “maternal guardian”²¹.

This all culminated in the conception that charity work was an appropriate sphere of influence for a lady. Thanks to this, women’s mission was joined with the idea of fulfilling this compassionate philanthropic role which was seen as being within the nature of a woman. As the century progressed, women began to be exclusively in charge of charities and in the process of moving away from the established role of only being auxiliaries to male mission and societies. While this

¹⁹ Bradlow. E. “‘The oldest charitable society in South Africa’: one hundred years and more of the ladies benevolent society at the Cape of Good Hope’ in *South Africa historical Journal*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town. 1991. 25:1.) p. 77-78

²⁰ Summers. A. ‘A Home from Home – women’s Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century’, in S. Burman, ed., *fit Work for Women*. (No publisher listed: Canberra. 1979)

²¹ Bradlow. E. “‘The oldest charitable society in South Africa’: one hundred years and more of the ladies benevolent society at the Cape of Good Hope’ in *South Africa historical Journal*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town. 1991. 25:1.) p.78

in no way means that women had the complete independence and freedom of movement that one finds today, there were women who established their own charitable societies. Through this, they achieved the social mobility which was previously only granted to men by other means, however, their role was considered to be an extension of their management of domestic labour rather than a job or social position in of itself²².

While the British social conceptions and hierarchies were a large influence within the colonies, South Africa's conditions and societies would often diverge from the English norms. The Cape's lack of absolute governing law and power resulted in a limited form of official aid for the members of society who required help. In the 1820's this lack of solid structure was only worsened by an economic depression as well as a drought which resulted in several lackluster harvests. Prior to this, several churches were already involved in welfare work. It was the Evangelical Movement, however, which led the sphere of charity work in the Cape. Their emphasis on the imperative nature of material improvement lead to the backing of many charitable activism initiatives aimed at the Cape's neglected poor²³. Multiple organizations such as the Cape of Good Hope Philanthropic society and the Juvenile Immigrant's commission were formed in the Cape with the aim of aiding the needy youth. These organizations were often run by men whose wives were active in the LBS or by women who were also involved in the LBS.

In the 1830's, Protestant upper class congregants were under the conception that it was their duty to "take the lead in promoting religious, moral and industrious habits among the poor, in order to further the latter's happiness in this world and ensure their salvation in the next"²⁴. In this one finds the beginnings of the thought patterns which led women such as Emma Murray to the field of education and women's mission.

²² Scott. F. 1984. 'on seeing and Not seeing: A case of historical invisibility' in *Journal of American history* (Oxford University Press: Oxford. 1984 71:1.) p.9

²³ Edwards. I. *Towards Emancipation, A study in South African Slavery*. (Llandyssul: Cardiff. 1942) p.157-158; Bradlow. E. "'The oldest charitable society in South Africa": one hundred years and more of the ladies benevolent society at the Cape of Good Hope' in *South Africa historical Journal*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town. 1991. 25:1.) p. 80

²⁴ Scott. F. 1984. 'on seeing and Not seeing: A case of historical invisibility' in *Journal of American history* (Oxford University Press: Oxford. 1984 71:1.) p.10

The LBS's founding was the result of the interests of two women, Jane Phillip and Miss Caldwell. The name of the society was taken from a society in England which operated under the same name and was also run by women. In line with the times the establishment of the society faced some male opposition in Cape Town and was initially barely tolerated, despite its charitable intentions and the idea that women belonged in philanthropic roles²⁵. In spite of this, the upper class women formed a committee and ran the society in line with the laws of the colony. In 1868 the society would undergo a change in its code as well as acquire a new name; the "Cape Town Ladies Benevolent Society". The society's aim was to provide aid regardless of denomination or social class in a manner which echoed the intentions of several of the missionaries of the time who served in poorer areas of the nation. The society gained social approval in the following years as it proved to be non-sectarian in nature as well as the fact that the governor's wife, Lady D'Urban, took over the office of patron within the society, thus signifying the government's acceptance of the society, as well as creating a trend amongst higher ranking women within the colony. In the following years the society would receive large support from the evangelical as well as the upper class Christian citizens of the Cape²⁶.

The society, in its mission to alleviate human suffering, began to find itself involved in the matter of education and its being viewed as a means by which social and spiritual repairs could be made. With the large amount of funding offered by its government and high society connections, the society established a School of Industry in the June of 1824 and gained the formal approval from the Bible and School commission to serve the "worthy poor". This school was founded with the aim of providing young girls whose parents were from poor backgrounds a means by which they could receive instruction. The school premises was found on the outskirts of central Cape Town at No. 13 Keerom Street and followed a syllabus which was borrowed from the British model, likely, in part, out of the interest of promoting British values amongst the socially lower colonist from a

²⁵ Bradlow. E. "The oldest charitable society in South Africa": one hundred years and more of the ladies benevolent society at the Cape of Good Hope' in *South Africa historical Journal*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town. 1991. 25:1.) p. 77-78

²⁶ Edwards. I. *Towards Emancipation, A study in South African Slavery*. (Llandyssul: Cardiff. 1942) p.157-158; Bradlow. E. "The oldest charitable society in South Africa": one hundred years and more of the ladies benevolent society at the Cape of Good Hope' in *South Africa historical Journal*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town. 1991. 25:1.) p.78

young age²⁷. This syllabus was designed to “form the girls into useful and diligent women for the discharge of every social and domestic duty”²⁸. The girls received instruction in many fields including reading, daily scripture study and needlework. The needlework lessons were viewed as being of the most importance as they produced revenue as well as acted as a symbol of the values which society deemed most desirable in women. Needlework also provided the girls with a means of income as well as a skill which would be useful to their future employers as it was deemed a universal needed quality with regards to female servants²⁹.

The school was surprisingly racially equal for the time and students of all ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds studied together. The school remained strict however and even the students’ parents were kept to a strict standard with regards to ensuring their child’s attendance as well as their behavior at home. This was further enforced by the conception that enrollment in the school was a privilege and the students should be conscious of this fact and thus act accordingly. If a parent acted out of the society’s standards of politeness towards the teachers or authorities of the school, their child would face dismissal from the institute³⁰. Despite this, the opportunity to learn English seemed to be a large motivational factor for parents to give their consent to their child’s enrollment in the school and often they would be removed after the language had been learned to a satisfactory level³¹.

²⁷ Edwards. I. *Towards Emancipation, A study in South African Slavery*. (Llandyssul: Cardiff. 1942) p.157-158; Bradlow. E. “‘The oldest charitable society in South Africa’: one hundred years and more of the ladies benevolent society at the Cape of Good Hope’ in *South Africa historical Journal*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town. 1991. 25:1.) p.82

Edwards. I. *Towards Emancipation, A study in South African Slavery*. (Llandyssul: Cardiff. 1942) p.157-158; Bradlow. E. “‘The oldest charitable society in South Africa’: one hundred years and more of the ladies benevolent society at the Cape of Good Hope’ in *South Africa historical Journal*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town. 1991. 25:1.) p.82

²⁹ Prochaska. F. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford. 1980) p. 53

³⁰ Edwards. I. *Towards Emancipation, A study in South African Slavery*. (Llandyssul: Cardiff. 1942) p.157-158; Bradlow. E. “‘The oldest charitable society in South Africa’: one hundred years and more of the ladies benevolent society at the Cape of Good Hope’ in *South Africa historical Journal*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town. 1991. 25:1.) p.87

³¹ Edwards. I. *Towards Emancipation, A study in South African Slavery*. (Llandyssul: Cardiff. 1942) p.157-158; Bradlow. E. “‘The oldest charitable society in South Africa’: one hundred years and more of the ladies benevolent society at the Cape of Good Hope’ in *South Africa historical Journal*. (South African Historical Society: Cape Town. 1991. 25:1.) p.87

In the 1830's, the Cape faced a dramatic rise in poverty due to the emancipation of the slaves and their inability to cater for themselves. Due to this the LBS was forced to shut down the School of Industry in 1840 so that its funds and efforts could be concentrated on the aiding of the poor³². Thus, the society returned to its original focus, fundraising and the alleviation of distress through means of personal visitation.

These personal visits were of the nature of which required more commonly understood feminine traits, such as empathy, attentiveness and kindness, to come to the fore of the societies function. Visitations were seen as vital to the maintaining of the stability of society³³. A core aspect of visiting was the maintenance of personal contact, often on a biweekly basis. In the societies meetings cases were discussed and a measure of professional practice was lent to the realm of visitation as reports on circumstances and congregants were given. This work continued although several aspects resulted in it "falling out of fashion" as it were.

Circumstances in the Cape grew harsh as natural disasters and catastrophic events took place in South Africa, such as the fever epidemic of 1867 as well as the floods of the winter of 1869. The post-South African war depression resulted in the implementation of a policy in 1889 which revolved around the finding of jobs for unemployed breadwinners. Despite this, and the consequential slowing of such philanthropic organizations in South Africa, the work which these women were doing did not waver and continued to grow to the point where women mission societies were formed, and several prominent women missionaries emerged which resulted in a great forward motion for mission in the country. One then must ask why such work which was being accomplished by women is not more commonly found in recorded history.

By 1910 half of the staff of the "Kaapsche Kerk" in Nyasaland were women but even so little is heard of them in the chronicles of history and their stories are scarcely relayed. The lack of representation in history for these women follows a trend which is found to be present in many cases. This, however despite the social issues regarding women in the late 19th centuries, strikes

³² Warren. D. *Merchants, Commissioners and Wardmasters, Municipal politics in Cape Town 1840-54* (University of Cape Town: Cape Town. 1986), p.27

³³ Prochaska. F. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford. 1980) p. 110

one as being fairly strange as there were several organizations facilitating the training of female missionaries in place, as well as the presence of prominent female leaders such as Emma Murray³⁴.

Dreyer commented in 1910 that this issue of the lost “stem van die vrou”³⁵ is one that which will more than likely never be rectified due to lack of interest and he also seems to have lamented this fact. An appreciation of the context of the time is necessary when one seeks to examine why females who were involved in mission have become what we now refer to as “neglected figures”.

In a letter written to America in 1880 by Anna M Cummings, one of the leaders of the Huguenot seminary, she comments that through servants such as Andrew Murray and those who aided him that “hands are eager to go forth with the good tidings of salvation to the uttermost parts of Africa”³⁶. In this letter Cummings also spoke of the good which was being done by the Huguenot seminary and went on to say that “...Christian training for the young people who will soon forget racial prejudices in the practical realization that ‘we are one in Christ Jesus’”³⁷. Andrew Murray had similar sentiments and commented that seminaries where women could learn and be trained so as to be prepared for mission were of the utmost importance. He commented in his motivation for the founding of the seminary that that there was a need to make a “special effort to secure the rising generation for Christ.”³⁸

Annie M Wells, a young leader at the Huguenot Collage speaks of “Mr. Murray” in nothing but the highest regard. She writes in the November of 1874 that Andrew Murray was a huge asset to the institute³⁹ The Huguenot Seminary was a success of unprecedented scale. The school was constantly pressed to find larger spaces to house its excess of pupils and the students placed near the top of the Colonies teaching examinations from 1875 onwards. In addition to this the Huguenot College which was established in 1898 out of the seminary, was the first women’s tertiary

³⁴ Murray, I. "Die stil stem van die vroue in die vroeë sendingwerk van der Kaapsche Kerk in Njassaland (1896-1906)." In *Stellenbosch Theological Journal*. (University of Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch. 2017) p 251-283.

³⁵ The voice of the women

³⁶ Anna M Cummings: *Huguenot Seminary*. Undated letters [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV: 636 A]

³⁷ Anna M Cummings: *Huguenot Seminary*. Undated letters [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV: 636 A]

³⁸ Murray, A. Letter regarding the founding of the Huguenot seminary in Wellington and the churches involvement. (25 October 1873) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. (K-DIV 606)]

³⁹ Unknown author. Document detailing the absence of Miss Bliss from a meeting in wellington likely written by Miss Wells. [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 605]

education institution in the Cape. In the wake of the seminary's success, several branches of these Seminaries opened across the colony in, Graaff-Reinet, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, Paarl, Bloemfontein and Greytown all of which were run by Huguenot alumni and educators who had been trained by the Mount Holyoke institution⁴⁰.

The 1902 conclusion of the Anglo Boer war and the following peace negotiations had a large impact on the politicizing of the less heard groups out of which the first interest in women's suffrage spawned. In Cape Town in 1907 the women's enfranchisement league was formed as a political wing of the Women's Christian temperance union which had been founded in 1889. The guild of loyal women also began to operate in 1990 with the aim of facilitating for the growth in support of imperialism and to reduce the remaining tensions between the English and Afrikaner people. Likewise, the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Vrouwe Federatie*⁴¹ began its work on the "politics of reconciliation within the framework of the empire"⁴² within the Afrikaans community. Soon the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Christelike Vrouwe Vereniging*⁴³ was founded and began philanthropic work. In 1909 the national Council of Women emerged with the goal of acting as an umbrella body housing women's interests - a factor which illustrates the extent to which interest and awareness in such organizations had been fostered in the Cape⁴⁴.

From the information presented in this chapter, one can make the conclusion that the late 19th and early 20th centuries provide one with a useful window into the creation and development of white feminists in the Cape Colony whilst it also served as a turning point for South Africa as it marked its unification into a semi-independent state. Therefore, this information serves as a vital background to Emma's mindset towards such matters as well as the context in which she operated over the course of her life. Now that this background has been elaborated on, one can begin with an examination of Emma's upbringing and youth prior to her involvement with Andrew Murray.

⁴⁰ Duff, S. E. "From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910" in *Histora journal* (Historical Association of South Africa: Cape Town. 2006 5:1.1-27) pg. 1-2.

⁴¹ South African women's Federation founded in 1889.

⁴² Brickford-Smith, V. *Cape Town in Twentieth Century*, (D. Philip Publishers: Cape Town. 1999) p 30-32.

⁴³ South African Christian women's society founded in 1890.

⁴⁴ Duff, S. E. "From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910" in *Histora journal* (Historical Association of South Africa: Cape Town. 2006 5:1.1-27) pg. 3

CHAPTER 2: Emma Rutherford

- Childhood and Years in the Cape

Emma Murray's childhood and life in Cape Town with her family was instrumental in her formation into the young woman who was to become the partner of Andrew Murray. For this reason the following will go into a brief examination of Emma's life as a Rutherford as well as her familial relationships during the years of her growth. It is worth noting however that the majority of information in the following chapter is taken from Joyce Murray's books which are comprised of copies of Emma's letters, with minimal background being provided by the author. The originals of these letters are within the Dutch Reformed Church archive at Stellenbosch. However, due to the state of the letters with regards to legibility as well as preservation, they were only checked so far as to ascertain the legitimacy of Joyce Murray's reproductions.

2.1 Cape Town in the mid-nineteenth century

For one to fully grasp the life and contributions of Emma Murray one must first understand the context from which she came. It is for this reason that the following will give a brief description of the Cape as it was during the time in which Emma would have been born and raised there. Following this examination of the Cape, more specific details of Emma's family and upbringing as well as the narrative of several of the more formative events of her youth will be presented.

A town which is surrounded by mountains on three sides; on the fourth by the sea, it is big and fairly regular, and appears both pleasant and graceful because of its straight immensely wide streets, its white houses, one or two story's height, all with flat roofs and some plants outside, or vines as a sun roof over the entrance; but especially because of the high mountain, visible from everywhere. There is no stone paving in the streets. They are fairly hard, but the ever present fine sand is rather unpleasant for strangers. There are very attractive and, from what I have heard, well stocked shops. Elegant people are

*everywhere. The dress of the better off people is the same as in Europe, except the gentleman mostly use umbrellas against the burning sun...*⁴⁵

The above quote is taken from a first-hand description of Cape Town which was written by a visitor during the 1860's, W.J. Picard. He goes on to present his reader with a fairly concise description of the Cape and life within it during this time period. The cape colony in the early 1830's was a colonial town of no more than fifteen thousand citizens including approximately five thousand slaves. These slaves, however, achieved full freedom in the December of 1838 and were then called "apprentices". The lack of the modern day Suez Canal which links the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, meant that the Cape was the only route available to those in Europe who wished to trade with India and other countries in South East Asia. Thus, despite its small size at the time, Cape Town was a valuable port and ships from many nations such as England, France, Denmark and the Netherlands would anchor in Table Bay while on their way to do trade with India and Australia and, thanks to this, Table Mountain was a well renowned land-mark among sailors from across the world. During this time however official harbour facilities were yet to be built and visitors to the city were taken to the shore via row boats which would land on the wooden jetty near the old Castle. From the Castle they would travel via Strand Street to reach the town centre.

Many of the residents were British civil servants who had been residing in India and found the long trip back to Britain too hazardous and thus moved temporarily to the Cape to recuperate as it were. The large majority of these civil servants settled in Wynberg and, thus, there was an influx of English farmers to the area and it became known as an "Indian village"⁴⁶.

Despite the cutting of ties with the Netherlands which had occurred in the Cape some years prior to this time period, large parts of the Cape were still decidedly Dutch and the scenery is said to have invoked images of Holland. A steady influx of English immigrants resulted in a gradual change of the landscape as they arrived in great numbers as a result of a drive by Lord Charles Somerset to Anglicise the Cape by, among other things, giving incentives to a large number of

⁴⁵ Picard, W.J. *Grand parade: The birth of greater Cape Town – 1850-1913*. (C.Struik (PTY.) LTD: Cape Town. 1869) p10.

⁴⁶ Picard, W.J. *Grand parade: The birth of greater Cape Town – 1850-1913*. (C.Struik (PTY.) LTD: Cape Town. 1869) p3.

British settlers during the 1820s. New buildings were built and the English influence on the Cape began to be more apparent, especially in the period following 1828 when many new houses were erected in the more modern style which was reminiscent of the houses which the new colonists would have been familiar with from their homelands. During this period many merchants began to import a variety of clothing, foods and other goods from England. Among these imports were architectural plans and furniture which followed the typical English styles of the period. With the rise in popularity of these imports an upper class of Cape society was formed from the merchant class. The wealth which was brought to the Cape with the rise in trade also allowed for the city to improve itself and from as early as 1827, improvements began with the reconstruction of the town's two main roads. Despite this new prosperity in the Cape, it was nothing which could be compared to the lifestyles of upper English society in Europe⁴⁷. This rise in the growth of the Cape however slowed during the severe depression of 1833.

Following this period of prosperity and subsequent depression, accounts of the Cape from the period leading up to and including the early 1850's, lead one to believe that the Cape was going downhill in a manner. The roads are commented to have always been in disarray and the overall cleanliness of the town is brought into question fairly often.

The evidence of the decline of the Cape's glory would surely not have escaped the notice of a family as influential as the Rutherford's. Due to their high class, however, Emma was largely kept from any form of social hardship which may have stemmed from it. Despite this, one must remember that this was still a colony and thus the sheltered lives of European nobility could hardly be replicated. In a piece written by Joyce Murray on her grandmother's upbringing, she comments on this fact and states that not a mile from Emma's home criminals would be publicly executed and crowds would follow prison carts excitedly to witness the "event".

Thus, it would be unfitting to refer to the life which Emma knew as being comparable to that of the upper levels of European society. In South Africa, however, she was definitely among the privileged wealthy English residents of the Cape.

⁴⁷ Picard. W.J. *Grand parade: The birth of greater Cape Town – 1850-1913*. (C.Struik (PTY.) LTD: Cape Town. 1869) p1

2.2 The Rutherfoords and Emma's childhood.

Now that the general geographical context in which Emma was raised has been examined, one can move on to a closer examination of her family and upbringing. The following will present an examination of Emma's youth in the days leading up to her marriage with Andrew Murray. This examination will begin with Emma's father, Howson Edwards Rutherfoord.

Howson Rutherfoord, moved into the Herschel Estate in the Cape with his family in the end of 1854 with the intent of utilizing it as a family home. Since his arrival in South Africa as a young man, Mr. Rutherfoord had accomplished much not only for himself but also for his community. *H.E. Rutherfoord and Brother*, his shipping agency, had flourished with his brother managing a branch in Grahamstown and his nephews based at Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. Howson Rutherfoord's son, Frederick, was also trained and ready to take over the business after his father's retirement. Mr. Rutherfoord had built up the trade and commerce of Cape Town and, as a member of the Commercial Exchange⁴⁸ as well as its chairman in 1852, he did much to aid settlers who arrived in South Africa. His interest in mission work manifested within the Infant Schools Society which was attended by the most influential members of the town. Mr. Rutherfoord was also a member of the South African College Council in 1849 as well as an active member in the movement of Anti-Convict agitation, also in 1849. There was no shortage of servants and Mr. Rutherfoord utilized the aid and the grounds to its utmost as he played the hospitable host to many a guest. These visitors were often members of missionary circles, men of the sea, often from Anglo-India that Mr. Rutherfoord had met in his line of work and who brought new ideas from outside of the country⁴⁹. It was through her father's connections and accomplishments that Emma gained an insight into the finer workings of colonial society⁵⁰.

The location of this family home also allowed for a large garden as well as access to all the wild plants which grew on the mountain. It was here that a deep appreciation for the natural beauty of flowers and gardens was nurtured in Emma. Emma often went on "adventures" along the

⁴⁸ An Early version of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce which was established in 1822.

⁴⁹ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherfoord*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town 1968) p.6

⁵⁰ Murray. J. *Claremont album*. (A.A. Balkema, 1958) p.36-39

mountainside in search of flowers. She also tended to their home garden with her mother. This love of flowers would persist as she grew older as well as aid her in her later life.

The Rutherford's wealth was what allowed Emma to begin her path as an intellectual who would later challenge Andrew Murray's ideas on equal footing. Emma and her sisters were educated in music, art, Victorian history, French and German among other subjects, by governesses and masters who would be brought to their home for the lessons. Her mother would also encourage her to read an enormous amount of books under her supervision. In addition to this extensive education, Emma also benefited intellectually from listening to her family and family friends discussing current events⁵¹. As Emma grew into a capable young girl her mother began to entrust her with some of the housekeeping tasks such as ordering the meals and keeping tradesmen's accounts. While she had no training in these areas, this experience more than prepared her to run her own household one day.

On March 23rd 1852, Mary Rutherford was married, and her younger sister succeeded her title as the young "Miss Rutherford" and took on all the responsibilities that came with it. As a young woman of seventeen Emma carried out her newly gained duties as the eldest daughter with dedication. She paid calls with her mother, aided her in receiving guests, gave out the household stores each morning and kept the household accounts.

From this point on one finds a far larger quantity of information on Emma and her life as a Rutherford daughter as she wrote many letters to her, now married, sister Mary Reeves who had travelled to India and made a home there with her husband. It is through these letters that one is given a personal glimpse into the personality of Emma as well as her life before marrying Andrew Murray. The first of these letters was written two days after Mary's wedding while she was on her honeymoon in Kalk Bay and allows one a unique view into the sisters' relationship. Emma writes that she had cried when she was alone and it had been commented on by Frederick, a family friend, that it was as if she were two different people, as she was cheery during the day even though at night she was unable to sleep from missing her sister. Despite this however, she ends the letter by

⁵¹ Murray, J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.7

saying that her comfort in her sorrow is that she has gained a brother who is dear to her⁵². From this letter one can see the close relationship between the sisters. Something can also be found of Emma's disposition to such situations as, despite her sadness at her sisters leaving, she remained lively and "merry" during her days. Despite this display within her letters and the conclusions which can be made from it, it is important for one to bear in mind that it is also possible that Emma did not wish to alarm any of the recipients of her letters by expressing that she was doing anything less than well. Thus, a different conclusion regarding Emma's character can be made from this information. It is possible that Emma was also the type of person who would go to lengths to avoid worrying others or express anything out of the expected norm for a young women in her position. From this one can perhaps see the development in Emma's character which was made in the years following this.

Another glimpse into her close relationship with her sister is seen in a letter which she writes to her aunt, Mrs. Foulger who resided in Walthamstow, England. In this correspondence Emma speaks of her sister who was there on a visit with her husband. She praises her sister stating that all who see Mary fall in love with her. She also speaks of her own emotions regarding her sister's departure in slightly more detail than she had in her letters to Mary and says that the loss has been "irreparable" and that her happiness seems to be incomplete in the absence of her sister⁵³. A possible contributing factor to this is also seen in this particular letter as Emma goes on to say that her sister had shielded her from many responsibilities and worries which she is now aware of and that, in the days which have passed since her sister's departure, she had become more aware of what was required of her in regards to her interactions as well as her duties. In this one can see the way in which the sisters may have depended upon each other as well as the large shift which her sister's absence may have caused for Emma, who now had the full weight of all that was expected of the new eldest daughter of the Rutherfoord family⁵⁴ on her shoulders. Emma also briefly mentions her fears at being underqualified for this role, however she immodestly slips back into the expected response to this for the time and comments that these worries are trifles for one who lives such a good life in as happy a home as hers⁵⁵. It is in this that one could perhaps find the

⁵² Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherfoord*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.13

⁵³ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherfoord*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.15

⁵⁴ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherfoord*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.16

⁵⁵ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherfoord*. (A.A. Balkema, Cape Town. 1968) p.16

beginnings of her acknowledgment of her privileged life which may have led to the passion with which she worked to aid those who were less fortunate later in her life.

An additional interesting aspect of Emma which shines through in this and other letters is her apparent passion for life as well as her drive to aid others, a characteristic which would become intrinsic to the way in which those in her later life would view her. In the same letter to Mary where she admits to being sad she also briefly makes the comment: “I have plenty to do in my life as far as I can see in the way of improving myself and others.” This, however, is once again the view of Emma’s character which is presented through her letters to her sister. What one must examine further is the possibility of it not having been her true feeling but rather the feelings which were expected of a young lady of her status to display. While it is unlikely that she would have expressed falsehoods to her sister, it is possible that she may have been placing on airs to impress her older sibling. With this in mind this drive to aid could also be taken as a drive to please those around her as well as perhaps to prevent causing worry to those closest to her. This does not mean however that she was uninterested in charity work, and the fervour with which she went about such endeavours in her later life speaks of genuine passion for the realm of philanthropic work. This, however, will be further examined in a later chapter which will deal with such criticisms of the research and sources utilized by this thesis, as well as the conclusions which can be drawn from them.

The young Emma Rutherford also expressed some trepidation at the thought of marriage. In a letter which she wrote to her aunt she laments her sister’s departure once again but this time admits that perhaps part of her lamentation is also due to the fact that she is comfortable in her current life and is worried that she would not be fit for married life. She also comments that she is not certain what worth a man would see in her. This fear is only touched upon briefly, however, and she moves on to change the topic immediately after its mention. It is quite interesting for one aware of the evolution of her relationship with Andrew Murray, and her taking on of the role of his partner in life and work later in her life. The Emma with whom the large bulk of this thesis will be dealing seems a far cry from the young woman who wrote the words found in this letter.

In December of 1852, Emma prepared to have her first Christmas without her sister. The Christmas celebrations were far smaller than that of today, with only a few shops recognizing the season's commercial worth, and the absence of the tradition of the Christmas tree which would only arrive in South Africa the following year, as well as with the tradition of gift giving being largely confined to the home circle and charities. The Rutherford family also lived on the outskirts of town and thus had to be largely self-sufficient, owned their own livestock and, cultivated their own fruits and vegetables, a situation which suited the Murray women with their passion for gardening quite well. After the New Year, Emma wrote another letter to Mary in which she detailed her trip to Wynberg. Despite her accounts of its picturesque scenery, Emma was largely disappointed in the crowd which resided there and the way in which they spent their time flirting and gossiping. In this one can perhaps see the beginnings of the woman who would be the partner of a clergyman.

Emma's next letter was sent in the June of 1853 and contains the details of a picnic which she attended atop Table Mountain. Emma seemed slightly worried at this point with the impending trip to England, which would last a year, hanging over her. She seemed determined to climb the mountain before she left in case she never returned to the country. A large sorrow of hers as they made preparations to depart for England was her leaving of the Sunday school with which she and her mother had been involved. She details their farewell to Mary in this letter and she also shares her resolution to be like her sister and "be happy everywhere"⁵⁶. As Emma was about to board the steamer to England she penned a letter to her brother-in-law, Mr Reeves, which, while less spontaneous in content than her letters to Mary, carries a clear air of excitement. She also gives one a further glimpse into her want for knowledge in her mention that she had been reading *Hallams History of the Middle Ages* and goes on to mention that she is finding the feudal system of interest⁵⁷. This enthusiasm for her trip in her letter to Mr. Reeves quickly dissipated, however, in the face of sea-sickness and the hot temperatures inside the ship. In a letter to Mary which Emma wrote while on the ship she even goes so far as to call it her "voyage of misery"⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.46

⁵⁷ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.54

⁵⁸ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.56

Following Emma's arrival in England there are few letters to be found other than some disorganized pages describing visits to relatives. One particularly noteworthy letter is addressed to Mary who had recently given birth to her first child. In this letter Emma scolds her sister for being an "unsentimental mother" in response to her having called her child "fat Fanny". Despite her reprimands, Emma nonetheless details the latest fashions of babies for her sister as well as describes shopping for gifts which would be sent with the next letter⁵⁹.

The beginnings of Emma's interest in the realm of education began with her mother's interest in the day schools in the Cape which were run by the various churches. There had been a shortage of qualified teachers and Mrs. Rutherford had taken it upon herself to volunteer, spending every Thursday at one of the largest schools, Mr. Lamb's School at Trinity Church in Harrington Street, which had approximately two hundred pupils. Emma and her sister Ellen both did their share at the same school and then later at the school in Claremont. It was through this work that Emma gained her training and affinity for work in education⁶⁰. It was also around this time that Emma began reading the book *Friends in Council* by Sir Arthur Helps in which there was a chapter on female education which she found to be quite engaging.

It is also in a letter to her sister, Mary, which one finds her first mention of "Mr Murray" as she briefly mentions him in passing after having returned home with Dr. Fraser from a trip to England where they protested against the relinquishment of the Orange River Sovereignty. In a later letter again one sees Emma speaking of Andrew Murray as being a man of large intellect and she comments on her hopes that he will find himself a good wife who will be able to be a companion to him. Emma also goes on to speak of her fears of becoming "moss grown" before her time. It would seem that Emma in her youth was no different from her later self in that idleness was most definitely not a state which she could endure quietly. At this stage of her life Emma kept herself busy with work at both the Village School at Claremont and the Admiralty House in Simon's Town. Emma, in fact, had taken on the task of aiding the principal of the Dutch Church School, Miss van Reenen, and her work in the other schools in the surrounding area⁶¹.

⁵⁹ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.56

⁶⁰ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.86

⁶¹ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.127

As Emma's acquaintance with Andrew Murray grew he became increasingly convinced that they should be married. Emma, in her hesitance to accept such a proposal so soon made the request that he should join her in Cape Town to discuss the matter in person. This was also to be a test of his devotion as it was a three week journey by cart from Bloemfontein, where Andrew lived at the time, to Cape Town. Emma tells Mary that her family seems to have made up their minds about what the conclusion of her association with Mr. Murray would be. Emma, however, had her reservations due to the short amount of time which they had spent together and she tells her sister that her letter requesting his visit had been written in a cool enough manner that Andrew shouldn't feel any trepidation in terminating their acquaintance, should that be his wish. However in her letter it does seem like she is slightly too prepared for her disappointment, should this be the outcome, which seems quite at odds with the dismissive air which she appears to be attempting to put on regarding the situation⁶².

Emma also seems fairly enamoured with Andrews's intellect and comments that she finds that she quite enjoys the ease with which he seems to conduct his theological and intellectual work to its utmost degree. She talks to Mary of her lack of reservation when it comes to the low minister's salary and comments, perhaps most notably of all, that she could not imagine herself being partnered with someone who had lower notions of women's mission than Andrew Murray⁶³. After three or so weeks Emma had a response from Bloemfontein which seems to have left her decided on the matter, and she began to prepare for Andrew's arrival and her acceptance of his proposal⁶⁴. Emma does however seem to initially have had some fairly romanticized ideas regarding missionary life and, in another letter from Andrew, he urges her to consider the less than ideal aspects of his work as well.

In the time following Andrews's decision to travel to Cape Town to meet with Emma, she gave the matter of marrying a missionary some serious thought and proceeded to write a letter to Andrew in which she comments on her trepidations regarding the matter. Within this letter there is far less

⁶² Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.139-140

⁶³ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.143

⁶⁴ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.145

of Emma's childlike enthusiasm to contribute to the field of mission, and she rather takes the matter of their marriage quite seriously. From Emma's impression of Andrew as a missionary one can make several assumptions regarding the view which the English inhabitants of the Cape had regarding the territory beyond the Karroo. Andrew, whilst the son of a missionary as well as the Dutch Reformed Church of Bloemfontein's minister, was not a missionary in an official capacity. This perhaps relates to the fact that he would travel to the scattered towns in areas surrounding Bloemfontein in order to preach to the inhabitants there. To one such as Emma who had been raised in the Cape, this lifestyle may have struck her as a form of mission work due to the small size of these towns, the quality of living within them, as well as the large distances between them⁶⁵.

In this letter Emma comments that her childhood wish to be a missionary had been lacking in consideration as well as an appreciation of what the job exactly entailed as she was, she states, enamoured with the romanticised concept of the adventure of a missionary who overcomes hardships in the pursuit of their passions. Emma shares her worries that she is completely unfit for such a life and requests that Andrew tell her what would be expected from her as well as what the trails would be if she were to take on the missionary life. To this end she tells Andrew to write her an essay on mission and on Bloemfontein. She comments that she feels that she is already fairly independent of society and, thus, the move to a new church and village would be less trying on her than it would have perhaps been on others as she is aware that her happiness depends on herself rather than on external influence. Some of Emma's enthusiasm then bleeds through and she states that she is eager to begin work on her new duties as well as to find some new usefulness in the capacity of a missionary⁶⁶.

Upon the sending of this letter Andrew had already departed for Cape Town and arrived after only thirteen days. One has an account of Emma's wedding from Maggie Stegmann, one of her bridesmaids and the daughter of Mr. Murray's uncle and the Lutheran Pastor of Cape Town, who describes the wedding ceremony in a letter to her cousin, Kitty Murray. The wedding was to be done in English within the Dutch Church of Wynberg. Maggie speaks of Emma in quite high

⁶⁵ Murray, J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.145

⁶⁶ Murray, J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.146-150

regard and comments that she is a kind and “gentle creature”⁶⁷. From this and her account of the family’s reception of them at the ceremony one can see that the Murrays were already quite fond of Emma.

Emma and Andrew then departed from Cape Town to Graaff-Reinet, where Emma met the remainder of Andrew’s close relatives who welcomed her to the family. They soon left for Bloemfontein where they would settle for several years before moving on to Worcester⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.162

⁶⁸ Murray. J. *In Mid-Victorian Cape Town: Letters from Miss Rutherford*. (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1968) p.164

CHAPTER 3: Andrew Murray

- A brief outline of his life and importance

For one to understand the person and accomplishments of Emma Murray it is vital that one also has an understanding of her husband, Andrew Murray, and the work which he did in South Africa. Emma's work and sphere of influence was closely linked to her husband and much of what she did was in her capacity as his partner in areas where he had been sent. For this reason the following will seek to give a brief summary of Andrew Murray as a person as well as his influence in South Africa with specific focus on his family life as well as his own upbringing as these factors influenced the manner in which he would later interact with Emma as well as his own interest in education of the youth of the country.

Andrew Murray, was born in Graaff-Reinet on the 9th May 1828. His father, who also went by the name Andrew Murray, was a Scotsman who travelled to South Africa from Aberdeen in 1822 and became the sixth minister of the Dutch Reformed congregation at Graaf-Reinet. The Murrays had for many years belonged for the most part to the Old Light Presbyterians (Auld Lights)⁶⁹. As time went on however the family split on matters of denomination and Andrew Murray senior went on to achieve the status of licentiate of the Church of Scotland. He, like his son, had a passion for mission and when in 1821 a call came from the Cape Colony which was in urgent need of ministers, he was keen to answer. Andrew Murray senior received training in Dutch in Holland where he remained for ten months before setting sail to the Cape⁷⁰. In the second year following his arrival Andrew Murray senior met Miss Maria Susanna Stegmann, the eldest child of the German descendant Johan Gotlob Stegmann, whom he went on to marry. Maria Stegmann had received a basic education but it is recorded that Andrew Murray senior enjoyed furthering this education and read books such as Rollins's *Ancient history* and Hume's *History of England*⁷¹ to her.

⁶⁹ A which was popular in eighteenth century Scotland among farmers

⁷⁰ Du Plessis. J.C. *The life of Andrew Murray of South Africa*. (Marshall Brothers limited. London. 1920) p.20

⁷¹ Dreyer. A. *Predikanten der Ned. Ger. Gemeente Worcester*. (No publisher listed. Cape Town. 1900) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G916] p.33-34

The couple's first child was born in 1826 and was named John. Andrew followed as the second son in 1828. Several of the younger siblings were William (1829-1899), Maria (1831-1912), Charles (1833-1904), Jemima (1835-1904), Isabella (1839-1927), James (1842-1914), George (1845-1921), Helen (1849-1937) and Elizabeth (1855-1937). Maria Stegmann found great pride in her children's achievements and her love for them is said to only have been equalled by their affection for her. Little is known of Andrew's childhood, however it seems as though he was an intellectual child and reflected his mother's bright spirits⁷².

Maria viewed her husband as a form of instructor and guide and he was more than happy to allow for the furthering of her instruction. Perhaps as a result of this furthering of her knowledge much later in her life, Maria began her children's education in reading and scriptural verses long before they were old enough to be sent to school⁷³. She also encouraged them to learn prayers and insisted on complete obedience during the times of prayer which they kept in their home⁷⁴. Maria also taught the shorter catechism to her children on Sunday afternoons. One event which is particularly telling with regards to Maria's character as a mother is found in an anecdote within the book *Unto Children's Children*,⁷⁵ where it is relayed that, in the face of one of her children having difficulties with Latin during their schooling, Maria taught herself Latin so that she could help them. Her thirst for knowledge as well as the role which she played in Andrew's own education contributed largely to how he approached women's education in the future as well as how he treated Emma as his partner. Maria Murray was also a fairly devout woman and it was common knowledge in her home that when the door to her rooms was closed she was not to be disturbed as she was focusing on her private devotions⁷⁶.

⁷² Du Plessis. J.C. *The life of Andrew Murray of South Africa*. (Marshall Brothers limited. London. 1920) p.32

⁷³ Du Plessis. J.C. *The life of Andrew Murray of South Africa*. (Marshall Brothers limited. London. 1920) p.33

⁷⁴ Neethling. M. *Unto Children's Children: Lives and letters of the parents of the home at Graaf-Reinet, with short sketches of the life of each of the children and a register*. (T.H Hopkins and son. London. 1909) p.65

⁷⁵ This book however should be taken as a form of hagiographical text. While it is a good source of information one cannot ascertain its complete truth in the finer stories such as the one relayed above. In the absence of any other information on Andrew Murray's mother however and in consideration of the large influence which she had on his attitude towards other women in his life, it has been included in this thesis.

⁷⁶ Neethling. M. *Unto Children's Children: Lives and letters of the parents of the home at Graaf-Reinet, with short sketches of the life of each of the children and a register*. (T.H Hopkins and son. London. 1909) p.65

At the age of nine Andrew and his brother John were sent to Aberdeen for their education where they both graduated at Marischal College. Following this, the two brothers travelled on to Utrecht where they furthered their theological studies as well as received qualifications in Dutch. During their time spent studying in Utrecht they formed the first student's missionary society at the college. In 1848 they returned to South Africa where the eldest, John, went on to become the minister of Burgersdorp, whilst Andrew, who had been ordained in Bloemfontein on his twentieth birthday, was sent to the Orange River Sovereignty in 1849 to serve as the only Dutch Reformed minister in the area⁷⁷.

During his time in Bloemfontein Andrew became familiar with the Voortrekkers and often visited the more nomadic farmers in the outskirts of the Orange Free State including special visits with the purpose of baptizing their children. On these visitations, the sermons would be held in the open and under tent sails which would be hung between the wagons. Farmers from the surrounding areas would flock to hear his sermons and he would perform several marriages and baptisms in one service. This continued for seven years and the constant travel and work combined with attacks of malaria broke down Andrews's health and eventually he was sent to Europe to recover. Upon his return he married Emma Rutherford and continued his work in the Free State until 1860 when he received a call to Worcester to be the successor of Rev. Henry Sutherland⁷⁸.

While in Worcester the revival which had spread across America and Great Britain reached South Africa and began in Andrew Murray's own congregation just six months after his arrival there. It was during his time spent here that he wrote many a devotional book which led to his name becoming all the more known in the country.

During his time at Worcester, Andrew Murray was chosen as the moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church for the first time and he worked in the struggle against the rationalistic teachings emanating from the Netherlands which arrived in South Africa during the 1860's⁷⁹. The, in 1864 a vacancy

⁷⁷ Dreyer. A. *Predikanten der Ned. Ger. Gemeente Worcester*. (No publisher listed. Cape Town. 1900) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G916] p.34

⁷⁸ Dreyer. A. *Predikanten der Ned. Ger. Gemeente Worcester*. (No publisher listed. Cape Town. 1900) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G916] p.34

⁷⁹ Dreyer. A. *Predikanten der Ned. Ger. Gemeente Worcester*. (No publisher listed. Cape Town. 1900) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G916] p.35

appeared in the Cape Town church and Andrew Murray accepted. However his health took a turn for the worse due to the immense strain of the workload of the collegiate system as well as the joint pastorate and he left the position to take charge of a smaller congregation in Wellington in 1871 where he remained working until he passed away in 1917⁸⁰.

During his time in Wellington he became interested in the education of women and assisted in the founding of the Huguenot Seminary for girls which later opened branches in Paarl, the Orange Free State and Natal⁸¹. Andrew Murray also took an active role in the mission work of the church and began a mission training college also in Wellington with the aim of educating young men to become missionaries and teachers. He was the chairman of both the Nyasaland and the South African general mission and worked closely with the Dutch Reformed Church to further both home and foreign mission work. Andrew Murray also founded three key organizations whose operation continued into the future long after his departure from their inner workings: the Ministers Missionary Union, The Bible and Prayer Union, and the Layman's Mission League⁸².

Due to the high demand of his work as well as the unrelenting passion with which he approached the tasks placed before him, Andrew experienced a series of health conditions. He contracted malaria several times and was also in more than one car accident. One particularly bad bout of illness left him unable to speak for an extended period of time and resulted in his work becoming all the more focused on the inner spiritual workings of faith⁸³.

Andrew Murray wrote many books over the course of his life and the large majority of them sought to interpret the scriptures in a manner which would allow Christians to experience the grace of God in a free manner. Arguably one of his most popular books, *With Christ in the School of Prayer*, takes the New Testament's teachings on prayer and relays them to the reader in the form of thirty

⁸⁰ Dreyer. A. *Predikanten der Ned. Ger. Gemeente Worcester*. (No publisher listed. Cape Town. 1900) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G916] p.35

⁸¹ This aspect of his work will be discussed further in-depth in a later chapter dealing with Emma's work alongside Andrew.

⁸² Ross. A.C. "Murray, Andrew, Jr." in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*. ed. Gerald H. Anderson (Macmillan Reference USA. New York. 1998) p. 481-82.

⁸³ Dreyer. A. *Predikanten der Ned. Ger. Gemeente Worcester*. (No publisher listed. Cape Town. 1900) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G916] p.35

one lessons with the intention of enabling the reader to move past the pitfalls of shallow prayer and into a fuller understanding of the work which God calls them to⁸⁴.

Now that the figure of Andrew Murray has been briefly described in the interest of context, the topic of the following chapter can return to the subject of this thesis, Emma Murray. Thus, the following will seek to provide an in depth examination of Emma's work alongside Andrew over the course of their travels, as well as her own independent involvement in societies and organizations. Her influence within the sphere of women's education will also be examined.

⁸⁴ Dreyer. A. *Predikanten der Ned. Ger. Gemeente Worcester*. (No publisher listed. Cape Town. 1900) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G916] p.35

CHAPTER 4: Emma Murray

- Work and Life following her marriage to Andrew Murray

Emma, following her marriage to Andrew Murray became all the more involved in his work and the fields relating to it. Although, they travelled around the country as well as overseas on multiple occasions, they remained grounded in only four locations: Bloemfontein, Worcester, Cape Town and Wellington. It is in these four towns that one finds Emma's work being recorded to a far greater extent, more likely than not due to her involvement with local women's groups who would be more inclined to have retained information regarding her, and not only on Andrew's work. The following chapter will examine Emma's movements over the course of her lifetime and then go into further depth regarding her life and work in these four areas which she called home in hopes of providing a greater insight into her person as well as the influence which she had on mission and education.

4.1 Marriage and beginning of partnership (2 July 1856)

Emma's life directly after her marriage to Andrew Murray will be examined in detail in the following, as well as some of her more notable contributions to Andrew's work. Their early days together in Bloemfontein depict their relationship as well as Emma's growth into the woman who would later largely aid Andrew in his work, as well as become a driving force in her own right in terms of education and women's mission. For this reason her "formative years" in Bloemfontein are discussed in slightly more detail with regards to her relationship with Andrew and his work.

Emma Murray's days as a newlywed in Bloemfontein are told largely through her letters to her mother and sister, Mary⁸⁵. Although one reads these letters some hundred and sixty years after their writing one can still see the emotion with which they were written, as well as the overall sense of the romanticism and sense of adventure which the world was painted in for the young Mrs. Murray.

⁸⁵ This section will once again make use of Joyce Murray's books in an effort to provide the primary information regarding Emma's first years with Andrew without the uncertainty created by the difficulties in reading the physical letters themselves.

The first glimpse of Emma as a married woman comes in the form of a letter which she wrote to her sister while still on the road to Bloemfontein. In this letter she speaks of her travels and details all she has seen with a sense of childlike wonder. She speaks of their walk on the hills near the silver mines as well as their visit to a farm in Paarl. Here one also sees Emma's first thoughts on the Dutch Reformed Church as she relays her experience of the first sermon which she attended with her husband. Emma comments that it was quite strange for her, having been raised in the Church of England, however she also mentions that the high point of the sermon for her came in the form of a hymn which was sung in the middle of the sermon to "wake people up"⁸⁶. This provides one with the first inkling of Emma's focus on the "human element" while Andrew was far more focussed on the spiritual dimension of his work. A small detail which leaves one with a reminder that Emma, while resilient in the face of her change in context and living conditions, was quite human, comes in the form of a crossed out "Rutherford" next to her name as she adjusted to now signing her letters as a Murray⁸⁷.

As Emma's journey continued they arrived in Graaff-Reinet and were met with a warm welcome from the Murrays. Andrew's family was all too happy that he had finally decided to settle and thus Emma was well received from their first meeting⁸⁸. Emma, by this point in time, also seems to have been met with the inhabitants of Bloemfontein's opinion of her husband and his tendency to be profligate in his spending. In a letter which was penned sometime after her arrival at the Murray residence, Emma defends Andrew and makes the clarification that it is not him who is extravagant but rather it is that others are far too stingy in their finances and do not understand the worth of quality goods. This is a theme which seems to follow in her speaking of her husband in later letters as well which reflects her loyalty to her husband.⁸⁹ Thus, one can see that, despite Emma's plans on being far more than a housewife, she remained within the common ideals of the time for one's wife so far as being loyal to one's husband and his decisions are concerned.

As they moved on from Graaff-Reinet their journey took them near Middelburg where they met with William and Isabella Murray, Andrew's brother and sister. As they moved on they came to

⁸⁶ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.10

⁸⁷ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.10-11

⁸⁸ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.16

⁸⁹ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.16-17

the Orange River, the crossing of which proved to be far less strenuous than Emma had feared due to the summer having left it depleted. In a letter which Emma writes at Fauresmith, the halfway point between the river and their destination, Emma comments that the Orange River symbolized something of a boundary which served to separate her from her old life and family in Cape Town. Despite the trepidation with which she writes here, Emma also comments that the crossing of the river would also deliver her into her new duties as a wife, which she was eager to begin⁹⁰.

The next day Emma arrived in Bloemfontein to her new home. Upon their arrival they were swarmed by visitors, all eager to meet the new Mrs. Murray. This may have come as quite a shock to Emma as, while her family had hosted its fair share of guests, there was no comparison to the open house which a minister was expected to keep here, and little rest was to be found for the travel weary couple upon their arrival. Emma's first few weeks in Bloemfontein were far from ideal, she relays. First there was the minister of Fauresmith, Mr. Roux, who Emma disliked due to her suspicion that he was guilty of leaving Andrew to do far more than his share of the work which they did together and, she comments in a later letter, was more suited to be a farmer than a minister⁹¹. Then came Mr. Vels, a Dutch attorney who resided with them for a short while and then travelled with Andrew further into the country. Maria Neethling, Andrews's older sister then took up residence in the Murray household while her husband travelled on. Maria in particular ignited Emma's annoyance at first as Emma had very specific ideas on how she planned to continue as her husband's partner rather than his housekeeper, and Maria had presumed to instruct her new sister-in-law on how to run her own house. Despite this however they became fast friends over the duration of her stay and remained friends until the ends of their days with frequent correspondence taking place between them⁹².

Due to the rush of new responsibilities, Emma's first letter home to her mother has little in the way of detail about her home, village or new acquaintances. Despite this however her writing rings with excitement at her new situation and the beginnings of her strong ties with the residents of her new village. Emma often makes mention in particular of how kind Dr. and Mrs. Krause, who lived

⁹⁰ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.19

⁹¹ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.24-25

⁹² Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.16

nearby, had been and that they had even offered to teach her how best to proceed in the upkeep of the mud floors⁹³.

In this letter home Emma also speaks for the first time of how her marriage to Andrew has been going. Emma makes the claim that the housework, of which there was plenty, was not the most arduous of her tasks as she had also taken responsibility for the health of her husband. She seems to have been in the midst of a continuing battle to keep Andrew from overworking himself, which she comments is her greatest anxiety. Emma seems to have found a method to deal with this however as she comments that “it will be a benefit that I am not strong”⁹⁴, as her requiring her husband’s attention seemed to be the only remedy to pull him from his work. In this one can see that even in the early days of their marriage Emma Murray was conscious of those around her, as well as completely dedicated to her decision to be Andrews’s companion rather than a background figure to keep his home⁹⁵.

The gusto with which Emma took to her new duties is also evident in this letter as she details how she taught one of their new African servants how to carry out new tasks. In this one can feel some of Emma’s frustration at the Dutch as a people. She comments that, after having closely resided with the Dutch for a short while, her opinion of their approach to housekeeping has not changed in the slightest. Emma elaborates that, despite having six servants she still did the majority of the work herself in the end, a situation which she quickly worked to rectify. Emma laments the lack of the Dutch women’s assertiveness when it came to allowing their servants to do their work rather than simply giving in and completing it themselves. The state of her new home upon her arrival, she comments, seemed liveable at first, but upon inspection was “dirty beyond belief”⁹⁶ with wallpaper which she had originally assumed was aged in reality being simply grimy. In response to this Emma began to bring the household to order, beginning with the cleaning of the house as a whole. Emma also mentions, in a letter which is slightly humorous to the modern reader, how she was slightly vexed at her husband’s shock that she was a fan of a neat household as he had apparently resigned himself to enduring a disorganized household due to her being literary. On

⁹³ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.17-19

⁹⁴ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.21

⁹⁵ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.21

⁹⁶ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein.* . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.22

top of the daunting task of establishing order in the household Emma was also kept busy with other tasks as she had been appointed the organist of the church, and was thus obligated to familiarize herself with the Dutch Psalms in her free time, as well as learn Dutch and maintain the house's books⁹⁷.

Despite her demanding daily life and her husband's dedication to his work, Emma and Andrew still seem to have made time to spend with each other. In the same letter home Emma details her daily schedule in which she and Andrew would pray and read scripture together each morning as well as read the *History of the Early Puritans* each evening. Emma also mentions their plans to begin reading *Neander's Church History* for an hour before dinner each day. In this one can see the intellectual nature of their relationship with their time together being spent on literary pursuits⁹⁸. As Emma goes on in her letter one is immediately given a contrast to her relationship with Andrew in the form of Dr. Krause, who wished to keep his wife "simple and childlike", as Emma puts it, and thus did not allow her to read much. To Emma this seems to have been somewhat of a let-down as she comments that it is difficult to speak with those whose ideas are limited⁹⁹.

Despite her hardships Emma comments that the residents of Bloemfontein had been nothing but kind to her and that they had offered to build them a larger home or, if nothing else, buy one for them. This came to pass in 1849 when the church brought a house and erf to serve as a parsonage. This house, Andrew writes in a letter to his brother, John, was planned to be one of the best in Bloemfontein after the renovations were completed. In the closing of her first letter home, Emma also mentions the beauty of her new home in Bloemfontein as she briefly describes the cornfields and sunsets as being a "brilliancy of light" which she had never witnessed before outside of Bloemfontein¹⁰⁰.

As the time came to move into their new residence, it was the garden which Emma found most enjoyable. Emma shared her passion for gardening with her mother and, thus, frequently wrote to her mother in great detail about the garden's progress and state. In the garden Emma grew a large

⁹⁷ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.23

⁹⁸ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.23

⁹⁹ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.24

¹⁰⁰ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.24

amount of fruit trees as well as plants whose seeds she had brought up from the Cape and planted with her husband. Joyce Murray, in her book *The Young Miss Murray goes to Bloemfontein*, comments that the Blue Gum trees which grew at the front of the property were planted by Andrew himself and were the first of their kind in the Free State¹⁰¹.

This concludes the examination of the beginnings of Emma and Andrews's partnership. Now the focus of this thesis will be shifted to the beginnings of her work alongside him in Bloemfontein as well as her work, contributions and influence in the other towns where they resided.

4.2 Bloemfontein (6 May 1849 — 28 April 1860)

As mentioned in the previous section, Emma's time spent in Bloemfontein with Andrew was of equal importance to her growth into the woman who would later go on to have a large influence in the roles of education and women's mission in South Africa, as was her childhood in Cape Town. For this reason, as well as due to the wealth of information on this time in her life, Emma's time in Bloemfontein and her growth there will be focused on in detail in the following chapter.

4.2.1 Bloemfontein in the mid to late-nineteenth century.

Following the above examination of Emma's life in the Cape, a brief description of Bloemfontein as it would have been at the time of Emma's arrival there will also be presented in order to present the contrast in lifestyle which Emma experienced after leaving the Cape. This will also be done with the goal of providing a background to several of Emma's difficulties as well as her responses to them. The piece will also give one a brief overview of attitudes to women's mission as well as their work in charity and the sphere of education during the time prior to Emma's birth as well as shortly following it.

In contrast to Cape Town, the Orange River Sovereignty, as it was then called, was a largely different setting. The area was comprised of four parishes; Bloemfontein, Rietpoort, Rietrivier and Winburg. The streets were in worse condition than those of the Cape and the residents were largely

¹⁰¹ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.25

remnants from the Groot Trek, with English being a predominantly ignored second language in favour of Dutch. Within this setting, both the people and the living conditions were largely different from that which Emma would have been accustomed to in the well-developed Cape¹⁰².

In 1856 Hamelberg wrote a piece in his diary on his first impressions of Bloemfontein as he entered the town. In his recollection the town is described as having been a small village which seemed bigger than it was due to the large distance between the houses of which there were only approximately one hundred. The houses struck him as seeming quite poor both in construction as well as residence compared to the grand estates of the Cape, with nearly all of them only being comprised of one floor. Due to the lack of facilities it is even commented that Andrew Murray had held some church meetings in the billiards clubhouse which was also where coloured children would meet to receive an education three times a week. The Roman Catholic service is described as having taken place with only a guitar with two strings, which was owned by Pastor P. Hoendervangers to serve as accompaniment for the songs. The town hall and other official offices were found in fairly inconspicuous houses which he comments would have been indistinguishable if not for the flag and the bell which both stood outside of the building. The area was also defended by a fort which held three guns on its roof and flew the national flag on Sundays¹⁰³.

Bloemfontein also contained several buildings reminiscent of the English style, however unlike in the Cape, these were not seamless inclusions into an every growing city, but rather notable deviations from standard style of the town's architecture, which served as a reminder of the time when they had been occupied by the English¹⁰⁴.

4.2.2 Emma's life and work in Bloemfontein

Andrew Murray writes in a letter to his brother John, the date of which one cannot be certain but it is assumed to have been somewhat around their moving into their new home, that Emma is

¹⁰² Muller. H.P.N. *Oude tyden in die Oranje-Vrystaat*. (E. J. Brill: Leiden. 1907) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B8227] p. 10-11

¹⁰³ Muller. H.P.N. *Oude tyden in did oranje-vrystaat*. (E. J. Brill: Leiden. 1907) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B8227] p. 10-11

¹⁰⁴ Muller. H.P.N. *Oude tyden in did oranje-vrystaat*. (E. J. Brill: Leiden. 1907) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B8227] p. 12

anxious to be useful and seems to enjoy her new home. The topic of her usefulness is one which gave Emma much to deliberate on. She writes again to her mother commenting that, while the household is now being run smoothly and no longer needs as much of her guidance, she is now privy to just how underequipped she feels herself to be in the face of her wish to turn the thoughts of the people away from their daily chores and immediate affairs, as well as to aid her husband in his work. Emma shares that the town was anxious to see what role she would play in the affairs of Bloemfontein¹⁰⁵. One major factor to which Emma felt she could contribute was found in the absence of an infant school which, in Emma's mind, was sorely needed. To the end of rectifying this Emma made plans to hold a working party to raise funds as well as to interest the mothers in the town in education. Emma, by this point had already convinced the town of the merits of establishing a Sunday School¹⁰⁶.

In a letter to her mother, Emma speaks of her plans to lessen her husband's burden of having to entertain and aid families who had travelled far for their baptism and yet were ignorant of the faith and thus were turned away. Emma also confides in her mother that she pities these people as Andrew was renowned for his difficult catechisms and thus wished to aid them. To raise these peoples' spirits as well as to make the task less strenuous on Andrew, Emma mentions her plan to host tea feasts in the schoolroom where pictures depicting biblical scenes would be exhibited so as to allow for the education of these people as well. She also planned for what seems to have been some form of a shadow puppet show with the aim of further educating these people. Emma does make the clarification that she in no way wishes for this to seem as though her husband was a poor teacher and her work was to serve as instruction in his stead, but rather simply as an aid to his teachings in order to sooth the difficulties as well as to console those who did not pass¹⁰⁷.

Emma seems to have been involved in the operations of the Sunday School far past its founding. She relays in a message to her mother that she was attempting to organize a small scale library in the Sunday School even though they had no shelves to use. One gains the idea that the quality of

¹⁰⁵ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.29

¹⁰⁶ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.29-30

¹⁰⁷ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.32

the sources which were available to them are more than worthy of being placed in a library in Emma's comment that "they are far too valuable for this village"¹⁰⁸.

Despite her enthusiasm to build up the Sunday School Emma worries in another letter to her mother that Andrew seems more worn out now than he has been over the course of their marriage and she fears that the added stress of the school may have been responsible. Although Andrew did not teach at the school, he was still responsible for its opening and gained little in the way of rest over the duration of his day. Emma, always up to a task, planned to rectify this by placing a couch in the vestry¹⁰⁹.

The first evidence which one gains of Emma's involvement in Andrew's work is found in this particular letter home as well. Emma begins by relaying that she is obligated to listen closely to her husband's sermons as he expects to hear her criticism. Emma then says that she told him it is fortunate that his congregation were "simple" and, thus, challenged him to use more plain speech. She then draws a comparison in her comment that, if given a congregation of intellectuals he would be in danger of becoming too "new" or whimsical as he is in their private conversations, which are littered with "wild interpretations" and symbolism. Once again one is given the picture of Emma's ability to keep up with Andrew on an intellectual level as well as his acknowledgment of this fact¹¹⁰. This perhaps gives one an interesting look into the way in which the Murrays viewed their congregants who, while equals in the eyes of God, as Andrew puts it in his work, there remains a form of prejudice regarding the levels of intellect amongst the congregants in more rural areas who they seem to depict as having been simple folk. It was perhaps due to this idea that the need for the Huguenot seminary for daughters of such rural families¹¹¹ was felt so strongly by Andrew and Emma¹¹².

¹⁰⁸ Murray, J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.36

¹⁰⁹ Murray, J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.37

¹¹⁰ Murray, J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.38-40

¹¹¹ The Huguenot Seminary be discussed more in depth in a later section.

¹¹² Unknown author, likely Ferguson. A.P however. Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]. No page numbers.

The beginning of the construction of Grey College took place on the 13th of October 1856. Sadly Emma's letter detailing the opening ceremony has been lost, according to Joyce Murray¹¹³. Despite this gap in our image of the event one can still gain some insight into Emma's experience of the college's founding from her later letters sharing Andrews's enthusiasm for the project. Emma relays in a letter that Andrew and his brother John were invested in the wellbeing of the children of the country and, thus, their schooling was of particular interest to them. One particular problem which Emma identified was the lack of books in their home language - she comments that Andrew's brother John's abridged Catechism as well as his *Kinderbybel* was of particular use. A translation of *Line upon Line* was well received and went on to have over three thousand copies distributed over the course of six months. At the same time a large majority of Andrew Murray's work took on the form of Dutch translations of English texts¹¹⁴.

The establishment and maintaining of schools was a particular difficult task in South Africa due to the scattered population. The majority of teachers who were available to work away from the centres were often old soldiers. In the search of a remedy for this Emma and her husband travelled to visit John in Burghersdorp where they discussed the possibility of importing learned individuals from Scotland and Holland to serve as school heads as well as missionary helpers¹¹⁵.

On another trip with Andrew, Emma became more familiar with the farming population of South Africa and found them to be a likeable people whose friendliness she praises in one of her letters. One element which seems to have soured her trip however was her meeting with the "Doppers¹¹⁶". Emma comments that they are a "dirty and obstinate race" and laments their lack of interest in Andrews's attempts to open their minds to New Testament teachings¹¹⁷.

Upon their return to Bloemfontein Emma found herself quite pleased with the progress which had been made with regards to the Sunday School and she writes about her class and her dedication to them. There seems to have been some difficulties however, firstly with the teaching staff who were

¹¹³ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.44

¹¹⁴ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.45

¹¹⁵ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.45

¹¹⁶ A conservative group within the South African Dutch Reformed Church in Transvaal, who were in opposition to singing certain hymns in church. This group became more exclusionary as the time went on.

¹¹⁷ Postma. W. *Doppers*. (Nasionale Pers. Cape Town. 1918) p.49

undertrained and, secondly, with Emma's worry for her husband and her wish to prevent him from overexerting himself. Emma seems to have found a remedy for this however, as she comments that she has decided to make a Mr. Roberts the superintendent in order to remove the need for Andrew's involvement¹¹⁸.

Sometime later in 1859 the unrest which had been boiling on the borders of the Free State and Basutoland¹¹⁹ escalated into fighting. Emma Murray, who had been hearing of the unrest since her arrival in Bloemfontein was understandably shaken. Despite this however, her husband's assurances that, in the case of a war, it was unlikely that Bloemfontein would be effected seem to have been enough to set her mind at ease and the conflict soon simmered down to some low scale raids¹²⁰.

Andrew Murray's work took him away from home and into the country fairly regularly and Emma was often left alone to manage the household. Despite this, Emma's motivation for her work never died down. In a letter, which does not have a clear intended recipient but which was most likely addressed to her sister, Emma comments that she has completely taken over the managing of not only the household's money, but also that which was gained from the sale of Hymn books and Bibles. Emma also conducted parish visits, especially among the English tradespeople who her husband ministered in English on Thursdays. She also held a school for *coloured's* three times a week with the aid of several of the other women in the town. Here perhaps one sees the beginning of Emma's mission work as she was adamant to continue teaching despite the disapproval of both the English and Dutch member of her community¹²¹.

Emma comments in a letter which was also penned around this time, that she was quite taken aback by the lack of interest and assistance that the majority of ministers' and missionary's wives displayed. She goes on to say that, while household care is important, the pastor cannot be expected to fulfil his duties as well as take a sufficient interest in their village and, for this reason, it fell to their wives to act as their partners and aid in the village work such as visiting homes and schools.

¹¹⁸ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.45

¹¹⁹ Now known as Lesotho.

¹²⁰ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.46-49

¹²¹ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.50

Emma seems to despair slightly at the lack of this due to their focus on their home which leads these women sometimes unable to even attend church services¹²². Here one can perhaps see the beginnings of Emma's drive to facilitate for the training of women within the church for various positions where they could contribute to the faith, largely within the field of mission work.

Here Emma details her work alongside Andrew. She states that she acts in the capacity of a clerk and organizes his documents and is depended on to do the financial books of the church. She seems to have been depended upon by Andrew to aid him in keeping his affairs in order and comments that some days she hears him calling for her help nearly every ten minutes¹²³.

The following Christmas came with exciting news. In a letter to her sister, Mary, Emma shares that she is pregnant and is due in April. She however admits that she does not picture herself as a mother and confesses that the news had not yet properly sunk in¹²⁴. Emma also continues to repeat here, as in many of her letters that her love for her husband has not in any way diminished her love for her sister. She also comments that Andrew has fully accepted her family as his own and often asks after Mary and her child¹²⁵. As the months went on Emma's approach to mothering seemed to be more philosophic than the enthusiasm which one would expect as she was keenly aware that the presence of a small child would somewhat hinder her work in the village, regardless of how proficient a nurse she was able to find. Despite these worries however Emma gave birth on the 20th of April to a healthy daughter¹²⁶.

There are few letters to be found of the following year, however it seemed to have passed relatively peacefully. One event of note during this time was the arrival of Catharine Murray, or Kitty as she was known by her family and friends, Andrews's fifteen year old sister who was to stay at the parsonage for several months. Emma comments that, while she got along famously, she felt that being responsible for Kitty's education during her stay was quite a responsibility. Emma also

¹²² Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.69

¹²³ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.70

¹²⁴ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.80

¹²⁵ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.81

¹²⁶ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.88-89

feared that she would be too quiet for Kitty's tastes but she found solace in the fact that Andrew would now have someone to ride the horses with now that she was unable to¹²⁷.

It was at this time that Andrew brought his family with him on a preaching tour. Emma and their child spent the majority of their time at the Rolland's in Beersheba while Andrew and Kitty went on to Burghersdorp and Aliwal North. Samuel Rolland had worked the fertile land of Beersheba and at the time of Emma's visit it was a beautiful village filled with fruit trees. Over the duration of her stay, Emma comments that she had wished that they had been missionaries so that they would have been able to gather members of the community around them due to the current situation feeling quite scattered to her. She also commented that Andrew would not be overly enthusiastic to hear these thoughts as he considered Beersheba to pale in comparison to Bloemfontein. As well as this, it would seem that Andrew had a fairly initial low opinion of the ability for the black populous to be preferable compared to the Dutch when it came to their understanding of his catechism classes. It is possible that he had a low estimation of their capacity to understand his sermons due to their lacking education, an issue which had already arisen among the typically more educated Dutch population¹²⁸. It is through this detail which becomes clear in Emma's letters regarding their initial travels to the outskirts of the Orange Free State on pastoral visits that the issue of education was becoming a more pressing concern for the couple¹²⁹.

Upon their return to Bloemfontein Emma immediately began to make preparations for their trip to Cape Town to attend the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church which convened once every five years. Although the task of embarking on the journey with a child of 5 months was a daunting one, luckily she had ample help from Kitty and her maid. For the Murrays the Synod was a fortuitous happenstance which would allow for a family gathering and the bulk of their family made their way down to the Cape. Emma's time in the Cape seems to have restored her spirits and she left for the trip back to Bloemfontein with a sense of resolution about her role as Andrew's partner, as she mentions in a letter which she compiled during their stay in Swellendam, that all is well between them and that she is more than happy to take on the burden of driving the cart while he

¹²⁷ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.91

¹²⁸ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.91-92

¹²⁹ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.93

reads to her¹³⁰. It was along their trip home that the news of the passing of Maggie Murray, Andrews's four year old sister, reached the couple. Emma writes to her Mother that their visit to Graaff-Reinet, where they were to spend Christmas, was to be a sad one. Emma does not mention much on this topic however the loss seems to have hit her hard as well and she comments on her sorrow for the Murray's loss¹³¹.

Upon their return to Bloemfontein Emma took up all her previous duties as Andrews's partner in his work. She mentions in a letter to Mary sent shortly after their arrival home that, in the interest of aiding her husband's work, she travels with him on his work trips as well as when he is simply fulfilling his tasks around the village. She also makes the comment that she is willing to give up anything to remain involved in his work and continue to be of assistance, even her child or "baby", as Emma referred to her in her letters¹³².

In the middle of 1857 Mrs. de Jongh Bloem opened her Seminary for women which offered a large variety of subjects ranging from languages to arithmetic and piano. There was also some trouble to be found at home for Emma in the form of the teaching staff at the Sunday School in Bloemfontein. "There are always difficulties in doing good". Emma comments in a letter to Mary in reference to these issues. Due to the opening of the new ladies seminary, the new teachers who had arrived in Bloemfontein could not be settled and, thus, had to be sent elsewhere. Emma laments this loss as well as the impact which it would have on the quality of schooling in the town¹³³.

Emma's coming days also would hold little of the serenity to which she was accustomed. In the March of the following year, President Boshoff declared war against the Basotho and drove them back into the mountains. In response to this the Basotho people conducted raids on the burghers' farms and homesteads, prompting them to break camp and rush to their homes' defence. In order to prevent further losses Boshoff requested aid from both the Colony and the Transvaal. The end

¹³⁰ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.101

¹³¹ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.112

¹³² Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.113

¹³³ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.116

result was two wars being waged against the Basotho which were only truly resolved in 1868 when Britain officially annexed Basutoland¹³⁴.

Emma wrote to Mary in the days following the war commenting that it would take years for the moral desperation caused by the war to mend. She also comments that she feels that the situation in India is largely similar to the current state of Bloemfontein and its surrounding areas. She also confesses to her fears as well as to her joy at the Boers' return to defend the village. Emma's concern for the people within the war is relayed as having been motherly in nature and is perhaps a reflection of her worries for her own children in the face of the conflict. The war however did not reach the Murrays in its entirety and soon Emma was busy once again with her work¹³⁵.

Emma's next correspondence which one has access to is a letter which was written in the early September of 1858 in which she shared her troubles with her family. In Bloemfontein it was no secret that Emma and Andrew were enthusiastic supporters of mission, however to her family in Cape Town this was cause for much anxiety and they often spoke in their letters of their worry for Emma's philanthropic feeling for "the Natives". Emma however comments that she feels much pity for these people and feels that they have been neglected and judged far too severely. She goes on to speak of the failings of the church as well as the Dutch people as more attention had been given to the border situation than to the people themselves. Emma also goes on to speak of the white hatred of the black population in terms of it being a curse on the people of South Africa and her husband's conscious effort to resist it¹³⁶.

Within this letter Emma also speaks against the English approach to the current issues plaguing South Africa. She comments that "much evil has been done by a mistaken philanthropy, looking only to the one side, seeing all missionary enterprise through the rosy colours of romance"¹³⁷. Emma goes on to say that there are faults in all humans, the Natives, Boers and missionaries alike. She is sad to report that the current way of dealing with these issues had taken the form of harsh judgments and reprimanding speeches which, to her mind, was not the way in which one should

¹³⁴ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.120-121

¹³⁵ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.124

¹³⁶ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.127-129

¹³⁷ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.129

combat evil¹³⁸. Emma ends this section of her letter with a fairly telling quote regarding the current state of affairs, as well as her standing amongst the locals:

*And now I have given my full position concerning a subject I venture not to write at home for fear of a torrent of abuse for my want of high philanthropic feeling. The fact is circumstance places me in a position where I see the faults of both sides... I wonder what you will think of my views, weather you will condemn me with the rest of the family, whilst in the village I am condemned for the opposite.*¹³⁹

Emma's life following the writing of this letter was fairly care-free and she and Andrew entered what would be their last year in Bloemfontein. In the beginning of 1859 Emma's family grew as she gave birth to their second daughter, Mary. Emma writes to her sister in the September of 1859 that she and Andrew have come up with the plan of taking over the role of superintendent and partner to ensure the moral training of the students of the school which they had built, due to them not having found a suitable individual to fill the position at the time of the school's opening. During the time which they had spent at the school Emma worried for the health of her husband in the face of the many strenuous duties which he had taken on, but remained hopeful that the work in the school would be mild enough to facilitate his recovery¹⁴⁰.

Over this course of this year Emma became all the more interested in her husband's literary pursuits which may have come as an extension of her interest in the education of the youth and the necessity of suitable reading matter to facilitate this¹⁴¹. Emma began to take an active role in the translation and writing of the books on which Andrew was working. She comments in a letter to her sister that she had become Andrews's amanuensis and had been enjoying the work.

As the year neared its end Andrew's health recovered somewhat and his drive to contribute to a wider sphere of ministry grew. He had become recognized by the Dutch church and was eager to contribute to mission work in the Transvaal. Emma too was enamoured with the idea of going to

¹³⁸ Murray, J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.120

¹³⁹ Murray, J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.130

¹⁴⁰ Murray, J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.138-139

¹⁴¹ Murray, J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.140

Natal as she had heard that the residents were an educated and civil people¹⁴². Despite their hopes however they were called to the Church in Worcester which it was eventually agreed upon would be the ideal location for an individual of Andrews's pastoral prowess¹⁴³.

Despite Emma's enjoyment of her work at the school, it had become too much for her to handle and she writes that they had not anticipated such a large number of students for the year. She felt as though she could not take charge for any more time without needing to neglect her children in favour of fulfilling her duties. Thanks to her husband's call to Worcester however, Emma was now able to leave her work at the school with little guilt¹⁴⁴.

In the January of 1860 Emma and Andrew departed from Bloemfontein and made their way to Graaff-Reinet where their paths would split for the following 3 months. Emma was to make her way to Cape Town while her husband was to return to Bloemfontein where he would make the final arrangements for their move. Despite her trepidations at leaving Andrew alone to take on such a task, Emma was glad to see her family before they were to depart for England due to her father's poor health and the next few months of Emma's life passed in relative peace with her family¹⁴⁵.

From Cape Town they travelled to Worcester where the couple would stay for four years before moving on to Cape Town in a permanent capacity. Emma's interest and involvement in her husband's work as well as her own interest in education would only grow as her days went on.

4.3 Worcester (27 Mei 1860 — 19 September 1864)

Emma and Andrew arrived in Worcester just as the "wake up of 1860"¹⁴⁶ was beginning to take hold of the population and she immediately took to the work which was required in the congregation alongside her husband. During their time here Emma gave birth to three more

¹⁴² Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.142

¹⁴³ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.142-143

¹⁴⁴ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.144

¹⁴⁵ Murray. J. *Young Mrs. Murray Goes to Bloemfontein*. . (A.A. Balkema: Cape Town. 1954) p.144-145

¹⁴⁶ Dreyer. A. *Predikanten der Ned. Ger. Gemeente Worcester*. (No publisher listed. Cape Town. 1900) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G916] p.25

children, Catherine Margret (12 August 1860 – 22 September 1928), Howson Rutherford (14 March 1862 – 1 March 1885) and Annie Jemima (31 May 1865 – 28 January 1866)¹⁴⁷.

While their time in Worcester was short and poorly recorded so far as Emma's involvement is concerned, there is one aspect of her contributions at the Worcester congregation which has remained in the mind of the inhabitants there through the years. Emma began to work with the women of the Worcester congregation in the same manner as she had in Bloemfontein. Emma's character was naturally motherly and she was said to have been a mother to all she met who were experiencing the revival and required guidance. Emma is also recorded to have felt the need to pray so intensely during a meeting of the women of the Worcester congregation that she was unable to remain silent. Through her prayer that day Emma is said to have woken up the motherly instinct to pray in all those who attended the women's meetings of her congregation and, it was through her work following this, that the "mother-prayer-meetings" began to take place in Worcester and continued long after she had left for Cape Town¹⁴⁸.

4.4 Cape Town (11 November 1864 — 1871)

In the November of 1864, Andrew and Emma traveled to the Cape following Andrews's appointment as the moderator of the Cape Synod. There is little information on their time there however and even less on Emma specifically. One possible reason for this could be the fact that, whilst by this time Emma already had several young children to look after which already would have been a time consuming task, she also gave birth to a further four: Isabella (31 May 1865 - 28 January 1866), Andrew Haldane (11 November 1866 – 16 September 1916), John Neethling (7 November 1863 – 1931) and Frances Helen (30 March 1870 – 1873)¹⁴⁹. While the caring for her children alone would have proven reason enough for Emma's lack of recorded involvement during this time period, two of her children also passed away in their early years which no doubt took a toll on Emma as a mother.

¹⁴⁷ Reyneke. K. *Andrew Murray nagslag: 1794-1996*. (no publisher listed. Pretoria. 1996) no page numbers.

¹⁴⁸ Spijker. A.H. "Memoriam of Emma Murray, beloved president" in *De gesiedenis van den Vrouensendingbond*. (1889-1906) p.25

¹⁴⁹ Reyneke. K. *Andrew Murray nagslag: 1794-1996*. (no publisher listed. Pretoria. 1996) no page numbers.

In the little information which is present regarding her time in Cape Town however, Emma is said to have worked alongside children and to have been closely tied to the operations of the children mission efforts. She worked at the Sunday School in Cape Town and is praised as having had a gift for leading those within the congregation in the nurturing of their spirituality by means of psalms and spiritual song. Emma is also described in her work with the children as having been of the most extraordinary tenderness when it came to her interaction with the youth, a quality which the author of the piece attributed to the manner in which she conducted her home life with regards to her close and loving relationship with her husband and children¹⁵⁰.

In an article which was published in the Cape Times one is given a unique view into Andrew and Emma's life through the eyes of Rev. F. C. Kolbe, who was often a guest of the Murray's while they resided in Cape Town. Kolbe defends his right to speak of Andrew Murray's private life in saying that feels that, in his capacity as a young man who was studying ministry, the Murrays took him in and treated him more as a son than a guest. The connection between him and the Murrays is more clearly depicted in his hope that they knew he loved the, even though he could never bring himself to say it as well as his declaration that if they had asked him to place his hand in a fire, he would have done it without question¹⁵¹.

In this article it is commented by rev. Kolbe that Andrew was in perfect harmony with his wife and their relationship was nothing less than one of love and understanding. He also speaks of Emma in the highest regard and comments that it is obvious to him why their marriage could have been so idealistic as she was a "gracious, womanly, wifely, motherly person that not to be in harmony with her would self-condemnation." What can perhaps also be taken as an indication of both Emma and Andrews approach to life and their work is found in the closing words of this article where Andrews's fondness for a quote from Aristotle is communicated. The quote in question deals with a definition of happiness and is as follows: "the fullest exercise of our highest energies in a congenial medium to the proportional end"¹⁵².

¹⁵⁰ Spijker. A.H. "Memoriam of Emma Murray, beloved president" in *De geschiedenis van den Vrouensendingbond*. (1889-1906) p.25

¹⁵¹ Kolbe. F.C. untitled Newspaper clipping from the Cape times on Andrew Murray after his death. (Cape Times: Cape Town. Undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 304]

¹⁵² Kolbe. F.C. untitled Newspaper clipping from the Cape times on Andrew Murray after his death. (Cape Times: Cape Town. Undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 304]

The task of managing the large Cape Congregation however prove to be too strenuous for Andrew Murray's health and, after a short time in the Cape, they moved to Wellington where the congregation, and subsequently, the work load, were much lighter. It was in Wellington that they would find their roots for the rest of their days.

4.5 Wellington (21 September 1871 — 20 February 1906)

During Emma and Andrews early days in Wellington they became well established among the members of the community and their home was busier than it had been before. The arrival of two more children: William Stegmann (23 August –1871 - 22 January 1872), who passed away while still an infant, and Charles Hugo (16 November 1873 – 23 July 1953) also added to the couples worries¹⁵³. Despite this, however, once they were settled in Wellington, both Andrew and Emma found the new environment to be agreeable and they began to focus on their work both in the ministry as well as other fields. It is this during this time period which we find the large bulk of information regarding Emma. It is also within this period in which her most notable contributions were made and, for this reason, the following chapter will seek to examine the most notable of institutions and organizations with which Emma was involved. These are, the Huguenot Seminary, the *Vrouensendingbond*, the Women's Temperance Union and the *Kinderkrans*.

4.5.1 The Huguenot Seminary

4.5.1.1 The Institution and its Founding

One of both Emma and Andrews's most notable achievements from their time in Wellington is the foundation of the Huguenot Seminary. The school was born from several perceived needs of the time as well as Emma and Andrew's experiences with the population. Thus, it is safe to say that the context from which the seminary arose is of the utmost importance when one seeks to trace the hand which Emma had in its foundation and operations.

¹⁵³ Reyneke. K. *Andrew Murray nagslag: 1794-1996*. (no publisher listed. Pretoria. 1996) no page numbers.

In a book detailing the history of Wellington, the Huguenot College is referred to as being one of the primary constituent colleges of the University of South Africa. At the time of its founding there were few educational institutions for the girls of the nation and, with this in mind, the founding of the college was hastened and it was recognized as a college in 1898, twenty four years after its founding as the Huguenot Seminary. The college has a unique history as it was founded with the primary intention of educating South African women, however it had always opened its door to male students too, more likely than not due to Emma and Andrews's inability to turn away any who were seeking educational instruction, especially in matters of faith¹⁵⁴. An example of this is seen in the opening of their home to those who had nowhere else to turn for ministerial training. Andrew had offered to train those who could not be accepted at a seminary for various reasons in their own home and Emma gladly aided in the caring for the young men who would take Andrew up on this offer and reside with them for several months at a time¹⁵⁵.

While he was reading into the life of Mary Leon, the founder of the Mount Holyoke Seminary in America, Andrew Murray was drawn to the conclusion that an institute that followed the same principles and structure would prove to be invaluable to the Cape Colony. The need for an institution such as the Huguenot Seminary was felt by Andrew and Emma, especially with regards to the children of the farmers who were scattered across the Colony and many were established in fairly isolated areas which rendered it difficult to gather their children for one school. It was for this reason that it was decided that the Huguenot Seminary would act as a boarding school for these girls who would need to be sent away from home for their education¹⁵⁶. The Colony also faced a shortage of qualified teachers and there was even a shortage of non-trained personnel who were willing to take on the task of teaching the Cape's youth¹⁵⁷.

¹⁵⁴ Unknown author. *Wellington opvoeding in Natuurskone, Historiese Wellington*. (NG Kerk. Wellington. 1940) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G1078] p. 13

¹⁵⁵ Kolbe. F.C. untitled Newspaper clipping from the Cape times on Andrew Murray after his death. (undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 304]

¹⁵⁶ Unknown author, likely Ferguson. A.P. Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]. p5

¹⁵⁷ Ferguson. A.P. Huguenot seminary journal. Huguenot Seminary. (1873) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622]. p3

Thus, in 1872 when the idea was proposed to erect a monument in honour of the French Huguenot refugees, it was commented that the institute itself could be the monument and provide a means by which the refugees would be honoured and remembered as well as serve as a continuous blessing to their descendants as well as the rest of the country. This idea was received with many favorable opinions and in the November of the same year a letter was sent to Mount Holyoke by Andrew in which he requested aid which was granted in the form of the support of two of its teachers - Miss Ferguson and Miss Bliss who were preparing to sail from America the following year¹⁵⁸.

In a Huguenot Seminary report which was sent it out in 1881, the history and the purpose of the institution is described to the reader. The seminary is described as having been designed for the daughters of the Boers who were of French and Dutch decent and were expected to compare “favourably with the young ladies in our boarding schools in America and England”. The author also comments that the students were white and entirely of European descent¹⁵⁹.

The seminary was formally opened on 19 January 1874¹⁶⁰ and it is commented in the seminary’s journal that the on evening following the opening that “...our family consisted of thirty seven”¹⁶¹. This comment lends one an eye to the view which the Murrays and the other workers at the seminary had to the institution. The Huguenot Seminary was viewed as more than a school, it was seen as a place where the attendees and workers would form lasting bonds. Emma’s influence was no doubt central to this in her maternal nature as well as her convictions regarding the importance of family and her will to aid others, especially the youth¹⁶².

¹⁵⁸ Ferguson. A.P. Huguenot seminary journal. Huguenot Seminary. (1873) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622] p.4

¹⁵⁹ Unknown author, likely Ferguson. A.P. Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p.6

¹⁶⁰ Unknown author, likely Ferguson. A.P. Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p.7

¹⁶¹ Ferguson. A.P. Huguenot seminary journal. Huguenot Seminary. (1873) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622] p.4

¹⁶² Ferguson. A.P. Huguenot seminary journal. Huguenot Seminary. (1873) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622] p.4

The first hour of each day at the seminary was dedicated to religious instruction and prayer. However, one interesting aspect of the seminary is that it does not seem that all of the girls who were in attendance were Christian. One particular indicator of this is found in the Huguenot catalogue where the author recounts the story of a young girl who, when sent away to pray, reported that she had felt as though she had walked into the presence of God. The author goes on to comment that the girl had been an atheist at the time of her enrollment and takes hope in the student's conversion¹⁶³. The author of the catalogue also continuously mentions that meetings were held "for those who belonged to the Lord" or those who "knew the Lord"¹⁶⁴. From this use of language one can assume that there were those in attendance at the seminary who perhaps were not familiar with Christian teachings or who did not count themselves as Christian. Another possibility could be that nominal Christianity was the default for all the population of South Africa, but that an inner conviction was much rarer, and encouraged by these types of ventures.

As the school year continued at the seminary, it was recorded that an increasing number of students asked what they needed to do in order to be saved and a keen interest in both their school work as well as the gospel was nurtured. The students were also proven to excel in the government elementary teacher's exam, which took place twice a year to determine if one was fit to become an educator, as even students who did not wish to go into teaching completed the exam simply to hold the prestigious degree¹⁶⁵.

Emma's organization of Church bazaars during her time in Bloemfontein proved useful during her and Andrew's time in the Cape as the seminary held a large fundraising bazaar in the November of its first year, the planning of which it is highly unlikely did not include her efforts. A factor in this conclusion is found in the constant assistance which was received by the Wellington congregation who are referred to as "our friends in Wellington" (this may have been a direct reference to the Murrays but it is unlikely as it is specifically farmers who are mentioned to have given aid) in the organization and their continued aid in both the planning of the bazaar as well as

¹⁶³ Unknown author, likely Ferguson. A.P. Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p.8

¹⁶⁴ Unknown author, likely Ferguson. A.P. Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p.9

¹⁶⁵ Ferguson. A.P. Huguenot seminary journal. Huguenot Seminary. (1873) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622] p.4-5

the suppling of the institution with fresh produce. This was perhaps a result of Andrew and Emma's connections there as it is mentioned of Emma in a commemorative book of the *Vrouensendingbond* that all who knew her were her friends and that any letters which she sent out where received favorably, even when requesting aid¹⁶⁶.

The beginning of the school year in 1875 saw an influx of sixteen younger students who, due to a lack of sufficient housing, were taken in at the parsonage by Emma and Andrew Murray who were happy to offer accommodation for the young girls. Andrew Murray had also written to Holland with a request for a Dutch teacher and Miss Spyker, who would later join Emma in her involvement with the *Vrouensendingbond*, was sent¹⁶⁷.

It was in this year that the seminary reports that they sent out their first missionary: Miss Johanna Meewsen, who had felt the call to go work in the Transvaal with the African people. It was hoped that, with more and more reports of her good work, that there would be an increasing number of girls who would also feel called to follow her in mission after their time at the seminary. While it is difficult to confirm, there is a good chance that this former student of the seminary had joined Mary Murray in the Transvaal, where she was serving at the time¹⁶⁸.

Over the course of the year many additions were made and the seminary grew larger to the point of having the facilities to support the fifty pupils who would board there. While not explicitly mentioned or praised in the journal, as was likely Andrew's preference, it is noted how his address at the opening ceremony of the seminary's facilities, was powerful and swayed the children and it is commented that "every little heart seemed touched and moved, and then they followed in prayer, repeating his words as if it came from their hearts"¹⁶⁹. This seems a far cry from the Andrew which one hears of in Emma's letters in Bloemfontein who struggled to make his sermons

¹⁶⁶ Ferguson. A.P. *Huguenot seminary journal*. Huguenot Seminary. (1873) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622] p.6

¹⁶⁷ Ferguson. A.P. *Huguenot seminary journal*. Huguenot Seminary. (1875) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622]. P22-23

¹⁶⁸ Ferguson. A.P. *Huguenot seminary journal*. Huguenot Seminary. (1875) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622]. P23

¹⁶⁹ Ferguson. A.P. *Huguenot seminary journal*. Huguenot Seminary. (1875) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622]. P24

understandable, even to adults who resided in the more rural areas of the country. It would seem that he perhaps took his wife's advice at the time to heart with regards to the manner in which he presented speeches and sermons regarding the gospel¹⁷⁰.

In the second half of 1875 it is recorded in the journal of the seminary that Miss Ellie Murray (Helen), Andrews's young sister who had resided with them for a time while attending the seminary, was to set off to Graaff-Reinet where she was to work as a teacher and aid the opening of a new school there¹⁷¹. From an examination of this journal's entries, it also seems that Emma had been more involved in the Huguenot Seminary's operations than many of the more official accounts of the seminary imply. Some of the letters which served as the Huguenot journal and were published in hopes of fund raising as well as the drawing of more teachers to the school seem to have been written by Emma¹⁷². The level of firsthand knowledge of the school's working as well as the events and people which were connected to the institution speaks of the author's deep involvement with the seminary on far a deeper level than that of an observer. Within these journals, which are thought to have been written by Emma, there is also a shift to the author referring to the seminary more often as being a family than before where only a handful of such comments were found. If this is indeed Emma's work then this would correspond with the sentiments which one could perhaps expect from one who had taken so many of the students into her own home and would also lend insight once again to Emma's familial approach to mission and education¹⁷³.

In 1878 the question of women missionaries was raised at a meeting of the Huguenot Seminary and the following question was raised: "why may we not have a women's board of missions, and send out missionaries, perhaps from our own number, whom we shall support in work?"¹⁷⁴ It was

¹⁷⁰ Ferguson. A.P *Huguenot seminary journal. Huguenot Seminary.* (1875) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622]. P24

¹⁷¹ Murray. E. *Huguenot seminary journal. Huguenot Seminary.* (1875) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622]. P24-25

¹⁷² While the letters are not signed the hand writing and the tone of the Huguenot journals which are being spoken of here correspond greatly with Emma's other letters. The dates of the matters writing also corresponds with the time which Emma and Andrew spent at the seminary.

¹⁷³ Murray. E. *Huguenot seminary journal. Huguenot Seminary.* (1875) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 622]. P26

¹⁷⁴ Unknown author, likely Ferguson. A.P. *Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues.* (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]. P12

on the discussions of this meeting that the Huguenot missionary society was formed¹⁷⁵. This organization is one which will be examined in greater detail in the next section of this thesis due to Emma and her daughter's large involvement with the Huguenot missionary society and the organizations which were formed from it.

Following Andrew Murray's death the Huguenot Seminary published a piece in their quarterly newsletter in which he is remembered with the utmost fondness. It is commented within this letter that Mr. and Mrs. Murray always made the girls feel at home and as if they were a part of their family. It is also mentioned that Mrs. Murray had read the story of Mary Lyon with her husband and together they had decided that "this is what we want for our girls"¹⁷⁶. This once again displays the partnership between Emma and Andrew with regards to their work, especially in the realm of education. It is even commented in another newspaper that the Murrays were "the soul of the seminary"¹⁷⁷.

During a public meeting held for the election of a committee for the girls' public school on August 29 1899 the relation between the girls' school of Wellington and the Huguenot Seminary was discussed and the uniting of the two bodies was proposed. Within the statement given by Andrew Murray regarding this several points were raised which gives one insight into the vision which the Murrays had for the seminary as well as education in the Cape as a whole. He then proceeds to list points regarding why the two institutions should be joined¹⁷⁸.

Within this it is mentioned that the Huguenot Seminary was founded as a boarding school and remained only open to the boarders. One reason given for this is due to its function as a religious institution and thus exclusivity was a given due to the freedom regarding its choices of admission as well as the treatment of its pupils. For three years following its founding, the seminary functioned in this manner and had little to no connections with the village's school or the other children in the village. The village school however was quite small and lacked facilities and staff

¹⁷⁵ Unknown author, likely Ferguson. A.P. *Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues*. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]. P12

¹⁷⁶ Ferguson. A.P. *Huguenot newsletter*. (Wellington. No date) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]

¹⁷⁷ Ferguson. A.P. *Huguenot newsletter*. (Wellington. No date) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]

¹⁷⁸ Unknown author, likely Ferguson. A.P. *Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues*. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]. P13

and thus requested that the seminary take charge of it and its pupils as well as give the students access to the higher quality of education which was provided in the seminary. To this request the seminary had responded favorably under a series of conditions all regarding its power in terms of the election of officials and control of funds. This agreement however began to break down and the seminary began to propose a return to its previous exclusionary operation. If this was to come to pass however, the public school would not recover as it now had 30 students which were not boarders at the seminary, and lacked facilities for them which previously would have been provided by the seminary. Due to these factors, the committee of the Huguenot Seminary submitted a plan for approval. This plan revolves around the fact that a separate committee formed with members of the seminary as well as a few members chosen by the community take charge of the girl's school and that it should continue on an equal footing¹⁷⁹.

In response to this the department of public education sent a letter which detailed its favourable stance to the plan granted that four nominated seminary members as well as three members of the public's names be presented post-haste. Among the nominated seminary members was Andrew Murray as well as W. J Malan¹⁸⁰. The plan went forward and, in another entry into the journal detailing a meeting in October of 1901, the committee seems to be functioning well, as there as plans being put into motion for the construction of a school as the raising of funds for the venture is mentioned¹⁸¹.

Andrew Murray made the comment that “the Huguenot university college exists because it could not help it. It is in Wellington because it would not be elsewhere. It is the natural outgrowth of the Huguenot Seminary”¹⁸². In this one can see that there had truly been a need for such an institution. One then must ask the question, when faced with such a prolific girl's school, what was the stance the seminary had on women's education in general as well as what form the education took. Such

¹⁷⁹ Unknown author, (likely Ferguson. A.P). Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]. P.48-50

¹⁸⁰ Unknown author, (likely Ferguson. A.P). Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]. P.49

¹⁸¹ Unknown author. “Notes of public meeting held for the election of a committee for the girl's public school on 29 August 1899” in *Huguenot Seminary notes*. (1877-1917) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 638] p.39

¹⁸² Pages found within Newspaper Clippings on the Huguenot College and seminary Wellington. (Cape Town, no date). [NGK Archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 633]

an examination gives one insight into the workings of the institution, as well as the viewpoints of those who were involved with its operation and founding, regarding women in the nineteenth century and their roles in society¹⁸³.

4.5.1.2 Women's Education within South Africa in Relation to the Huguenot Seminary

In the wake of the Anglo Boer war, and the debate which had stemmed from it, there were many concerns regarding the raising of education levels among the white middle-class women as well as the growth of the professional female middle-class. Both issues culminated in the rise in awareness and global interest in women's franchise and influence¹⁸⁴.

Along with these changes came much anxiety and, thus, a new attention was given to the "proper" place and function of middle-class women. New questions on what level of education is appropriate for women and to what extent the traditional roles of domesticity should accommodate for arose out of this and took a place in the ponderings of the media¹⁸⁵. The Huguenot Seminary was not exempt from these ponderings. The seminary drew attention and was accused of eccentricity in its desire to provide as thorough an education as possible to young women. Despite this however it gained praise in the late 1890's for its "respectability" as an academic center, although what "respectability" may have meant at the time is up for debate due to the still rigid understanding of what it might mean for one to be a "proper" woman.

The origins of the idea of the "proper" women is difficult to trace. The term is also quite difficult to define in exact terms. A particular pitfall in the attempts to define the roles of nineteenth century women is explained by Simon Daghut in his work focused on South African women in the later nineteenth century in which he comments on the issue of portraying women as "little more than doughty 'settlers' wives'" or as "helpless women who are chained to their femininity"¹⁸⁶. Edna

¹⁸³ Unknown author. *Huguenot Seminary Report and Catalogues*. (1874-1881) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]. P.49

¹⁸⁴ Walker. C. *The women suffrage movement in South Africa*. (New Africa Books. Cape Town. 1991) p.19-21

¹⁸⁵ Showalter. E. *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin De Siecle* (Bloomsbury, London, 1991) p. 3-5

¹⁸⁶ Daghut. S. "Gender, colonial 'women history' and the construction of social distance: middle class women in later nineteenth century South Africa", in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26:3 (Routledge: Cape Town. 2003), p. 76-79

Bradlow, in work focusing on the lives of women in the Cape during the eighteenth century, commented on the lives of women in the Cape and came to the conclusion that they experienced a form of domesticity similar to that of their counterparts in metropolitan Europe¹⁸⁷. In contrast to this Marijike du Toit states that there is reason to believe that despite the number of sources on Afrikaner femininity, there is reason to believe that Dutch-Afrikaans women in rural areas had relative freedom as they worked alongside their husbands in the management of the farmland and households¹⁸⁸.

This however does not mean that the idea of femininity being promoted in schools was completely discarded. The Annals of the Good Hope Seminary from 1897 and 1898 listed the marriages of their past students under the academic achievements of the institute¹⁸⁹. While the Huguenot Seminary did not go to this extent there remained an air of the understanding of a women's role being in the home. Many of the articles which support these ideas of femininity came from teachers employed at the seminary, such as Ferguson and Bliss, as well as alumni and students who had placed in essay competitions. One such article wrote that "a girl going back to her home will look upon it as a sacred duty and privilege to do what she can to help the mother... and that she will become proficient in all that a women should know of the art of making a home pretty and attractive, and also learn to cook and make her own clothes."¹⁹⁰ Despite this, however, there remained a feeling that educated women had a larger spiritual duty. In several passages which deal with this topic themes of self-sacrifice and self-denial appear with relation to the first decade of the seminaries operation¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁷ Bradlow. E. "Women at the Cape in the mid-18th century", in *South African Historical journal*, 19 (Routledge: Cape Town. 1987). p. 51-67.

¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁸ Duff. S.E, *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.6

¹⁸⁹ Unknown Author. Good Hope guild, Annual report (Van de Sandt de Viliers and Co, Cape Town 1897) p. 11-13; Unknown Author. Good Hope guild, Annual report (Van de Sandt de Viliers and Co: Cape Town. 1898) p. 5-7. As quoted in Duff. S.E, *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.6

¹⁹⁰ Unknown author. "A talk to the Old Girls", *magazine of Huguenot High School, Paarl*, (Publisher not listed. November 1908), p.7. As quoted in Duff. S.E, *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.7

¹⁹¹ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.9

The education of women was thus justified by means of stressing the greater good to which educated women could contribute with regards to the white population. This idea is adequately summarized in a poem titled, *A College Student's Advice to Mothers*:

*If famous the men, sure, then, famous the wives,
And the fate of our country depends on their lives;
If thoughtful the mother, then thoughtful the child,
For they through this learning grow gentle and mild.*

*Educate your daughters, for queens they must be:
Queens to the world, to you and to me;
If not, then allow me to make this bold stand –
You love not your daughters, you love not your land!*¹⁹²

As can be seen relayed in this poem, a women's true merit lay in her role as a wife and mother as she is in a position of influence over her husband and it is her responsibility to train the next generation of leaders and figures of power. As a result of this the matter of women's education being of a sufficient quality became an issue of national concern. The circumstances under which this poem was written also carries some interest as it was written only two years before the Union of South Africa was formally declared and, thus, carries tones of American late eighteenth and early nineteenth century post-independence thought which was dubbed "Republican Motherhood"¹⁹³. This ideology can be linked with the idea of the *Volksmoeder* which emerged during this period to view Boer women as not only responsible for their homes but also as mothers of a nation.

Women who did not marry and bear children were not exempted from this ideology and their independence in this matter was excused by means of their devotion to education of the "less

¹⁹² Rossow. P. "A college students advice to mothers", *The Huguenot*, 14 (No publisher listed. 1908), p.13 as quoted in in Duff. S.E, *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.6

¹⁹³ The idea of women's political contribution being predominantly channelled through maternity is depicted in: KleinBerg. S.J. *Women in the United States, 1830-1945* (Rugters University Press. New Brunswick. 1999) p.60

deserving”¹⁹⁴. This was by no means a comfortable life however and the women who chose to teach over running a household are described as requiring extreme self-discipline in the face of the mighty task of catering for the youth’s education. Despite the independence which was gained by these women in their work, their role was nonetheless described as being subservient to the higher power of God, even in the case of secular education¹⁹⁵.

In the 1890’s the Huguenot Seminary converted into a college and made the transition from a mission-based religious training institute to a modern college. With this new direction the Huguenot College began to employ greater numbers of women holding formal degrees from tertiary institutions, usually in America. This was a jump from the existing teachers of the Huguenot seminary during the 1870’s and the 1880’s who had only graduated from a women’s institution which offered teachers’ training or had worked as pupil-teachers prior to their appointment at the seminary¹⁹⁶.

This move to becoming a secular institution also influenced the values which the Huguenot Seminary had previously been built upon as Ferguson writes in a letter in 1899. Ferguson shared her concern over this shift of principles and commented that they were not completely in consensus on what the most important aspects of their work were. The new educators would replace the time which was previously designated to silence and prayer with study due to placing priority on “the interests of the Kingdom”¹⁹⁷. With this shift a more professional attitude emerged as can be seen in the work of Elizabeth Clark, a member of the staff at the college, who advocated for an increase in availability of secondary and tertiary education. Unlike her predecessors, Ferguson and Bliss, Clark did not justify this call from a religious standpoint but rather from the point of view that it was no stranger for a women to receive a tertiary education than it was for men to¹⁹⁸. Thanks to this new ideology of the younger generation of teachers some dissatisfaction emerged with regards

¹⁹⁴ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.10

¹⁹⁵ Le Roux. S. “Why Should Girls Go to College?” *The Huguenot*, 11 (No publisher listed. 1905) p.22

¹⁹⁶ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.11

¹⁹⁷Ferguson. A.P. Letter to Maggie Allen on 21 March 1899 to Wellington. [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-Div 615]

¹⁹⁸ Clark. E.M. “Abstract of a paper on the higher education of women in South Africa”, in *Papers on Cape education, Read before the British association* (J.C. Juta, Cape Town, 1905), p. 18-29

to the conflicting previous ideology for the college which rested upon the higher cause of missionary training for women¹⁹⁹

The concern at the time was that education would transform the girls into “manly women” and render them unfit to fulfil their social roles later in life. This line of thinking was by no means unusual for the time and is reflected in many a paper authored in those years which dealt with higher education. In the nineteenth century notions of middle-class womanhood were focused on the woman’s ability to bear children and, thus, when women who were educated often did not marry or chose to delay having children they were, in the eyes of the time, fighting against their “natural” role in life. Due to this correlation a link was drawn between the institutions of higher education and the change in women to adopt “manly” aspirations and thought patterns. This conception placed a large weight upon the female teachers of these institutions who were now required to assuage the doubts regarding tertiary education and femininity’s coexistence²⁰⁰. Due to this, young women who were enrolled in academia were forced to dress in “proper” attire for a young lady and they were kept from activities which were considered unfitting such as running on the sports fields and being in contact with “unsavoury” men (as classified by their teachers)²⁰¹.

This, however, does not imply full separation of the sexes as men were allowed to enrol at the college and the older girls were also permitted to correspond with young men²⁰². It is for this reason that one could perhaps attribute the limiting of male company on a desire for the girls to mingle with boys who were also deemed to be “proper” and not a hatred of men or any notions of exclusionary ideology with regards to the girls²⁰³. One also should not read into the resistance

¹⁹⁹ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.13

²⁰⁰ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.14; C. Smith-Rosenberg. *Disorderly conduct: visions of Gender in Victorian America* (Oxford university press, New York & Oxford. 1985), p. 182-184.

²⁰¹ Delmont. S. “the Contradictions in Ladies’ Education”, in *The Nineteenth Century Women: Her Cultural And Physical World* (Croom Helm. London. 1978), p. 144-150.

²⁰² Ferguson. A.P. Letter to Maggie Allen on 11 November 1884 to Wellington. [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 615].

²⁰³ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.15

against allowing the girls' free reign to "romp"²⁰⁴ on the sports fields as being a limiting of the girls' physical needs. Physical exercise was in fact employed as a means by which the argument that education led to a failing of health in women was combatted. The girls at the college were prompted to take part in compulsory exercise which came in the form of tennis, basketball and hockey²⁰⁵. Scandinavian therapeutic exercises²⁰⁶ were also part of the curriculum and was viewed to be just as central to mental health as it was to physical health²⁰⁷. An article which was published in 1897 linked these two ideas and commented that the "modern woman" was now measured by her physical ability. The article went on to comment that in previous years a girl would have fainted in the face of a snake whereas the modern woman would catch the snake for examination²⁰⁸.

These efforts to reconcile the traditional conception of femininity and the professionally educated woman resulted in the achievement of an alternate understanding of women who chose to apply themselves to higher education. This understanding was unique for the time as it did not rely on religion or on the ideal of the woman being the prize of a household. In this a form of female independence was born from these new conceptions with the conception that, through education, a professional woman would not find herself bowing to anyone's authority. Despite these optimistic notions of independence, a women who worked within the realm of education was not completely free of society's expectations. A teacher was expected to remain single for the duration of her work, after which she would marry, quit her job and devote herself wholly to her household duties. Thus, the time which a women spent at college, while graced with relative freedom, was viewed simply as a developmental period in her life and was considered as not much more than a means to an end²⁰⁹.

Alongside this a new aspect of the popular conception of the life of a "modern woman" was brought to the fore in South Africa. This new conception was connected with the idea of the "new

²⁰⁴ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.15

²⁰⁵ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.15

²⁰⁶ Scandinavian therapeutic exercises were similar in nature to modern day aerobics.

²⁰⁷ No Author. *Calendar of Huguenot Collage and Seminary*. (1904-1905) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. p.10

²⁰⁸ F. Lawton, "Our Seminary Athletics". In *The Huguenot Seminary Annual*, 3, (1897), p. 26.

²⁰⁹ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.16

woman” which had risen in Britain and America in the final decades of the nineteenth century. The formation of higher education institutes for women had prompted a liberalising of laws revolving around the status of women, and these women began to define themselves as working women as opposed to wives and mothers.²¹⁰ These women strove to be deliberately unconventional (they rode bicycles, refused to wear corsets and bustles), entered the business world and joined political organizations²¹¹. Within the *Huguenot Annals* there is only one article on the ideal of the “New Woman”, however it was written by Maggie Ferguson, Abbie Ferguson’s niece, and was more likely than not reviewed by Miss. Ferguson herself, and thus can perhaps be considered to have been a larger underlying influence than the lack of material suggests. This article titled *Our Place as Teachers* speaks out for women becoming active participants in life rather than passive actors only filling their roles through their husbands and fathers. Within this article women are prompted to learn to utilize logical thought for themselves and teachers were encouraged to spread the notion of independent and creative thought wherever they went. Maggie Ferguson makes the claim that a woman must “no longer be willing to be a mere consumer, she must also be a producer.”²¹² Despite this fairly idealistic outlook she remained aware of the struggles which came with such an ideal. In the same article she commented on this and the handicaps which stem from “absurd old ideas”²¹³ and urged women to recognize their responsibilities not as a wife but as a human being²¹⁴. There is also something of this old way of thinking in her writing however as she moves to speak of women’s natural inclination to love children thus rendering the work of teaching as being almost biologically suited to the feminine sex²¹⁵.

At the same time however the idea of the “college girl”²¹⁶ of America found favour among the Huguenot students. It would be erroneous to say that the students identified with the ideal in

²¹⁰ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.16; Smith-Rosenberg. C. *Disorderly conduct: visions of Gender in Victorian America* (Oxford university press, New York & Oxford. 1985), p. 182-184.

²¹¹ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.17

²¹² Ferguson. A.P. “Our place as Teachers”, in *Huguenot Seminary Annual*, 1, (1895), p.30

²¹³ Ferguson. A.P. “Our place as Teachers”, in *Huguenot Seminary Annual*, 1, (1895), p.30

²¹⁴ Ferguson. A.P. “Our place as Teachers”, in *Huguenot Seminary Annual*, 1, (1895), p.30-31

²¹⁵ Ferguson. A.P. “Our place as Teachers”, in *Huguenot Seminary Annual*, 1, (1895), p.30-31

²¹⁶ This was the name which was linked with the celebration of a young women’s life within college which was made popular in America and often linked with the easing of parent’s worries that college would “ruin” a girl’s femininity.

all aspects of their lives as there remained the tension with the “new woman” narrative. Despite this however one must note how many of the leisure activities which the students engaged in corresponded nearly identically with the “college girl” ideal. The girls held cooking parties, picnics and shopping trips. Gossip columns of their magazines were filled with references to boys and the antics of groups within the classrooms. Within these articles these young women referred to themselves as “college girls” and seemed to have embraced a more American approach to their days in higher education as opposed to the British formal ideal²¹⁷. It is likely that the girls at the college came into contact with the idea of the “college girl” via their American teachers who, while perhaps not favourable to the ideal, would have definitely been well acquainted with it. Clark comments in the abstract of her paper that the girls to whom the label applied were more likely than not to be at college for the social life rather than the furthering of their education²¹⁸. There was a relatively elitist air around these students and they stressed their difference from those who were outside of the college, be it parents, fellow youth or even learners at other colleges. This could perhaps even be likened to the modern American sororities which have a similar “soft elitism” and aim to foster and encourage the “experience” of college life while preparing one for the more social aspects of later life²¹⁹.

Thanks to this ideal and the activities that supported its presence, one finds little reference to the preparation for professional life or the sense of a higher calling within the writings of American “college girls”. In South Africa there was a larger focus on academia among these girls however and they remained the “acceptable face” of female higher education as they eased the doubts of those who had anxiety regarding the “new woman”²²⁰ ideology which was becoming the ideal within the Huguenot College²²¹. This greater angling towards academia and lack of direct

²¹⁷ Duff. S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.20

²¹⁸Clark. E.M. “Abstract of a paper on the higher education of women in South Africa”, in W.E.C Clarke, E.M. Clark & W.A. Way (eds), *Papers on Cape education, Read before the British association* (J.C. Juta, Cape Town, 1905), p. 20 As quoted in Duff. S.E, *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.6

²¹⁹ No author. Fraternity and Sorority Life, <https://www.american.edu/ocl/universitycenter/fsl.cfm>, accessed 21 July 2018.

²²⁰ The ideal of the new women was a women who pushed the limits set by the males of society in order to expand their ability to engage with a wider range of topics and fields.

²²¹ Duff. S.E, *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.23

opposition to feminism among the “college girls” at Huguenot was perhaps due to the absence of the ideal of marriage being the goal of the students in the college’s later years or perhaps even due to the tension with the “New Girl” rhetoric among the girls.

From this examination of the intentions as well as the “results” of the college’s training, one can thus deduce the manner in which the college fitted into the nineteenth century world in which it was formed as well as how it was informed by the state of the country at the time and how it influenced the country and women’s education in its own right. The missionary girls from the college also went on to do great work within their own contexts in a fashion which was fitting of those who had received such an education and who had grown with role models such as the women who were involved with the college²²².

The information provided in the preceding section allows one further insight into exactly what kind of woman Emma was by means of a presentation of the finer details of her involvement with the formation of the Huguenot Seminary as well as what the seminary with which she was so closely connected became as time went on and her involvement grew. Emma facilitated for the creation of a place for women to be further trained in relevant subjects so that they could contribute further to the fields of education and faith. It is important to note however that what Emma aided in the creation of was by no means a place independent of control from male officials and it should not be confused as an institution for the complete empowerment of independent women. The Huguenot Seminary should rather be seen as a place which allowed for the furthering of women’s education so that they were able to contribute in a greater capacity with some larger degree of freedom, but still within the socially accepted parameters for women of the time.

4.5.2 The Vrouensendingbond

4.5.2.1 Founding and Beginning of the Society’s Operation

²²² Duff, S.E. *From new women to college girls at Huguenot Seminary and college, 1895-1910* (Histora, 51, 1, May 2006, 1-27) p.24

The *Vouesendingbond* is recorded in a commemorative book as having been one of the driving forces behind the mission work of the church in the country. Year after year the women would raise money by means of fundraising efforts and year after year more women would be sent out into the mission fields. The workers of the *Vrouensendingbond* were welcome everywhere they traveled and the Women's missionary society is spoken of as having an honorary place among the "blessed organizations" which were connected with the Dutch Reformed Church²²³. Emma Murray was the first president of the *Vouesendingbond* as well as one of the key members in its formation and operation. For this reason the foundation and operation of the *Vouesendingbond* for the duration of Emma's involvement will be examined in detail in the following section.

The creation of the *Vrouensendingbond* in 1889 is recorded as having been a continuation of the missionary work which had been conducted by the Huguenot missionary society which had been run by the women of the Huguenot Seminary, with Miss Ferguson, Miss Bliss and Emma acting as the leaders. The work done by the society following its formation was far larger in scale than that being done by similar organizations in South Africa at the time. A list of this work can be formed from an examination of the report done by the Huguenot mission society's first treasurer: Ms. Wells²²⁴. During the ten years which the Huguenot mission society existed they had received several sizable monetary contributions which went on to fund their work in Austria for the Christian education of children, in Persia to provide aid in a time of famine, in China to fund the proclamation of the Gospel to the blind and, more locally, to fund the promotion of mission work in Natal. The Huguenot mission society also sent out its own missionaries (one of whom was Emma's daughter, Mary, who is discussed more in depth in a later chapter) from the ranks of their graduate students to Saulspoort and Mochudi. These women missionaries were then taken over by the *Vrouensendingbond* when the organization was formed and the Huguenot mission society stepped aside²²⁵.

²²³ Spijker. A.J. "Verslae V.S.B jaarveraderinge" in *De geschiedenis van den Vrouwen zending bond: of, Wat God gewrocht heft*. (Pro Ecclesia Drukkerij. Stellenbosch. 1889-1922) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. B9037] p.1

²²⁴ Spijker. A.J. "Verslae V.S.B jaarveraderinge" in *De geschiedenis van den Vrouwen zending bond: of, Wat God gewrocht heft*. (Pro Ecclesia Drukkerij. Stellenbosch. 1889-1922) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. B9037] p.2

²²⁵ Spijker. A.J. "Verslae V.S.B jaarveraderinge" in *De geschiedenis van den Vrouwen zending bond: of, Wat God gewrocht heft*. (Pro Ecclesia Drukkerij. Stellenbosch. 1889-1922) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. B9037] p.3

The Murray family had close ties with the *Vrouensendingbond* from the outset, with Emma being the first president as well as one of the founding members, and her daughters also taking a keen interest in the work which was being done by the organization from its earliest days. Helen (Ellie) Murray, Emma's sister-in-law was the secretary of the *Vrouensendingbond* at the time of its formation. Emma's other daughter, Annie was also involved in the work of the *Vrouensendingbond* alongside Ellie at its very beginnings, and at the opening of the meetings, would have their own roles in the programme such as the conducting of the prayer or the singing of a devotional song²²⁶.

This society's work is described once again in a report from the early Treasurer of the society, Ms. Wells. During the ten years that the Huguenot mission society had operated by means of donation it had in turn donated large sums of money to mission programs operating in Natal, Basutoland, Zoutpansbergen, Saulspoort, Mochudi, the Zambezi as well as to poverty relief efforts in Persia and China. Money was also donated to educational organizations in Australia. The Huguenots teaching society also sent workers to Saulspoort and Mochudi who were later employed by the *Vrouensendingbond*²²⁷.

The events which led to the establishment of the *Vrouensendingbond* are relayed in a book which was published for the golden jubilee of the Vrouensendingbond. The book begins by speaking of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival in the Cape in 1652 and goes on to describe this event as being that which transplanted the work of converting "heathens" from the Roman Catholic Church to the hands of the Protestant church and, more specifically, that of the Dutch Reformed Church. The book then goes onto detail the Hottentots' loss of independence under Van Riebeeck's lack of "the principles of Christianity". The arrival of the Huguenots it seems is heralded by the *Vrouensendingbond* as being the beginning of the thawing of the hearts of the colonists towards mission. In 1688 among them was Mrs. François du Toit and Madame Mathilde Smith. These two women worked among

²²⁶ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. 1888) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

²²⁷ Spijker. A.J. "Verslae V.S.B jaarveraderinge" in *De geschiedenis van den Vrouwen zending bond: of, Wat God gewrocht heft*. (Pro Ecclesia Drukkerij. Stellenbosch. 1889-1922) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. B9037] p.4

the natives and went on to be influential figures and were seen as the forerunners of the *Vrouensendingbond* due to their level of involvement as well as their spiritual work and interest²²⁸.

Helperus van Lier, a pastor sent from Holland in 1786, is also mentioned as being a figure of particular respect with regards to the *Vrouensendingbond*'s understanding of history. In his first sermon at Table Bay it is reported that he made the statement that "With purpose, the Lord uses the words, all creatures"²²⁹. His influence led to many Cape Christians setting aside days and funds with the interest of aiding the "gentile population" of the town²³⁰.

While there was undoubtedly already an effort on the part of women in South Africa to engage in mission work, there is power in unity, as Mrs. Spijker comments in a booklet detailing the history of the society's formation. Emma commented in a meeting regarding the initial formation of the society that a great cry has risen up among the gentile women in the nation and that she was confident that God had placed the responsibility upon them, in their capacity as women of the nation as well as Christians, to free them from their suffering and grief by means of the gospel of Christ²³¹. Thus, the society was formed with the aim of promoting the gospel among the "women and children of paganism and those who do not know God" (translation) as well as to fund mission workers and "raise souls to become workers themselves". The society was formed with local branches across the country as well as one uniting center which was found in the former Huguenot society²³².

In the tenth annual report from the United States Women's Board of Missions it is stated that there was much enthusiasm from the Murrays to establish a similar union in South Africa following the success of the Huguenot Seminary. It would be some time, however, before these wishes would

²²⁸ Unknown author. *Na Vyftig jaar 1889-1939: Goue jubileum van die Vrouensendingbond van die kaapprovinsie*. (Nationale pers. Kaapstad. 1939) [NGL archives: Stellenbosch. B9080] p.4

²²⁹ Unknown author. *Na Vyftig jaar 1889-1939: Goue jubileum van die Vrouensendingbond van die kaapprovinsie*. (nationale pers. Kaapstad. 1939) [NGL archives: Stellenbosch. B9080] p.4

²³⁰ Unknown author. *Na Vyftig jaar 1889-1939: Goue jubileum van die Vrouensendingbond van die kaapprovinsie*. (nationale pers. Kaapstad. 1939) [NGL archives: Stellenbosch. B9080] p.4-5

²³¹ Spijker. A.J. "Verslae V.S.B jaarveraderinge" in *De gesiedenis van den Vrouwen zending bond: of, Wat God gewrocht heft*. (Pro Ecclesia Drukkerij. Stellenbosch. 1889-1922) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. B9037] p.6

²³² Spijker. A.J. "Verslae V.S.B jaarveraderinge" in *De gesiedenis van den Vrouwen zending bond: of, Wat God gewrocht heft*. (Pro Ecclesia Drukkerij. Stellenbosch. 1889-1922) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. B9037] p.7

come to fruition. When Andrew Murray initially wrote to the Women's Board of Missions he received a response which served as a significant setback for his ambitions. In the reply from the sister which they had contacted it was shared that American women who were able to be involved in missions and philanthropic work, choose not to be. She closed by stating that "it is not working in America" and thus they could not offer aid to the establishment of a union in South Africa²³³. Despite this, in April 1878, the Huguenots Missionary Society was founded with a large number of members, who remained involved even after leaving the Seminary²³⁴.

In 1888, Miss. Ferguson had travelled to the Diamond Fields and saw firsthand the population of approximately twenty thousand natives for whom nothing was being done in the realm of spirituality. She had spoken to the local pastor, A. Kriel, who had relayed that there was much need for Christian workers among the poorer population of the area and that work among the women there would be strongly supported and appreciated²³⁵. In the following year the mission society was formed and, in the March of 1890, a meeting was held wherein the Huguenot Missions' Society formally declared the founding of the *Vrouensendingbond* in South Africa²³⁶.

During this meeting in which the society's formation was officially declared, Emma read the constitution of the union out to the attendants of the meeting. The constitution opens with a comment on the gospel being the only relief which the "heathen" can find in the face of their curse that results in cries from the women and children. It is in response to this calling that the union was formed and a letter was sent to each branch of the Dutch Reformed Church calling for support and for aid in the endeavour. One important aspect of the society is that it was not formed as an independent body from the church, as many women led societies were in Victorian Britain, but rather was intended to be an arm of the missionary society of the Dutch Reformed Church, of which the Huguenot society was a branch. Within the letter which was sent it is made clear that

²³³ Unknown author. *Na Vyftig jaar 1889-1939: Goue jubileum van die Vrouensendingbond van die kaapprovinsie*. (Nationale pers. Kaapstad. 1939) [NGL archives: Stellenbosch. B9080]. p.6

²³⁴ Unknown author. *Na Vyftig jaar 1889-1939: Goue jubileum van die Vrouensendingbond van die kaapprovinsie*. (Nationale pers. Kaapstad. 1939) [NGL archives: Stellenbosch. B9080]. p.5

²³⁵ Spijker. A.J. "Verslae V.S.B jaarveraderinge" in *De gesiedenis van den Vrouwen zending bond: of, Wat God gewrocht heft*. (Pro Ecclesia Drukkerij. Stellenbosch. 1889-1922) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. B9037] p.3

²³⁶ Spijker. A.J. "Verslae V.S.B jaarveraderinge" in *De gesiedenis van den Vrouwen zending bond: of, Wat God gewrocht heft*. (Pro Ecclesia Drukkerij. Stellenbosch. 1889-1922) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. B9037] p.4

there is no call to give up the responsibilities which congregants and ministers were already tasked with, however there was a call for them to “join hands with your sisters throughout the land, first of all in a new consecration with God for his service, in a new service of prayer, for a new waiting upon God, to be used in his service either through your gifts, or interesting others, or in bringing information to those who don’t know of the work”²³⁷.

At the official inauguration of the mission society, Emma also addressed those who were being sent out in mission: Miss Mary Murray (who will be elaborated on further in a later chapter), Miss Charlie Hugo, Miss Margret Alan and Miss Maria Radmeyer. In her speech Emma quoted passages from scripture such as Philippians 7 and John 16 verse 33 with the aim of providing encouragement and words of strength to the young women. She commented that “peace brings quietness, both in preparation for the work and in the work. In quietness and confidence shall be your strength.” In this one sees many of the spiritual aspects of Emma’s faith being displayed as well as her approach to life so far being explained. Her passion of gardening might also be linked to a form of this seeking of peace and quietness within the realm of nature. It was with these words and passages that Emma gave a benediction of peace for her daughter as well as the other three missionaries who had been called to serve. Mary and two of the other girls were bound for the Diamond Fields where they would begin a new mission field and would “sow the seeds of the faith” as Miss Ferguson put it in her speech which followed Emma’s²³⁸.

Emma Murray is listed in the *Vrouensendingbond*’s fifty year commemoration as being the first *predikantsvrou*²³⁹ who invited the women of the congregation in Worcester to their first prayer meeting in 1860, as has been previously mentioned. In this, the author of the commemorative book comments, one sees the true spirit of the *Vrouensendingbond* displayed. This original prayer meeting among the women is seen as the seed which sparked interest in many other congregations nearby as well as where all other sister movements had grown from. It is said in the pamphlet recording the golden jubilee of the society that it was out of the prayers of the congregations’

²³⁷ Unknown Author. *Records of the Huguenot missionary society: Book 2* (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. 1884). [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]

²³⁸ Unknown Author. *Records of the Huguenot missionary society: Book 2* (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. 1884). [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]

²³⁹ A Minister’s wife.

mothers that the *Vrouensendingbond* was born and that it was out of some of these prayers that the first song of the *Vrouensendingbond* originated²⁴⁰.

As a result of the emphasis which the *Vrouensendingbond* placed upon mission, the organization naturally became involved in missions to areas outside the Cape Colony. As early as 1874, Miss Johanna Meeuwson was sent as a teacher to Saulspoort. She was closely followed by Emma's daughter, Mary, who was sent to the Diamond Fields²⁴¹.

The *Vrouensendingbond* grew fast in the time immediately following its founding and the board was able to take on several more missionaries who were then sent out to further parts of the country. New branches also began to open and in the October of the year of the society's founding it was reported that twenty two other unions had joined the *Vrouensendingbond*. By 1906 the number of other unions which had joined had grown to one hundred and twenty in the Cape Colony and thirty in the Orange Free State. These numbers do not include the mission fields where members of these unions had been sent and established their own societies²⁴². Several of these societies and programs which were born from the efforts of the *Vrouensendingbond* will be examined in the following section.

3.5.2.1 Resulting Societies and Projects

The forerunner of the *Vrouensendingbond*, the *Sendinginstituut* of Wellington, was founded by Andrew Murray in 1877, three years following the formation of the Huguenot Seminary. The missionary institution of Wellington was intended to be a place of training for those who were unable to be placed in the seminary at Stellenbosch but still felt the call to serve the church. With this goal Andrew Murray appealed in the Kerkbode in 1876 for the raising of funds to aid the foundation of this institution which would train applicants of any colour for service to the church as laymen. At the time of its founding there was a call for funding and facilities for fifty to sixty

²⁴⁰ No author listed, *Na Vyftig jaar 1889-1939: Goue jubileum van die Vrouensendingbond van die kaapprovinsie*. (Nationale pers. Kaapstad. 1939) [NGL archives: Stellenbosch. B9080]. p.38.

²⁴¹ Pfeil. G.B. *Laat u koninkryk kom!*. (Die Outeur: Pretoria. 1963) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. V1200] p. 28

²⁴² Dreyer. A. *Historisch Album van de Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Zuid Afrika*. (Cape Times. Cape Town. 1907) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch] p. 103

students. Andrew Murray eventually bought a plot of land on the Krom Rivier where sufficient facilities for the institution could be built in 1889²⁴³. This institution was perhaps an idea in the back of Andrew's mind since his days in Bloemfontein, where Emma would console and aid those who were unable to keep up with his strict standards regarding the confirmation training as well as his training of young men who wished to be ministers. While there is no direct evidence to prove this correlation, when one considers the role which Emma had in Andrew's work, as well as that many of his projects were in fact joint ventures with her ideas and goals mixing with his, there is a good chance that she was an influencing factor in the formation of the *Sendinginstituut* as well²⁴⁴.

An institution which Emma definitely had a hand in the formation of was the *Dames-Sendinginstituut* of Freidenheim which was formed as a central point for the operation of the women's mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in conjunction with the *Vrouensendingbond*. This institution was founded with the aim of training missionary women for the role of ecclesial social workers. The institution had the following courses: a three year course in household work for women who wished to go abroad as matrons, a one year missionary course for those who were already qualified as teachers and nurses who wished to serve the church abroad, and a three year course in church social work for women who wished to work in domestic congregations. In addition to these courses, clubs and internal practical work were also organized for the women²⁴⁵. These diplomas had the recognition of the department of public welfare. The institution also offered an annual course in bible studies which was aimed at women who were married or engaged to ministers and needed to be prepared for their future duties in the capacity of being ministers' wives²⁴⁶. This course seems to echo Emma's concerns for the other ministers' wives which she had met while in Bloemfontein and perhaps, in her capacity as the president of the *Vrouensendingbond*, had a hand in the proposal of such a course. The institution also offered science and first aid courses at a later date²⁴⁷.

²⁴³ Pfeil. G.B. *Laat u koninkryk kom!*. (Die Outeur: Pretoria. 1963) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. V1200] p. 25

²⁴⁴ Unknown author. *Wellington opvoeding in Natuurskone, Historiese Wellington*. (NG Kerk. Wellington. 1940) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G1078] p. 30-31

²⁴⁵ Unknown author. *Wellington opvoeding in Natuurskone, Historiese Wellington*. (NG Kerk. Wellington. 1940) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G1078] p.31

²⁴⁶ Pfeil. G.B. *Laat u koninkryk kom!*. (Die Outeur: Pretoria. 1963) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. V1200] p. 30

²⁴⁷ Unknown author. *Wellington opvoeding in Natuurskone, Historiese Wellington*. (NG Kerk. Wellington. 1940) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G1078] p.31

On the 9th of April 1889, Miss Ferguson grew all the more interested in the Murrays' mission to bring more young women into the fold of Christian work and she donated to what became known as the "Freidenheim opleiding". The Minnie Hofmeyer-Kollege was also established to act as an educational institute for young *coloured* women in 1931 and was founded and run by the *Vrouensendingbond* as an extension of its efforts to better the lives of the young women of the nation. The aim of this institute was to train poor *coloured* citizens of the Cape as social workers²⁴⁸.

The *Vrouensendingbond* was also deeply involved in the overall work of the church within the Cape as well as within South Africa as a whole. The work of the *Vrouensendingbond* did not end only with mission work - they were involved in nearly all spheres of the church's influence within the nation. In 1977, the *Vrouensendingbond* began a programme to teach the people of the Cape to read and even those who were involved with the Minnie-Hofmeyer College were given similar lessons in literacy. The *Vrouensendingbond*'s projects over the next few years were wide in scope and reach²⁴⁹. A few of these programmes are named in the society's budget records for the years with regards to their running projects. The list names money being meted out to the following organizations and projects:

*Bantoe hoerskool studiefonds, Christelike kerktuursentrum (Umtata), meublement vir Ililongwe kerkgebou, teologiese opleiding deconlogny, weskusontwikkelingsprogram kerkgebou, Malawi: theologie fonds, Mmbatatho kerkgebou, Welsynsentrum te Elsie'srivier, Minnie Hofmeyer-kollege uitbreidingsfonds*²⁵⁰.

Other than these projects of the *Vrouensendingbond*, they were also involved in many other institution's work. Some of these institutions were the *Kaapse Stadelike Behuisingsbond*, Cape Town City Mission, *Algemene Onderstandsraad Kaapstad*, *Unie Suid-Afrika Kersseelfonds*, Cape Coordinating Council of Social Welfare Organizations, Society for Protection of Child Life, *Algemene Welvaarts Gesondheids En Kindersorgvereniging*, and the *King Williams Town En*

²⁴⁸ Pfeil. G.B. *Laat u koninkryk kom!*. (Die Outeur: Pretoria. 1963) [NGK archives: Stellenbsoch. V1200] p. 24

²⁴⁹ Pfeil. G.B. *Laat u koninkryk kom!*. (Die Outeur: Pretoria. 1963) [NGK archives: Stellenbsoch. V1200] p. 28

²⁵⁰

District Kindersorg Vereniging. The *Vrouensendingbond* also worked alongside other churches and church led institutions such as the Christian Council of South Africa, the World Council of Churches, the Cape Peninsula Church Council, the women's international union, the Presbyterian office of world relations and The National Council of Women's Organizations²⁵¹.

From the early days of the *Vrouensendingbond* there was a close connection with the Dutch Reformed Church. This is seen in the statement which Miss Ferguson made when she met the General Missionary Union of Stellenbosch in which she commented that their aim was to encourage the enthusiasm of missionary work within the women of the church and therefore, to this aim, should enter into a good relationship with the missionary commission as well as the church from which it stems. In 1980 the *Vrouensendingbond* also became a more official part of the Dutch Reformed Church's branch of the mission movements and is even listed as a branch of the official help services which were offered by the church to its congregants. In many synod meetings as the *Vrouensendingbond*'s work continued they were referred to as being a society which is truly worth supporting when one views their achievements, and their expansion should be encouraged under the instruction of Miss Ferguson who was viewed a highly capable women, despite her being a foreigner²⁵².

Another notable facet of the *Vrouensendingbond*'s work in the educational sphere with which Emma Murray was involved was the girl's industrial school or the Murray-kinderhuis. This was a "girl's labour school" which had been founded on the vision of Emma in 1898 with the purpose of training Christian youth whose parents could not provide them an education. The institution would take the girls in for three years and they would gain a good education as well as training to become housewives and then they would return to their parent's homes. This institution seemed to have opened its doors only to the poorest of the poor and approximately fifty children from all around the Colony were receiving instruction at the institution during its peak. In 1937 the school was taken over by the state and responsibility for the maintenance of the premises as well as the

²⁵¹ Pfeil. G.B. *Laat u koninkryk kom!*. (Die Outeur: Pretoria. 1963) [NGK archives: Stellenbsoch. V1200] p. 31

²⁵² Pfeil. G.B. *Laat u koninkryk kom!*. (Die Outeur: Pretoria. 1963) [NGK archives: Stellenbsoch. V1200] p. 31

education of the youth was largely maintained by the municipality of Wellington and continued to operate until well after 1977 when a new building complex was provided²⁵³.

The *Vrouensendingbond* continued to expand and, although it took a fair amount of time, by the 1960's they had established themselves within congregations as far as modern day Namibia. In a pamphlet compiled by Mrs. R. Potgieter, the history and accomplishments of this branch of the *Vrouensendingbond* is relayed. The Suid-Wes branch of the *Vrouensendingbond* was proposed in 1940 and its appearance began a renewed interest among the women of surrounding congregations to become involved in the Dutch Reformed Church's mission work. Within the detailing of these events the author thanks the leadership of the church as well as that of the *Vrouensendingbond* for the work which they did in their communities to establish the *Vrouensendingbond* in Suid-Wes Afrika and, thus, allowing the women of the congregations to become involved in the church's work to a greater extent. The author also comments on the community as well as the trust which was built with and through the *Vrouensendingbond* and its work²⁵⁴. The *Vrouensendingbond* took slightly more time to become well known in the areas surrounding the Cape and it was only in the March of 1957 that the *Vrouensendingbond* became truly established in *Suid-Wes Afrika*. Around the same time the *Kindersendingkrans* was also established with a beginning membership of a little over eight hundred²⁵⁵.

Emma's missionary work was not only limited to within the country and, within the recorded minutes of the meeting of the international Union Of Women's Foreign Missionaries, it is commented that fifteen women were present at the committee meeting which was held in Glasgow on 23 June in 1896 with Mrs. Emma Murray being named as one of these women. Emma was fairly advanced in age at the time, and it was likely that she had visited Europe together with Andrew on account of both of them having had business there. She is named as being largely active in the society's meetings as well as operation. There is no doubt that at this point in her life Emma

²⁵³ Smith. H.J. *Die Liefde Van Jou Bruidsyd: Een En N Half Eeu In Die Geskiedenis Van Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Gemeente Wellington* (Paarlse Drukkers. Paarl. 1990) P. 45

²⁵⁴ Potgieter. R. *Vrouensendingbond van die NG kerk in suidwes Afrika: 1940-1965*. (verendige pers beperk. Windhoek. 1965) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G440] p.4

²⁵⁵ Potgieter. R. *Vrouensendingbond van die NG kerk in suidwes Afrika: 1940-1965*. (verendige pers beperk. Windhoek. 1965) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G440] p.4-5

was well connected in her field and, thus, was a valuable member to the societies in which she was active²⁵⁶.

Apart from Emma's involvement with the *Vrouensendingbond*, the most notable of her projects, her other influences must also be examined. For this reason two of the smaller organizations in which Emma had a large influence will be examined in the following: the Women's Temperance Union and the *Kindersendingkrans*. These two organizations are chosen for examination due to Emma's more prominent role in their operation, as well as their records regarding the period during which Emma was involved being in a more favorable state for research when compared to those of the smaller organizations with which she was also involved.

4.5.3 The Women's Temperance Union

In the June of 1889 the women's Christian Temperance Union was formed and worked with two well-known women missionaries: Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt and Mrs. Elizabeth Andrews²⁵⁷. The women's Christian Temperance Union, in a booklet containing their history, is cited as being the second oldest women's organization in the Cape Province after the *Vrouesendingbond* which was founded in the March of 1889, three months before the women's Christian Temperance Union's formation. Emma Murray is named, alongside her husband, as one of the earliest and most valuable members of the society. The author of the booklet goes on to praise Emma as being an excellent role model for the members as well as the girls of the Huguenot Seminary and comments that "Mrs. Murray appealed to all members of the Dutch Reformed Church to whom she was personally well known, and what she said or wrote received respectful attention, if not agreement."²⁵⁸

In 1916, during a meeting where Miss S. Cummings was elected as the president of the Huguenot missionary society, with Miss Lotte as her vice president, the issue of drunkenness and temperance was introduced to the society. Miss Lotte, in the next meeting held by the society, spoke on the

²⁵⁶ Unknown Author. *Minutes of a meeting of the international union of women's foreign mission societies on June 23 1896 At the Matthews hall in Glasgow.* (1896) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. G440]

²⁵⁷ Unknown Author. *A brief history of the women's Christian temperance union in South Africa.* (Townshend Taylor and Snaershal partners. Cape Town. 1925) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 638] p. 10

²⁵⁸ Unknown Author. *A brief history of the women's Christian temperance union in South Africa.* (Townshend Taylor and Snaershal partners. Cape Town. 1925) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 638] p. 11

topic of the growth of the temperance sentiment in the world and went on to comment on the task of fostering an understanding of words which were connected with the movement such as “alcohol” and “prohibition”. It is within this address that Miss Lotte defines the temperance association’s goal as being that which revolves around the helping of members of society to recognize their bodies as “temples of the living God” and to treat them as such²⁵⁹.

At the end of year meeting the statistics of the society were recorded within a report which was later published within a booklet. The report states that the seminary society had 74 active members and that membership was divided into three sections which each met separately once a week with two quarterly meetings being scheduled for a late meeting at which all members would be present, as well as devotional meetings which took place every Sunday afternoon where attendance was not compulsory. All of these meetings seemed to open with a hymn and a prayer which were often done by the younger girls of the seminary²⁶⁰.

Emma undoubtedly had an influence on the workings of the society, having been so closely associated with the Huguenot mission society from which it had formed. In addition to this, she also had a large influence on her own family insofar as the passion for such causes was concerned. Emma’s daughter, Kitty was an active member of the society by 1928 and is listed in their records as one of the women who signed a contract of sorts against the personal consumption of alcohol²⁶¹

Emma is mentioned in a memorial piece which was published by the Temperance union as being one who, while in Bloemfontein during the early years of their marriage, “was known as one who sought out the most degraded white people and charged for them. This is stated in conjunction with reference to Andrew and Emma’s work with the temperance union as drunkenness was perceived as the most common cause of degradation among the people of South Africa, and that Emma would waste little time in making plans for their recovery from this state, once she was

²⁵⁹ No author. Pamphlet on the temperance union found in the Records of the Huguenot seminary. (1916-1928) [NGL archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 638]

²⁶⁰ No author. Pamphlet on the temperance union found in the Records of the Huguenot seminary. (1916-1928) [NGL archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 638]

²⁶¹ No author. Pamphlet on the temperance union found in the Records of the Huguenot seminary. (1916-1928) [NGL archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 638]

made aware of the issue being present in any congregation with which she was involved. It is in turn highly likely that it may have been Emma who brought Andrew's attention to this cause and ignited his passion for the temperance movement's work. It is further stated that "Mrs Murray by nature and sympathies was a keen temperance woman and with her husband's consent, for many years served as president of the South African Union of the women's Christian Temperance Union"²⁶². While Emma was not as vocal when compared to her husband's sermons against the abuse of alcohol, it seems that she was an active figure behind his words who worked in the union to address the issue through means of the feminine modes of philanthropy which, as mentioned, were accepted at the time²⁶³.

4.5.4 The *Kinderkrans*

The *Kinderkrans*'s exact founding date has not been recorded although the group's first meeting in Wellington took place during the March of 1890. It is however recorded that since the founding of the *Vrouensendingbond* in 1889 that held an interest in the wellbeing of the children of the nation, as well as their futures in the service of Christ. In the original constitution of the *Vrouensendingbond* this is mentioned in the statement "*Zo een aantal kinderen zich verenight onder de leiding van een van ons om zendingwerk te doen, zal dat een zendingkrans genoemd worden*"²⁶⁴. The first *Kindersendingkrans* was founded by Mrs. Spijker in close conjunction with the *Vrouensendingbond*. When one considers that Emma was the president and founder of the *Vrouensendingbond* at the time, as well as an influential figure so far as youth education was considered, it is highly likely that she was involved in the initial project to become involved with youth of younger ages and the nurturing of their passion for mission work, as a continuation of her work alongside her husband throughout their marriage from as soon as her time in Bloemfontein²⁶⁵.

²⁶² Unknown Author. Temperance union memoriam found within Newspaper clippings (Cape Town. No listed date) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 633]

²⁶³ Unknown Author. Temperance union memoriam found within Newspaper clippings (Cape Town. No listed date) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 633]

²⁶⁴ "If a number of children unite under the leadership of one of us to do missionary work, that will be called a missionary win" (own translation)

²⁶⁵ Unknown Author. *Na Vyftig jaar 1889-1939: Goue jubileum van die Vrouensendingbond van die kaapprovinsie*. (Nationale pers. Kaapstad. 1939) [NGL archives: Stellenbosch. B9080]. p.85

The missionary circle of the *Kinderkrans* was largely run by Mrs. Spijker who held small meetings with the younger girls of the area in her home in Wellington and later spread out to other congregations. This expansion however took until 1903 to truly take root in the churches of the country and, thus, when it truly did find its feet it was a long awaited and welcome occurrence²⁶⁶.

The organization soon joined with the junior strewerstakke which was founded in Graaff-Reinet in 1893. The *Vrouensendingbond* worked together with the two societies until their merger and in 1911 the “new” *kinderkrans*’s constitution was set up in conjunction with the *Vrouensendingbond* as well as the Christilike Stewersunie²⁶⁷. The *Kinderkrans*, however, was not only restricted to mission work and was largely involved in hospital work and support homes for the elderly²⁶⁸.

The support for the *Kindersendingkrans* grew fast following 1903 and as soon as 1906 the first meeting was held in Bloemfontein, where the group soon became established in the congregation there and went on to become a driving force amongst the Christian youth in the Orange Free State. The mission of the *Kindersendingkrans* is relayed in a book written with the aim of serving as a textbook of sorts for the women who were in charge of working with the youth. This mission is given as being to pray, read their bibles, love the church, and think of those less fortunate than themselves as well as the elderly and to spread the message of Christ to those who are ignorant of it. While all of the congregations may not have approached the work in this manner it does give one insight into exactly what the youth were being taught by the *Kinderkrans* which also seems quite similar to the modern day Sunday schools’ mission²⁶⁹.

The *Kinderkrans* published a newspaper in 1923 which, while under a different name, continues today. The initial copy was known as “De Kindervriend” and relayed information regarding the Sunday school as well as the lessons which took place there²⁷⁰. By 1924 there were fifty four

²⁶⁶ Unknown Author. *Na Vyftig jaar 1889-1939: Goue jubileum van die Vrouensendingbond van die kaapprovinsie*. (Nationale pers. Kaapstad. 1939) [NGL archives: Stellenbosch. B9080]. p.87

²⁶⁷ Unknown Author. *Na Vyftig jaar 1889-1939: Goue jubileum van die Vrouensendingbond van die kaapprovinsie*. (Nationale pers. Kaapstad. 1939) [NGL archives: Stellenbosch. B9080]. p.87-88

²⁶⁸ “Pfeil. G.B. Laat u koninkryk kom!. (Die Outeur: Pretoria. 1963) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch. V1200] p. 24

²⁶⁹ Unknown Author. *Hulpboek Vir Leidsters Van Kindersendingkrans*. (no publisher listed. Bloemfontein. 1968) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B96]

²⁷⁰ Unknown Author. *Kindervriend*. (Publisher not listed. 1923-1935) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. TYDSK 48]

branches of the *Kinderkrans* with approximately 5260 active members²⁷¹. Within the 1928 edition of the magazine there is an appeal for parents to purchase books for their children in order to promote learning as well as Christian values²⁷².

Today, this magazine is known as *Kix.kom* and is far more general in content. The magazine contains activities for children, directions for certain themed crafts, and suggested subjects for parents to teach them. The organization is also less connected to the church than it used to be and the magazine urges the reader to consider beginning one's own "kix" group with local children or perhaps even at a school²⁷³.

From the above section one can see Emma's involvement in several institutions and organizations all of which worked for the betterment of the people of South Africa, most predominantly the women of the country. Her involvement in Andrew's work as well, while not examined in much depth in the majority of the secondary sources regarding the Murray family in existence, was undoubtedly what contributed to his ability to accomplish all which he did over the course of his life.

Now that the aspects of Emma's work and influence in the various organizations with which she had contact has been examined, one must now examine her more direct influence on the people in particular with whom she had contact so far as her personal relationships are concerned. For this reason, the following chapter will seek to explore the work which was accomplished by her children as well as the influence which Emma's life and teachings had on them.

²⁷¹ Ferguson. A.P. *'N halwe eeu van sendingwerk in die Transvaal: 1875-1925*. (Nationale pers. Bloemfontein. 1925) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B1193] p. 2

²⁷² Unknown Author. *Kindervreind*. (Publisher not listed. 1923-1935) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. TYDSK 48]

²⁷³ Unknown author. *Kindervreind*. (magazine. 1923-1935) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. TYDSK 48]

CHAPTER 5: Emma and her children

- Emma's influence on her children and their eventual work

Emma and Andrew had a large family with eleven children, eight of whom survived past infancy. Of these eight four were girls. The children spent the majority of their childhood years in Wellington with their parents and no doubt received education from their father and mother until they were of age to be sent away for schooling, as was the custom. The main influencing figures in the children's lives would have been their parents, perhaps more so Emma, when one considers how busy Andrew was with regards to his own work and projects.

It is for this reason that the focus of the following chapter will be the children of Emma Murray, her influence on them and their own work and accomplishments, which were perhaps as a result of their upbringing. For the sake of this thesis's focus, only Emma's daughters: Emma, Mary, Catharine and Annie, Andrews's sister Helen who lived with Emma and Andrew for a time and was the age of their own children, and one of her sons, John, will be examined in the following. The reason for this is twofold, firstly, the time and length afforded to this thesis is not sufficient to go into an in-depth examination of all of Emma and Andrew's children, especially when one considers their extensive work in South Africa. The second reason is that the influence of Emma's accomplishments and life will be most clearly seen in other women. This does not mean however that she would have had no impact on the character of her sons and, for this reason, the majority focus has been placed on the next generation of women, with John being examined as well as a means of depicting the width of Emma's influence on, not only her daughters, but also her sons.

5.1 Helen Murray (22 September 1849 - 20 December 1937)

Helen (Ellie) Murray was Andrew Murray's young sister who was roughly within the same age group as Emma and Andrew's daughters, and thus was accepted as a sister amongst them and resided with Emma and Andrew for some time during her education at the Huguenot Seminary.

Ellie went on to become the principle of Midland Seminary at Graaff-Reinet from 1875 until 1893²⁷⁴.

Helen was a student of the Huguenot Seminary from 1874 until 1875 after which she left to study for four years from 1876 at the Midland Seminary, where she would later work. Following this, she travelled to Europe and America for a year and, upon her return, took up missionary duties relating to education²⁷⁵.

In the 1881 edition of the Huguenot Seminary catalogue Helen is mentioned as having been ready to do whatever was in her power to aid the cause of education within South Africa²⁷⁶. In the journal of the midland seminary, it is noted that following the opening of the Huguenot Seminary in Wellington the desire for similar institutions was felt in different parts of the country. The education of the female youth of the nation had been largely left up to those who did not consider religion a matter of importance with regards to schooling and training for women across the country and, thus, instruction within this field had been quite superficial in nature. In the face of this, the Dutch Reformed Church is recorded to have stepped up and sought something better which came in the form of the Huguenot Seminary. The foundation and success of this institution in the Cape led to a renewed interest in the education and training of young women in the country²⁷⁷.

Miss Helen Murray is spoken of in a Huguenot journal entry as having been at the seminary since its opening and was passionate about teaching as well. Due to this she was asked to open a school at Graaff-Reinet with Miss Phillips, the daughter of a missionary. The school was opened on the 18 April 1876 with thirty five students. Following the school's opening, Maria Murray joined her

²⁷⁴ Murray. H. Letters from Ellie to Miss. Ferguson (undated) [NG archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 618]

²⁷⁵ Unknown author. *Memorandum catalogue of the Huguenot seminary Wellington - Cape of Good Hope from January 1874 – January 1884*. (W.A Richards and sons: Cape Town. 1884) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p. 11

²⁷⁶ Unknown Author. Huguenot seminary report 1874-1881. In *Huguenot Seminary at wellington, Cape colony: Report and Catalogues 1874-1881* (Farkney wood: Boston. 1881). [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]

²⁷⁷ Unknown Author. Huguenot seminary report 1874-1881. In *Huguenot Seminary at wellington, Cape colony: Report and Catalogues 1874-1881* (Farkney wood: Boston. 1881). [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p.17

daughter at her home to alleviate some of her responsibilities, especially regarding the housekeeping, but she also offered guidance from an intellectual level²⁷⁸.

In the following months however it seems that there was no minister present in the area as well as a lack of missionaries to take on the new work. In response to this Helen took charge of both the midland seminary, its twenty five boarders and the day school which had similar numbers. She continued her work there until the arrival of Miss Thayer and Miss Ayres six months later. Helen however took on the role of principle once again in 1880 due to Miss Thayer being called to return to America²⁷⁹

5.2 Emma Maria Murray (20 April 1857-1938)

“...I don't want to die, I want to stay and fight the devil”²⁸⁰

Emma Maria Murray (20 April 1857-1938), or “Emmie” as she was known to family and friends, is described in a memorial as having been a women of powerful personality who had her own manner of taking action when faced with a problem²⁸¹.

Emmie was a student at the Huguenot Seminary from the April of 1875 until the December of 1876 after which she went on to teach at Graaff-Reinet for a year. In 1878 Emmie spent a year at home although it is unclear exactly what she was doing at the time. She was then stationed in Pretoria from 1881 until the April of 1882, after which she spent another year at home in Wellington²⁸².

²⁷⁸ Unknown Author. Huguenot seminary report 1874-1881. In *Huguenot Seminary at wellington, Cape colony: Report and Catalogues 1874-1881* (Farkney wood: Boston. 1881). [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p. 16

²⁷⁹ Unknown Author. Huguenot seminary report 1874-1881. In *Huguenot Seminary at wellington, Cape colony: Report and Catalogues 1874-1881* (Farkney wood: Boston. 1881). [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p. 16-17

²⁸⁰ Unknown author. *Magdalena huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.4

²⁸¹ Unknown author. *Magdalena Huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.4

²⁸² Unknown author. *Memorandum catalogue of the Huguenot seminary Wellington - Cape of Good Hope from January 1874 – January 1884*. (W.A Richards and sons: Cape Town. 1884) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]

Emmie then went on to found the *Magdalena Huis* for ‘fallen’ women at Wellington as a continuation of the work that had already been taking place there due to the efforts of the *reddingshuis*²⁸³. The *reddingshuis* was founded in 1891 by means of a co-operation between several different evangelical churches of the Cape and Sister Agnes was placed in charge. The initial goal of this home was to combat the sins of indignity. The women who worked at the house were possibly part of the women’s benevolence society²⁸⁴.

In a booklet dealing with the work of the *Magdalena Huis* the history of the institution is presented to the reader. The initial facilities for the rescue home was rented by the women who also offered up their own households. The city had been divided into eight districts, all of which would be regularly visited by the sisters. The women from the home also worked with women who were involved in prostitution and viewed them as being victims of sin in that they were now profiting from it and would invite them to come and be rehabilitated in the rescue house²⁸⁵.

In 1902, the members of the *predikanten vereeniging de Ned. Ger. Kerk in die Kaapstad en voorsteden* felt the need to establish a connection between the home for fallen women and the Dutch Reformed Church. In response to this a house in Wynberg was rented for the purpose of serving as the new facility for the house of fallen women. This new home was formed with Miss Emmie Murray as its head and Mrs Tate as her assistant. Both women had experience in rescue work²⁸⁶. Mrs Tate had experience in the field of rescue work from her time in London, however Emmie had been influenced by her time with the Moravians in the Netherlands and had found an appreciation for their simplicity and selflessness. Her further work in the Salvation Army was notable enough in that she was chosen to be the head of the *Magdalena Huis* with Miss Tate as her

²⁸³ Unknown Author. Piece written by the Huguenot seminary and collage as a call for funds. (1873-1924 (no set date))[NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 606] p.3-4

²⁸⁴ Unknown author. *Magdalena Huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.3

²⁸⁵ Unknown Author. Piece written by the Huguenot seminary and collage as a call for funds. (*Huguenot seminary: Wellington*. 1924)[NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 606]

²⁸⁶ Unknown Author. Piece written by the Huguenot seminary and collage as a call for funds. (*Huguenot seminary: Wellington*. 1924)[NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 606]

second²⁸⁷. They were soon forced to vacate the house however, and a new house nearby the *Spoorweg* station was purchased by the church for this purpose²⁸⁸.

The purpose of the *Magdalena Huis* itself is stated by A. Dreyer as being to fight “the sin of immorality” which was seen as a cause of misfortune and death within the women of the nation and to save the victims of this sin by means of providing a good Christian home for their restoration and training²⁸⁹. Emmie’s involvement with the home and this particular function could perhaps have stemmed from Emma’s habit of taking in the young girls of the Huguenot seminary into their own home and caring for them in a motherly fashion.

In the September of the same year it is recorded that many women who were not unwed mothers but had been left disadvantaged as a result of the Anglo-Boer war had flooded the home. In response to this the home requested prayers and financial support from the surrounding church as well as the church council. In order to depict the support which this initiative had from the church at its very conception, the contributions which were made in response to these initial requests will be briefly listed:

First contribution, 1 September, £ 50 from church benefactor, JA Smuts (Seepunt).

The Congregational contributions were as follows: Green Point (5), New Bethesda (£ 2), Bedford (£4 3s.).

In October, Ring of Cape Town approved the establishment of home and rail church councils for regular contributions. A property was then purchased in Mortimerweg. Wynberg at the cost of: £ 2,600, of which the Cape Town City payee £ 2,000 on interest.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ Unknown author. *Magdalena Huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.4

²⁸⁸ Unknown Author. Piece written by the Huguenot seminary and collage as a call for funds. (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. 1924)[NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 606]

²⁸⁹ Dreyer. A. *Historisch Album van de Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Zuid Afrika*. (Cape Times. Cape Town. 1907) [NGK archives: Stellenbosch] p. 103

²⁹⁰ Unknown author. *Magdalena Huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.3

A piece which was published in the 1903 September edition of the *Kerkbode* called for a renewal of the public's appreciation of the societal issue against which the *Magdalena Huis* was struggling in hopes of creating a renewed motivation for donations and support. The piece also speaks out that the Cape Ring has made the choice to officially state its wish to provide the *Magdalena Huis* with moral and financial support so that the good work with which it was concerned may proceed into the future²⁹¹.

In the following year's edition of the *Kerkbode* the continued contributions of members of the Cape congregations is listed, depicting the continued support of the Cape churches for the cause of the *Magdalena Huis*²⁹²

In 1905, the Cape Town circle took the *Magdalena Huis* as its own institution and took care of many of its difficulties on the financial front²⁹³ due to the home having grown to house one hundred and thirty four women, of which sixty were mothers. A further sixty were married women who sought shelter due to poor living conditions and found a hospitable home in the *Magdalena Huis*. The majority of the unmarried women had lived hard lives in harsh conditions and many were young and uneducated. This majority, who could not read or write, remained in the home for six months where they would be provided with an education as well as with spiritual and moral enrichment which would allow them to go forth and "sin no more". This quote was largely stressed upon as the house was seen as being in the difficult position of being dangerously close to condoning sin in their work to aid the women. Due to this the women who were accepted into the shelter of the house would be required to have their backgrounds checked so as to confirm that they were not using false names or viewed the house as a "dumping ground" for their sin. The sisters who worked at the *Magdalena Huis* were thus under pressure to ensure that they don't "walk with sin in hand" and that the women who came to them seeking aid were made aware of their sin so that they could repent in earnest²⁹⁴.

²⁹¹ Unknown Author. "Het Magdalena Huis" in *Kerkboede*. (Dutch Reformed church: Cape Town. 1903) p.470

²⁹² Unknown author. "De Kerk" in *Kerkboede*. (Dutch Reformed church: Cape Town. 1904) p.564

²⁹³ Unknown author. *Magdalena Huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.4

²⁹⁴ Unknown Author. Piece written by the Huguenot seminary and collage as a call for funds which appeared in the *Kerkboede*. (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. 1924) NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 606] p. 140-141

The yearly meeting of the home is also advertised in a 1905 edition of the *Kerkbode* which can be taken as a sign that, despite the house's financial difficulties in the following years, their struggles were not brought on from any lack of interest on the church's part²⁹⁵

In 1907 visitations conducted by Emmie and Mrs. Tate allowed the prejudices and misconceptions regarding the work which they were conducting to lessen, and they were able to secure far more funding than previously, as well as nurture an appreciation for the cause in surrounding congregations²⁹⁶. Emmie's work in the surrounding areas as well as her work generating awareness came to a halt the same year however, due to a leg injury which she had sustained. It is uncertain how she came to be injured but it seems to have been serious enough that she was no longer able to travel out for visitation work²⁹⁷.

In 1922 Emmie Murray edited a booklet detailing several cases of women who had turned to the *Magdalena Huis* for aid, in hopes of creating sympathy as well as motivation for other women to provide aid for girls who found themselves in similar situations, in a manner of emulating Christ's work among women on earth. Another motivation of this booklet was to secure funding for the construction of a home for six girls who had been sent to them by the government after having been taken away from hostile home environments. The plea for financial aid is written by Emmie herself and she comments that "a cry goes up to God against us if we do not help such."²⁹⁸

Emmie Murray seems to have been largely influential not only in the formation of the *Magdalena Huis* but also amongst the young women who found themselves seeking aid there. Following in her mother's footsteps, Emmie became a role model and motherly figure to these girls and treated them as family. Emmie details the feelings of a mother in this booklet as she relays the story of "Lilly", a young women who had wanted nothing more than to be done with her unborn child but experienced a revival of sorts, both in emotion and spirit, following the birth of the child. In this recalling of the "impossibilities which become possibilities" in the face of motherly love one

²⁹⁵ Unknown author. "De Kerk" in *Kerkboede*. (Dutch Reformed church: Cape Town. 1905) p.459

²⁹⁶ Unknown author. *Magdalena Huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.4

²⁹⁷ Unknown author. *Magdalena Huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.5

²⁹⁸ Murray. E. *Broken Lilles*. (The rustic press Ltd: Wynberg. Undated) [NGK archive. B781]

gained some insight to the familial upbringing which Emmie experienced. Her reference to “Lily’s” baby as her “treasure” also lends one some insight to the manner in which Emma approached motherhood which one can see echoed in her own interactions with youth²⁹⁹.

Eight years following the establishment of the *Magdalena Huis* it is brought up in a meeting held by the *Vrouensendingbond* where Emmie Murray gave an address regarding the progress and status of the house. Within the meeting she comments that much had been achieved over the past eight years with regards to the home and many difficulties had been overcome. Despite this, a new difficulty had arisen, according to the speaker during the meeting, which was concerned with what one should do with those who were weak of mind. She goes on to comment that, of the girls who are currently living at the *Magdalena Huis*, there were several who were unable to return home due to unsavory circumstances and, even worse, those whose families would not accept them, and requested that they remain at the home indefinitely³⁰⁰.

Emmie goes on to share that they had experienced several difficulties, however they were never unable to pay their bills or to return to good health. One particular aspect of the difficulties which they did face however and which they were still at odds with, was that regarding the nature of the girls who were being sent to the home. She comments that in the past the girls who had turned to the *Magdalena Huis* had always been able to pay for their lodgings and had been somewhat educated. Now, however, the large majority of girls who sought refuge were outcasts in earnest and had little in the way of support. For this reason, Emmie stated that she had been travelling to raise funds for the *Magdalena Huis* as well as to raise awareness for the work which they had been doing with the girls. She also seems to have corresponded in some form with the government to request that something be done about the recent rise in lower class women being “weak of spirit” and comments that it is something which the country as a collective should find sorrowful³⁰¹.

²⁹⁹ Murray, E. *Broken Lilles*. (The rustic press Ltd: Wynberg. Undated) [NGK archive. B781]

³⁰⁰ Unknown Author. *Magdalena huis rapport for het jaar enindigende in Breslau van den jaarvergadering van den vrouensendingbond van as October 1909-1910*. (No publisher listed: Graaf-Reinet. 1910) p.43

³⁰¹ Unknown Author. “Magdalena huis rapport for het jaar enindigende” in *Breslau van den jaarvergadering van den vrouensendingbond van as October 1909-1910*. (No publisher listed: Graaf-Reinet. 1910) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K1692] p.43-44

In a letter which was sent from Marsh Memorial Homes Rondebosch to Mrs Du Plessis of the *Magdalena Huis* the urgency of new facilities is addressed. This letter however speaks of the problem of the home's debt and that they would wait until the home was able to expand without over exerting itself to renew their offer of aid in the matter. One interesting aspect that is mentioned is "the condition relating to nationality" which seems to have revolved around the acceptance of girls of other nationalities into the home. This seems to have been a point of some contention and the author of the letter states that it is only reasonable that preference be given to members of the Dutch Reformed Church as the home had previously been doing. From the context of this letter, however, it is possible to come to the conclusion that it perhaps had turned into a form of exclusivity rather than priority. Another letter sent from the same address the following month however seems to be in favour of a partnership and the offer of aid in the construction of new facilities is renewed. This was perhaps one of the financial difficulties which Emmie speaks of having been behind on but never in a detrimental manner as "the Lord has always provided"³⁰².

In 1912 another piece in the *Magdalena Huis* appeared in the annual meeting of the *Vrouensendingbond* which was written by Emmie Murray herself. She opens by stating that she was proud to report that the house was now providing lodging to eleven women with eight children under four months of age. It had been communicated to her by an unnamed gentleman that if Emmie was able to raise £ 500 he would donate and double the amount so that they would be able to fund the acquisition of another building. For this purpose Emmie toured in Burghersdorp as well as the surrounding areas in a fundraising effort which was largely successful. Emmie then comments that she spoke to her father, Andrew Murray, about the qualities needed for one such as General Booth (her predecessor in a sense) to do work with the fallen members of society. She comments that her father spoke highly of those who had the ability to speak to the lowest women of society and to convince them to turn in search of Gods aid³⁰³.

In 1913 Emmie is recorded to have voiced several complaints regarding the facilities as well as the conditions under which the staff were expected to work. The acquisition of a new building

³⁰² Unknown author. *Korespondensie kasboek van die Magdalena Huis* (1902-1983) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K1692]

³⁰³ Unknown Author. *Magdalena huis rapport for het jaar enindigende in Breslau van den jaarvergadering van den Vrouensendingbond van as October 1909-1910.* (No publisher listed: Graaf Reinet. 1910) p.43-44

however was out of the question at the time due to the large amount of debt which the home was already combating. Despite these difficulties however the *Magdalena Huis* managed to secure the funds and partners necessary to improve their facilities and, in 1914 on May 27, the new *Magdalena Huis* was opened³⁰⁴.

The opening of the new *Magdalena Huis* is said in the same booklet as having been the beginning of a new era in which the *Magdalena Huis* would be able to offer much more than it had before. The beginning of lectures being offered by visiting doctors for the sake of offering a diploma course in obstetrics is cited as having been a sign of this³⁰⁵.

In a 1919 edition of the collection of *Vrouensendingbond* minutes, the *Magdalena House* once again has good news to report and Emmie is spoken of in high regards as her work over the past year is recalled. The home had seen the addition of a new wing with several rooms for babies as well as the addition of a nurse who saw the girls through an outbreak of the flu which was repelled successfully. The work which was being done by the home is once again here described as being of the utmost importance as well as the utmost seriousness for the future of the nation³⁰⁶.

In 1926 Emmie left her post at the *Magdalena Huis* and was succeeded by Lulu de Villers who had been working under Emmie for nine years prior to her appointment as the new head. The home seems to have continued to do well in Emmie absence and it was even relocated to new facilities in 1953 where it was able to take in even more women³⁰⁷.

In a commemorative piece written regarding the work done by the *Magdalena Huis* it was reported that between 1914 and 1932 no less than 760 cases were recorded to have been handled by the institution and 485 children were born within its facilities. The women who arrived at the

³⁰⁴ Unknown author. *Magdalena Huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.4-5

³⁰⁵ Unknown author. *Magdalena Huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.5

³⁰⁶ Unknown Author. *Magdalena huis rapport for het jaar enindigende in Breslau van den jaarvergadering van den vrouensendingbond van as October 1909-1910.*(No publisher listed: Graaf Reinet. 1910) p.43-44

³⁰⁷ Unknown author. *Magdalena Huis* – pamphlet (federal volksbeleggings beperk: Cape Town. undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B 2249] p.6

Magdalena Huis were expected to do so before the delivery of their children and remain for six months following it. This was in order to ensure that the women were prepared for motherhood as well as sufficiently educated to be able to provide a good standard of life for their child³⁰⁸.

5.3 Mary Ellen Murray (14 December 1858 – 19 August 1936)

Mary Ellen Murray, Emma and Andrews's second daughter, went to work in the mission field as both an educator as well as a female missionary. It is perhaps possible to state that Mary, out of all of the daughters, was the most influenced by Emma's life and person due to her heavy involvement in similar fields to her mother. This, however, is a claim which is made somewhat tentatively as there is a far larger quantity of information on Mary than is available on her sisters, and it is highly possible that information may be uncovered in the future which would indicate that Emma's other daughters were just as involved in these fields as Mary.

In a book dealing with the events which took place around the missions within South Africa, Mary Murray is mentioned alongside Deborah Retief as under the category of "sendingheldinne" with reference to their work in Mochudi. The book also details Mary's mission to the town of Saulspoor in the Transvaal and specifically states that it is relaying the historical missionary work of "pioneers"³⁰⁹. It is quite interesting that Mary Murray is mentioned when such categories were not typically applied to women with such high regard at the time of the book's writing. For this purpose, and also as a means by which one may see how Emma's parenting had influenced her daughters to also achieve in the sphere of mission work, Mary's life and contributions to the church will be examined in the following.

In 1870, at the age of twelve Mary was sent with Emmie to Scotland for her education. On her return, Mary Murray was a student of the Huguenot Seminary from the January of 1877 until the

³⁰⁸Greyling, P.F. *Die nederduits gereformeerde kerk en Armsorg*. (Nationale pers: Cape Town. 1939) p. 323

³⁰⁹ Maree, W.L. *Uit duisternis geroep*. (Voortrekerpers beperk: Johannesburg. 1966) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B1872] p. 99

December of 1879 after which she spent a year at home. She then worked as a teacher in Graaff-Reinet until the September of 1883 before leaving to take on missionary duties³¹⁰.

Mary Murray was sent to Saulspoort in 1883 to take charge of a mission school with Miss Anna Gonin³¹¹. At the first meeting of the Women's African mission society at the Huguenot Seminary in the February of 1884, it is mentioned that Emma Murray had read several extracts from letters which she had received from her daughter Mary, who had travelled out from Wellington with the aim of studying the Sichuana language to aid her in her teaching duties and had just reached Saulspoort where her work had begun³¹².

This record also recounts the letters sent by Mary Murray to her brothers in which she spoke humorously of the manner in which her student's work was examined by their parents as well as the literal translations of the names of the natives with whom she worked, one of particular note being "the child of the mother who hates pigs". Many of these children, however, had adopted Christian names following the beginnings of their education. In this interaction one can see the resemblance of the relationship of Emma with her own sister in that they had a close relationship and shared much of their daily lives with each other through their letters³¹³.

Mary also communicated her pride at the children's progress and went on to say that they were intellectual and interested in religion and prayer. The record comments that Emma, when speaking of her daughter's correspondence, was proud of Mary and the work she was doing and took her cheerful disposition as a means by which to teach the other girls that the taking up of such work would bring them similar happiness and, thus, should feel encouraged by Mary's work and stories. In this one can see Emma Murray's earnest belief in the benefits of mission and educational work

³¹⁰ Unknown author. *Memorandum catalogue of the Huguenot seminary Wellington - Cape of Good Hope from January 1874 – January 1884*. (W.A Richards and sons: Cape Town. 1884) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p. 22

³¹¹ Unknown Author. Mission Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. April 1891) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³¹² Unknown Author. *Records of the Huguenot missionary society: Book 2* (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. 1884). [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]

³¹³ Unknown Author. *Records of the Huguenot missionary society: Book 2* (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. 1884). [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]

as well as her passion for the growth of the movement and the increased interest in her chosen work³¹⁴.

Emmie seems to have taken over the relaying of Mary's accomplishments from Emma in 1884 and, in a meeting which took place in October, she communicated the "good work" which was being done in the Transvaal. The record comments that in nearly all of Mary's letters she requested that more helpers be sent so that new schools could be made operational. It is clear that Mary shared her mother's passion for education as well as her drive to better the lives of the South African youth through means of teaching. In response to this it is recorded that Miss Ferguson said that "we must pray to the Lord of the harvest for more labourers"³¹⁵.

Emma Murray, during a meeting which was held in 1884, gave an account of the missionaries who were currently serving across the country, however she seems to have spoken predominantly of her daughter once again. Mary's best teacher it seems had left the school to receive training as a catechist, despite this, her schools attendance was good and the church's congregation was seeing a large amount of growth which was quickly rendering their small facilities a cause for concern. Despite this, the school was deemed to be in good enough condition that Mary could move on and, as the meeting continued, it seems to have been agreed upon that Mary would be sent to Mochuli in Bechuanaland³¹⁶. Mochuli was a small town which was home to approximately twelve thousand residents and was the middle point of the mission of the Dutch Reformed Church in Betsjoeanaland³¹⁷. Mary was to establish a school here due to the many natives who had settled in the area due to the restrictive laws of the Transvaal.³¹⁸ Mary, it would seem, while a missionary first, was also an accomplished teacher who was seen to be near the same capacity as her mother,

³¹⁴ Unknown author. *Memorandum catalogue of the Huguenot seminary Wellington - Cape of Good Hope from January 1874 – January 1884*. (W.A Richards and sons: Cape Town. 1884) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p. 22-23

³¹⁵ Unknown Author. Records of the Huguenot missionary society: Book 2 (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. 1884). [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621]

³¹⁶ Unknown author. *Memorandum catalogue of the Huguenot seminary Wellington - Cape of Good Hope from January 1874 – January 1884*. (W.A Richards and sons: Cape Town. 1884) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p. 23

³¹⁷ Olivier. P.L. *Wie is wie in ons sendingvelde: mashonaland en bestsjianaland*. (no publisher listed. 1952) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B8838]

³¹⁸ Unknown Author. Mission Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. April 1891) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

if the call for her to fulfill such challenging positions is to be taken as a sign of her competence in the field³¹⁹. This could perhaps have been due to her having attended the Huguenot Seminary when one considers the prestigious reputation which it had garnered around the country.

The road to Mochuli was a harsh one and both Mary and Deborah are said to have prayed to God for strength while waiting out harsh weather and problems with their wagon. Despite this however both women seem to have been dedicated to their task and never wavered in their calling to the mission field. They also had to travel on a Sunday due to their difficulties and both women are said to have prayed to God for guidance before they set out³²⁰.

In an 1896 edition of the missionary newsletter which was linked with the Huguenot College and the *Vrouensendingbond*, the mission field of Mochuli is addressed. The report comments that Mary had been in contact regarding her work as well as the possibilities of further mission work being done in the area. Mochuli is described within this report as being the center for mission due to the many people from tribes who had travelled to settle there and many stations having been established there by evangelists which had raised the need for missionaries to take on the work among the locals³²¹.

In a printed extract of a letter which Mary sent from Mochuli she reports that she is proud of the work which has been done and has plans to expand to teaching more evening classes during the week. She also speaks of expanding the work being done with regards to the children's education due to the lack of open opposition from their parents. She also speaks of the success which she had in training some of the local men to teach those within their area and reports that, although these men had set out to teach children, adult women and men also would often attend the lessons³²².

³¹⁹ Unknown Author. Memoriam catalogue of the Huguenot seminary Wellington: Cape of Good Hope January 1874 – January 1884 (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. 1884) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³²⁰ Maree. W.L. *Uit duisternis geroep*. (Voortrekkers beperk: Johannesburg. 1966) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B1872] p. 99

³²¹ Unknown Author. "Welcome home" in Mission Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. February 1896) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³²² Unknown Author. Mission Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. 1888) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

In 1887 Miss Deborah Retief joined Mary in the mission field of Mochuli. In a letter which was published in one edition of the *Zendingbode*, Mary speaks of her joy that she will be joined by a likeminded woman. Deborah is spoken of as a woman of the Huguenot Seminary who, like Mary, heard the call to mission and felt that it was part of Christ's plan that she be sent to Mochuli, regardless of the difficulties which Mary was already facing there with regards to the housing and the lack of infrastructure. From a later edition of the *Zendingbode*, one gains the idea that there was even a lack of sufficient chairs and space for the children of the congregation. Despite this, however, the account details how the community came together to bring couches from their homes as well as extra furniture for the pre-school which had little to nothing prior to this³²³.

In an 1888 edition of the *Zendingbode* it is commented on that Mary taught an evening class of fifty to sixty students in addition to her mission work and her involvement with the day school. Her responsibilities however had lessened since the arrival of Miss Retief. It seems as though she was quite proficient in her work as it is mentioned that she was often asked for input regarding the other classes which were offered in Mochuli as well as in other matters regarding the church and fundraising. This is perhaps due to her connection with the Huguenot Seminary as well as the *Vrouensendingbond* which, by this time, was notorious for its work amongst the women in the Cape³²⁴.

In a letter from Mary which was published in the Huguenot newsletter in the March of 1888 she comments that she had begun visiting different Sunday schools in the area each Sunday and had taken a great interest to their workings and needs. She describes having received several pictures of biblical tales from her aunt which she gave to men who would then travel out to different parts of the town to teach the children. These lessons would usually be comprised of singing a few hymns, the telling of the Bible story and then the showing of the picture which they have been given. While these men were initially sent out to teach the youth, women and men also began to join in these informal meetings. At some of these gathering which Mary attended, she comments that it was held in an old wagon house with logs and a row of ploughs serving as seating. This

³²³ Unknown author. *De zendingbode*. (Dutch Reformed church: Cape Town. 1886) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. Tydsk 750

³²⁴ Unknown author. *De zendingbode*. (Dutch Reformed church: Cape Town. 1886) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. Tydsk 750

gives one some insight into the kind of community with which Mary worked. Despite this unconventional location however, she commented that the people listened attentively and were ready to learn more of the Bible and she speaks in optimistic tones regarding the lack of opposition from the partners' side to these lessons³²⁵.

In the June of the same year a piece appeared in the Huguenot newsletter which was written by Miss Ferguson while on a visit to Mochuli, where she described the town in detail. The mission houses are described as having been situated between two ranges of hills with a view of a vast plain stretching out in front of them. There several native huts were also in view and the town is described as "great" with its seven thousand inhabitants. The missionaries housing was not without its issues and the water proofing of the roofs when it took place is spoken of as a great blessing. Whilst Mary and Debora's housing is described as being primitive, it is noted however, that, though the efforts of neighbours and friends, it became quite homely.

The two women's time is described as being largely taken up by work relating to the schools which they had established. They gave lessons at a school for children in the mornings and one for the young men and women in the afternoons and evenings. They also are said to have spent much time visiting the people in the town. Mary gave her own class on Sundays for the young men who she would send to go out and do evangelistic work among those in the town. The work at Mochuli is described as being seed sowing. This seems to have been largely successful however and even the local king was favourable to the work being done by the missionaries and would attend the church twice every Sunday. Mary would also serve as an interpreter for visiting missionaries such as Miss Ferguson and large groups from her evening school would gather to hear the gospel³²⁶.

A *Zendingbode* article which was published the following year speaks of the work which Mary had done in Mochuli as being exceptional. In a summary of a speech which Mary delivered regarding her mission work it is mentioned that she did much for the pagan women of Mochuli despite their unwillingness to hear the word. It is also mentioned that she spoke with the local king,

³²⁵ Unknown author. Mission Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. March 1888) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³²⁶ Unknown author. Huguenot Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. June 1888) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

Linche, personally who, while not a believer himself, had a brother who had converted and was reported to be passionately working for the Lord.

Despite the length of time which Mary had spent away from home she remained close to her family. This can be seen displayed in a letter to Emma which Mary sent from the mission station in Mochuli, where she comments that she had begun rereading older letters from her mother due to it having been such a long time since she had last heard from her³²⁷. The date of this letter's writing is not recorded however the sentiment remains the same. Mary, while clearly prepared for the hardships of mission work after having been in SaulsPoort for a length of time, still maintained constant contact with home and held her family in her mind.

Sometime following her establishment at Mochuli, it was decided that she should travel to Beaconsfield in the Diamond Fields to take charge of the mission work there where many natives from different tribes had gathered. At the time there was a reported urgent need for women mission workers which Mary felt she should answer³²⁸. She is recorded as having been already established there in 1891 after having been officially sent by the *Vrouensendingbond* during a meeting in the March of 1890³²⁹.

Prior to this however, Mary had traveled home to Wellington in 1889 to collect money for the new missionary's house in Mochuli. This is testament to the connection which she had made with the people there and her reluctance to leave her work which she had been doing in Mochuli. She speaks of the area and its people fondly in many of her letters and one could perhaps make the connection of her having viewed the other missionaries, as well as those with whom they had worked closely, as having been a family of sorts much in the same way that Emma would view those with whom she worked closely and who would reside in their household.

³²⁷ Murray. E.. Letter written by Emma addressed to Mary. (Mochuli. Undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 282]

³²⁸ Murray. M. Letter from Mary Murray in Mission newsletter (March 1890) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³²⁹ Unknown Author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. April 1891) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

The meeting in which the *Vrouwendigbond* decided upon Mary's new location for her mission work took place in 1890 and is recorded within the 1891 edition of the mission newsletter. Emma was the main speaker at the event and her speech to the girls who were to be sent out to new mission fields is recorded. She addressed them by means of scriptural quotes which she had come across in her daily readings. Emma's dedication of the new missionaries to the service of God is one which echoes similar speeches which had been made by Andrew Murray over the course of his work with mission institutions, however one difference is that of the tone of the dedication as Emma's is far more motherly in nature as she prays for the well-being of the girls while hoping for their strength in the face of the difficulties of mission work³³⁰.

In a letter from Mary which was published in the mission newsletter in the December of 1890, she reports of having safely arrived at the station in the Diamond Fields to a warm welcome. This however stands in conflict with her previous letter which was sent earlier in the year where she speaks of her assessment of the Diamond Fields as though she was already there³³¹. One can perhaps assume that, considering the familiarity with which she was greeted by the local community as well as her comment on there being "less natives than when I was here last" that she had perhaps visited the area prior to this. There is no record of this, however, and the most educated estimation of when this visitation might have been, when one considers her movements, is during the time in which she was teaching before having been sent to Saulspoort. It is perhaps likely that she accompanied Miss Ferguson on her travels to the Diamond Fields during which she felt the need for mission workers to be sent to the area.

Another letter from Mary Murray which is published in the Huguenot news of 1890 includes a comment that many are wondering why she left Mochudi for a different mission field. Her view on the matter seems to have been the large lack of female mission workers in the area as well as the harsh conditions and large amount of unconverted peoples who she felt required her attention. She relays that she is excited to see what work can be done for these people through means of evening classes, scriptural readings and lessons and temperance work. To this end she also seems

³³⁰ Unknown author. Emma Murray's speech regarding Mary's role in Mission Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. March 1891) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³³¹ Unknown Author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. December 1890) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number] p.9

to have a plan in place to ensure that the men meet on Saturday afternoons for biblical studies when “the temptations to drink are strong”³³². Mary does not elaborate on this plan however it does display the passion for her work in her already having made such deliberations and plans so shortly following her arrival in a new environment. Mary also seems to have believed that her work in the Diamond Fields would definitely be blessed and that she had no doubt that something great would be accomplished there. The Diamond Fields are said to have had approximately thirty thousand people pass through it each year where they would spend a few months at a time in residence. In response to this, young missionaries were called to do the work of seed-sowing and would require great patience as it was seen as an immense task³³³.

In a piece on “our missionaries” which was written by Miss Ferguson for the Huguenot news in April of 1891, Mary Murray is stated to be the first of the women’s missionaries who were sent out and she is presented as a form of trailblazer for all who followed her. She is spoken of in high regard and is described as having been one who loved people and who was dedicated to her work. Miss Ferguson mentions that it was incredibly difficult for her to leave her post at Mochuli for Beaconsfield where she would work with the native peoples and train two native evangelists³³⁴.

In 1891 as a revival was spreading across the country, Mary wrote home that it raised her spirits for so many who previously had hardened hearts to be experiencing the call of the spirit. She comments that “dit een jaar van genade voor Suid Afrika zou zijn.”³³⁵³³⁶.

The next year, Mary reported on the work being done in Beaconsfield and spoke of the last year of mission as having been greatly successful. She comments that their work had predominantly been visitations although her Sunday school had an attendance of between thirty to forty students which was a positive sign for the time. Mary also describes the work among the *coloured* people

³³² Unknown Author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. December 1890) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number] p.9

³³³ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. March 1890) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number] p.5

³³⁴ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. March 1891) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number] p.5

³³⁵ “This year is a year of grace for South Africa”

³³⁶ Unknown author. De zendingbode. (Dutch Reformed church: Cape Town. 1886) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. Tydsk 750

as being her “special department”³³⁷ and is proud to share that she speaks to approximately one hundred people over the course of the week, however she is slightly disheartened that the majority of these are advanced in years³³⁸.

Mary also speaks of the difficulties within their Sunday open air meetings as some of the attendees would be intoxicated, but she speaks with hope however as she recounts that several of these men had begged that the mission workers not cease their visits. Mary comments that she had high hopes that these men would turn to God and that their appreciation of the meetings was a sign that the first steps had been taken for them to change their ways³³⁹.

Her work at Beaconsfield seems to have continued to have gone well however and, in a 1892 report, she comments that their work “has been manifold” and that they had several ongoing projects such as an evening school for the children as well as a soup kitchen for the colder months. They also had regular visitations to the locals which only increased in number as they went on to the point of it becoming their main occupation. She also comments that the Lord’s power is visibly manifest even though none have declared themselves definitely for Christ³⁴⁰.

In 1894 Mary seems to have relocated to Mochuli where she comments that she is residing until “my brother is ready for me”. It is uncertain as to how Mary came to leave the Diamond Fields or what influenced her return to Mochuli. One can perhaps attribute it to a health condition, however, as the Diamond Fields were well known for their harsh conditions and many a missionary was pressed to leave their posts there in response to failing health³⁴¹. It is later commented in a mission

³³⁷ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. June 1892) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number] p.5

³³⁸ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. June 1892) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number] p.5

³³⁹ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. June 1892) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number] p.5

³⁴⁰ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. March 1892) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁴¹ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. December 1894) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

newsletter that Mary was only intending to remain at Mochuli for six months, however, due to the great need for more workers, she remained for eighteen³⁴².

Within this letter Mary also speaks of her difficulties as some of the locals had expressed dissatisfaction with the number of white missionaries present at Mochuli and wished to only be taught by *coloured* teachers. In response to this Deborah seems to have begun to train helpers, leaving the school work to Mary³⁴³. In 1895, however, Mary seems to have still been hard at work in Mochuli and she comments in a letter that they are in great need of new workers due to a surge in interest in the gospel from the locals. Mary closes this letter with the following words which are reminiscent of her father's sentiments while he was stationed in Worcester during the revival; "we want so much for the people the real and definite being born again, a deep true work of the Holy Spirit. You will ask people to pray for this"³⁴⁴. The dedication with which Mary approached her work is once again spoken of in a later article in the *Zendingbode*. Her and Deborah Retief's work in the community is spoken of as having been extensive enough that they worked in the place of an officially trained male missionary. It is also mentioned that due to her work she had had no vacation in the last year however she never complained³⁴⁵.

Mary joined her brother, John, in 1896 in, Waterberg, Transvaal where she took over the teaching at the school as well as a class of older women. She also comments that she suspects that she will be needed to take charge of a sewing class as well as a prayer meeting for the women. Mary seems to have retained her passion for mission work and comments that she is eager to do as much as she is able to take on. She also comments that her brother studies with her for two hours every day, a testament perhaps to the close familial ties which were nurtured by Emma during their youth³⁴⁶.

³⁴² Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. May 1895) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁴³ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. December 1894) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁴⁴ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. May 1895) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number] p.3

³⁴⁵ Unknown author. *De zendingbode*. (Dutch Reformed church: Cape Town. 1896) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. Tydsk 750]

³⁴⁶ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. September 1896) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

In the November of 1896 Mary was reported to have been in Pretoria and Johannesburg for several weeks although she was now said to be returning to Waterberg. One can perhaps assume that she had travelled to gather funds for the school in Waterberg as she had done previously at Mochuli, however it is hard for one to say as the records of her work become sparse following her departure from the Diamond Fields³⁴⁷.

In the January of the following year Mary wrote again regarding her work in Waterberg and was happy to share that she had received positive responses to her teaching so far as the elderly women's class was concerned, and she felt that the women were ready to embark on their own spiritual journeys. She also had resumed her work as a translator and had aided her brother in the translation of texts into the native language of the locals so that they may better understand the content of the gospel³⁴⁸. In the letter Mary also shared her plans to return to Saulspoort where "great work is waiting for her"³⁴⁹ and where she remained until poor health led to her early retirement from mission work.

5.4 Catherine Margaret Murray (12 August 1860 - 22 September 1928)

Catherine Margaret (Kitty) Murray was a student at the Huguenot Seminary from the January of 1879 until the December of 1880. Following her graduation she worked as a teacher in Wellington for three years before travelling to Murraysberg where she continued to teach³⁵⁰. There is sadly only a small amount of information available regarding Kitty's life however the Huguenot seminary newsletters and records provide enough facts to allow one to form a timeline.

³⁴⁷ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. November 1896) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁴⁸ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. January 1897) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁴⁹ Unknown author. Missions Newsletter (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. January 1897) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁵⁰ Unknown author. *Memorandum catalogue of the Huguenot seminary Wellington - Cape of Good Hope from January 1874 – January 1884*. (W.A Richards and sons: Cape Town. 1884) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 621] p.

Within the 1889 edition of the seminary catalogue Kitty is officially listed as having been a teacher at the seminary in Wellington³⁵¹. Kitty seems to have found her calling in the realm of education as she is mentioned once again as a teacher in 1890³⁵². She is also recorded in the commemorative book of the branch of the Huguenot Seminary at Bethlehem in the Orange Free State as the principal of the seminary in 1892, as well as in the 1983 edition of the Huguenot seminary catalogue³⁵³. Kitty is still listed as the principal of the branch seminary in the Orange Free State several years following this³⁵⁴ however in 1900, the seminary was closed for part of the year due to the war³⁵⁵. Kitty continued on as the principle and teacher of the Bethlehem seminary until she was unable to fulfill her duties, a few years before her death.

5.5 Annie Jemima Murray (25 October 1863 – 5 March 1929)

Annie Jemima Murray studied at the Huguenot Seminary from the January of 1878 until the December of 1882, lived at home for a year and then taught at an infant school in Wellington from October until December of 1883³⁵⁶. Annie went on to take on many of the roles which Emma had served in Andrews's life, following Emma's death and often worked as his scribe. Annie also sent several extracts of her diaries to Dreyer when he was compiling his work on her father and, was thus partially responsible for a large amount of the direct information which is available on Andrew Murray and his family³⁵⁷.

³⁵¹ Unknown Author. *Catalogue of the sixteenth year of the Huguenot seminary in Wellington South Africa* (no publisher listed.1889) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁵² Unknown Author. *Catalogue of the sixteenth year of the Huguenot seminary in Wellington South Africa* (no publisher listed.1890) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁵³ Unknown Author. *Catalogue of the nineteenth year of the Huguenot seminary Wellington SA and branch seminary* (no publisher listed.1890) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁵⁴ Unknown Author. *Catalogue of the nineteenth year of the Huguenot seminary Wellington SA and branch seminary* (no publisher listed.1985, 1986, 1897, 1898); Unknown Author. *Catalogue of the twenty first year of the Huguenot collage and seminary Wellington SA and branch seminaries* (Huguenot seminary: Wellington.1899, 1900) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁵⁵ Unknown Author. *Catalogue of the twenty first year of the Huguenot collage and seminary Wellington SA and branch seminaries* (Huguenot seminary: Wellington.1901) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

³⁵⁶ Unknown author. *Missions Newsletter* (Huguenot seminary: Wellington. January 1897) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number] p. 31

³⁵⁷ Murray. A. *Diary extracts compiled by Annie to be sent to Dreyer for use in his books on Andrew*. (Undated) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 306]

5.6 John Neethling Murray (7 November 1868 - 1931)

Andrew and Emma's second son, John Neethling Murray, was born in 1869 and, over the course of his life, became a successful minister as well as the moving force behind the establishment of the Chaplain division within the Union Defense Force³⁵⁸.

In a document detailing the mission work of John, he is praised as having been the first Dutch Reformed missionary in Waterberg. John Murray had served as a chaplain in German South West Africa as well as German East Africa in the First World War and in 1917 was appointed to a permanent position in Robertshoogte as the first permanent military chaplain in service of the Dutch Reformed Church. His work as a missionary however, began fairly late as, prior to this, John Murray had lost faith while studying at Cambridge. It was through his reading of the scripture for his injured brother, he found Christ once again. It is said that Andrew and Emma had prayed for him for this whole period. In the June of 1894 he left for the Transvaal to become the first missionary sent to Renosterhoekspruit, Waterberg, directly following his ordination³⁵⁹.

John Murray married Miss Solomina Adriana (Minnie) Hansmeyer from Grahamstown in 1885 and began to dedicate himself wholly to his mission work until the outbreak of the second Vryheidsoorlog. Minnie was a graduate of the Huguenot Seminary as well as a member of the mission society and had engaged in mission work alongside her husband. During the war he supported the Boers and worked alongside them, also spending time in a prisoner of war camp in India due to his affiliations, until 1902, when he returned to Waterberg where he stayed dedicated to his work for twelve years. During his time as a missionary he was sent to many different mission fields in East Africa and constantly pressured the church to find more ministers who could be fully dedicated to the people to whom he was being sent. His congregation by 1917 had grown to a size of just over three hundred in attendance on Sundays³⁶⁰. In 1917, however, he was appointed as

³⁵⁸Moolman. P.L. *Eerwarde John Neethling Murray Se Bedining As Pioniersending Van Die Waterberg En Eerste Kaplaan Van Die Unieverdedingsmag: 1894-1931*. (Stellenbosch university press: Stellenbosch. 1977) p.5

³⁵⁹ Unknown Author. *Jaarboek van die NG kerke in Suid-Afrika* (no publisher listed. 1932) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 1012]

³⁶⁰ Unknown Author. *Jaarboek van die NG kerke in Suid-Afrika* (NGK south Africa. Cape Town. 1932) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 1012] p.383

military chaplain in the service of the Union civilian forces at Robertshoogte, Pretoria, where he remained until 1927 when ill health forced his retirement³⁶¹

One labour of passion which John undertook was the establishment of a school which would have the facilities to educate one hundred and fifty children, as well as a Sunday School which would be able to support a further hundred students. Unfortunately, at the initial time of his plan's conception there were no teachers available and he was forced to request that several urgently come from Pretoria to aid in the venture. Mary Murray eventually joined him there and aided in the teaching duties as well as translation. His dedication to this plan and to the education of the people of Waterberg can perhaps be linked somewhat to his mother's influence stemming from her own passion for the education of the youth of the nation in both general matters as well as those of the faith³⁶².

In his dedication to the Word and his work, one sees much of Andrew and Emma's drive to spread the Word of the gospel. This drive was undoubtedly passed on to their children when one examines the lives of John, Emmie and Mary, and the dedication with which they went about their work in the spheres of mission and education³⁶³. Another aspect of his parent's teachings which come out in his work is found within his establishment of the Chaplain division of the Union Defence Force. John had been concerned for the souls of the soldiers, in a manner which echoed the concern of Andrew and Emma with regards to those with whom they came into contact while on their travels³⁶⁴.

On 27 February 1931 he passed away at Greytown in Natal after a long bout of illness which had rendered him unable to work.³⁶⁵

³⁶¹ Unknown Author. *Jaarboek van die NG kerke in Suid-Afrika* (NGK south Africa. Cape Town. 1932) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 1012] p.383

³⁶² Unknown Author. *Jaarboek van die NG kerke in Suid-Afrika* (NGK south Africa. Cape Town. 1932) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 1012] p.383 -384

³⁶³ Unknown Author. *Jaarboek van die NG kerke in Suid-Afrika* (NGK south Africa. Cape Town. 1932) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 1012] p.383-384

³⁶⁴ Moolman. P.L. *Eerwarde John Neethling Murray Se Bedining As Pioniersending Van Die Waterberg En Eerste Kapelaan Van Die Unieverdedingsmag: 1894-1931*. (Stellenbosch university press. Stellenbosch. 1977) p.1

³⁶⁵ Unknown Author. *Jaarboek van die NG kerke in Suid-Afrika* (NGK south Africa. Cape Town. 1932) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. PPV 1012] p.383-384

Following this examination of Emma's children and what shape her influence took with regards to their lives and work, this thesis will move onwards to an examination of all preceding sections as a whole from a critical standpoint.

CHAPTER 6: Critical review

This section will be examining all of the previous information presented by this paper in an effort to bring together the strings which have been uncovered as well as to turn a critical eye to this information with regards to its use and validity. For this reason multiple aspects of the paper will be examined in turn such as the genre of the paper itself, the limitations of the sources which have been used as well as the possibility of viewing Emma herself as a “heroic” historical figure for women. Finally, this section will examine the paper as a whole and come to a conclusion regarding whether or not the research and the facts uncovered by it are a good contribution to the field of Ecclesiology and, if so, what form this contribution takes.

6.1 The Genre and Methodology Used

The first aspect of the preceding chapters which requires critical examination is the methodology itself. The biographical genre is one which has been utilized many times in the past. However, when the question of feminist biography arises, questions regarding exactly what form it should take arise. It is for this reason that one thus needs to re-examine the stated purpose of this thesis and its results in order to conclude whether it is indeed a work which can be classified under the category of a feminist biography or not.

This however leads one to the question of what exactly would be required to be present within a work for it to make the shift to being considered a “feminist biography”. To create a framework by which the following paper may be judged several basic “criteria” of a feminist biography have been identified. Firstly, for a biography to be considered a feminist work the subject of the study’s gender should be brought into question and it should be the assumption that their narrative would have been drastically different if they had been of a different gender. The second point is that which deals with the assumption which a feminist biography begins with regarding the conviction that the figure in question, if female, experienced difficulties and constraints simply because of their gender. Thirdly, a sensitivity to the norms, social conventions and roles of the context of the figure should also be subject to examination however, due to the feminist nature of the study, an assumption is usually present regarding these conventions having weighed more heavily on the

female member of society. It is thus worth noting that if any one of these criteria is present the paper in question could perhaps be called a feminist biography and, thus the reasoning for why this paper may nonetheless be classified as being a feminist biography, lies in the last of these criteria: the presence of a political commitment of a feminist to contribute to a cause by means of the research. While this may sound as though it is a daunting task, the classification of what exactly a contribution is, remains fairly broad and one of the mentioned aspects of that which could be a contribution is the act of uncovering a past female figure who has been previously ignored in the pages of history³⁶⁶.

Now that the main “requirements” of a feminist biography have been presented, the question which must be addressed is that of whether it is even possible for a feminist biography to exist in a form which would allow for it to be considered an unbiased work, capable of contributing to historical research as a field. This question deals directly with the stumbling blocks which are often faced by feminists when they seek to write a historical biography which allows for the inclusion of their own world views and ideologies³⁶⁷. The first of these issues is that feminist authors of such biographies often assume the behavioural patterns of their subjects according to their perceived notions of the historical oppression of women, and then attempt to exemplify or tone down the subject’s divergent behaviour in order to create a moral lesson for the present from the narrative³⁶⁸.

Another common pitfall of feminist biographies lies within the political sphere of the ideology. The issue of burdening a historical figure with a modern understanding of an ideology such as feminism is a common issue and, thus, questions are often raised regarding why a historical woman did not approach class or family relations the way in which a modern woman would, and the accusation that if they had, the ideal of equality would have been realized far sooner. In doing this, modern feminist researchers are seeking for a reflection of their own wish for female pioneers in history and, thus, may unconsciously distort the facts which do not support this ideal over the course of their research³⁶⁹.

³⁶⁶ Trofimenkoff. S.M. “Feminist Biography” in *Atlantis*. (Mount saint Vincent university: Halifax. 1985) p.3-5

³⁶⁷ Caine. B. “Feminist biography and feminist history” in *Women’s History Review*. (Routledge: Australia. 1994. 3:2.) p. 247-248

³⁶⁸ Trofimenkoff. S.M. “Feminist Biography” in *Atlantis*. (Mount saint Vincent university: Halifax. 1985) p.2

³⁶⁹ Trofimenkoff. S.M. “Feminist Biography” in *Atlantis*. (Mount saint Vincent university: Halifax. 1985) p.4-5

Another issue with this is, if this is to be the only manner in which a feminist biography can be completed, what motivation is there for one to research a historical woman such as Emma Murray, who did not actively resist social convention? The answer to this question, while clear from the point of view of historical uncovering of past figures, becomes slightly more complex with regards to the feminist motivations when one considers the above issues with feminist biographies as a genre³⁷⁰.

After having reviewed the above points regarding this thesis's ability to be categorized as a feminist biography the conclusion, while somewhat clearer, remains vague. As mentioned previously in this work, there was no active effort made to apply a feminist ideology to the methodology of this paper. Having said this however, if the simple presence of the goal to uncover an unknown female figure allows for a work to be classified as being of a feminist nature, then by its very aim, this paper would identify as a feminist biography. Despite this, however, the lack of political and ideological framework and goals within the preceding work result in a lack of further grounding for this claim to be made. Therefore, and in conclusion, this paper will make no claims as to its genre so far as feminist ideology is concerned due to the parameters for such a claim to be true being in constant flux as the feminist movements change and develop over time³⁷¹.

6.2 The Limitations of the Sources

As mentioned in the introductory section of this thesis, the information which was utilized in the preceding pages has been presented as it was found. Therefore, a critical review of these biased sources is required. In addition to this, much of the modern research on historical women who had an influence in the field of theology, seeks to present them as heroic figures who follow the characteristic guidelines of modern feminism. This is not always the case however, and thus, a critical gaze will also be turned to Emma Murray's person and her work.

³⁷⁰ Trofimenkoff. S.M. "Feminist Biography" in *Atlantis*. (Mount saint Vincent university: Halifax. 1985) p.5

³⁷¹ Caine. B. "Feminist biography and feminist history" in *Women's History Review*. (Routledge: Australia. 1994. 3:2.) p. 247-248

The personal letters and books which have been compiled regarding Emma, which are referenced in the previous sections, are largely biased in her favour. This is due to the fact that those which have been preserved are addressed to and from her friends and family and, thus, it is highly unlikely that they would express ill will or criticism of Emma herself. Another aspect to take into consideration regarding this is the societal customs and norms of the time. Within Victorian times, a large amount of importance was placed upon propriety, especially official correspondence and memorials, and thus, the image of Emma which can be gained from these is one which is more likely than not watered down in order to follow these expectations of polite and private respectability³⁷². Another source which requires attention with regards to its bias is that of Joyce Murray's two books which relay the story of Emma, from her birth in Cape Town until her eventual departure from Bloemfontein with Andrew, by means of a compilation of her letters to her family for the duration of this period in her life. While the large majority of the information found within these books comes from the direct letters of Emma which have been printed within them, one must bear in mind that Joyce Murray is a family member, and thus, more likely than not made specific choices regarding which letters to print and which to leave out of the publication. When one considers this it becomes clear that the image of Emma within these books may also be incomplete as it is unlikely that Joyce Murray would publish any letters which would place Emma in an ill or questioning light.

From this then one must begin to piece together the "true" image of Emma Murray. This, however, is a task which would require far greater resources and time than is currently afforded to this thesis, as it would require for one to move past the letters and institutional journals which have been used here to a more "unbiased" source. This source, however, does not seem to exist in any singular form due to the state of the documents which are accessible, as well as the past lack of interest in Emma as a figure in the field of historical research. There is also something to be said here on the topic of whether such a thing as an "unbiased" source truly exists due to the inherent bias of the reader which is present in all cases. It is for this reason that the uncovering of the full image of Emma would require for one to formulate a combined picture from her personal letters, journals

³⁷² Prochaska. F. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford. 1980) p.20

in which she is mentioned, family journals mentioning her, as well as an examination of all those with whom she was connected. This, however, was not the primary goal of this paper.

The research in the previous pages was compiled with the aim of presenting a preliminary examination of this ignored figure so as to form a starting block for those with the connections and resources to continue. Due to the lack of current research on Emma, as well as the lack of investigation into the sources with which this paper deals, the aim here was to present the reader with the narrative of Emma's life and the work which she accomplished during it in the form as it has been uncovered from these sources. Thus, it would be a topic for further research to delve into various sources such as family records, and deeper investigation onto the finer details of the institutions with which Emma was involved with the aim of furthering the presented narrative into a form which is more historically textured and unbiased.

6.3 Emma as a Female Historical Role Model

Emma was without doubt a strong woman, however, one may be tempted to place Emma on a pedestal with regards to her character and contributions. Due to her status as an “unheard” and influential women in history, especially when one considers her relation to as renowned a theologian as Andrew Murray, it would be too easy to judge her by means of, or attempt to place her character within a light which would correspond to, the modern ideals of “strong women” and feministic guidelines. This, however, must be subject to examination before any such claims can be made³⁷³.

Emma Murray, when one examines her life and work as a whole in the compiled research presented in the preceding chapters, strikes one as somewhat of a conundrum when one seeks to box her in a modern designation with regards to her character so far as being a “historical role model” for women is concerned. Emma did in fact break the mould of the expected role of a women in a marriage with regards to her focus on aiding her husband in his work, as well as her own accomplishments in the field of mission. From the beginning of their marriage Emma viewed

³⁷³ Caine. B. “Feminist biography and feminist history” in *Women's History Review*. (Routledge: Australia. 1994. 3:2.) p. 247-248

herself as Andrews's partner rather than his housekeeper and continued to act in such a manner. She matched him intellectually and is often recorded as having been more in tune with the administrative aspects of his work than he was. She also took on tasks such as the organization of the women of his congregations, teaching of Sunday schools and visitations to congregants and, while doing so, continued her duties regarding the managing of their home³⁷⁴.

Despite all this however, Emma accomplished her work and took on these roles all within the context of being the wife of a minister. She remained conscious of Andrew's needs throughout their marriage and, in many situations, acted out of support and a wish for his work to go well. Emma also continued to manage the housework and care for her husband's health in the manner which was typical of a women of the late nineteenth century. Thus, although Emma was indeed a strong woman, she was also what would be considered a "good wife" within the context of the time³⁷⁵.

In light of this, one must remain careful when utilizing modern conceptions of feminism when examining her life. It is important that one places her within her timeframe, as has been done in the above chapters by means of a brief overview of the context of the area in which she operated. When one does this, it becomes clear that Emma was both the ideal of a supportive wife that was expected of her from the societal norms (although one should not confuse this with a lack of love for her husband but rather that her expression of her love, as well as her loyalty to him, largely followed the conventions of the time³⁷⁶), as well as a strong and intellectual women who was able to go farther than her role as "wife" and take on the role of "partner" to Andrew, as well as to accomplish her own work among the women's mission movements of South Africa. Therefore, one must be careful not to categorize her as a woman who rejected societal norms in order to follow her own ambitions and calling, but rather as one who worked within the norms and nineteenth century expectations of women, to accomplish much more than the average woman within the late nineteenth century was expected to.

³⁷⁴ Unknown Author. Emma Murray memoriam found on loose piece of paper (1905) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 633]

³⁷⁵ Unknown Author. Emma Murray memoriam found on loose piece of paper (1905) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 633]

³⁷⁶ Walker. C. The women suffrage movement in South Africa. (New Africa Books. Cape Town. 1991) p.40

If one were to truly seek to find pioneering women in the field of mission however one would need to look no farther than Emma's daughters. Each of them went into the fields of mission and education and held high positions within their respective contexts and institutes. An interesting aspect of their lives is the fact that none of them ever married, choosing instead to remain engrossed in their individual work. This one could perhaps attribute to Emma's influence which she had on her daughters, and that her teachings regarding mission, as well as the good work which she had accomplished in the field, had begun the drive which one sees in her daughters to do the same. The desire of Emma to spread the gospel and to aid the education of women in the nation seems only to have been amplified in her daughters. Therefore one could perhaps say that, while Emma may have remained a woman of the times in terms of her role as a wife, her daughters, through her influence, were most definitely more. When one examines their accomplishments and lives, as has been done in the previous pages, one can clearly see that Emma, while not a pioneer herself, through her influence, example, and the manner in which she raised her children, most definitely did inspire female pioneers within the country.

Another facet of this is the manner in which Emma Murray created institutions for the furthering of women's mission within South Africa. The role which she held in the formation of the Huguenot Seminary as well as the *Vrouensendingbond* held a great impact in the creation of agency amongst the women in South Africa as well as the providing of skills which would allow them to pursue their own callings within the realm of education and mission work. In doing so Emma inspired, as well as facilitated, the rise in women missionaries within the country, a fact that can be proven by a simple means of examining the Huguenot Seminary graduation records where it is clear that nearly all of the seminaries graduates went on to become missionaries, teachers or hold various other positions of influence within their communities³⁷⁷.

³⁷⁷ Unknown Author. *Catalogue of the twenty first year of the Huguenot collage and seminary Wellington SA and branch seminaries* (Huguenot seminary: Wellington.1899, 1900) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. No record number]

CONCLUSION

Emma Murray was without a doubt a noteworthy women and over the course of her life she accomplished much as partner to Andrew Murray in marriage and in work, as well as independently. Within a memorial written for Emma it is even commented that Andrew would not have been able to accomplish as much “good work” if he had not met Emma³⁷⁸.

Emma Murray’s character, as it was perceived by those who personally knew her, is summarised on a page which seems to have been written as a draft of a memoriam of Emma for a publication linked to the *Vrouensendingbond*. This piece opens with the telling statement that “Mrs Murray’s whole life in this community was one of helpfulness and blessing.” The piece states that as a minister’s wife she did her full share of work and addressed it with the same enthusiasm which her husband displayed. The piece speaks of the young men who stayed within their household so that her husband could train them as ministers and how Emma would care for them as her own regardless of her already large family. Their house was also kept open for any who came knocking and the author of the memorial comments that Emma was always present to provide a warm welcome, accepting any guests with the same hospitality which she offered to her family³⁷⁹.

Her work with the temperance union is also commented on and she is spoken of in her capacity as an active member of the society as well as one who was keenly interested in the work of the department of social purity, of which she was the superintendent for the cape colony and often brought issues of temperance up before the department³⁸⁰.

Through this a small glimpse into just how active Emma was in South African ministry and mission is gained. The warmth with which she is remembered in this piece only serves to confirm the many

³⁷⁸ Unknown Author. Emma Murray memoriam found on loose piece of paper (1905) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 633]

³⁷⁹ Unknown Author. Emma Murray memoriam found on loose piece of paper (1905) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 633]

³⁸⁰ Unknown Author. Emma Murray memoriam found on loose piece of paper (1905) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 633]

references to her motherly treatment of all whom she met as well as the high regard which many had of her³⁸¹.

Emma was an influential figure in her own right who did much to promote women's education and mission work in South Africa. It was through the organizations which were born as a result of her influence and work that many a women gained the skills and opportunity to be sent as a teacher or mission worker and, in turn, provide others across the country with skills and opportunities to change and improve their own situation, both from a spiritual as well as a physical standpoint.

Emma's children also went on to become significant figures in their own right, most likely due to their mother's example and teachings during their youth. As mentioned in the final chapter of this thesis, while Emma was not a pioneer herself, she certainly inspired South African women, beginning with her daughters, to become pioneers within the fields of mission and education.

The life of Emma Murray provides one with insight into the influencing figure behind many of the organizations and institutions, which allowed for the rise of many accomplished female South African figures within the sphere of mission work and education. Some such well known figures, who were trained at the Huguenot seminary as well as involved with the *Vrouensendingbond* were: Emma and Andrew's Daughters; Debora Retief, who ran a mission station alone for some period of time³⁸²; Pauline Murray, the second female missionary doctor in South Africa who continued her work until shortly before her death in 1988³⁸³; and Francina Susanna Louw, who contributed greatly to the field of mission work by means of translating various theological texts³⁸⁴. It is for this reason that Emma's youth, life and work, as well as her partnership with Andrew Murray, are of great value, not only to this study but to other which may follow now that her narrative has been more clearly uncovered.

³⁸¹ Unknown Author. Emma Murray memoriam found on loose piece of paper (1905) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. K-DIV 633]

³⁸² Maree. W.L. *Uit duisternis geroep*. (Voortrekkers beperk: Johannesburg. 1966) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B1872] p.123

³⁸³ Pauw. C.M. *Mission and Church in Malawi*. (Christian lecture fund: Wellington. 2016) p.146

³⁸⁴ Olivier. P.L. *Wie is wie in ons sendingvelde: mashonaland en bestsjianaland*. (no publisher listed. 1952) [NGK archive: Stellenbosch. B8838] p.97-98

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