

Reclaiming the Women of Britain's First Mission to West Africa: Three Lives Lost and Found, 2019

Author: Fiona Leach

Women's Letters from the CMS Archives¹

Notes:

All but two of the fifty letters from the three women whose lives have been reconstructed in the above work have been transcribed here. In the case of the longest letters, a few sections, judged as less important, have been summarised. All summarised material is distinguished by the use of italics and is enclosed between square brackets.

The original text has been followed as closely as possible, although it has been difficult at times to decipher what is on the page due to the poor condition of the letters. In particular, I have retained the erratic spelling, punctuation and use of capital letters of the originals, as well as the grammatical errors.

Where a word could not be deciphered, this is indicated as [indecipherable word] or [...]. Where a word is missing because the sheet is torn or there is a blank space on the page, this is indicated as [missing word].

Original abbreviations of words have been retained throughout but the full word inserted within square brackets at its first appearance, e.g. 'c'd [could]', 'Rev'd [Reverend]', but not thereafter.

Sarah Hartwig's later letters are particularly difficult to read. I have been fortunate to have been able to draw on, and compare my own interpretations with, the transcriptions contained in Bruce L. Mouser, and Nancy Fox Mouser, *The Rev. Peter Hartwig 1804-1815: A Sourcebook of Correspondence from the Church Missionary Society Archive* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2003).

¹ All but one of Sarah's letters are transcribed from the original. The exception is no 21, her response to the Committee's valedictory address on 10 November 1814, which is missing from the archives. The version here has been taken from the *CMS Proceedings* of 1815. Three other letters from Sarah are known to be missing: one dated 10 February 1806 (noted in CMS: G/C1/1 minutes of 7 March 1806, 215), another, undated, relating to her motives for returning to England (noted in G/C1/1 minutes of 26 May 1806, 221) and a third dated 17 February 1806 (noted in G/C1/1 minutes of 7 July 1806, 235). The first two of Elizabeth's letters have been transcribed from the originals, the subsequent two letters and the school report have been transcribed from the versions copied into Mission Book 3 as the originals have not survived. From April 1820, the CMS moved to a system of copying all correspondence from overseas into Mission Books (M1, M2 etc), with many of the originals being lost or destroyed. Of Susanna's letters after 1820, two originals (nos. 13 and 14) have survived in the folder containing some of her husband's correspondence (O132).

SARAH HARTWIG'S LETTERS (31)

1. To Josiah Pratt, Free Town Sierra Leone March 23, 1805 (E1/9).² Note added: 'Cop'd TS'
[Copied by Thomas Smith, Deputy Secretary]

Rev'd [Reverend] Sir,

We received your kind letter by the *Regulus*, Cap. [Captain] Macaulay last month, which afforded us all much pleasure. In it, you were kind enough to say that you wished me to write to you freely upon any subject I thought proper, & tho' [though] there is not any thing very particular which strikes my mind at present, yet I address you with the pleasure & freedom of a friend. I have sent my journal, by which you will see what has been my situation & state of mind from time to time, & when you have looked it over, shall be obliged if you will send it to Mr. Venn of Clapham. I am sorry you had not received our Packet, which we sent by Mr. Dawes last June, but hope you have got it before this. My dear Partner is now in the Sosoo Country, & has been gone about a Month, we wish he had been here before the *Regulus* sailed that he might have sent you the particulars respecting his views of a missionary settlement there. Mr. Renner has acted as Chaplain since we came to the Colony & Peter has not been able to render him much assistance, because he has had so much indisposition & his desire has always seemed more to preach amongst the natives. You will have heard I dare say how much illness we both have had since last June, & have been rescued (apparently) from the gates of death several times. Faith & Patience has indeed been much exercised; but that God in whom we trusted was able to deliver us, & bring us off more than conquerors through him who hath loved us. Now, thank God, we are both better & I hope we shall be enabled to lead useful & active lives, & devote ourselves to the service of Him who is worthy. I have employment enough now from morn to night & sh'd [should] my feeble endeavours be blessed & made useful to the improvement of those under my care I shall be happy. I have now about 20 Children, & intend taking more as soon as the Gov. gets a school-room built for them (which he intends doing as soon as possible) if please God I am able. I have taken a young woman, who was with me before as a scholar, to bring forwards as an assistant if I can – that in case I sh'd be ill – or leave the Colony she may go on – & by being useful to others may get herself a decent & honest living – because she is very poor, & has no home. I have sent a particular account of the Money which I have had of Mr. Renner since we came here towards house keeping – & tho' it appears a great deal, yet I am sure I have acted as frugal as I c'd [could] in every thing. I hope our honourable Society will not be displeased, or think we have been extravagant in any thing. The time of sickness was an expensive time as we were each obliged to have a person sit up with us several nights together, & this more than once. When I reflect upon this, & take a retrospective view of what is past – I am overwhelmed with tears of gratitude & joy. The accounts however my dear Sir I am sorry to say I cannot send as I wished, for though I set down particularly what was laid out, while well, yet having so many interruptions, I c'd not at all proceed, for which I have often been sorry. The wine & other things which we have had from the Store we have got the Bills of – which I was going to send (as I have not had time to copy them) but Mr. Ludlam thinks that I had better not send the Original but they sh'd be lost, but send the Copy's by the first Opportunity – which I certainly shall if spared. By these you will see the price of the different articles - & will find that every thing, even at the cheapest rate, is very high. I am

² The full catalogue entry for the CMS Sierra Leone Early Correspondence (E1/ - to E8/ -) is CMS/B/OMS/C/A1/E ... The CMS catalogue is available online at <http://calmview.bham.ac.uk/record.aspx?src=Catalog&id=XCMS>.

glad however that the Gov'r & Council have come to a determination to make me a yearly present for attending to the Children here, & that by this my own personal expenses will be lessened. I can assure our dear friends, that next to the tender solicitude I feel for the good of Souls, is that of laying out their Money to the best advantage I can; & I only wish it was in my power to aid & assist the Missionary undertaking rather than be a Burden or hindrance to it. The Cause is a glorious one, nothing less than immortal Souls is the object – What is the wealth of India when compared to this! for if we c'd possess the whole World with all its treasures, it w'd [would] be infinitely poor to the worth of one immortal Soul. Go on then my dear friends in the noble Cause! There is a Crown laid up which fadeth not away – it was purchased at the price of [His?] blood - & since our Lord & Master paid such a price that we might be made Kings & Priests unto God, let us who love one another, & be willing to relinquish every thing which stands in competition with immortal Souls. I hope my dear Sir you will pardon this, as it is written in great haste, as the dispatch Box is to be closed this Morning. Please to present my kind respects to Mrs Pratt & family - I sh'd [should] have written to Mr or Mrs Smith if I had had time but cannot. Shall thank you therefore to remember me kindly to them. I wrote twice to Mrs S.³ but as I have not heard from her again, concluded she either had not received my Letters, or that she was offended at something, if so I am very sorry, as I w'd not willingly offend her, or anyone. If Peter was here, I know he w'd join me in kindest remembrance to all the friends of our honorable Society, & thank them for all they have done, & are still doing for us. Their Prayers we need - & value much - & while they are remembering us, we w'd also remember them at the throne of grace - & implore blessings among them & all their undertakings.

May we all go on in the narrow way that leads to Zion, & meet at last around the throne to join in the everlasting song of "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain" for ever & ever! is the work of

Rev'd Sir, in much haste

Your truly affectionate & grateful friend & Serv't [Servant] S. Hartwig

2. To Josiah Pratt, Free town Sierra Leone April 26, 1805 (E1/12). Note added: 'Cop'd TS'. On the back is written: 'Mr Macmillan returns to England'.

Rev'd Sir,

I am glad that I have so early an opportunity of acknowledging the rec't [receipt] of the things sent out by the Ship Thames, which arrived here on the 7th of this Month. I w'd return my sincere thanks to our kind friends for the rich provisions they make to supply our Temporal wants, & pray, that the God of all grace may reward & recompence them with abundant blessings in Christ – & that both Givers and receivers may have to rejoice together in the day when the Lord shall number up his Jewels!

According to my promise in my last, I send a Copy of the Bills of last year, & from which you will be able to judge of the prices of the different articles we buy here. Our last years expences have been perhaps greater than our Honorable Society w'd expect, but I trust I have been as careful as I c'd in every thing. Tho' not able to keep so exact an account as I wished, having had so many interruptions by indisposition. Thank God we are now pretty well, & hope through divine goodness, to be able to go on in the employment of our Stations, with alacrity & delight. I mentioned in my last - that the Gov'r & Council here have proposed giving me

³ The Deputy Secretary's wife

something, for keeping School, since that I have had a Letter from them, the Copy of which I shall enclose. From this I shall have it in my power to lessen in some measure my own expences, so long as I am in the Colony, & have health & strength to go on - I have abundant cause to bless & praise the Lord for this goodness because he raises up friends in every Land & he himself hath promised to be with us, even unto the end. I cannot say exactly what things are come by the Thames, as Mr. Renner has received them; but I dare say he will send a particular account. What I have from him are these

Viz, 12 p'rs w't [white?] Cotton Stockings

2 p'cs Blue Striped Gingham

6 p'r Shoes --

6 y'ds Green Larcenet[?]

Pins, Needles, Tapes & Threads

For Peter: 2 p'r Cloth Pantaloon

1 p'r ditto short

6 p'rs bl'k [black] worsted Stockings

6 p'rs Col'd [Coloured?] d[itt]o. d[itt]o

6 p'rs do. do. short

3 Tin Canisters, 1 Fish Kettle

We are much disappointed at having received no Letters, & are rather in a state of perplexity about our things not receiving any account - Tea & Sugar I have mentions to Mrs. Smith, as we have not received [missing word], but think it is gone to some [body?] else in a Mistake. Peter is not returned from the Rio Pongas yet, which I am sorry for, as it w'd have been pleasant if he c'd have sent the particulars of his Voyage. My faith has been greatly exercised during his absence - for not having had opportunities of hearing from him. I have often been very fearful & uneasy. I know in whose hands he is, & this is my only comfort. May we all be enabled to trust humbly in a faithful & unchangeable Jehovah & meet at last in Heaven to sing his praise for ever & ever! My kind remembrance to Mrs. Pratt & all friends. We sent a Packet by the Regulus Cap. Macaulay which left this Place the 23 of March, & we hope they will all arrive safe in England. These we send by the Lark Sloop of War - & by which our friend Mr. Macmillan returns to England - we are sorry to lose him as he has been very kind to us ever since we came.

With grateful remembrance & thanks to all our friends, I remain Rev'd Sir, your faithful
& affectionate Serv't, S. Hartwig

3. To Mrs Smith, Bristol May 20, 1806 (E1/59)

My dear Mrs. Smith,

I dare say you will be surprised when you find I am in my own native country again; except you have received our packets which we sent some time ago by Mr. Fredzess & Cap. Macaulay. In them, I informed you of the probability of my coming to England, having been advised by physician & friends at Sierra Leone on account of my health; that however, were so much re-established that I c'd have stayed in Africa much longer. Thank God, I have been well for some time. Therefore came to oblige my dear P. and friends rather than myself. The opportunity of returning was such that a one as I might never have met with again. Cap. Willy with other 6 Cap'ns being on the coast were all captured by the French and they made Willy a present of his vessel for them to return home in. The

rest they took or destroyed. Being a cartel therefore we c'd not fear our foreign foe a second time. The passage-money were trifling, & besides the pleasure of having 3 or 4 female companions from S.L. to accompany me with all these advantages I was prevailed upon to leave S.L. trusting that the voyage & change might enable me to encounter the climate better a second time than the first; if it sh'd please God to spare our lives we left S.L. the 21st of March & had wind & weather very favorable till we nearly got into the Irish Channel, and then it changed to stormy thick weather so that we were obliged to put into Waterford where we had to wait the vessel for England a week, when we again embark'd on board the George Packet for Bristol & only arrived here yesterday eve. After being becalm'd for several days & almost worn out with fatigue and expence, I was told that some missionaries were lately cast away on the coast of Ireland, & had return'd to England again which makes me anxious to know whether they were our friends destined for S.L. Mr. Ludlam wished me to go by way of Liverpool to see his mother if possible, but as our anniversary is so near I fear I shall not have time as I believe I cannot get a place to leave this tomorrow. I think of calling upon the Rev'd T. Biddulph where I shall perhaps learn who is to preach the sermon. I send Renner's letters by a friend, & to Mr. Macaulay. I w'd say more but pen ink or paper is so bad I cannot.

Adieu my dear Mrs. S. & I hope to see you before Sunday.

Kind love to dear Mr S. & all friends

believe me gratefully yours in heart S. Hartwig

4. To Josiah Pratt, York Sep'r 1806 [n.d.] (G/AC3/3/30). Note added: 'Note. Ans'd [Answered] Oct. 14th. Sent £15 for July, Aug., Sep. Explained her that nothing could yet be determined about her return. If Barneth came over, she might prob. [probably] go with him'.

Rev'd Sir,

I hope you will pardon the liberty I take in writing to you; to request the favor of a little Money; as I have been under the necessity of borrowing of my friends. I received five pounds of Mr. Smith for the month of June before I left London - but as travelling expences are great, that only brought me down into YorkS [Yorkshire] & had it not been for the kindness of a friend at Clapham, with the addition of a little I had of my own; I c'd not have done so long without troubling you: as there were many little necessities I found myself in want of since I came to England. I received a Letter from my dear P. a few Weeks ago; but how, or when it came to this Country I know not - as it was an open [indecipherable word] Letter which Mr. S. enclosed, but said not one word in the Cover: & as I had the expence of a double Letter, he might as well have remitted me the Money for July & August, the Committee were so kind as to allow me during my stay here. The morning I left Town, I paid into the hands of Mrs. Smith, 46^{rs}16^d7 which I have received at the Bank as Sallary due for School & as Mr. S. was not at home, I thought it odd, that he did not even acknowledge the rec't of it in the cover of my Letter. How needful it is to be continually calling to remembrance our gracious Lord's admonition "Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, & pray for them which despitefully [?] use you & prosecute you" - Nature finds this hard, & it is only by divine Grace alone we can accomplish it - for "when we w'd do good, evil is present with us". I am anxious to hear if there has been any late accounts from Africa, as I seem to be as ignorant of what passes in behalf of the Mission, & Missionaries as if I resided in a foreign Clime. I have been desirous, a long time to see Mr. Burn's Sermon, & have frequently enquired at the Booksellers for it, but find by the X'tn [Christian] Observer, that it is

only just come out. With much pleasure & encouragement I perused the extracts, as well as the address by dear Mr. Venn. – Missionaries, as well as all who are concerned in the work need every encouragement which can be administered to them. Nature will shrink at the idea of suffering; especially, after we know by experience how great & trying those sufferings are - & it is only by the full assurance of faith we can enter cheerfully & boldly into such a field of Combat, knowing, & believing, “that those light afflictions which are but for a moment will work out for us a far more exceeding & eternal weight of Glory.” I was sorry to find that our poor Brethren were detained at Madeira, tho’, no doubt, it is for wise ends we cannot now see, & we must humbly acknowledge that the ways of God are unsearchable, & past finding out! I have felt some anxiety on account of Mr. H. leaving free town just before the rains; as nobody can conceive what it is but those who have been there. However, I trust it is my desire to be enabled to give up myself & all that is dear to me to the service of my Saviour & Redeemer, as a reasonable, holy, & lively sacrifice. Pray for us, that we may indeed be faithful un[to] death; & at least receive a Crown of life[?]. My kind remembrance to Mrs. Pratt & family as well as all friends in Town. I understand that, while I was at Leicester, Mr. Fredzess arrived; if so, I sh’d hope my Journal came - when it is done with, sh’d be glad for Mr. Graham to have it. I have reason to praise God for the good health I have generally enjoyed since I came into the Country, & think [missing word] it right to go out to Africa [missing word] as soon as our Society thinks [missing word] there appears to be a favourable [missing].

I am Rev’d Sir with due [missing word] Grateful & [missing word]⁴

5. To Josiah Pratt, York Oct’r. 23 1806 (G/AC3/3/38) Note added: ‘NB. Ans. 25th Nov. & sent her Hartwig’s letter to her of July 29th 1806’.

Rev. Sir,

I received your Packet of 14th, enclosing £15 for which I return you my sincere thanks, & grateful acknowledgement. The Sermon was very acceptable, as I had not got one; & the perusal of it gave me much pleasure. It afforded me matter of great thankfulness to hear from Africa; & particularly, as PH. had got to the place of destination, & in good health.

I shall be glad to have such a friend as Mr. Barneth to go out with, & only wish that it may be soon – as the thought of going to Sea in the Winter is very dreary. But I know in whom I trust, & He can protect at all times; & in all places. I am sorry that I mentioned any thing respecting Mr. S. which might grieve you, & I know I want more of that Charity the apostle speaks of, 1 Cor. 13 without which, I am but as sounding brass, or a tinkling Cymbal.⁵ However, as you, my kind friend, were unacquainted with what passed between us; you could hardly judge of my case.

With kind remembrance to Mrs. Pratt & family, & hoping you will pity & forgive all my weaknesses (which are many)

I remain, Rev. Sir, your much obliged, & obedient Serv’t in Xt [Christ]

S. Hartwig

⁴ The bottom right corner of the letter has been torn off.

⁵ New Testament, 1 Corinthians 13

6. To Josiah Pratt, York Dec'r. 2, 1806 (G/AC3/3/42)

My dear Sir,

I did not receive your letter till Saturday eve'g [evening], being then in the Country: but what was the anguish of mind I felt at the rec'pt [receipt] of such tidings, you may well imagine, & I doubt not but you can in some measure sympathize with me. When the first efforts of grief were over I c'd only like the Prophet of old; approach a Throne of Grace, & spread my Letters before the Lord – this I shall continue to do, but can do nothing more than pour forth groans & tears over them.

You, my dear Sir, know what it is to feel anothers woe; as you have one with whom you can share the joys & sorrows of life – but how much more exquisite w'd those sensations of sorrow be, were the tender object of your regard placed at such distance & in such a situation as to need your kind aid & admonition – & yet you not have it in your power to assist her! In respect to the subject of your Letter I can say nothing; as I am entirely unacquainted with the particulars which have been laid before the Committee – yet I sh'd hope that things are not quite so dark as they, at present appear to be. I wish not to vindicate Mr H[artwig] in any thing that is wrong, God forbid that I ever sh'd! near & dear as he is to me: yet I must beg my dear Sir, that you will treat him with leniency. He has laboured under many disadvantages – He was young in years, & young in grace; having had little knowledge of the World, & not much of the depravity of his own heart. In respect to Mr. Renner's conduct I can say nothing in the present case – but had he always acted more candidly & more like a friend & Brother towards P. it might have been better. This I have sometimes told R. myself – but I am sorry to say, this was not always the case. I had ever a respect for Mr R. & considered him a good man. Yet he is fallible, & where the two dispositions so diametrically opposite to each other meet – it needs great grace to enable them to agree in all things. I cannot but acknowledge that there is rather a spirit of bitterness evidenced in P's letter yet I think there are still some things rather favourable. The Apostle tells us we are not to sin that grace may abound". No, this cannot be, as it is Sin only which separates the Soul from God, & cuts off all intercourse with Heaven. Since, therefore, a believer cannot allow himself to live in the constant practice of any known Sin no more than in the commission of any known duty: I think Mr. H. c'd not enjoy any thing like peace with God, had he been acting so very contrary to a spirit of Christianity. He may have done wrong in many things, it is true; but I trust he is, before this, led to see into his error, & God seeth not as man seeth, for man judgeth by the outward appearance; but God looketh at the Heart. Pardon me dear Sir, if you think I say too much in his defence – it is natural – besides, were there no relation betwixt us, I am sure I sh'd not cast the first stone at him. Let me learn of my blessed Saviour to be meek & lowly in heart, as I myself am a Sinner, & in many things offend daily. At present however, it seems that Mr. H.'s situation is distressing enough and affliction may have a happy effect on his mind. O that it may to be as it were, banished from all human society & intercourse with the Colony too, to be cut off must be truly deplorable. Nothing I am sure can reconcile a man to such a state of banishment - or make him in any way happy, but a sense of being in that Place where the providence of God has placed him, & a consciousness, that he is doing his will.

I was surprised that he had not received one Letter from me, as I wrote by the Perseverance which, I understood were to sail about the time I left London – Has it not been heard of. & are no accounts come that the Missionaries are yet arrived at S L.?

I wish there may be an opportunity of sending Letters to H. soon – what w'd I give to get there again, & though my lot might be, the bread of adversity, & the waters of affliction; yet if I c'd be the means of Snatching my beloved partner from the brink of ruin: I sh'd be well repaid. My sincere desire is that we may both adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, & not bri[ng] dishonor & reproach upon the Christian num[ber]. He mentions the redeeming of some Slaves [word missing] it w'd be the best, & only way we c'd do in the country. I am sorry he is under the necessity of being obliged to Slave dealers for attendants – but what can he do? Mr. Brunton I think found some inconveniences in this matter, & I believe pursued the same method – Mr. Ludlam is of oppinion too that it w'd be needful to redeem 2 or 3 Slaves; tho' he think in general it is encouraging the Slave-trade. I suppose Mr. Barneth is not come to England yet, as you don't mention him – or whether it is probable we shall leave this Country soon. Perhaps if I were some way more usefully employed I sh'd not think the time so long – or probably I am too impatient. As I am not in London it is quite out of my power to send my poor Peter the things he requires, if you w'd be so kind as to send some of them I sh'd be very much obliged – I thank you for your kindness in resp't to my money – if you have to send or write again soon I shall be glad of £5; tho' I do not want any just now. I am at present staying at an odd House in the Country, with a relation, & have to ride there by single [horse?] tonight – hope therefore my dear Sir you will excuse this as it is [very?] dark.⁶

With kind remembrance to Mrs. Pratt. I remain your truly much obliged & grateful Serv't.

S. Hartwig.

P.S. Do you think I must write to Mr. Stracke, or have you heard from him lately?

7. To Josiah Pratt, York Jan. 15th, 1807 (G/AC3/3/47)

Rev'd & dear Sir,

I return you my sincere thanks for the Packet I received this Morn'g containing 15 pounds p'r. [per] Oct'r, Nov. & Dec'r. I am thankful that the Letters contained better news than the last & that our affairs at present, wear a bright aspect. I hope, & trust, that all animosity will be for ever buried in oblivion, & that we shall all be enabled both to perceive & know what things we ought to do & also may have grace & power faithfully to fulfil the same through Jesus Christ our blessed Lord & Saviour.

As you do not know when a vessel may sail I shall send Letters to the S L. Office when an opportunity offers, & they may go by the first conveyance. I am glad that our dear Missionary friends have arrived safe there at last, & hope they will still be preserved from every snare. I had a few Lines from Mr. Ludlam to say that he had received the things safe by the Perseverance he had not heard from my belov'd P. of some time; neither had I anything from him – Mr. Renner wrote me a long Letter but I can scarcely read half of it - I am glad however, that they are all kept in health. As you have not said any thing respecting sending Peter the things he requested, I shall leave it to your own discretion to do as you chuse, likewise to write what the Com'te [Committee] may think proper on redeeming Slaves.

With grateful remembrance to Mrs. Pratt & all friends & benefactors

I remain Rev & dear Sir Your truly much obliged & humble Serv't

S. Hartwig.

⁶ The sheets have been torn in several places.

8. To Josiah Pratt, York, March 21, 1807. (G/AC3/3/55)

Rev'd Sir,

I feel myself extremely much obliged to you for informing me of a vessel sailing; & I have enclosed a Letter which I shall be obliged to you to send. I wrote some time ago, & requested Mr. Macaulay to send the Packet by the first conveyance which I dare say he w'd do. It is just a year since I left S.L. & the circumstances of that morning have recurred to my mind; & occasioned me to be rather low; so that Peter's Letter has just arrived at a seasonable time to revive my spirits. Sir you don't say any thing of Mr. Barneth, I suppose he is still in Germany; I wish for patience & resignation to the divine will in all things because I know that all things will work together for our good, if we love God, & walk agreeably to his commands. I shall be glad to hear as soon as there appears to be a probability of my going; in the mean while I must set about making P. some Shirts, as he says he is quite ragged, & most of his clothes are stolen from him.

With kind remembrance to Mrs. Pratt & family I remain

Rev'd Sir yr grateful & much obliged Serv't S. Hartwig

9. To Josiah Pratt, York, May 4th, 1807. (G/AC3/3/59)

Dear Sir,

Agreeably to your order, I have taken the liberty again; to draw upon you for a little Money, as at present I am in a state of Insolvency; or nearly so. I suppose Mr. Barneth is not come over to England yet & that there are not any very late accounts from Africa. The annual meeting draws near, when something will probably be fixed upon respecting my going. May He, who giveth to all men liberally & upbraideth not; bestow upon each, & all of us who are engaged in His sacred Cause; that wisdom, judgement, & holy zeal, which is requisite to guide our feet in the path of life – so that finally, we may rejoice together with Joy unspeakable & full of Glory!

With respectful remembrance to our Committee, & Mrs. Pratt, believe me d'r [dear] Sir to remain y'r [your] truly grateful & obedient Serv't S. Hartwig

PS. Please to direct for me at Mrs. Court's, Pavement, York

10. To Josiah Pratt, June 1st, 1807 (G/AC3/3/65)

Dear Sir,

Your last Packet was truly welcome to me, & the pleasing accounts from S. L. demands gratitude & praise to the Father of mercies.

I am sorry to be obliged to trouble you so often, but as I wrote a few days before I received your last – requesting the favor of a little Money; I thought my Letter had probably not reached you – as you did not take any notice of it. I had a few lines from Clapham two or three weeks ago, & Miss Venn expresses a wish for me to spend a little time with them before I leave England but as I feel myself in duty-bound, to be entirely under the direction of our Hon. Society – I w'd not give an answer till I knew whether it w'd be agreeable to myself & the rest of the Committee.

You probably have some Idea by this time what Vessel I am likely to sail in, & how long it may be before we go.

I have not heard yet who presented our Anniversary Sermon. With kind regards to Mrs. Pratt & family, I remain your very much obliged & grateful Serv't S. Hartwig

PS. I think I have not been so indisposed since I came to England, as I have these few days past with a Rheumatic & nervous disorder – but hope, if please God, to be better again soon.

11. To Josiah Pratt, York July 7th, 1807 (G/AC3/3/69)

Dear Sir,

The contents of your last, truly filled my mind with sorrow & disappointment; as I c'd not help feeling disappointed at the delay of my going to Africa: & more so, since that delay has been occasioned by unpleasant circumstances having taken place between the Com'm [Committee] there, & my dear Partner. The anguish I often feel on his account, is more than I can describe, & my constant, & earnest prayer is; that he may not do any thing to injure the Sacred Cause in which he embarked. The last Letters I received from him dated Jan'y [January] gave me much pleasure; as they seemed to be written in a spiritual & humble frame. Mr. Graham saw them, & was much pleased with them too. I hope that all little animosities will be done away – & that love, peace, & joy, will be restored among us. Surely it must be one of the great devices of Satan to sow the seeds of discord amongst Brethren! I am sure Peter's situation, must be, in some cases; truly distressing, for where can he find one friend in the dark regions of Africa, to whom he may look for aid or for Counsel – if those at Sierra Leone forsake him? This, however, I trust will not be the case – I know his temper & disposition is such, that he needs encouragement – he needs a wise, discreet & kind counsellor to direct him in all his steps. Want of experience, both of the World & of his own heart; frequently exposes him, till he nearly becomes a prey to the false friendship of designing & worldly minded men. Against such I warned him when I left, & I feared, lest for want of some one to lead him, he w'd be tempted to make companions of those who w'd in the end, do him serious harm. May he be preserved, by power of almighty & preventing Grace, from every evil, & be an ornament to his holy & high calling.

I trust, & hope, that I fear not so much either the prospects of pain or Poverty, were it to be my lot - as I do the thoughts of dishonouring the Redeemer's Cause & tho' I have in many instances acted inconsistently with my hole profession - yet my desire is, that the time past may suffice - that I may glorify God with my Body & my Spt. [Spirit] which are His. Whether I ever return to Africa or stay in England - whether I ever see my beloved Partner again in this life or not - I know in whom I have believed, & therefore trust that after all, I shall meet him at the right hand of God, to sing praises[?] to the Lamb for ever and ever.

My grateful remembrance to the Com'm as well as to all the friends of the Mission. I cannot express the gratitude due for every favor; & especially for the liberal support they at present afford me. I cannot recompense any of my Benefactors, & can only pray that my Heavenly Father will return it to them in a better way. This He will do – for even a cup of cold water, in the name of Disciple[?] shall not lose its reward.

In respect to the Money – I did not think of a Draft but literally meant as you thought. However, I have got Mr. Bussel to instruct me, & have given one to Mrs. Court for 30 £, she having

Tradesmen in London. I hope you will find it right, & I am much obliged by the trouble you have had about it. Mr. B. who I expect coming up to Town & who will bring this Journal[?] & will also be kind enough I dare say to bring any thing for me when he returns – sh'd you have any news from Africa to send.

With kind remembrance to Mrs. Pratt & family, I am dear Sir, y'r truly much obliged & grateful
S. Hartwig.

12. To Josiah Pratt, York Dec'r 29th 1807 (G/AC3/3/82)

Dear Sir,

Since the painful tidings reached me which your Letter to Mr. Graham contained, I have been making every enquiry for a situation, & am happy to inform you that in the course of Divine Providence one has been pointed out, to which I am engaged to go in a few weeks.

It is now about half a year since I received the last pecuniary favour from the Society. My expences here have been as great as before, but I hope henceforth by divine blessing to be able to support myself.

I must throw myself on the generosity & kindness of the Committee for the discharge of my last half years acc'ts [accounts] & I trust that, tho' alas! I am no longer under the patronage of the Society, yet it will not cast me off during the painful interval in which I have been seeking some other means of subsistence. I request the favor of as early a reply as convenient since I leave York soon.

With my fervent prayers for the blessing of God on the efforts of the Society, & on the members who compose it.

I remain dear Sir your truly affect'e [affectionate] & grateful Serv't S. Hartwig.

Mr. Graham begs to be kindly remembered to you.

York Dec'r 29th, 1807

13. To Josiah Pratt, Scarbro' [Scarborough] May 10th, 1811 (G/AC3/4/13). Note added: 'Read May 31st 1811.'

Rev'd & dear Sir,

As the period draws nigh for our Anniversary Sermon, & having an opportunity of sending this by a Gentleman who is coming to London, I enclose a 1£ Bank of England note, which I will thank you to put into the plate when the Collection is made.

I am thankful that it hath pleased God to favour me with health, & to bless the labours of my hands, so as to enable me to contribute this humble mite of gratitude & affection towards the Cause of my gracious Saviour, in the diffusion of His Blessed Gospel among the poor benighted Heathen; & were it a hundred times more, I should consider it not only a pleasure, but a privilege to devote it to that laudable, & glorious work, in which my heart still is, & I trust ever will be, most sincerely, & deeply interested.

It is often a source of grief to me that I hear so little about the Mission, & regret, that the number here is apparently small who seem to enter with Zeal upon the subject of Missionary

labours. Indeed this is so delicate a point, that I feel it incumbent upon myself to be silent; lest in the mention of it, there should be any degree of disgrace attached to the cause, on account of me, or mine.

It is now above a twelvemonth since I heard any thing of, or from Mr. H. & it is a mercy that I am, as I am; since my mind is frequently in the most painful suspense that can be imagined:

Well may I exclaim with the poet, that

“Deep in unfathomable mines
Of never-failing skill,
God treasures up his bright designs,
And works His sovereign will.”⁷

If you have heard, or should hear any tidings respecting Mr H. you will, I doubt not, have the kindness to communicate to me, which will greatly alleviate the anxiety of

Revd & dear Sir, Your ever much obliged, & affec'te Sarah Hartwig.
Scarbro' May 10th, 1811.

My kind remembrance to Mrs Pratt if you please.

14. To Josiah Pratt, Scarbro' Oct'r 12th 1811 (G/AC3/4/23). Note added: 'NB. Answ'd Nov. 22nd. 1811'.

Rev'd & dear Sir,

A short time before Whitsuntide I wrote to you by a private hand, & enclosed a one pound note, requesting you to put it into the plate for me when the annual Collection was made at St. Ann's; but as I have heard nothing of it since, shall be obliged if you will favor me with a line to say whether you ever received it or not.

As I never hear any thing from Africa, any news from that quarter which you can communicate will be acceptable & interesting to me. I should like very much to know something of Mr. Renner & his sable spouse. I hope they are happy & comfortable together, & that they are usefully employed in the service of the Mission.

Should you have an opportunity of sending me the last Sermon & Report, I should be very thankful, as they are not to be met with here.

Please to present my respectful remembrance to Mrs. Pratt & family, & believe me
Dear, & Rev'd Sir, to remain your greatly obliged S. Hartwig

15. To Josiah Pratt, Oct'r 3rd 1812 [n.l.] (G/AC3/4/82). Note added: 'Read at Com. of Cor. [Committee of Correspondence] Oct 29/12; Ans'd. Oct. 31/12 that Com. declined making any proposal to H. but desired Mr. Butscher to ascertain his state of mind, & endeavouring to bring him to a sense of his errors'.

Mr dear Mr. Pratt,

Having an opportunity of sending a few lines in a Frank to London, I hastily write, being desirous to know whether you received the pound note which I sent up by a person from Scarbro' against the last Anniversary Sermon at St. Ann's?

⁷ Poem by William Cowper, 1774 'God moves in a mysterious way'.

I have had it in contemplation for sometime, to write to Mr. Bu[ts]cher, who I suppose is still in Town, to ask him if he c'd give me any information relative to Mr. Hartwig; but not being acquainted with him, I have felt a backwardness in doing it. Perhaps you will have the kindness to interrogate him for me, as I should think he must have seen Mr. H. or have heard something [from] him during his residence in Africa.

It seems strange that I sh'd have received no tidings from that country for about two years & a half! –

Am I not a wonder to myself, & to many, thus to be able to go on my way, tho' sorrowing, yet in some measure rejoicing, notwithstanding the suspense & heavy affliction I am called to suffer?

But it is the Lord, & He doeth what seemeth him good. Blessed be his holy Name, that in him all fulness dwell!

May I be allowed to speak however. Is it not a duty on my part especially & on all who call themselves the Disciples of Jesus, to use those means which seem [missing word] to call back a wandering sheep? Is it right to let any one remain a fugitive, an alien & a stranger from the common wealth of Israel, when perhaps a little gentle treatment such as an invitation or an offer of forgiveness might be attended with a blessing?

He has had time enough to reflect upon, & to feel the consequence of his own rashness; & who knows but he may long again to unite with his Missionary Brethren, & to labour once more [in] the vineyard of the Lord!

That this may be the Case, is the sincere, & fervent wish of my afflicted & (at present) heavy heart! !

I sh'd like to know when Mr. B. is likely to leave England, as I shall have a little parcel to send to S.L. The Welfare & happiness of its inhabitants is still dear to me, & were I inde[...] nothing w'd add more to my happiness on Earth, than to have it in my power to promote theirs.⁸

With kind remembrance to Mrs. Pratt & family, I remain my dear Mr P.

your affec'te & much obliged S. Hartwig

16. To Josiah Pratt, Scarbro' April 6th 1813 (G/AC3/5/83). Note added: 'Read at Com. Ap. 26/13. Ans'd May 29/13 w'th a letter from Bashia.'

My dear Sir,

I am glad to avail myself of Mr. Davis's kind offer of taking me a Letter to London, & enclose a one pound note against the meeting on Whit-Tuesday.

Have you heard of the Missionaries since their arrival in Africa (as I hope they arrived safe) or any other news from that quarter? Did Mr. Bu[ts]cher receive my letter before he left London? I had my fears about it, as it was sent by a Gentleman, whose business detained him in Harwich, & he put it into the Post there, probably without adding London to the address. Your plan of forming Missionary associations throughout the Kingdom seems to be a very good one, & I trust, that it will not only add to the funds, but also be a means of stirring up the minds of many, & interesting them more in behalf of the poor Heathen.

It is a matter of sincere regret to me, that I cannot act in this little work, & labor of love; as duty appears to dictate to me, silence, upon the subject of the Mission, at present; for as you justly

⁸ The letter is torn in several places.

observe "God hath hedged up my faith", nevertheless, all will be well in the end, & I console myself in the reflection, that what I know not now, I shall know hereafter.

May the great Lord of the Harvest crown all your labours with success, & may the Morian's land soon stretch out her hands unto Him, & the name of "Jesus sound from shore to shore,

"Till Suns shall rise

To set no more!"

With kind respects to Mrs Pratt, I remain my dear Sir, Tho' in great haste, yet your very

grateful & obliged S. Hartwig.

Scarbro', April 6th 1813

17. To Josiah Pratt 2 September 1813 (G/AC3/6/154). Note added: 'Wrote to Mrs H. Sept 15/13 with a Report [indecipherable letters] & a Rep't for Mr Willis'

My dear Mr. Pratt,

It is peculiarly grateful to my feelings to see such a sum as the enclosed sent from Scarbro' in behalf of the Mission; & more so as Mr. Willis has taken an active part in the business. He is not a religious, but a moral man, yet it is my ardent wish to see, both him & the children over whom I am [missing word/s] not almost, but altogether Christians.

Miss Willis in is London, & will be returning again into Yorkshire in the course of a few weeks, therefore I shall require her to call upon you; that sh'd you have any African news to send me, she may be the bearer of it. She is a nice amiable Girl, & will, I dare say, consider it a privilege to be introduced to you. She has been from home almost a twelve month, paying visits to her relations in Bedfordshire, NorthamptonS[hire], and in London. I desired her to endeavour to see the Jews' new Chapel, & to go where she might learn & hear every thing that might do her good while in Town - & she answers in a Letter: "I fear this will be impracticable, Oh that I had some one to take me to those places, where I might learn something to my advantage!" Her friends, I fear, are all in the World, & tho' she is not a decided serious Girl, yet she sees & knows the necessity of becoming so. Perhaps a little conversation with you might be made [....]ing to her. Please to present my Christian regards to [Mrs. Pratt], & believe me [I re]main your greatly obliged⁹

S. Hartwig

18. To Josiah Pratt, Scarbro' Sat: Oct'r 8th 1814 (G/AC3/10/120) Note added: 'Com'. Oct.10/14. Ans'd Oct. 15/14 as per copy.'

My dear Mr Pratt,

You will perhaps be surprised at not hearing from me sooner, after the great & (I may say) glorious news which y'r letter contained, news, which has been almost too much for the powers of my mind to sustain. Mr Hartwig's letter reached me last Sat: and I must confess that its contents are both pleasing & satisfactory: But as I thought it right to send the joyful tidings to my beloved friend & Pastor, Mr Graham, & only had the letter returned last night, I could not possibly write to you before.

⁹ The right side of the page is torn.

Mr G. advises me to send Mr. H's letter to the Committee, which I had already intended to do, as by that you may be the better able to give me y'r immediate advice & direction.

In respect to my going out to Africa I can say but little, as it is now my duty to consider you, under the guidance of Heaven, as my Guardians, my Guard, & Directors. Altho' I shall esteem it one of the greatest privileges to be again permitted to see my dear, my long-lost Husband; yet there are so many sensible & painful considerations involved in my going, that the prospect (at present however) appears almost to overwhelm me. With the horrors of a voyage (I say horrors, for my passage home had horrors attending it) before me, & the prospect of languishing on a Bed of sickness when I get there, with the heart-rending thought of quitting this family, to whom I am greatly attached, & for whose spiritual happiness & welfare I am exceedingly solicitous; these things combined, seem to leave me nothing but the arm of Omnipotence to lean on. Indeed what more can I want? I have the Divine attributes to attend me, therefore all will be well. Tho' I feel to want both a new Body, & a new soul for the undertaking, yet my God can supply all my need; and if his Presence go with me all will be well indeed! For I cannot go where he is not, and where he smiles, there must be joy.

As I shall have much to do, & many arrangements to make before I leave S[carborough], I hope you will let me hear from you as soon as possible, & tell me if there be a vessel likely to go soon. When I am to go &c &c – I wrote to Mr. Hartwig by Mr. Campigne,¹⁰ you may do as you think proper about sending the letter [as it?] contained, not reproaches, but [word missing] admonitions &c. - - & was such a letter as I never wrote to him before. Being just Post time – I am obliged very hastily to subscribe myself y'r greatly obliged S. Hartwig.

PS. Please to return me the enclosed when an opportunity occurs.

19. To Josiah Pratt, Scarbro' Oct'r 17th 1814 (G/AC3/10/159). Note added: 'Com'. Oct. 24/14. Ans'd Oct.22/14, [...] sh'd be in town by 10th or 12th of Nov. as the Wilding proposed to sail by the mid. [middle] of Nov. &c. &c.'

My dear Mr. Pratt,

Your letter came to hand this morning with Mr. H.'s enclosed; for which I w'd sincerely thank you.

The reasons you advance, & especially those respecting Mr. H. are so cogent; that they leave no doubt upon my mind of its being my duty to go out again to Africa. Indeed I seemed to have little doubt upon that head before; & I now say, that however painful it may be to my own feelings to leave my dear Children here, (& truly painful the thought is, every thing considered) or however the prospect of a voyage, particularly in winter, may affright me, I will go, if please God to conduct me thither. As for health, probability of usefulness, or rather probability of not being useful at all in the service of the Mission, I must leave with Him, who does, & will do, all things well. I am glad to find that Missionaries are going out, & that a Female is also likely to accompany us; Should a vessel sail before the time you mention, I sh'd like that letter to be sent to Mr. H. [which] Mr. Campigne brought to London, but not without another from me to accompany it. It w'd be well, if possible, to apprise Mr. H. of my coming.

With the present state, & affairs of the Mission I am but very little acquainted, as to say the truth, I have never had courage to read from time to time the reports &c you sent me. When ever

¹⁰ James Campigne was a member of the CMS General Committee.

my mind became engaged with the subject, I felt obliged to wave it, as it affected my health, & unfitted me for the performance of my duty in my present Station. I have had much to occupy, interest, & harass my mind since I came into this family – thank God for all the comforts I have enjoyed, & the mercies I have received. Above all, I w'd own his gracious mercy, in favouring & blessing my labours, as I have reason to believe that one Member, a charming youth about 18, has had his feet set upon the rock, & his goings in some measure established in the ways of the Lord, & of his Salvation.

It is near post-time, & I must con[clude by?] begging excuse for this inaccurate & inelegant epistle – I am so nervous today as hardly to be able to hold a pen, my health [h]as been very indifferent within the last few weeks, probably from anxiety & exercise of mind. I go into the warm bath, & am taking medicines. Sh'd all circumstances permit, I sh'd like to take Leeds & its neighbourhood, with Birmingham in my way to London, as I have many friends, & some relations, to whom I sh'd like to say farewell! I feel grateful for the kindness of the Committee towards me, & I have not the shadow of a doubt in their continual friendship & support. Mr. H's contrition appears to me to be genuine & his brief manner of expressing himself is somewhat natural, besides he c'd not enter into the minutiae of the case.

[Missing words] a letter from you as soon as convenient. My dear Mr. Pratt, to inform me how to proceed, when I am to be in London &c. &c – will further oblige¹¹

Your obedient & affectionate Serv't in the service of the Mission S. Hartwig.

PS. I fear you will hardly be able to puzzle out this shameful scribbledum.

I w'd just say that I sh'd like better to be with Mr. H. in what ever station in Africa than to be away from him in the Colony.

20. To Josiah Pratt, Scarbro' Oct'r 26th 1814 (G/AC3/10/183) Note added at top: 'Com. Nov. 14/14 Ans'd Oct. 29. [...] must come by Nov. 12, draw if she needs money. Wrote, Nov. 4/14, to be in town by Wednesday Nov. 9.'

My dear Mr. Pratt,

I was glad to hear you had been in Birmingham, & that a Missionary Spirit was enkindled there; may this be the case throughout the whole British Empire, & may the knowledge of Jesus soon cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea!

I am sorry to hear that the vessel is likely to sail so soon, as it leaves me much too little time upon my hands for all that I have to do. I fear I cannot possibly leave this place till about next Monday week, Nov. 7th, & if I take Leeds & Birmingham in my way, as I wished to do, cannot reach London before the 20, or 21. What so you say to this my dear Sir? If I must be in town so soon, I shall be obliged to relinquish the pleasure of seeing my friends & come direct to London. As I have a large Trunk to send up, & the carriage would be considerable, I think of sending it by the first Packet, viz. the Harbinger, which may probably sail from hence in about 10 days or a fortnight, & shall direct it to be sent to the C. Missionary House, to which I am to come, I conclude, upon my arrival in London.

I sh'd like to know something of the character of my fellow travellers – who, & what sort of persons they are &c. & my young folks here are anxious to know. As I am obliged to get made a good

¹¹ The letter has a small tear in one place.

stock of wearing apparel, things I sh'd not have wanted had I remained in England, I fear I shall not have money enough to defray my expenses up. Otherwise I sh'd be unwilling to put the Society to any expence. Were I independent, it w'd give me pleasure to assist the Mission with my purse, as well as my personal services, but that is not the case, therefore I ought to [missing word] thankful that it hath pleased [missing word] to incline the hearts of those who are rich to give liberally.¹²

I am sorry on account of so much postage, but it seems unavoidable. I must again apologize for an inelegant, & inaccurate epistle, but it being just 2 o'Clk [o'clock], & the children talking around me I scribble away, scarcely knowing what I write. Will you have the kindness to present my love to Mrs. Pratt, & to any other friends I may know in London? One letter more my dear Mr. P. I shall hope to receive from you, before I see you. Mr. Hartwig's I hope will be sent to Africa before I go.

In great haste, I must subscribe myself

Yr obliged & affect'e Serv't

S. Hartwig

21. To the CMS Committee, London Nov[ember] 10, 1814 (copy)¹³

Gentlemen –

Having just arrived from York in this morning's mail, time will not permit me to say much to you upon the subject of my return to Africa. Nevertheless, I am desirous of laying before you a concise view of my feelings and prospects, at this important and interesting crisis.

I desire to express my unfeigned and heartfelt gratitude to Almighty God, who, in his mercy and long-suffering, hath been pleased to reclaim Mr. Hartwig, and to bring him back again to the service of the Mission. As a wife, I am bound to hasten to his assistance in the glorious work: and, although I seem to be going out more from a sense of duty to him, than from fervour and zeal for the cause of the Africans; yet I hope and trust that this spirit will still be enkindled in my breast, and that I shall count my life not dear, so that I may be made the honoured instrument of leading them to the Rock of Ages, and to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world. It is this, and this only, which can compensate for the sacrifices which I have been called to make, in quitting once more my native land, and for dissolving that tender and powerful union which binds and connects the various circles of social and domestic life.

The many favours which I have received, from time to time, and which I am now receiving from the Hon. Society, demand my warmest and sincere thanks; and, from past experience, I am constrained to place unfailing confidence in their future friendship and support. May the work of the Lord abundantly prosper in their hands, and may they never want the means to carry on so great and so glorious an undertaking.

Should sickness, pining sickness overtake me, as it hath formerly done on the coast of Africa, it would probably be right that I should return to this country, rather than fall a victim to

¹² The letter has a small tear on the right side.

¹³ This is Sarah's response to the Open Committee's valedictory address prior to her departure for Africa. It is not known whether it was presented orally at the meeting. The original is missing. It has been reproduced in *the CMS Proceedings* 1815, 615-7 and *Missionary Register* July 1815, 389-391, and in part in Religious Tract Society, *Missionary Records: West Africa* c. 1836, 127-128.

the unwholesomeness of the climate, as my constitution, I fear, is not better, but rather worse able to sustain repeated attacks of fever, than it once was.

I go, gentlemen, or desire to go forth, leaning only on the arm of Omnipotence, knowing that the Lord is my refuge, and that he will never leave nor forsake me. If I am enabled to assist Mr. Hartwig in any way, and to promote the noble work for which we at first embarked, all will be well: and, while I would humble myself in the sight of my Divine Master, for his having chosen me to be the feeble instrument for diffusing good among the poor dear Africans, I would desire to give to him ALL THE GLORY.

That a knowledge of the Redeemer's name and of His salvation may spread from shore to shore, and that all nations may be brought to bow to the sceptre of Jesus, is the sincere prayer of, Gentlemen,

Your obliged and humble Servant, (signed) SARAH HARTWIG

22. To Josiah Pratt, Deal Sat: Nov. 26/14 (E4/53) Note added: 'Com' Dec'r 2/14. Answ'd in mine to Mrs H. of Dec. 1/14'.

Dear Mr. Pratt

As it is probable we may have to go on board tonight, I would just say that I send to Mr. Daniel the small Bills p'd [paid] for Mrs. Sperrhacken, amounting to the Sum of 7" 10" 6. And since our arrival here, I have recollected that you did not settle the Bill I gave you a few days before we left London for the haberdashery; & I cannot remember what it was. If you will have the kindness to pay the two Bills together, to let me know the amount when you write; & to keep the Cash in your own hands as a deposit for me against I want money, I shall be greatly obliged to you. Should Mrs. Shulze come in time, she will want stays, shoes, bonnets, umbrella with some few articles not yet purchased; & they can be got at the same places Mrs. S.'s were; if you think proper as the stays, & shoes I think are very reasonable & good for the price.¹⁴

Mr. D w'd inform you that we were all preserved & brought safe to the end of our journey, notwithstanding my fears. May past mercies constrain us to trust in future, & to depend humbly upon the guidance & protection of our Heavenly Father, whose eye is continually upon us, & whose Providence; & tender mercy are over his works. In a letter from Scarbro', which I received the day we left Town I am requested to send the particulars respecting the redeeming, or educating a young African, as my friends there are anxious that I should take a child; or perhaps two children upon my arrival in Africa & bring it, or them up in the nurture & admonition of the Lord. They wish to know at what time the money must be sent (as they will send it to you so as to enable me to take the child immediately when I arrive. Will you therefore, my dear Sir, be so good as to write, or let someone write to Mrs. Willis Longroom Street, Scarbro' & to give her necessary information upon this subject, as I know of no person there who takes the Missionary Register. If this Boy, Thomas Morgan, be to remain under the protection of the Society, would it not be well to take him for my pupil? Yet I recollect that my Scarbro' friends wish to give their child a name, & this youth is already christened. With Christian love to Mrs Pratt, & all friends. I remain my dear Mr. Pratt

Your much obliged Ser't S. Hartwig

¹⁴ Mr and Mrs Schulze were new recruits. 'Mrs. S.' is probably a reference to Mrs Speerhacken, who was to travel out to Africa with Sarah.

23. To Josiah Pratt, Deal 29th November 1814 (E4/54). Note added at top: Answ'd in mine to Mrs H. of Dec. 1/14.¹⁵

We are just set ashore my dear friend after a day & a night of extreme fatigue & sickness. We are now at a small Inn, but will you write immediately & tell us how to proceed. The Captain is here & says the Vessel may yet be detained here for some time & he wishes, for our sakes we had gone to Plymouth at the first. We shall take no step till we hear from you except the wind change in our favour & then we must go on board again. We are exceedingly unwell.

S. Hartwig

24. To Josiah Pratt, Deal Wednesday noon Nov: 30 (E4/55). Note added: Com Dec. 12/14. Ackn'd in mine to Mrs. H. of Dec. 1/14

My dear Mr. Pratt

As you desired Mr. Daniel to write every day while at Deal, I conclude you will also like to hear from us; and indeed we wrote in such haste yesterday, just being Post time, that we had not an opportunity of saying all we wished. The poor sea-sick passengers are rather better this morning, yet Mrs. Hughes is the worst of us, having both a sore throat, & a deafness, occasioned by cold. When we got on board on Monday, we found to our sorrow that all our Beds & Bedding were stowed away in the hold among the other goods, & could not be found. They pulled out a Bale of new Blankets directed for Mr. Bu[tc]sher, & we were obliged to make beds &c. of them. Tho' I was more favoured than the rest of the passengers whom I knew at S.L. having two mattresses [indecipherable words], therefore with a little trunk for a bolster & a small hard pillow at the top, I fared pretty well. There are certainly too many Passengers in the Cabin, & Mr. Greig says that when we get into a warm climate there will be no bearing it; indeed we were almost suffocated as it was; & it will be a mercy if we are preserved to the end of our voyage without some contagious fever. I thought much, while tossing about in the night of a song I once heard "Ye Gentlemen of England &c" and longed to say to my friends on shore, "Ye Christians of England who dwell at home at ease, how little can you realize the hardships of the seas." However our God was with us, & kept us from danger, & O, that his just goodness & protection, so often, & evidently, manifested towards us may lead us to repose ourselves entirely upon him in future!

The Captain advises us by all means to go to Plymouth by land, as he says they may sail, & be driven back again in the same way for several times, as the winds are so changeable & uncertain at this season of the year; but whether his advice is given from motives of self-interest, or kind feeling for us I cannot tell. When we exclaimed against the enormous expense of going to P. by land he said what w'd a hundred pounds be to [missing word] of our lives. [*She expands on the difficulties of finding lodgings on shore and the cost; she suspects that the captain may be acting out of self-interest and may make them stay onshore at Madeira and Goree at their own expense*]. The Captain has just been on board, & tells us that he has been seeing after our beds, & they cannot possibly be come at, therefore there seems no alternative but to purchase common stock mattresses here, as Mr. Greig says they will sell well again at Sierra Leone. They just inform us that the wind is half favourable, &

¹⁵ Mr. Hughes, a CMS schoolmaster travelling with his wife on the same ship, wrote a short note on one side of the page and Sarah on the other. He noted that Mrs Hartwig had been badly affected by seasickness.

that if it continue the same we may go off in about an hour. We are just preparing to go on board & shall be obliged to go away in debt, & leave some one to draw upon you.

It is just Post time, & if we come back again to this place will write again, if not will on arrival at Plymouth

S. Hartwig.

A Missionary Wife indeed!

5 o'Clk

25. To Josiah Pratt, Deal Wed. Nov: 30th 1814 (E4/56). Note added: Rec'd Dec. 8/14. Wrote Dec. 9/14 to Mr A[...] to draw.

Sir,

As I was obliged to send off my other letter, or miss today's post, I write this, & leave it with Mr. Birch to be sent tomorrow. We have purchased Matrasses & Pillows amounting to 5" 13" 0. Inn keeper's Bill including some soft bread to take on board, as we cannot eat biscuits when first sick 3" 7" 6. Boatman to take us on board 2 - 2 - 0. The whole amount 11 - 2 - 6.

Mr William Apsly North end Deal to whom you will have the kindness to remit the money as soon as possible.

Deal about 7 o'Clk

Just going on board

The Lord of Hosts, we trust, is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge.

26. To Josiah Pratt, Plymouth Sat: Dec. 10th, 1814 (E4/61)

My dear Mr. Pratt

[She has been very ill. Plymouth is full to bursting due to the presence of the fleet and they have been obliged to take unsatisfactory lodgings in an inn. She is anxious to get on board again and to sail as they are extremely uncomfortable and unsettled, having been moved from place to place. She enumerates some of her expenses, which have been great. The fleet will have to call at Cork; 'altogether we are something like a set of worn out Pilgrims'.]

Monday noon.

We are here still, & likely to remain here, as the moon changed yesterday, & has brought no change of weather in our favour. Our patience is tried in various ways; the exp[ense] of money, the inconveniencies, indispos[ition] [word missing] other things try us: & yet my dear Mr. P[ratt] [word missing] have had a greater trial than all these [word/s missing]. I laid down my pen on Sat. You will grieve with me when I tell you that Jellorum has given us reason to fear that he does not set the Lord always before him, nor see the danger & nature of sin. He and Tho's [Thomas] sleep at a Bread-baker's, a few doors from us, not having beds enough in this house for us all. The baker is a pious man, a Baptist; On Sat: evening J. complained poorly in a pain in his bowels, we gave him a dose of Rhubarb, & about 9 o'Clk or a little before he said he w'd go to Bed; he took Tho's with him and wished us a good night. A little before 10 we wanted bed-candles, & went down to see after them, but the maid c'd not be found, & Miss Nettleton said she had been out almost an hour & she thought we had sent her on errand. We had not, & I began to be exceedingly alarmed lest she & J. sh'd be together, as I thought I had perceived in J. a hanging about her, soon after we came into the house. Mrs. Hughes being poorly, was gone to bed & Mrs.

N. also. I told Mr. and Mrs. Speerhacken my fears, & requested them to go immediately to the baker's, they did, & what was their surprise & grief when they found, that the boys had not been at their lodgings. They came back. We called up Miss N. & told her the circumstance & our fears respecting her maid. She assured us that we need not be alarmed about her, as she had lived with them 4 years, & was a very prudent honest Girl. Mr. & Mrs. S. went back determining to stay till they returned, but just as they went in, Tho's arrived with Jel's watch in his hand. This was just 10 o'Clk. Mrs. S. enquired where T. had been, & where J. was, & insisted on being taken to the latter but T. said in an impertinent tone, & no she c'd not go to J. They had been walking about this way, & that way, & he did not know where. & that he c'd not tell where J. was, but that he had given him his watch to take care of. They waited, & J. returned just at eleven. When he saw Mr. and Mrs. S. at his lodgings he was greatly surprised & confused, & said he had been walking. I was so hurt at the bad appearance of the thing, & the suspicious circumstances attending it, that I was almost broken hearted, & thought as I lay on my bed on Sat: night that he seemed so unfit a person to send out as an instructor of youth being more likely to prove a corrupter, that I w'd write to you in the morning & request that he might be kept in England awhile. The Baker naturally asked why such a youth was going out upon such an important errand, & thought the Society had been deceived in him. We talked to him yesterday morn'g & expressed our sorrow at his conduct. We told him that giving his watch to T. made us conclude that he had been, or had been intending to go into improper company. He was rather high about it, & said he never lived with jealous persons before & that he c'd not bear to be suspect. He owned to me in the evening that it was wrong to be out so late, but denied having been in any house or in any bad company. Here the matter rests. I fear he is not humble for his fault but very tenacious about a bad name. He says we have given him a bad name. The Baker talked to him last night, & gave him good advice, & he said this morning that it was my doing. The Baker had said to him what I had told him to say. You must act as you think best in the business my d'r Sir. I thought it w'd be wrong to conceal the matter from you; yet whether it w'd be better for you to mention it to J. or not I cannot tell. He w'd be extremely angry I dare say, did he know I was writing to you. If he be to go, the circumstance had perhaps better not be named to him, as he w'd hate me, & be malicious against me. Would it not be well to try him longer & to let this pass over as if you knew nothing about it? We may stay here a week or two longer, do write to us. Mr. H[ughes] has been ill in bed today. It is just Post time in haste I must subscribe myself

y'r greatly obliged Serv't

S. Hartwig.

27. To Josiah Pratt, Cove of Cork Jan'y 5th, 1815 (E4/71)

[This letter documents similar travails relating to their journey to those described in earlier letters. Their ship is anchored outside Cork, where the wind is now favourable and they hope to soon depart. The passage from Plymouth was stormy and they were extremely sick. It was a miserable Christmas. The Irish villagers are 'poor, dirty, miserable creatures'; she observed beggars all along the road to the Catholic church that Sunday, kneeling in the mud. About 2000 people attended the service. She lists their recent expenses and begs that, in future, each missionary be given a personal allocation of money for expenses. She has tried to inculcate a sense of economy among her fellows but without success.]

28. To Josiah Pratt, 'off Madeira' 17 January 1815 (E4/72)¹⁶

My d'r Sir,

Mr Sperr[hacken] will have told you on the other side that we have thro' mercy arrived at Madeira, & that we have been favoured with a favourable passage. I named[?] to you a letter sent to me to London, & which I thought you still had in your possession, but in opening the other day, the Journal sent to us to Deal, to my great joy we found letters. Yr injunction respecting the natural productions shall be attended to. Had Mr. S. not written, I should have sent you a long letter, but the expense is too great to be doubled. Pray for us my d'r friend, that the Lord may still be with us, & bless us with favourable winds, & bring us safe to our wished for place of destination. And above all That we may be at peace among our selves, & walk worthy of the holy vocation wherever we are called. Love to Mrs. Pratt, & all kind friends. In haste, as we are just going ashore. I subscribe myself, my d'r Sir, y'r truly affectionate & obliged Serv't S. Hartwig

29. To Josiah Pratt, Late Wed. night Feb: 22. 1815, Sierra Leone (E4/78) Note added: 'Rec'd May 15/15 by the Mary Ann. Ans'd May 16/15 by the Ceres. Com. of Corr. May 29/15'

My dear Mr. Pratt

We all arrived here in health & safety thro' the tender mercy & kind Providence of our gracious God. I send by the bearer of this Mr. Healey a small parcel directed to you, but intended for Mrs Court, Fossgate York, when there is an opportunity of forwarding it. You are at liberty to peruse the contents, by which you will see how I am just now situated & the reason I do not write you a longer letter. I long to say much to you, but cannot now as I am too much fatigued with the [indecipherable word] & anxieties of this day. There are many things relative to our Voyage I wished to write you, & especially concerning Mr Hughes. If he turn out well I shall be glad, but, if not, don't be disappointed. I really fear he wants principle, but time will show. My poor afflicted husband desires me to give his love to you, & to say how much your letters rejoiced him & raised him up from the borders of despair. Alas! he appears to be on the verge of the grave. Such a spectacle! It affects me to look at him.

Adieu my dear Mr Pratt, pray for us.

Yours in sorrow, but in affection & gratitude S. Hartwig.

30. To Josiah Pratt, Sierra Leone March 11th, 1815 (E4/83)¹⁷ Note added: 'Com'. of Cor'. June 26/15 and Com'. of same date'.

My dear Mr. Pratt

As a vessel of Mr. Carr's named _____ is to leave this place for England about Monday next, I think it proper to write to you by it. Although it may be some months on the voyage & probably some other ship from hence may reach home before it.

¹⁶ Sarah wrote her note on the reverse side of a letter from Mr Speerhacken to Mr Pratt.

¹⁷ Sarah has crossed out the 4th (March) and replaced it with the 11th. Part of this letter was reproduced in *Missionary Register* 1815, 318-320.

I just scribbled a line or two & sent by the Marianne which sailed from S.L. direct for England about Feb: 23, or 24, & which I hope you will have received ere this reaches you: by that conveyance I also sent you for my Christian friend, Mrs. Court of York, a long Epistle, or sort of Journal which I left open for your perusal. In that you would see my dear Sir how I was situated at that important & critical juncture, & how my beloved partner was who had been just restored to me.

But what shall I now say to you my dear Mr. Pratt? Or how describe my present situation & circumstances.

The event is now over, and my partner is no more! A week had hardly elapsed after his arrival before he was removed to another, & I hope & trust, to a better world. I thank God that I was brought hither just when I was, & that I was permitted once more to behold his face in the flesh; & although I was brought here to close his eyes in death, or rather to witness the closing scene, I can never, no never, be sufficiently thankful to that all-wise & gracious providence which over-ruled & directed things as they were, & that enabled me to contribute in any measure to my dear Peter's comfort for the few last hours & days of his life. On Wed: evening. Feb.22th, just after sunset he was brought ashore, weak, & almost helpless. Yet, I am thankful, & consider it a privilege that I was allowed to receive him, even in that state, & to wait upon him & to render his last days somewhat more comfortable. Our meeting seemed to revive his spirits; & he was very cheerful & happy for the first two or three days, tho' so weak (his bones almost cutting through his skin & his body greatly enlarged with the dropsy) that it was as much as a Crewman could do to lift him in & out of bed. He was enabled to converse with me a little, but said, as he could not talk much, he would tell me all when he got well. His appetite was pretty good, & he took nourishment from my hands with a pleasure he could hardly express; often acknowledging the goodness & mercy of our Heavenly Father in bringing me over again to this land, & said, he thought I was sent as an angel from heaven. Indeed his situation in the country was so truly deplorable when Mr. Renner found him, being destitute even of the common necessaries of life, that he rejoiced in God who had sent him a deliverer. At that time he was in the Mandingo Country: he caught a bad cold in the Gambier settlement, the house having a poor roof, & being exposed to wind & rain, last August, from which time he began to be ill, & having formerly derived benefit from a mineral water in the Mandingo Country, he went there in hopes that he might again obtain relief. But, alas! he had hardly drunk of the water before he became so ill, that he was obliged to remain there. Mr. Renner saw him about that time, as he would name to you in the accounts you received before we left England. Mr. R. then perceived that he was beginning to be dropsical & told him that he must no longer sleep in a place which exposed him so much to the current air, as if he did, it surely w'd prove serious to him.

I am sorry to say, that the reception he met with & the treatment he received at Gambier was far from kind. & I have a note by me from him to Mr. Butscher dated Aug't [August] 29 in which he requests Mr. B. to send him a chair & a table having nothing in his study. [*She copies part of the note, in which Peter asks that the items be sent with Mr Renner, who has seen how destitute he is; he also asks for some shoes and brandy or rum*]. But to return again to his last hours.

On Friday 24 a medical Gentleman saw him who said he was too weak to undergo an operation as he might sink under it; he therefore gave us a prescription which he hoped might be of service to him. He was very anxious to live, & desirous if spared, to redeem the time, & shew to the World that he was sorry, heartily sorry for his past offences. On Sunday, Mr. Butscher administered the sacrament to us, it was a solemn time, Mr. Renner & Mr. Wenzel were present,

& a pious old black Woman who frequently comes to see me. When the service was over Mr. H. was a good deal affected, & wept almost aloud; he spoke of his past departure from the faith, yet acknowledged that the Lord had never given him up to a hard heart or reprobate mind; but that the stings of conscience used to be to him like a hook in his heart. He pointed out to me the 142 Psalm as having been descriptive of his case & state of mind; & the 23 Psalm he also requested me to read as being one of his favourites. He seemed to have great confidence in God, & notwithstanding his transgressions & backslidings, he c'd address him as his Father, his reconciled Father in Christ Jesus. He dwelt upon that sweet passage John the 1., & 29. "Behold the Lamb &c" & repeating it in Susoo, said it was peculiarly beautiful in that language. He was exceedingly fond of the Soosoo and seemed to speak it more fluently than either English or German. The day before he died he repeated something over & over with great emphasis; I asked him if it were in Soosoo, he answered "No I have done with Soosoo now, it is my own language".

About Monday he began to fear he should not recover, as his weakness greatly increased, & his appetite failed & his poor body was so swelled that he could not turn himself in Bed, & in short, life became almost a burden to him. On Tuesday he was much troubled by thirst and praying to God to release him said "Vain World farewell!". He fixed upon the place where he w'd be buried, viz. under a large tree there is in the burying ground, & said, "O how cool it will be lying under that big tree!" On Tuesday night I went to bed, being almost worn out with fatigue, but I was not apprehensive that a change was about to take place so soon, although he had then a sort of cold sweat upon him, & still very thirsty, & he frequently exclaimed "It will soon be over!" About one o'clock or a little after he asked, "Sarah will you pour me out my Medicine? The woman brought it to my bed side & I poured it out. She took it to him when he again asked "Sarah did you pour it out? I answered, yes; These, I think, were the last words he spoke to me. Soon afterwards, a violent spitting came on. At this I was alarmed, & got up; when I found that what came from his mouth was blood & water, & he seemed to have an inclination to vomit. I asked him if he felt sick, he could not speak but gave me to understand by the motion of his head that he did. I saw that death was approaching & sent for a woman who had occasionally attended him as nurse & also for Mr. Renner, who was sleeping at Mr. Butscher's. They both soon arrived, & in about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes after he breathed his last, & I have reason to trust, fell asleep in Jesus, on Wed: morning, March 1st 1815.

Mr. H. was buried under the big tree about 5 in the afternoon, & a few white Gentlemen, viz. Mr. Macmillan, [indecipherable], Campbell, Grant, Gales, & Mr. Renner attended the funeral. Mrs. Grant who came out with us in the Wilding, spent the day with me; to her I am much indebted as she was the only European female in the Colony who came near me the whole time of my affliction, Mrs. Butscher not being able on account of pregnancy. However my dear Sir, I may feel the loss of my beloved partner for whose sake I again ventured to this land, yet I thank God that I have not to sorrow as those without hope; & I cannot but see the wonderful interposition of Divine Providence in bringing me here exactly at the period I was brought. The Lord doth indeed both hear & answer prayer; & he hath long heard the voice of my petition, & granted my request in permitting me to behold my dear Husband's face again in the flesh, & in giving me an opportunity of hearing from his lips what I did hear. The Lord's name be praised for all his Mercies!! I cannot but reflect upon myself for not sitting up with him the last night, as I might have said something to him; or have heard him utter something satisfactory in his last hours, but I was quite fatigued; & my having [indecipherable word] spoken rather impatient & tried[?] with him the last day. But he, poor creature he was very patient, & hardly ever repined at

what he suffered. I am sure you will feel pleased, my dear Mr. Pratt that the event has turned out as it has, that you wrote to him as a brother, & that a reconciliation had taken place between every party. Although Mr. Renner was driven to Sierra Leone by another sad catastrophe even the conflagration of another house in Bashia by the natives yet I could not but consider it a providential circumstance that brought him here, as I know not what I should have done without him, or whom I could have got to fetch Mr. H. immediately as he did. Besides the house, they lost considerable property by the fire, & all Mr. R.'s clothes so that he was dressed in light white clothing when first I saw him. It happened well that supplies of various articles had just been sent out. Mr. Wenzel also was here to receive his, & greatly pleased he seemed to be with them. I equipped Mr. R. by giving him all Mr. Hartwig's new clothes since his death & half a dozen new shirts of which he had none, were truly acceptable to him. Now I am here my dear Sir, not knowing what step to take. Thank God I have been favored with health since I came & never enjoyed my meals more I think in my life; nevertheless within the last few days I have perceived a sort of dimness or dazzling in my eyes, so that I cannot bear to write, or look steadily at any thing long together; & as I have again commenced School mistress, it is a serious hindrance to me. I brought out a p'r [pair] of green glasses, which I have tried this afternoon while writing, first putting them on then taking them off, but the dimness is still the same with them or not, & it makes my head ache to write this long letter. I have much, very much more to say but must abridge it at present. Another sheet however I am obliged to take as I cannot leave off this abruptly.

31. To Josiah Pratt, Friday March the 17th, 1815 (E4/83a). Note added: 'Rec'd June 24/15; Com'. of Cor'. & Com'. June 20/15'.

D'r [Dear] Sir,

It is nearly a week since I began the other sheet, yet only filled it up yesterday. Mr. Carr's vessel sailed before I c'd finish writing, & as I found the Wilding w'd be ready to sail in a few days more, I did not mind losing that opportunity. By this reaches you, you may probably have heard of the premature death of poor Cap'n Gibson. He died, about two or three days before Mr. Hartwig, of a fever, which also carried some of the Ship's crew. O, how little did he think when at Goree, jovial & hearty & discharging a large part of his cargo to great advantage; how little did he then think of never returning to receive his gold. Indeed, we may say, perhaps more emphatically in this country than in England that in the midst of life we are in death. Several Europeans have been cut off since our arrival, & there are so many fresh graves in the burying ground, that we have all here, more need to pray "Lord teach us so to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom." Mr. Butscher went yesterday up to the Leicester mountain to look after the grant of land: But there being no Governor here now, things, many things are at a stand, & people hardly know how to act. Mr. B. either has told you or will tell you in his letters that Mr. & Mrs. Hughes were coming home again, but I suppose they changed their mind yesterday, & now intend to remain here a little longer. Mrs. H. has been ill & I understand that the medical man here says she ought to return to England, her constitution being too delicate for this climate; in this case she is to be pitied. But for Mr. H[ughes] to wish to leave a post he has hardly yet entered upon, after the expenses incurred on his account, is highly improper. I cannot enter into a minutiae of his conduct on the passage, otherwise you w'd be disgusted with it as I was. He joined

in with the men of the World, & cameleon-like c'd assume any colour. He w'd give for a toast "A long & successful War"¹⁸ with some of the Wine-bibbers at Goree & officiate as an excellent host to Mr. Davis, his confidant on board.¹⁹ He did nothing but set us all by the ears most of the voyage, & I never witnessed amongst a party of professing Christians, so much w[h]ispering, back biting, & evil speaking in my life, nor was I ever so much subjected to abuse before. Mr. Speerhacken & I had some words at Plymouth respecting expences, but we amicably made it up again. This was told to Mr. D. & enlarged upon, also the business respecting Jelorum was told Mr. D. & not only that, but in order to vent their spleen upon me, they managed to inform poor J. that I had written to you at P[lymouth] & that upon our arrival here he was to be left to the mercy of Mr. Buts[c]her. Poor J. was greatly distressed at this as you may suppose & said, had he known before that I had informed you he c'd not have written to you from Madeira & that now he had no hope of doing any good, &c. It did not rest here – but to make me appear more odious they actually brought forward the subject at Table & attacked me before the Mate & some of the passengers, exclaiming "You ought to be ashamed of yourself for having injured a young man's character as you have." I told Mr. H.[?] before them all that I was disgusted with his conduct, & that he ought to be ashamed to bring forward things which had been done at Plymouth, that it was he who was injuring Jelorum's character. In short, I could not but consider Mr. H. after I became acquainted with him, as an open enemy to the Church Missionary Society, being ready to listen to every evil report & instead of turning away a deaf ear & making the best of it – only widened the breach & made it worse. I suppose he drew money of the Cap'n at Madeira, but how much I know not; before we went ashore there, I told them that each sh'd pay their own expences as I had but little cash in hand, & we each had, or ought to have the Dollars drawn at Plymouth. As long as Mr. H. knew I had a farthing in my pocket he seemed to demand it; & although very poor I believe when he left London, having to borrow a shilling of me at Deal yet he did not care how he dashed away with the Society's money. I despise not [several lines missing] principles, or rather want of principle [...] much, that I cannot look upon him as [...] member of the Missionaries, or as a friend. Mr. and Mrs. Sperr[hacken], I heard yesterday, had had the fever, I had not had any opportunity of going over to Bullum to see them since they went there, otherwise I sh'd have liked it. Mr. Renner I hope has reached Bashia before this he was to call at Gambier, having heard that Mr. and Mrs. Klein were going to leave it; & reside at the isles de los. Mr K. & his landord, the headman, I suppose do not well agree, & it is said, the place is exceedingly unhealthy. Mr. R. is to send me my dear P's trunk, containing papers, his translation &c. - the latter shall be taken care of for you. My mind has been greatly unsettled since his death till within the last few days, I still am at a loss how to dispose of myself. May the Lord entirely direct my steps, & enable me to live, or die to his glory!

It was agreed when Mr. Renner left S.L. that if Mrs. R. would, she should come over to see her friends, stay here a few weeks, & then I to return with her to Bashia, & if things were pretty comfortable & the natives quiet to remain there the rainy season. She is not yet come nor, do I know whether I can soon go thither as there seems to be such a want of instruction in the Colony. I took a few girls last Monday, thinking that I ought to be employing my time in that way, so long as I was well even supposing I had but a few weeks to stay. Since that I have had so many applications from the mothers to teach their daughters to read & work for the females are really growing up worse than the wild Asses' Colts, that it seems almost a duty to stay where I am, at

¹⁸ This is a reference to the continuing Napoleonic war, which did not conclude until June that year.

¹⁹ William Davies was a Wesleyan missionary.

present at least. But living here is so extremely expensive, & nothing can be got from the people, they had rather continue ignorant than pay for instruction, that I may well ask How are my bills to be paid? Three pounds a month I am to give for an unfinished room in which I live, with a cellar underneath. Three or four dollars p'r month for a Crewman to beat rice &c. &c. Six shillings p'r week for a dull & stupid woman as servant, besides find them with victuals so that the cash really runs like water. Pork & Mutton a shilling a pound. Beef very bad, 6d. A very small loaf of bread 15d. In short every thing costs so much that you can form no idea of it.

My room is furnished with one table and two chairs all borrowed, trunks a little crockeryware and a curious rough made bedstead. And yet I think I can say with the Apostle tho' having nothing, yet possessing all things as I feel very happy & at home in my own apartment & have hitherto been supplied in all my wants. You w'd see by my journal [indecipherable] how much I felt when I first came into this house, I seemed to have nothing & was so full of heaviness and unbelief that I found it needful to read over again, & again the latter part of the 6th of [Saint] Matt[hew]: But my mind, thank God, was soon raised above my situation & while I had my poor husband to wait upon my spirits were very good, and my heart lifted up in gratitude to God for all that he had done for us. Mr. Luthern who came out by the fleet with us as School-Master for the African institution is going to send his wife home again who was also engaged as School Mistress; he wished very much, wished me to take her post, & teach with him upon the Lancastrian system. He offered me Mrs. L's salary, a hundred a year, & a house to live in. And although the hundred a year w'd have been very acceptable as well as a good house, yet I could not engage in it.

You must not blame me for this, as I should have been glad, c'd I have lessened the expences of my Society. But for various reasons I could not accept of it. First Mr. L is not a religious character, 2nd I dis[a]pprove of Mr. Lancaster's system and 3^{rdly} I thought it w'd look like, may imply a want of confidence in the continued protection of my more immediate friends & benefactors, by withdrawing myself from them & placing myself under the direction of another body. Besides Mr. L is too bustling a man for me & if I am enabled to do any good, it must be in a more retired & silent way. At present I must go on in my own old fashioned track & if the Gov: when he arrives chooses to do any thing for me [he] will, if not I am sure that my expences if not unnecessary or extreme will be cheerfully defrayed by those friends whose former, & continued kindness has been unlimited & unfailing. Had I a few pieces of Baft & a few pieces of [indecipherable] or something of the sort to give in exchange for rice, fowls or the like as Mr. Butscher has, it w'd save many a shilling, I bought of him [missing word] pieces of blue baft at 21/6 p'r piece from which I made Mr. H. a [missing word], some of which was given to the [missing word] over his Coffin. The funeral expenses exclusive, were 4"14"6. I have drawn some cash of Mr. Macmillan, of whom I have also had some Wine, & Mr. B. says I am to draw Mr. Hartwig's salary for the quarter, viz. up to March or 1st [indecipherable word] April. Should I continue in Africa, I hope you will be so good as to send me out a few things. There are so many seem to want what are extremely expensive here that I hardly know which of them to mention. Tea being 13 - 15/- p'r pound, it w'd pay the Society to send out a chest or half chest as then I suppose the duty w'd be taken off, & I might without needing[?] merchant[,] exchange it or sell it here. The Davis's had a chest part of which they exchanged for Wine at Goree, Sugar in canisters, a small Box of yellow soap, it being 2/6 pound here & washing very expensive. A little firkin of good butter we pay 3/- pound & 2/6 lb. for cheese. Should my health continue good & I am able to do something here I don't wish to return, but if I sh'd become sick & the climate disagree with

me then I hope my d'r Sir, I shall have full liberty to return to England by the first & most favorable opportunity. Do write by the very first conveyance. We shall be looking out for Mr. & Mrs. Schultze soon. Please to give my Christian remembrance to Mrs. Pratt and all friends, & may the God of all grace establish & settle us all on the rock of ages, & bring us to his heavenly K[ingdom] at last is the prayer of [...] y'r affect' Servt. S. Hartwig²⁰

ELIZABETH RENNER'S LETTERS (5)

1. To Josiah Pratt, Bashia Feb. 12th 1812 (E2/134) Note added: 'Read at Com'. of June 12th, 1812'²¹

Reverend Sir

Had I had the pen of a ready writer, I would long ago have taken the liberty to address myself to you, and I trust you will excuse this present scribbling, coming from a creature of God whom his Providence has intrusted but with a small talent.

I am not, Sir, personally known to you, but so much you know that I am in the service of the Mission, and that God has cast my lot in a fair place. I am not only happy in having a good husband in Mr. Renner, but feel myself very happy to be in a way where I can serve God and the cause of Christ. My situation can lead my Lord to work out my salvation with fear and trembling, and the same situation affords me the means to do good to others – to teach children the fear of God, to impress into the minds of those female children about me, to be chaste, decent & honest, and to shew them such necessary works as are needful for females brought up in this country, and such virtues which I practice myself are not hard for me to teach these children. I like children and the children in our house (I must praise them) like and regard me as their mother. It goes now in the fourth year that I am in the country and in the Society's service, in a busy and large family, but I am not yet tired of it, and if God upholds my feeble constitution, I like to stir about and sit down with my girls and do for them as much as I can. I conclude with begging to be remembered in your prayers, and I beg kind remembrance to your Lady from a distant friend.

I am Reverend Sir your humble servant Elizabeth Renner

P.S. I beg Mrs. Pratt to accept of a country cloth as a token of my sincere regard for her.

2. To Elizabeth Pratt, 21 June 1815 (E4/128). Note added: 'Rec'd Oct. 11/15, by Major Appleton, by the Diana. Ackn'd by Minerva, Oct. 18/15 in mine to Mr. Renner'²²

My dear friend, Mrs. Pratt

I have taken the liberty to address myself to you, which has not been the case for a long time; but I hope you will pardon this delay; for it was my wish you should have a letter from me long before this time. It was somewhat strange, that whenever there was an opportunity, I was either confined to my room by my usual infirmities or some business in the way to prevent it. I

²⁰ This long letter (E4/83 and 83a) is extremely difficult to decipher, with smudges and tears in various places and all the pages written over twice.

²¹ Reproduced in CMS *Proceedings* 1813, 72-3

²² Reproduced with some editing in *Missionary Register* 1815, 613-5

am extremely obliged to you and the honourable Society for the late present, which pleased me and Mr. Renner very much. I have also to offer you my sincere thanks for the shawl you sent me by Mrs. Butscher. This article was saved from the shipwreck, which is wonderful to me, and so great many others lost. By this time you have heard of the misfortune that happened to us. It was a hard stroke indeed, which I could hardly stand; but God has recovered and strengthen[ed] me in this fire of trial. At the time I was confined a whole week to my bed on account of my lame knee, but was a little stronger the day the fire happened, so that I was able to walk down stairs, the boys carrying my trunk before me, and the other people brought me the beds; all what I had in two chest[s] of drawers was either burnt or stolen by the natives. But I ought not to grumble since still more was left me than ever our Saviour Christ Jesus possessed when upon earth; a room was still left for me to creep in, and a pillow to lay on my head, which he not had in his humiliation. Christ was praying for his enemies – and if our enemies have done this, let me also pray that God may forgive them, for most likely, they did not know what they were doing.

As for “Christ Church”,²³ that has not yet taken that good name - at present it bears the name of “Sinners-Church”, being occupied by young and old sinners. But we must do so it happens in a private circle of a family: the sleeping room may also be the sanctuary of the Lord, for both man and wife. Thus we keep our regular divine Services in a house which at the same time affords rest in the night. But this will be altered in a fortnight’s time, where we shall occupy the new houses, and leave the Church to its original purpose.

The messenger death has made dreadful havock of late among our friends at Sierra Leone, Mr. and Mrs. Hartwig, Mrs. But[s]cher, young Macmillan, and a great many more, called out of time into eternity; and it seems that the complaint in my breast is now and then calling to me: “be thou also ready for thou knowest not when thy Lord comes”; vexation with the children, and much speaking to them, will always renew the complaint. But, Lord, “teach me to number my days, that I may apply my heart unto wisdom!” As for my children, I am trimming and trimming day after day, like a gardener his unpolished trees. It is a pity that these African children want so much reproof and corrections. They are naturally stubborn and inclined to hold up their native way and fashion as long as they can. They inherit a slavish disposition from their parents; and will do nothing willing except they are driven to [it], like a slave must be driven to his work. I think I would rather manage 200 Children born of Christian Parents, than 50 born where the Parents are heathens. However I do mid[d]ling well with them and have the hope that I am not sowing seed in vain altogether.

Mrs Klein held up the doctrine at first that it is barbarous to flog children – I would have to run away without it. Julia would be a better girl than she is now had the fear of God been flogged into her; but by persuasion and good words she turned the hypocrite, and turned out bad after all.²⁴

Amongst many girls belonging to the place I had but one that went astray; the rest I kept in good order and out of vice, but all by a necessary severity. The schoolgirls I keep in a similar way, making them to sew, to wash and ironing; no idle person can live with me, and those that are idle and lazy must pay for it with their back.²⁵ An African girl hates the needle, because she never saw it used by the mother. Grumettas sew for men and women and the Child think it a very low

²³ This was the church being built at Bashia. The name had been chosen by the home Committee.

²⁴ This paragraph is missing in the version published in the *Missionary Register*.

²⁵ Changed to ‘must suffer for it’ in the *Missionary Register* version.

business to handle the needle. But I am up to them, they may like it or not, I make them to work.²⁶

You are blessed to be mother to many children, and I trust you can manage them with little trouble; and it must give you great pleasure to see them round your table like olive bra[n]ches; a blessing which hitherto has been denied me.

May God keep you, and them, in future days. My husband unites in Kind Respects to you and your dear husband.

I remain Yours in sincerity Elizabeth Renner

Bashia June 21st 1815

3. To Josiah Pratt, Gloucester, Sierra Leone November 20/22 (M3, 103-114, copy). Note in margin: 'Rec'd Oct.2/24. Com. Oct. 19/24'²⁷

Rev. & Dear Sir,

With great grief and heaviness of heart I am now enabled to write to you of the most serious and most solemn circumstance which has taken place in my family. On the eighth of September Death came in, and I was deprived of my dearest and affectionate husband and friend, who fell asleep in the arms of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ on Saturday, about six o'clock in the evening. O he is gone, he is gone! What shall I do? The Lord has thought it right to call him away from me, and what can I say or do: the Lord's will must be done. But Oh what a sudden blow it was to me, a blow that I shall never, never, forget, how shall I be able to stand it? Oh Lord be pleas'd to have mercy upon me, and help me, a poor woman, who am left; her husband is gone; no Father no Mother to comfort her; but thou O Father! Lord of heaven and earth, - hath promised to be a husband to the widow and a Father to the fatherless and motherless; especially to those who look unto thee for mercy, and with a sincere heart!

My dear husband was buried on the 9th of Sept'r 1822,²⁸ at 2 o'Clock in the afternoon, and was followed by Mr. Joseph Reffell, Chief Superintendent of the Liberated Africans, and likewise Doctor Nichol, the staff doctor of the Colony, and Mr. John Grant, the Nephew of Major Grant; likewise all the people in the Town, followed him to the grave. Mr. Reffell & John Ellis, collected all the Boys together; they were all dressed very neat & clean, and were arranged regularly in one line. Mary Hickson,²⁹ the first girl in the School, and who is one of the Rio Pongas girls, and is at this time an Assistant; she with the Nurse, collected all the girls together, they were also dressed very neat, and arranged regularly in one line. The people were all dressed very clean. The children, poor things, all seemed to be very sorrowful, and very much cast down on that day; on account of their poor Master who had been such a kind father and friend to them; they certainly do lament his loss, and likewise all the people in the town; for he certainly was esteemed and beloved by most every one. He was always ready and willing to give to his children and people all the good instruction he could, both for the good of their Souls and bodies. After his death, the

²⁶ Changed to 'But like it or not, I make them to work'. The next lines have been omitted in the *Missionary Register* version.

²⁷ This letter arrived at the same time as one written by Elizabeth two years later. It is not known why it was not forwarded to the Secretary earlier.

²⁸ This date is an error, made by either Elizabeth or the copywriter. Melchior died in September 1821.

²⁹ Mary married the CMS missionary George Metzger in 1826.

people very often expressed themselves in this way: - "Our poor friend is dead, and what shall we do? we are very much afraid that we will get a new Master that will put chains about us again, as they did before poor Mr. Renner came to this place. When he came to Kent he met plenty of chains and Irons, he took them all and had them cut into pieces, and made into nails." The very first day he put his feet on shore at Kent, where he found two or three chained together, he had the chains taken off, and they were all very thankful;³⁰ from that time all the people at Kent were so much attached to him that he had very little trouble with them the short time he was spared to live amongst them, which was about five months and a half. The people all seemed to pay the greatest attention towards me, both men and women, all are very willing to send their children to School. The women are certainly very kind to me and try to mind what I say to them. I endeavour to talk with them as much as I can about the welfare of their poor souls and bodies. They seem to feel much for me. They came every day to see me and sat down for an hour, and then they would return back to their houses. so they went on for a week or two, after the death of my dear husband. It was a great comfort to me to see them so attentive as they were the four days that my poor husband was confined to his bed; his people were continually coming to inquire after their friend, whether he was getting better or not, and when they found he was not getting any better but rather worse, they all seemed to be very sorry, and very much cast down in their minds; they said that he was going to leave them for a better world. This was on Saturday the 8th of Sept'r:/22³¹ at 6 o'Clock in the evening; the summons is come and he must obey the call, and now he is going to leave me. Oh he is gone! What shall I do, the Lord be pleased to bless me! [*She writes of the aftermath to his death, with people and children running into the house, crying that their poor friend and master was gone, while she lay on the sofa 'like one almost out of her senses'. The door had to be locked to keep them out of the room while the corpse was laid out and dressed; once the room had been put in order, the people and children were allowed in. It was an affecting sight to see them weeping over him. She continues in this vein over two foolscap pages culminating in a hymn by John Killingham: 'In all my troubles sharp and strong ... His love is still the same'. She then proceeds:]*

The change was visible and striking, the first beginning the first beginning of my dear husband's illness, which was soon after the Special Meeting that was held concerning his conduct, which he took so much to heart that he never got the better of it again, but rather grew worse; for he was grieving both day and night most bitterly, on account that they wrote against him things that he certainly was not guilty of: it is true we ought not to defend ourselves but leave it to the mercy of God. Oh then how must I have felt when I saw what great grief and trouble my husband had upon his mind, I could not help grieving with him; we both were grieved together; but the Lord by his great goodness and tender mercy enabled us to look upon him for mercy and comfort: this is the way of a Christian; the more the tempest rise, the more it drives us to God.

Rev and Dear Sir, you will be pleased to believe these few poor words I am now about to say to you: through all his sickness, through all the grief and troubles he had upon him, he did not forget his God, but did cleave unto him with full purpose of heart; and did not make up his mind to anything else, but to live to Jesus Christ and him crucified; he continued in that sickly and low state of body and mind for about three months. Then there came out new regulations, when all the Missionaries had to attend, but my dear husband was not able to attend, for which he was

³⁰ The context of this is not clear. The previous superintendent, William Randle, had been in prison for some months on a charge of murder and someone must have been sent to take over. It may be that this individual put miscreants in chains as a form of punishment.

³¹ The date should be September 1821.

very sorry; but did not write to the Brethren to say the reason why he did not go up to the Meeting [nor] told them how very ill he had been for the last three months, and that he was still very ill; but was able to go about a little. He desired to be remembered to all his brethren. So he continued in that sickly state until August 31st when both of us were sitting in the Pia[z]a, all at once he left me and went down to the Privy; after a short time he came back and was quite exhausted and faint; he was hardly able to get up the stairs, when I saw him I was quite frightened, and ran to him to help him up stairs. He said, O my dear Love, I shall soon leave you. I said to him he should not talk so; he said he could not help it, for he spoke as he felt and assured me that he could not be very long with me, that he was going to a place where he would rest from all his troubles; that I should make up my mind to part with him, for he was going out of this sinful world. He also told me that he had given me unto the Lord, for he was well assured that He would help me. Therefore I should not want for anything that was good for my soul, nor yet for my body; likewise he told me that the Honourable Society would support me as long as I would keep to them, that I should not want for anything; he also desired me to beg the Honourable Society would be pleased to take into consideration the Lot and House, which is now called the Missionary House. His reason for so saying was, because the Lot was purchased by his Wife's money, (the House was built partly through the Society's money) but he said that it was his wish that his wife should have the Lot again; as for the house, if the Honourable Society could let her have the house and Lot, or to purchase them; and by so doing, he would take it as a great favour shewed to him. He said it is true he gave up the grant to Mr. Bickersteth, when he was in Rio Pongas; but begs of the Honourable Society if they would be so pleased to take it into consideration: this was the wish of my dear husband in his last hour. He desired to be kindly remembered to Mr. & Mrs. Pratt and Mr. & Mrs. Bickersteth, and all the members belonging to the Society; he hoped that they would all meet him in heaven around the throne of grace; he also said that his dear wife should meet him in heaven, and never part any more. After he had done speaking these words to me, I got him to bed, and gave him some warm tea, and he took it and then he laid very still; my mind was in very great trouble seeing that my husband was so very ill. The first of September at five o'Clock in the morning, Mr. R. Beckley arrived at Kent from Waterloo; when he met my dear husband very ill, it was as much as he could do to get out of his bed; he was not able to dress himself, he certainly was not fit to come out of his bed to welcome Mr. Beckley. But as Mr. Beckley wished to see him very much concerning the Regulations that came out from the Society, and on account of the Benefactors' children, and as he was not able to attend to the meeting, therefore he tried to get up. Then I got him into the next room, which was as much as I could do; but thank God for his great goodness in sending one of our Brethren to visit my poor husband; for he had not had the pleasure of seeing any one of them for nearly four months. I can tell you dear Sir, that he was certainly very glad to see one of his Brethren come to Kent, which would never have been the case had it not been on account of the Regulations, and the Benefactors' children, which they ordered him to sign, and to give the character of the children.³² He was left like one forsaken of all his Brethren. I heard him say the last time he was at Freetown he saw one of his Brethren in the street but he scarcely took any notice of my poor dear husband; another that he saw seemed to be very curt towards him, and all this helped to grieve him more and more, to see that his friends slighted him as much as they did. [*She continues to describe in some detail Melchior's rapid decline in health, noting that she got little sleep as he had to*

³² The Society had instructed the missionaries to write regular reports on the children's progress for their benefactors.

get up frequently in the night, having 'a touch of the bowel complaint'. Moreover, Robert Beckley had fallen ill with fever and she was obliged to nurse him too]. On Monday [3 September] my dear husband felt a little better, and was able to sit up and write a Letter to Mr. Reffell for money to pay the people as the month was out, and he acquainted him of his illness. Mr. Beckley also got a little better, and was able to set off for Freetown the same day; he left Kent about 2 o'Clock in the afternoon. Before he left Kent I requested my husband to write to the Doctor or let me write, to state how ill he was and to describe to him his complaint, but he said no, it would be of little use to send for Medicine for he had already tried all the medicine he could and it was of no use to beg any more for he assured me he had a better Doctor in heaven, and there he should get the best of Medicines, which keeps the soul in perfect health and joy. [*On 6 September he was worse and told Elizabeth that he was prepared to meet his God.*] I asked him whether I should let the friends know how very ill he was; he said that it was not his wish, for he had already written to them how very ill he was and they paid no attention to what he had said, except a note that he received from Mr. Johnson, saying that he was very sorry to hear that he had been so very ill during the rainy season, but not one of them ever came to see him.

[*Finally, he agreed that she should send for Mr Grant, the Governor's nephew, who happened to be visiting a nearby island; he arrived the next morning, 8 September*]. After Mr. Grant had been in the house half an hour, I asked my husband if I should send to Freetown to let the friends know how very ill he was, he said yes. I asked to whom I should write, he said to Mr. Flood, Mr Wilhelm & Mr Reffell, and that they should let his other friends know how very ill he was. The boat was sent off to town directly, with a note to Mr. Flood, Mr. Wilhelm & Mr. Reffell. When Governor Grant heard of it he sent off Dr. Nicholl to Kent, and told him he must do all he could for my dear husband; but it was too late. They arrived at Kent at one o'Clock at night, where they found my dear husband already laid out upon his cooling board, but there was not one of the Missionaries came down with Mr. Reffell to read prayers. Mr. Reffell was obliged to read the funeral service himself.

The yellow jaundice came on him about three weeks before he died; it was very obstinate indeed, for we tried every thing we could to drive it away but it was of no use; his eyes were as yellow as Gold, his body was also quite yellow; it continued on him till he died. He had a very high fever, but it left him about an hour before he died; he then rested. I thought he was getting better as he laid so very still. Mr. Grant persuaded me to go and lie down on the Sofa a little as I had been sitting by him all the day long, but I believe that Mr. Grant only did so to get me out of the room, because he saw that my husband was dying and he did not wish me to know it. I did not know he was dying but thought he was only resting in sleep after the fever had left him. I had not been out of the room more than half an hour before the breath went out of his body.

[*After the burial, Mr. Reffell and Mr. Grant stayed in Kent for a few days to settle her husband's affairs and to see to village matters. Then, at a meeting in Freetown it was decided that Mr. Beckley should take over as superintendent of Kent and that Mrs. Renner should stay there for the time being, this being the Society's instruction in relation to widows.*] This I agreed to, but the next was, that I should deliver up all the books belonging to the Society to Mr. Beckley, that my husband had; it was then two weeks after the death of my dear husband when my grief was very heavy which made it heavier. They all knew that not one of them had seen me since the death of my husband; I fully expected that one of the Missionaries would have come down to Kent to see me; or if they could not make it quite convenient to come down themselves, I thought they would write a few lines to me and give all the comfort they could, and also to express themselves that they felt very

sorry to lose one of their oldest Brothers; but not a single line did I get from any of the Missionaries. I received a letter by Mr. Beckley which was from Mr. Reffell to encourage me to remain in Kent, as it was the wish of the meeting. When Mr. Beckley arrived in Kent I was very unwell on account of the much grief and trouble that I had on my mind on account of the loss of my dear husband. When Mr. B came into the house, he found me lying on the Sofa. I was very glad to see him; after he asked me if I was well, he told me that the Brethren desired me to remain in the place where I was, and that I was to deliver up to him all the Books that my husband had belonging to the Society; and even this was not told me in a smooth way of speaking, but rather in a hard way of speaking. He spoke all these words to me before he even took a chair to sit down. I truly thought it very hard indeed, that after I had been in the Mission for nearly 14 years when my husband died, that I should be deprived so soon after his death of the books, and that every book should be taken away from me as soon as he was dead. I thought it hard indeed, for those few books were my only comfort, and they are also a great remembrance of my dear husband to me, and especially as his name is written in all of them; but all this I leave to the Honourable Society, if they say I should give up all the books to the Missionary friends, and I am quite willing to do whatever they wish. [*She then spent three weeks at Government House in Freetown on the kind invitation of the Acting Governor and his wife. They were both very kind to her, as was Mr. Reffell.*]

I beg the favour of the Honourable Society to send me out a Grave Stone to be placed at the head of my dear husband's grave, the inscription as follows: Sacred to the Memory of the Rev'd Melchior Renner, Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, who departed this life September 8th 1821 in the 52nd year of his Age, (You will be pleased to deduct the value of the above mentioned Stone out of my Salary) leaving his poor Widow to lament his loss.

[*She ends by copying a well known hymn by William Cowper: 'His master taken from his head ... Who lives for evermore'*].

(Signed)

Eliz. Renner.

4. To Edward Bickersteth, August 19. 1824. (M3, 115-7, copy). Note in margin: 'Rec. Oct.2/24 Com'. Oct. 19/24'.

Rev and Dear Sir,

I beg you will pardon me for neglecting to write to you long before this time; my only reason for delaying my Letter so long, was on account of the great grief and heaviness I had to bear on my heart, on account of my dear husband, and as I did not like to trouble any one to write for me, so I waited till my mind got a little more settled.

I often sat down to write, but when I took the pen into my hand and began to write, I was so overcome with grief that I was obliged to lay it down again; so it has been with me all this time untill now, my mind seems to be a little better, which I hope all the honourable members will pardon. It was not out of any disregard, but on account of the great trouble I had on me at the time, which was more than I was able to bear, but the Lord of his great goodness and tender mercy held me up by His Almighty arm so that I did not fall. In all the grief and trouble that I had to go through on account of the loss of my dear husband, and other troubles that I had to go through since his death, I always found the Lord to be my helper and redeemer; and had it not been for my God and good friends in the Colony of Sierra Leone, I do not know whether I should

have been alive this day. But God our heavenly father is able and willing to help all who call upon him for help. No one knows what troubles I had to go through in Kent, after the death of my dear husband, but God and those that were about me. The present Superintendent of Kent Mr. Beckley, often told me that he would take the School from me as soon as he was married; and so it was as he said, for I was told by a certain person that Mistress Beckley applied for my School two or three weeks before she was married to Mr. Beckley, she tried all she could to get me out of the place, so that she might get the School. But as Mr. Reffell did not come down to Kent, nor did he like to take away the School from me, so Mr Beckley waited another opportunity; he waited till the rains came on. The girls were then living in a grass hut which had a very poor roof, the sides were all open, so that the children were quite exposed to cold and also to any one that should like to disturb them. About three weeks after Mr. & Mrs. Flood left Sierra Leone for England, the new School house that was building, was set on fire by some careless persons that had fire in their pipes.³³ the house that I lived in was close to the new School house that was set on fire, and had it not been for the people in Kent who have always behaved themselves well towards me and my husband, I should have lost everything that I had. The fire was very rapid, yet the people tried to save everything that I had. I was not at home when the fire broke out, I was very ill at York with a bad fever that I caught at Sierra Leone, the time that Mr. & Mrs. Flood left the colony for England. On my return home to Kent, I was taken very ill with the bad fever that was in the Colony at that time, and so I was not able to get any further than York, where I had to remain till I got better; then I went home to Kent. My house was saved, but the girls had no house to live in; whilst I was sick at York Mr Beckley took all the children to his house. When I came home they all came over to me, so I took them into the house that I lived in. I begged of Mr. Beckley to get a new grass house built for the children, but he would not. After the rains were over, Mr. Beckley got a boat and set off for freetown, went to Mr. Reffell to complain to him about the children, he represented to Mr. Reffell that the children were in such a shocking state that that it would be advisable for them to remove to his house; according to that report Mr. Reffell wrote to me by Mr. Beckley saying that Mr. B. was with him the other day and gave him such a distressing account of the state of the School girls arising from rain having no proper place to work in, that he felt it his duty to comply with his wish, to have them placed in the long building. The Letter that I received from Mr. Reffell was very polite: it was not Mr. Reffell's wish that a constable should be sent into my house. Mr. Beckley returned home from Freetown in the afternoon about 3 o'Clock with the Letter from Mr. Reffell, which he did not give till the next morning. About 9 o'Clock in the morning Mr. Beckley sent over his constable to my house with his staff³⁴ and also with a Letter from Mr. Beckley & Mr. Reffell. Mr. Beckley said in his, that I was to deliver up the children to the Constable immediately, and that the Constable was not to leave my house untill I had given him all the children. I was sick at the time but the constable did not go but waited till I got up and that with a broken heart: got all the children together and sent them over to Mr. Beckley; that was not enough, he wanted all the Rio Pongas children, and told them that he would give them more things than they got from me. But that did not avail anything; they would not leave me; and thank God they are still with me at Gloucester, & are doing well, and so are all the other children. Mr. Beckley is the first person that sent a Constable into my house, I hope that he will be the last; he often told me that I wore my husband's trowsers and that in the presence of Mr. Johnson and

³³ She is probably referring to some local men smoking tobacco.

³⁴ Probably a stick or truncheon.

Mr. Davey. But all this I leave to God, He will do what seemeth him good. I merely thought to let you know a little how I was treated by my friends. Please to remember me kindly to Mrs. Pratt.

(Signed)

E. Renner.

5. Report of the Girls' School at Gloucester March 21/26 (M3: 492-3, copy). Note in margin: 'Rec'd June 22/26, Com. June 27/26, Ack'd July 14/26'.

Dear Brethren,

The Lord be praised for his great goodness and tender mercy which he hath shewed towards me and the dear children that are intrusted to my care, that through his great mercy we have all been spared to see the end of another quarter.

Thank God for his great goodness, that not one death has happened among the children in our school throughout the Quarter. The number of female children that are living in the School at Gloucester at the present time is 80; but the whole number, including those who live in the town, is 97. The school contains 6 Classes, of which all are busy employed in making up clothing for the Hospital. There is no Marking carried on in my school at present, because I cannot get any canvas to mark on.³⁵

They are all going on very well with their reading, spelling and writing. Four Girls have been married out of our School in this Quarter.

(signed)

E. Renner.

SUSANNA KLEIN'S LETTERS (14)

1. To Mrs Pratt, Kakara March 31st 1812 (E3/2). Note on reverse: 'Sent by Capt. Macaulay'

Dear Madam

I have sometime wished to write to you because I understood from Mr. Pratt that you wished to know my present feelings in my new situation. You will have learnt from Mr. Klein's letters most of what we have met with since we left Ryde. I have much to be thankful for. I have all along appeared to myself to have just strength & spirits sufficient to enable me to get on with tolerable comfort to myself, & others. But since I came hither I have often felt much discouraged with a consciousness of my unfitness to struggle with the difficulties which I have had to encounter. The first few weeks I was in this house I had little hope but that I sh'd sink under them: but since I have had a Servant I have gone on more comfortably, & have been as well in health as when in England. I hope & pray that she may continue to behave well, for I know not where I c'd get another. Without one I am sure my coming to this country w'd be of no use. Everything is so different here to what it is in Europe that unless you were on the spot you can scarcely conceive of our situation. This is not a country favourable to the improvement of time, & I am sure this is not a house favourable to it. Here we dare not rise with the Sun because of the damp Fog which the moment we open our wooden windows w'd pour upon us. (what I shall do

³⁵ She is probably referring to the practice of tracing a pattern on canvas, which was then used to cut out the desired shape from the cloth.

in the rainy season I know not. I think I must burn a candle). I often wish for one Glass window that I might enjoy the light of the morning, & get some work done before the heat of the day renders me in a great measure unfit for any thing. (2 hours of the best part of every day are thus lost to me). Here the kitchens are built at a considerable distance from the house on account of the danger of fire; this is a great inconvenience as in the middle of the day, for some hours, I cannot go thither, even with an umbrella, without returning quite ill. This makes it absolutely necessary for every European woman to have a Servant who can go on with her work, & manage the Girls who assist her, without being looked after. Poor Mrs. Wenzel was under the necessity of having a fire in her sitting room, which here is an intolerable grievance. I must say that I think no woman ought to come to this country without being allowed to bring a Servant with her, & I must also say that without every accommodation and support which our circumstances will allow, we can do little or no good here (nor can women live long here). I know Mr Butscher will talk differently, but there are few people c'd endure what he can; I almost tremble at his bringing a Wife hither. May God direct him in this, and in everything else! The Climate is no doubt unfavourable, but that is far from being the only thing which in this country destroys Europeans. I do not mean that a European Servant c'd do much work here; but while the Mistress is engaged in managing the House, & instructing the Girls, she the Servant might have a room by the Kitchen, & manage & teach the Girls who are employed there: & in case of sickness she w'd be of great use. In this way we might soon have natives fitted both for Servants & Mistresses. If native women c'd be had they w'd certainly be preferable, but such are not to be had. Nothing but an absolute necessity c'd have induced me to take the one I have, for she bears a very bad character: but she was the only one I c'd get. I pray that she may get good by us, then her coming hither will be a mercy to us both.

There is much more work to be done here than I expected, the earth floors, & the quantity of dust, makes one dirty more close in a week here than one sh'd in a month in London, & the clothes must either be taken to the Brook, one two, or three miles off, or water must be fetched all that way by the Girls, to wash them. The expense of soap is great; besides the heat, & the quantity of insects makes it necessary to cook every day, & indeed every meal. Mr. Klein & I have not eaten Bread except a few times, since we left England. As soon as we begin to provide for ourselves we mean to make some. Mr. Klein suffers much from want of it, as he cannot eat rice & I go as well as I can.

I said that this House was not favourable to the improvement of time. Thro the middle room everything of trade, & barter with the Natives must pass & repass, so that there is very little time to teach the Girls, or to read or work. The Bedrooms which open into it, are so small, that one cannot set a Table or indeed get round the Bed. Poor Mrs. Wenzel, I have shed many tears about her since I came hither! I c'd tell you many things if I c'd see you. It is well her friends know not all that I do. If I had not the hope of soon getting into a situation where I shall be more at liberty to pursue of a plan of improving my time, both in learning & teaching, I sh'd certainly wish that I had not come hither: & I believe Mr. Klein feels the same. He is under the necessity of taking a few Boys into a small room, where they & he must stand the whole time he is teaching them, which in this country is quite fatiguing; & when he thinks them weary, he sends them away & takes a few more. In this manner he spends most of the day. After this, he feels wholly unfit to study the languages or to do anything else. This is a great mortification to us both: but we are perfectly satisfied that it is the Lord's will we sh'd at present be where we are, & we live in hope that when we get into our new House we shall go on better than we now can.

I write this late at night. & near us are a number of persons singing, & drumming, & sometimes howling dreadfully: but they do not interrupt us, nor are we the least affraid of them, tho' they c'd with the utmost ease break into our House, as our windows are dropping down, being eaten thro' by the Bugabugs. The Foulahs are the only persons which we fear: but when they know a man is well armed, they will not meddle with him, or his House.

I like the country here much less than the People: it appears so rude & uncultivated. The People are in general gentle & pleasing in their behaviour: The Women especially are kind & affectionate. I long much to be able to talk to them. We have for some time had a Boy & Girl which Mr. Renner redeemed for us. They are pleasing Children, the Boy especially is very clever & active: he observes & imitates everything which he sees, & hears. He has made several attempts to make himself a Flute like Mr. Klein's. I wish I had one for him. We think more good may be done to the country by educating Boys; than Girls; because women can have very little influence here, they being considered as little better than Slaves. We also prefer redeemed Children to others, because they seem more like our own, we are more attached to them & they to us, & sh'd the Lord be pleased to spare our lives, we sh'd probably continue to have more influence over them, by which means they may derive more lasting advantage from us, than they otherwise c'd do. I shall never be satisfied with what I do for the children until I have thoroughly fitted them for imparting to others what I have taught them. This with the blessing of God w'd be a work that w'd continue from generation to generation. But it will be an arduous task in this country thus to teach only a few. & I fear my life will not be long enough to accomplish it – Mr. Wenzel is just come from Bashia, he found there Mr. W[ilhel]m very busy making clothes for the Boys, which he has learnt to do since he came hither. I think if my Uncle c'd see him thus employ his precious time he w'd weep for grief & disappointment especially as there is no necessity for it: persons may be had to do such work tho' at a dear rate.

[I] left the Medicine Chest at Bashia until we go to Canafee. Mr. Renner having had occasion to open it, finds that there are much smaller quantities of the Drugs which he has been accustomed to administer, that he shall soon want another supply.

Mr. Klein unites with me in respects to yourself & Mr. Pratt. We beg also to be remembered to Mrs. Barber (I shall be glad if she will inform my Uncle that we are well), Mr. Fernandez and all other enquiring friends. Hoping for an interest in your prayers, I remain

Dear Madam

Your obliged Friend & Serv't. S. Klein

2. To Josiah Pratt, Kakara July 22nd 1812 (E3/10). Note added: 'Read at Com'. of Cor'. May 21/13'

Revd & Dear Sir

I am very much obliged to you for your excellent letter: I trust that it will do me much good. I am very conscious that I have continual need to be reminded of that text "We must every one of us give an account of himself to God". However I cannot think that even Women ought to be indifferent to what is passing around them, & what is going forwards in the Church & in the World.

Ever since the attention of the Public was turned to this injured Country, I have felt deeply interested in her welfare, & have watched very attentively whatever promised to redress her wrongs, & to enlighten her dark regions. I dare say you & many others have done the same; & had you come hither, & seen, & heard what I have done, you w'd have felt as I did when I wrote that

letter, tho' you no doubt w'd have expressed it more prudently. It appears to me, & I think I am not mistaken in my information that the real state of this country (in respect of what has been done for her good) is unknown in many important respects to the religious people in England: but I shall add no more on this subject: you have I trust seen Mr But[s]cher; & if you have encouraged him to speak his sentiments freely, he no doubt has informed you of many things which have filled you with astonishment & grief.

It w'd no doubt be a good plan, if practicable, to send occasionally as Visitors, to the different Missionary stations, well informed, & pious persons who are wholly unconnected with either the Political, or Mercantile world. W'd such a Man as Dr. Buchanan condescend to visit Africa, what advantage might not be hoped to be derived from it. Both by his counselling the Missionaries; & by his informing those who employ them. The Former are often so circumstanced that they dare not write home many things which they wish to do: & even if they did venture to do it, they w'd probably be misunderstood, & blamed for their observations. Besides, the counsel of a wise & good Man is the more needful, as Missionaries in general are not so well informed on many points, or men of such enlarged views, as to be capable of always judging what is the best plan to be adopted; tho' no doubt they are immensely better qualified than any other persons can be who are not on the spot.

We are much interested by many things contained in your summery account. The idea of sending teachers from America hither revives our hearts, & affords us ground to hope that even the present generation may have the Gospel preached to them in their own tongue. We also hope the Lord will crown your endeavours respecting India with success.

I beg to be affectionately remembered to Mrs. Pratt, Mrs. Barber & all enquiring friends. If I have time before the Vessel goes, I shall write to several of them.

I am Dear Sir Your much obliged friend & Servant Susanna Klein

3. To Edward Bickersteth, April 1st 1816 (E5A/81) [n.l.]

Rev'd and Dear Sir

As I fear I shall have little time for further conversation with you, even if you do favour us with another visit, & as I am aware that I was so hurried & indisposed, when you were here, that I c'd not collect my tho'ts [thoughts] nor give you any clear account of the subjects which passed under review, I take the liberty of addressing a letter to you.

I have long most ardently desired to see a person from England who was wholly unconnected with both the Political & the Mercantile world. I thank God that he has spared my life to see such an one. A man, who I trust comes to this country "in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ". I rejoice that providence has brought you to us; & tho' I am inclined to think that you seem disposed to bear rather hard on me in your decisions, yet I will rejoice & give thanks to God, because I confidently hope that your coming will be attended with signal benefit to us who are connected with this Mission, to our children, & to the Heathen among whom we live.

I shall give you a general account of our views, & motives from the time we went to the Dembia. At first we were much pleased with the situation; the retiredness of the Place. We tho't a favourable circumstance, as it w'd enable us to keep our children from the Natives; and we c'd not suppose, if Mr. Fernandez gave us an hundred children, that we sh'd be troubled for want of

company. It was for some time my earnest desire that there I might spend usefully the remainder of my days, & that there I might be buried. I can truly say that it was for the good work of evangelizing the Heathen that I came to Africa. & it has been my study day, & night, ever since I came into the country, how I c'd best promote that work. My greatest grief while I was in the Rio Pongas was, that I c'd do nothing; for I had not then an interpreter as I now have, by whom I c'd converse with the Natives. In the Dembia I hoped to be employed, as much as my health w'd allow, among the children. & the prospect of it rejoiced my heart; & when we were first told that we sh'd not get one child, we w'd not believe it, until the report came from various quarters: nor even then w'd Mr. Klein act upon it, or take any steps, until Mr. Fernandez told him expressly, Mr. Butscher has made a fool of me, & he has made a fool of you, & he has cheated the Society; & therefore I cannot give my children, nor Patronise the Settlement. No person who knows this country, & who especially knew our critical situation in it at that time, c'd for a moment doubt of the absolute necessity we were under of qui[t]ting the river. The whole country was enraged at the Missionaries, & nothing but the protection of a friendly Chief c'd, under God, preserve us.

But it was not the danger we fled from, it was the want of work. For my own part I do not expect to live long, & the little time I have to live, I do most earnestly desire without interruption to spend in preparing some of the Natives to tell to the children that are yet unborn the glad tidings of salvation. I am the more in earnest about this, because it is most undesirable, if it c'd be avoided, to send Europeans to this country of languor, of sickness, of temptation & of death.

When Mr. Klein went to live on the Isles de Loss, he supposed that the Mission[ari]es in the Rio Pongas w'd soon be driven thence, & as we had not then heard of the Christian Institution in Sierra Leone, we tho't the Society w'd be better pleased that we sh'd endeavour to prop up the Susoo Mission by settling in a place where that language was spoken, & where we c'd obtain Children from every River in that country, rather than go to Sierra Leone to be doing nothing for the Heathen. Had that Institution never been tho't of, our friends in England w'd have commended our choice. That we were deceived, & that we were persecuted, cannot be laid to our charge as a crime. For my own part, I feel assured that God has led us hitherto. He brought us to the Dembia for important purposes, best known to ourselves. This wise & gracious providence gave us a short stay on the Isles, in order to introduce us here. In this Place we can testify the Gospel of the grace of God to a populous neighbourhood, & to numbers of principal Persons from the surrounding countrys. Now sh'd this People reject the Gospel, & persecute us unto death, will any one say that we did wrong in coming hither? at the King's request?

As to what I wrote to my Uncle Scott respecting the state of the Mission, & the characters of the Missionaries; I w'd observe, that I was more than three years in the country before I communicated any thing unfavourable of either. Therefore I cannot be charged with forming a judgement hastily, or doing any thing without good reason. Some things I understood had already been written home, but I now find I was misinformed.

As to my having received my information from Slave Traders: I must say we have been very careful to avoid their acquaintance. I was never in a Slave Traders house but once since I came into the country, & then I was called there by Munge Backe, to a Palaver. Mr. Carr, & Mr. Leigh I have visited, but they had relinquished that trade many years, & they professed to be very friendly to the Mission, as did also Mr. Sabb. The truth is, such facts as I have not myself witnessed, I have derived from the Mission[ari]es themselves, or from the concurrent testimony of persons of different descriptions. I c'd add much to what I then wrote; but there is no need to do this. If false reports are disproved, & those who have wandered from the path of duty are

restored to it, I shall rejoice tho' I may be censored as officious, & uncharitable. (Since writing the above I have been convinced that there is no good foundation for the reports which have gone abroad respecting the Missionaries).

I acknowledge that I have in several instances expressed myself too strongly. That is a fault to which I was ever prone. & I also acknowledge that I possess a natural severity of character & temper unbecoming my sex. But that does not alter the state of the case as it respects the Mission. I must repeat it, I consider it my bounden duty not to die in silence, but to do what I c'd to remove the stumbling blocks out of the path, "that the way to the Lord might be prepared."

That your short visit may be attended with an abundant blessing from God our Saviour to the Mission, is my earnest prayer, & that you may also be brought in health & comfort to our friends in England – In haste, I beg leave to subscribe myself

Your obliged, & affectionate Friend and Servant

Susanna Klein

4. (Enclosure) Extract of a letter from Mrs. Klein to the Rev. J. Scott, Kapparoo 6 April 1816 (E5A/23). Note added: 'Com'e Dec'r 9/16'.

----- 'I thank God. tho' my poor weak frame has been shaken by trouble of mind & extreme fatigue, as you may suppose, from our various movements, my mind has gained confidence & strength. I scarcely ever in my life experienced so sensibly the Lord's supporting hand; and whereas formerly I have felt embarrassed when I most wished to speak to the Heathen & to others on the subject of religion, my mouth has, of late, been opened to my own astonishment. What is more wonderful, my poor Girls, some of whom seemed in their hearts, to join the Susoos in their contempt of us, when we were in the Dembia, new appear in a very hopeful state, and Julia interprets for us with much feeling, and often, like your poor M..., adds a fervour of her own; so that I hope our Lord is about to begin a good work among us, for which we cannot praise him too much. A great door is here opened. Oh, it may be an effectual one! We have a populous neighbourhood, & principal persons from Chiefs of the surrounding nations come to visit King Demba. They are candid Mahometans, & hear us with great respect & attention, sometimes with feeling. Since Mr. Bickersteth left us two men & a woman called to see us. The Woman had five silver bracelets on each arm with a number of rings, and a crimson silk Handkerchief round her head. They gave the King of the Mandingoes compliments to us. I went in to inform Mr. Klein – When we came to the door, we found Julia talking to them very earnestly, with tears in her eyes. They had begun the conversation, with telling her, how thankful the children ought to be, that God had sent us to teach them. Their eyes were fixed on her with evident feeling & admiration. We sat down in silence & she went on for a considerable time; till at length we took up the subject, which was the grand truths of the Gospel of Christ. The next morning they came again, & attended Family Worship, when they told the children that they ought to be very thankful to God; & prayed that he would long preserve our lives to teach them &c. Such opportunities are precious; and I trust this little leaven will at length leaven the whole lump. The three eldest girls, Julia, Betty, a trader's slave, & Sally who is from another trader, are under great concern for their souls, often weeping for their sins, even in the dead of night while others sleep. Their temper & conduct also are very pleasing, allowing for the playfulness & heedlessness of Youth in such a country as this. One girl from a trader was with us a short time, whose conduct indicated that she felt most deeply the important truths which she had heard. I shall not [ever?] forget her tears at leaving us. Her great distress was, lest she should be led to sin against

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your kind letter. It is late at night, & I am very unwell, or I w'd have answered it. I shall ever regret the shortness of your visit to us.

Mr. Klein was so hurried when he left Sierra Leone that he forgot many things, especially his writing Case, which he left at Mr. Butscher's. He will be much obliged to you to take it to England, & let it remain at the Society's House until our Friend Mr. Broughton sends for it. Mr. Klein will thank you to send by Mr. Nicol's Vessel when it brings the rice hither six or eight axes, & a doz: Gimblets³⁸ of various sizes.

Give my respects to all enquiring Friends in England, especially Mr. Pratt, & the Committee. Excuse me if I speak a word, not for myself but for those who may follow my example in coming to this Country. The Society cannot be too tender & indulgent to those whom they sent to this climate, this relaxing climate. To our enfeebled minds the Grasshopper soon becomes a burden. A small trouble overwhelms us, & we sink into the grave, one after another, without any one suspecting the real cause. I wish my poor Husband may not be the next who falls a prey to a troubled mind. Fear of incurring the Committee's displeasure, & disappointments, & vexations of various kinds drove him to seek relief to his spirits in a pernicious practice. My hope was that your hearing from us at large the reasons of our movements &c. w'd satisfy your mind that we had done right, & that you w'd make a report to the Committee to that effect. I verily tho't that the Society w'd thank us for all our trouble, & self denial in endeavouring to prop up the sinking Susoo Mission. I also indulged the hope that when Mr. Klein's spirits were relieved from the fear of the Committee's displeasure, he w'd then lay aside the pernicious practice alluded to, & with cheerfulness, & activity go on with his Master's work: but your disapprobation of almost all his proceedings, & especially your putting him upon a six month trial of his future good conduct has cut up all my hopes: His spirits are now more sunk than ever, & I am sure I cannot raise them. I can only call on Him who will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking [flax?]. Who knows how to raise the fallen, & who remembers our frames & considers that we are but dust. But I am going too far, I had no tho't of touching on this subject when I sat down: but my feelings have involuntarily lead me to it. I hope you will excuse me. Mr. Klein desires his respects –

I am, Revd & Dear Sir, Your obliged Friend & Serv't Susanna Klein

7. to Edward Bickersteth, Gambier April 14th 1817 (E6/3). Note added: 'Rec'd June 30/19. Ackg'd to Mr Garnon July 11/19, by the Magdalena (ans'd Oct. 7/17, by the George. Com'm, July 14/17'.

Rev'd & dear Sir

I cannot forbear, before Mr. Klein makes up the Parcel, intreating that an English translation of the Koran, & Faithful historic Records – together with Arabic Bibles, & more Tracts may be sent to us.

A young Bookman left us two days since, to go to Tumbo; he took with him one of each of the arabic Tracts. & he told Julia that he kept in mind all that we had said to him respecting the Word of God. He is acquainted with her Father, who lives at Tumbo. We sent an invitation to him to come & see his daughter. He said he w'd come again, & bring her Father with him. This may be an important opening. He had been stolen from his friends, & brought to Kapparoo, & they sent down a Slave to give in exchange for him. The Messengers told us that they passed the English Embassy about six days journey from Tumbo.

³⁸ a small tool for boring holes in the ground

I am much obliged to you for your kind letter: & we, & every Member of the Society are under great obligations to you for visiting this country. What you have done, will in its consequences be of immense advantage to the Mission, & to the Missionaries. At least I have reason to hope so: only continue to help us with your prayers. May your life long be spared, that you may be a blessing to many both at home, & abroad. Mr. Klein unites with me in affectionate & respectful remembrances to you, & Mr. Pratt. I beg my respects to Mrs. Bickersteth. I am Rev'd & dear Sir, Your obliged friend & Serv't. S. Klein

8. to Mr and Mrs Broughton, Ch. Miss'y Settlement near Kapparoo Nov 4/16 (E6/93, copy). Note added: 'Com. Dec. 8/17'.

My dear Friends

Our dear friends Wilhelm called yesterday from Canoffee and tomorrow Mr. Klein accompanies them to Sierra Leone. I am very sorry that owing to many engagements and the very irritable state of my nerves, I have not been able to prepare letters for my dear friends in England; hitherto the Lord has helped us. O help us to praise him. Our health has been remarkably good thro' the Rains, but I believe I have exerted myself too much in various ways, and I now feel as if I now only wanted repose and quietness and a little indulgence to set one to rights again. I am sorry to see poor dear Wilhelm is also distressingly nervous, he speaks with great thankfulness of the help his Wife is to him, and that her grief was inexplicable at parting with him on this occasion. Poor Woman, I shall feel much for her during his absence. She well knows how unfit his tender spirit is to endure the difficulties he may meet with on the Voyage & at Sierra Leone. I bless God my dear husband is well and actively employed, and more cheerful than I have seen him since he left London. We are here making an open attack on the Kingdom of Satan, in the name of our Lord Jesus. May our unworthiness not provoke him to refuse his aid and blessing. Satan and his emissaries growl, it will not be wonderful if they they unite against us. May the Lord prepare us for all events. I hope you will be able to read Mr. Klein's Letter to Mr. Pratt. Some conversations with Mahommedans will interest you, but he has spoiled some of them by abridging them, we have several more, but cannot write them now. The great object I have here in view is to stir up these people to attend to the Scriptures, that they may be prepared to come forward to the help of the Lord against the Mighty. We are in want of a Koran and help of various kinds from history &c. to further us in this Work. My Uncles answer to [blank space] has helped us much. I wish it were possible to secure learned Mahommedans to examine and plead for their Religion. Surely they would soon perceive the rottonness of its foundation. Our Chief M. Jaica³⁹ is teaching several of his Sons Arabic and Mr. Klein means from time to time to write a verse from the Bible for them to study. I wish some learned and judicious persons in England would undertake to write with points in Arabic, portions of Scripture & get them pasted on board and sent to us, they would be easily circulated through this whole Country: I mean such Verses as the following. "A Virgin shall conceive" &c. "To us a Child is born, to us a Son is given and his Name &c." "The Angel said I bring you glad tidings of great Joy which shall be to all people &c." The Bible is too large and too expensive to be circulated widely, in this Country few persons can read well. The above plan would prepare the way for it by exciting the attention of the more learned. I hear with much pleasure of Mr. and Mrs. Garnons safe arrival. I wish I could see them. I shall send this letter to him and Mr.

³⁹ Jonathan spelt this name 'Qeaca' in one of his letters.

Klein will also send to you an Image (not an Idol) made by a person in this town with a Knife, for which we paid him a bar⁴⁰ and two Gold Rings, but I am sure you will be glad to hear that Leopards are seldom seen here. I wish I could send you anything else.

I thought to write to several friends but I am utterly unable to day. I must therefore beg you to do me the favor to read this to Mr. Pratt and to let all my other friends know the contents, and do apologise for my not writing; I am ashamed of this letter, excuse it. I almost lived on the Cheese you sent us while it remained sound, it was the mildest and best Cheese I have tasted in this Country & fancied it made me very strong & hearty and did me a great deal of good. You will laugh at this, Pickled tripe is a most excellent thing to supply the want of fresh meat here. For some weeks, one little Chicken a day, has been all [we] could preserve for us both. We hope to be better supplied soon.

I have lately been distressed with a violent heat coming over me several times both Night & day & that I am obliged to throw off my Clothes, it goes off with a most profuse sweat. I am inclined to think it is Hysterical but I cannot tell. My Eyes are so bad & can scarcely see what I write; you must therefore excuse more at this time. I received the Cap you sent me, I thought I had thanked you for it. I am anxious to receive letters from Aston, and from you and others, surely I shall not be disappointed when Mr. Klein returns

May God bless you both! and all our dear friends in England. Pray much for us, that we may be faithful unto death & much love to all our friends. I remember all my friends but I cannot mention all Names.

Yours affectionately (signed) S Klein

9. To Rev. Thomas Scott, Gambier July 9th 1818 (E7/29). Note added: 'Rec'd from Mr. Scott, Oct. 26/18. Ans'd Oct. 27/18, by the "Sarah". Com'. of Cor'. Oct.30/18'.

Dear & Hon'd Uncle,

My aunt's letter of Oct. 14th 1817 came to hand last Feb. I answered it in april. My cousin King's by some mastake [mistake] at Sierra Leone did not arrive at the same time, tho' it was of the same date. June 4th I answered it. I fear one letter sent last Nov' was lost with the British Tar.

I now sit down to acquaint you with some events which have taken place here, that inspire me with hopes that providence is preparing the way for establishing the Redeemers kingdom in these dreary regions. – That beautiful little Island on which we once lived, & on which we wished to establish the Gambier Settlement, with sanguine hopes, that from it, this part of Africa w'd become enlightened with the beams of divine truth – is, to my great surprise & joy, now in the hands of the English Government! We were driven thence by persecution; but I never turned my eyes towards it without regret. Within these few days His Excellency Gov'r MacCarthy has induced Manga Demba to deliver it up to him. This is the Lord's doing & it is marvellous in our eyes.

I rejoice in the prospect which it opens of establishing the Susoo Mission & of promoting the knowled[g]e of the Susoo language. It appears to me that much may now be done, & with much less expense than formerly – I also rejoice that our government is now in possession of a place incomparably more healthy than Sierra Leone.

⁴⁰ A bar was a unit of barter.

I sh'd tell you that from the time we left the Isles de Loss, Mr. Leigh's health declined. & he died at Sierra Leone a few weeks ago. Mr. Carr, who but a short time before was esteemed very healthy, was by unforeseen events reduced, so as to be under the necessity of relinquishing his Place on the Island. The former having nominated Ken[n]eth Macaulay Esq. his Executor, a way was opened for establishing a Factory on the Island Ruma, as the Natives call it (The traders call it Crawford Island). It is somewhat extraordinary, that several persons, well known to us, have lately been removed by death, who w'd have used their influence to prevent Manga Demba's acceding to the Gov'rs proposals. – Last Sunday we were honoured with a visit from the Gov'r, Mr. Macaulay, & some officers. His Excellency strongly expressed his regret that we had left the Island: he said we were here quite out of the world, we were much further from the Isles than he supposed. I told him we never saw any white people here except occasionally Mr. Renner, & Mr. Wilhelm. (By the by, I have not seen a white woman, except, more than four years ago, Mrs. Quast & Mrs. Wilhelm, since I was at Sierra Leone in 1811.) We had lived almost seven years among the heathen, that now I sh'd be very thankful to return to the society of Christians, not so much on my own account, as on Mr. Klein's: because I considered the want of society as very injurious to him. He pressed Mr. Klein to consider the advantages, in point of usefulness, of living under our own Government. & said Mr. Renner had now 400 people to instruct. Mr. Klein told him he c'd not move without instructions from home. He observed he tho't that the Meeting at Sierra Leone had sufficient authority to act. – When they returned to the Isles they had contrary wind & rain, & were more than ten hours in an open Boat: not arriving till almost morning. I was much troubled by them. Mr. Klein is not very well at present, or he w'd write to Mr. Pratt, but he supposes the Governor, & Mr. Garnon will give every necessary information to the Society. He desires me to say, that if you think proper you may communicate the contents of this Letter to Mr. Pratt. But he does not feel at liberty to offer any opinion himself on the subject. I wish to leave the event to God.

Sh'd we return to the Island, we shall have a very pleasing prospect of usefulness both among our own people, & among the Natives, who will frequent the Island for trade &c. Probably the other two Islands will come under our own Government. If so I hope some pious, & devoted Clergyman will give himself to this work. A man of a retired, & studious turn w'd enjoy the situation; & he might be far more extensively useful than in almost any situation in England. I have long earnestly desired to see some elderly Clergyman devote his last days to our African Mission. Is there not some one who, by one means [words missing] is loosened from attachments to family, & country, & who [word missing] come forward to this most glorious work.⁴¹ For[?], tho' we have as yet no success, I do not doubt but that by & by God will pour out of his spirit to fructify this barren soil. We have the assurances of his word: & we see manifest proofs that his providence is preparing the way for making his cause triumphant. I am confident you will help us with your prayers. – I have no particular news to communicate respecting our family except that Julia expects to be confined in two or three months. Mr. Brunton, who is very useful to Mr. Klein, seems attached to us, he says where we go he will go. An opportunity just offers of sending this to the Isles. I have not time to say more than that we are as well as usual. Mr. Klein is now translating the 15 of 1. Samuel. Let Mr. Pratt see the contents of this. Mr. Klein had a very kind letter from him some time ago. Farewell – We write in much love to Aunt &c &c.

Dear & Hon[oure]d Uncle Your affect'te Niece Susanna Klein

⁴¹ A stain at this point in the letter has obscured several words.

10. to Josiah Pratt (E7/86) (attached to a letter from Mr. Klein, Gambier, 28 December 1818)⁴²

Rev'd & dear Sir

I am unwilling to send away the parcel without adding a few lines, tho' my present state of health renders me unfit to communicate to you all I wish. I have now resided seven years among the natives of this country, & trust I have ever kept in view the great object of raising them from their present degraded state. I have endeavoured according to my ability to fit those committed to my care for communicating to the children that are yet unborn the blessed gospel of God our Saviour: & I have conversed freely, & fully with strangers, & with all around me on the great truths of Christianity; & tho' our prospects respecting our children be so discouraging, yet my hopes are high respecting the final result of the Society's plans. What has been done is a seed that will grow up, & will bring forth much fruit; so that even here, as in other places he that soweth, & he that reapeth will finally rejoice together. A Gentleman here assures me that when he lately visited the Cabby[?] Chief, mentioned by Mr. Klein, he found that he continued to observe the Sunday as a day of rest. He is expecting another visit from Mr. Klein: But I am doubtful whether the present ferment which subsists among the natives respecting the giving of the Isles to the English Government will allow him to travel this dry season. A great Palaver between Manga Demba & the Susoo is now talking near Wonghapong. We hope that they will not be so infatuated as to attempt to recover the Isles, or to make war with Manga Demba for having given them up – This event opens a new, & most interesting scene before us. I lament my inability to impart to you in writing my ideas of what may now be attempted by our Hon'ble Society. I wish we c'd now enjoy a visit from you, or Mr. Bickersteth. I find the Echo is daily expected in Sierra Leone; if in the course of a week I hear of her arrival, provided an opportunity offers, I think I shall take courage & go thither. If I do I shall return to Gambier as soon as possible for it is very distressing to me to leave Mr. Klein there alone. However when I return he will leave me alone, & that he says will be equally painful to him – I am not confident that I was right, but it appears to me that in future the Society's plans of preaching the gospel &c. will in future be carried on more successfully by bringing the Gambier settlement under our government here, than by continuing it in its present situation. & as this Island lies near the mainland – about five[?] hours sail – I am inclined to think it preferable to the other! O that something c'd be done to make those who here bear the Christian name, burning & shining lights! Mr. Samo makes me very comfortable under his roof. He has long invited me to visit him. Mr. & Mrs. Pilkington were not sufficiently settled to receive me. They are pleasing, genteel people – she a young & most amiable, & accomplished woman – a rare sight in these parts. O that their lives may be spared, & that they may become the supporters of true religion – Mr. Samo intends to take a passage in the Echo to England. He will call on you. May I presume to [missing word] that your paying some attention to him may be advantag[eous] to his own mind, & also to your future plans on the Islands. & [missing word] he understands Suso[?], I conceive you might during his stay in England derive some benefit from his observation on that head. I must hasten to conclude as he tells me the canoe is about to set sail for Sierra Leone. I shall esteem it a great favour if you will inform my friend at Aston of my intention to write as soon as I hear from them. I beg to be respectfully & affectionately remembered to Mrs. Pratt, Mr. & Mrs. Bickersteth, tho' I have not the pleasure of knowing the latter. I hope as these Islands are [indecipherable word] healthy we shall

⁴² This letter is very difficult to decipher.

receive frequent visits from our friends in England. I beg you will present my respects to the Committee & believe to be dear Sir your obedient humble Serv't S. Klein

11. to Fernandez, Factory Island 11 January 1819 (E7A/20)

[Susanna tells Fernandez that she has heard from Mr. Perry and others that the people wish their children to be schooled. She suggests that he himself is the best suited to take this forward and that the best method of teaching reading would be to follow the English example of day schools, which could be established in the principal towns, rather than boarding schools. She suggests that he confers with his chiefs on the matter and asks the Society to provide teachers.]

The following was attached to her letter:

Note added: 'Questions by Mrs. Klein, respect'g a Native College. Rec'd Dec.31/19. Ack'd to Mr. K. Jan. 1/20' (E7A/21).⁴³

Questions addressed to his Excellency Gov: MacCarthy, for the consideration of himself, and of all those other benevolent persons, who are engaged in forming and executing plans for the improvement of Africa in general and of S. Leone in particular.

1st – Is it not necessary, in order to complete the present plans of improvement at S. Leone and that the Machine which is set a going may be kept a going with the superintendence of as few Europeans as possible, to establish a College, for completing the education of a few native youths of different descriptions, and thoroughly fitting them for every useful service both in Church and State?

2nd – Is it not evident that the African is capable of improvement only when he is separated from his former connexions, and brought under strict discipline and regular habits of application?

3rd – Would not the native languages be studied to most advantage in such an insulated, and retired situation as a College would necessarily be?

4th – Are not the best teachers of the native languages to be met with, as Brunton observes, among the natives who frequent S. Leone? And could not the native youths admitted into such a College be employed also as teachers of their own languages; and thus impart, and receive instruction with the greatest possible advantage to both parties?

5th – Would not the translation of the Scriptures be carried on to the best advantage in a College, where the translators might give themselves almost wholly to this work, and where they might correct their translations when printed?

6th – Would not the preaching of the Gospel be best accomplished by proper persons sent amongst the natives every dry season from such a College?

7th – Would it not be possible after a time, from the schools in S. Leone to supply such of the Chiefs as should desire it with native teachers, who might read the Scriptures to the people in the native languages; and who might also keep day-schools for the instructions of the children in the native towns?

8th – Is it not evident that the moral, and political state of the natives of Africa is too corrupt to admit of the growth of any thing good under their own patronage?

The [indecipherable word] have long wished and hoped to see a College established among the natives, for their special advantage, but several years acquaintance with their characters, and habits

⁴³ This has been catalogued as being from Mr. Klein but they are her (rhetorical) questions. Her husband has just added a brief note.

has led to the conviction, that they are not prepared either to patronise, or to derive advantage from such an establishment amongst themselves.

Oct: 24th 1817

A friend to Africa

12. To Rev. S. Flood, Crawford Island, Feb. 19/21 (M1, 348-9, copy)⁴⁴

Rev. Sir –

After the Testimonials which I sent to Mr. Garnsey from Capt. Hagan, &c, I was much surprized on Mr. Klein's return from Sierra Leone, to find that the Committee had proceeded against him as they had done. If they meant to reject the Testimonials why not inform us of it before? And if they, notwithstanding, thought it necessary to censure Mr. K., why involve me in his punishment, by ordering me to return home? Some, I understand, have said, that the Gentlemen from whom I received the Letters in Mr. Klein's favour were not of respectable characters. I presume to say that some of them are at least as respectable as those from whom, I have been told, the Committee had their information. But, if I was surprized first by being ordered to appear before the Committee, then by being ordered to return home, how was I surprized, on Mr Klein's receiving your Letter of Feb. 8.th, to find that you not only dismissed us both, but refused to send us those things sent out for us! I could only comfort myself by reflecting that, though man condemned me unheard, there was a judge before whom even the Widow, the Fatherless, and the Stranger might each plead his or her cause.

I wish, Sir, to be informed on what ground, and by what authority, the Committee have dismissed me? and why they refuse to send me such things as I need, and such as I desired Mr. Klein to ask for me, as well as for himself? I am inclined to think that when these hard measures against us are duly weighed, as no doubt they will be, in England, they will bring more durable disgrace on those who formed them, than on us. What will be thought of withholding Medicines on which our very lives may depend for ought you know to the contrary? I must also beg leave to ask whether you are quite sure that there are no private Letters or Presents for us in your possession? If I have given offence by refusing to return to Europe, and am dismissed on that account, let it be fairly and openly avowed. I am confident that no wise man will censure me for being too much devoted to the work in which I have for these last 9 years been labouring: and I am still more confident that He, whose I am and whom I wish to serve to the end of my days, will not reject me in my old age. However, I forbear adding more, except that I beg they will not refuse this last favour that I may have to request and they to bestow, of sending us all the things that are come out for us by the first opportunity.

(signed)

Susannah Klein.

13. To Josiah Pratt, Crawford Island, Apr'l 12/21 (O132) Note added: 'Rec'd July 17/21. Ans'd Aug. 29/21 [...] Com'. Aug. 13/21'⁴⁵

Rev'd & Dear Sir

⁴⁴ Another copy of this letter, made by Rev. Flood, is filed in O132.

⁴⁵ This letter is copied in M1, 379-81.

As Mr. Klein does not feel himself at liberty to write to the Hon: Com: until he hear what answer they will return to the request which he presented to them last August, & until he learn whether they will confirm the decisions of the Com. of Missionaries at Sierra Leone, last Christmas, I think it necessary to state to you how we are going on.

The House which the Gov: is building for us is not yet finished nor is it likely to be for some Months; so that no school has yet commenced: this is a grief of heart to me which I sometimes know not how patiently to endure. For not only the children, & people, of the Island are desirous of seeing a school opened, but the country people also, especially those from the Rio Nunez, are very urgent that we should take their children for instruction. They say this is the place most proper for a school, & we are the people to whose care they wish to entrust their children. These circumstances have induced Lieut. Nosworthy, the Commandant, & the other Gentlemen resident on the Islands, to encourage Mr. Klein to circulate the inclosed proposal for establishing a school for the natives without further delay, & they have put down their names as subscribers. In the meantime Mr. Klein is labouring indefatigably at the translation. He has nearly finished Proverbs. I sit many hours every day at the work, & afford him every assistance in my power. & I am confident, however we, & our labours may be now regarded, future generations will bless the memory of the Translators. If Mr. Klein be left to himself, the work will proceed rapidly. But I cannot say how it will be with him, if in future he be interrupted, & perplexed as he has hitherto been. I shall however pass over what he has lately experienced, as I know not yet how it has been represented to you, & our friends in England. The thing speaks for itself in this country. Such unprecedented severity has disgraced the Hon: Society in the view of all considerate persons. & were it not from respect to the Gov: & the Government, who deem it prudent to patronise the Missionaries, the indignation of many w'd not be restrained to private conversation, & censure. Mr. Klein has I believe on some trying occasions been indiscreet. He has also his peculiarities of temper; but there never was a man in Africa more universally beloved than he is. & I doubt not that, in the end, the doubts which have long hung over him will be dispersed.

Lieut. Nosworthy, & Dr. McLachlan here lately visited Mr. Fernandez. The former has taken his eldest Son for improvement. He sends him twice a day, for instruction, to Mr. Klein. These Gentlemen give a most pleasing account of Mr. Fernandez, & of the manner in which he is himself educating his numerous family. He has, regularly, Morning & Evening Prayers, & his sons & daughters sing most enchantingly in Chorus.

April 23rd. Tho' owing to circumstances, over which Mr. Klein has no control, regular Schools for captured negroes have not yet commenced; he is exercising his influence to induce the young people in the Islands to meet among themselves for mutual instruction, under his superintendence, & I am happy to say that, very lately, Anthony & two other young men in the Island appear at present very desirous of taking the lead in this business.

I am endeavouring to collect a day school for Girls and little Boys, in the room which was lately occupied by two white Orphan Children of whom we had the care and who have been ordered to return to England. In our own Bedroom as we have no other, Mr. Klein performs Divine service & preaches every Sunday Morning. – I hope your friends in England will at least pray for us, that our great Master may not at last condemn us as unprofitable Servants.

I hope you will have the goodness to excuse errors, as I write in haste, an opportunity having just offered of sending this to the Gambia.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ This is probably a reference to a ship that will sail soon for the Gambia, from where her letter could be forwarded to England.

Mr. Klein desires to unite with me in best respects to you, & Mrs. Pratt.

I am, Rev. & Dear Sir, Your Ob't [Obedient] H'bl [Humble] Serv't, Susanna Klein

14. To Josiah Pratt, May 29/21 (O132). Note added: 'Rec. Sep. 10/21. Com'. Oct. 8/21. Ans. Oct /21'.⁴⁷

Rev. & dear Sir

I beg leave to observe that this Letter was thrown aside by Mr. Klein, on his arrival at Sierra Leone last Christmas; on account of the Com: of Miss[ionari]es there reviving the business which we supposed finally settled by the Testimonials sent by me. & bringing a charge against him respecting a circumstance which took place previously to our residing in the Island, during my visit at Sierra Leone two years & a half ago. Till this day I was not aware that he had not sent the letter to you. I therefore forward it, that you may have some idea how much we have suffered. I wrote to you April 11th 1821, stating how we are going on: & saying that Mr. Klein waits to hear from the Hon: Com. whether they will confirm the decisions of the Com: at Sierra Leone. And whether they approve of their endeavouring to force us out of the Country, by inducing Capt. Grant to dismiss Mr. Klein from his Station on the Isles. He also waits to hear from you what determination the Hon: Com: have come to respecting the Petition which he presented to them August 1820. – Mr. Klein has translated to the 38th chap: of Isaiah. & he is determined, with the help of God, that nothing shall henceforward interrupt him in the work.

An earthquake was felt here on May 17th.

Mr. Klein unites in best respects to you, Mrs. Pratt & Mr. Bickersteth &c.

I am, Rev'd Sir, yours &c. Susanna Klein.

⁴⁷ Copied into M1, 462-5. She encloses her husband's letter from Crawford Island, dated 21 December 1820.