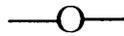


# THE EARLY HISTORY OF HANKEY

1822 – 1847

by

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This work is dedicated to  
Leon, Anna and Claire

## CONTENTS

PREFACE

LIST OF PLATES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I : BACKGROUND

1.	Introduction	1
2.	Historic Setting	6
3.	Geographic Setting	10
4.	European Pioneers	14
5.	The London Missionary Society	18
6.	Racial Prejudice Among the Colonists	23

CHAPTER II : THE FOUNDING OF HANKEY

1.	The Land Issue in Historical Perspective	31
2.	Slow Progress at Bethelsdorp	35
3.	Plan to Move the Mother Station	40
4.	The Search for a Farm	44
5.	The Damants of Lammas	51
6.	A Farm is Found	56

CHAPTER III : THE EARLY YEARS

1.	The First Hankey Residents	67
2.	Johann George Messer and the Fallen Missionary	74
3.	Economic Development	79
4.	Secular and Religious Instruction	87
5.	The Water-Course	95

## CHAPTER IV : CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION

1.	John Melvill	102
2.	The Revival	109
3.	Land Allocation and Augmentation	121
4.	The War of 1835	129
5.	The Squabble over Land Rights	139

## CHAPTER V : A NEW BROOM SWEEPS CLEAN

1.	The Arrival of Edward Williams	145
2.	A Community Restored	150
3.	Shelter for the Freed Slaves	163
4.	Economic Expansion	173
5.	Edward Solomon Takes a Turn	180

## CHAPTER VI : THE TUNNEL

1.	William Enowy Philip	191
2.	A Fresh Approach	195
3.	Negotiations and Excavations	203
4.	Death by Drowning	216
5.	Thomas Durant Philip Steps In	222
6.	The Great Flood	229

## CHAPTER VII : ASSESSMENT

238

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

261

## SUMMARY

270

## SAMEVATTING

272

## PREFACE

Hankey was one of the first places visited when I arrived in South Africa twenty years ago. The day was exceptionally hot and I fresh out from a chilly European winter, with a fretful baby under my arm. It was an inauspicious introduction to the area. Since then I have gradually grown to know and love Hankey, its people and its past. The present study will hopefully throw some light on the early history of this settlement.

Source material has been difficult to come by, despite the fact that I have travelled the length and breadth of the country in my search. Ultimately the bulk of my investigations were carried out in the Government Archives, Pretoria where the southern correspondence of the London Missionary Society is available on microfilm. Other repositories consulted in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, King William's Town, Grahamstown and London are listed in the select bibliography. Many individuals, too numerous to mention by name, have provided me with information for the present work. For this reason the bibliography represents only my major sources.

The word "Khoi" has been used for the Coloured community in the nineteenth century, in line with common historical practice. Unfortunately few of these people are mentioned by name in the missionary correspondence, but where they are, I have faithfully reproduced them in the text. Missionaries and other Whites are referred to by their surnames, except in the case of Dr. Philip and his sons William Enowy and Thomas Durant, where such a procedure would lead to confusion.

My sincere thanks go to the staff of the libraries and archives in which I have worked, particularly Mr. Branken of the Government Archives, Pretoria, Mr. McGregor of the Missionary Museum King William's Town, Mrs. Sheila Loseby of the Brenthurst Library, Mrs. Twentyman-Jones of the

Jagger Library in Cape Town, Mr. Porter of the Port Elizabeth Public Library, and the staff of the Merensky Library in Pretoria, I am grateful also to Mr. Peter Philip, Mr. Pierre Morgenrood and my husband, Leon, for obtaining documentation from the Cape Town Government Archives and Deeds Office.

The encouragement of my two promoters, Professor F.A. van Jaarsveld and Dr. A.J. van Wyk is sincerely appreciated. The former has kept a close eye on my progress and made a meticulous examination of the final script. The latter has assiduously analysed each chapter in turn, correcting the inconsistencies, pointing out the inaccuracies and cutting out the dead wood. For this and for our many fruitful and enriching discussions I am very thankful.

I am indebted to the Human Science Research Council for a grant which enabled me to undertake research in the Eastern Cape.

Finally I should like to express my gratitude to my husband and daughters, without whose assistance and encouragement this work would not have seen the light of day.

LIST OF PLATES

1.	William Alers Hankey	opp. page 2
2.	Dr. John Philip	39
3.	The First Village of Hankey*	110
4.	The Mission Garden	125
5.	The 1840 Manse	180
6.	William Enowy Philip and his Wife, Alison.	193
7.	The Hankey Tunnel	212
8.	Thomas Durant Philip	224
9.	Hankey after 1847, rebuilt on higher ground	235
10.	View from Vergadering Kop showing the second village of Hankey and the flood plane on which the first village stood	237
11.	Wilberforce Buxton Philip	238
12.	The Hankey Mill	245
13.	The Miller, D.P. White and his wife	
14.	The Second Village of Hankey	251

\* The First Village of Hankey by S.W. Fenning from B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders (eds), The Kitchingman Papers (Johannesburg: The Brenthurst Press, 1976), p.108.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1.	The Farms Onverwagt and Goedehoop.	opp.page	46
2.	The Farm Gamtoos River Waggon Drift.		63
3.	James Wait's Water Course.		97
4.	Construction of the Spinning Wheel Designed by Edward Williams		176
	Extract from a letter from James Clark to Mrs. James Kitchingman dated November 1839 (The Brenthurst Library. James kitchingham Papers. ALS, 1839 Nov., no. 4061/25e; permission to reproduce this item is granted by the Brenthurst Library 1984.) giving details of the industrial project for the processing of wool.		
5.	The Hankey Farm incorporating one quarter of Vensterhoek.		205
6.	The Hankey irrigation system.		248
7.	The Second Village of Hankey.		260

## CHAPTER 1

### BACKGROUND

#### 1. Introduction

The village of Hankey lies along the Gamtoos River in the Eastern Cape, about 80 km west of Port Elizabeth. The region is renowned for its luxuriant vegetation and good agricultural potential, yet an unpredictable annual rainfall often leads to serious droughts or inundations, which in turn render farming operations hazardous. In the last one and a half centuries the Gamtoos River has burst its banks every few years with monotonous regularity, the worst floods occurring in 1832, 1847, 1867, 1905, 1916, 1932, 1944, 1961 and 1971. As a result of such devastations, the local farming community has had to contend with damage to crops and orchards, destruction of property and, when no forewarning has been possible, even the loss of lives.

Despite periodic setbacks, however, Hankey has, over the years, continued to grow and prosper, whilst the more than 800 farmers presently settled in the Gamtoos valley enjoy a high degree of success in their agricultural undertakings. Crops such as lucern, citrus, tobacco, potatoes, corn, maize and garden vegetables find ready markets in centres from Port Elizabeth to the Rand.

Now that the storage dam at Beervlei on the Groot River and the Paul Sauer Dam on the Kouga River are in operation, still further lands are being cleared and irrigated. What is more, Port Elizabeth has come to depend upon the Kouga, one of the Gamtoos River's two main tributaries, for the bulk of its water supply. Notwithstanding the wonders of modern technology, however, the great flood of 1971, which took place a year after the Paul Sauer Dam had reached com-

pletion and which local people maintain was the worst on record, revealed man's folly in believing that such a river could ever be fully tamed.

Hankey's history dates back to 1822 when it was founded by the London Missionary Society upon the recommendation of its superintendent in South Africa, Dr. John Philip. The principal reason for its acquisition was the establishment of a corn farm for the inhabitants of the Society's overcrowded mother institution called Bethelsdorp, near Port Elizabeth, which had a dearth of good agricultural land and little water. Another reason for the establishment of Hankey, whose realisation took many years to get off the ground, was the creation of a seminary for the sons of missionaries and other suitable candidates.

The mission station was named after the second Treasurer of the London Missionary Society, William Alers Hankey, who served in this capacity between 1816 and 1832. He was a highly successful London banker and it is certain that he made a generous contribution towards the purchase of land for this settlement. Hankey is the oldest urban centre in the entire Gamtoos valley. From its modest beginnings as a mission station for the Khoi in the early 19th century, who were later joined by liberated slaves and Mfengu and later still by a sizeable European contingent, Hankey has grown into a flourishing trading, business and community centre serving its own residents and people in the surrounding area, with shops, municipal offices and schools. According to a census taken in May 1980, the various populations of Hankey village, township and district amount to the following:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Figures provided by the Department of Statistics, March 1980.



**William Alers Hankey**

	Hankey Local Authority Area	Hankey Black Township	Hankey District (Including Patensie)
All Population Groups	3760	1060	21440
Whites	360	20	2760
Coloureds	2400	160	10440
Asians	20		100
Blacks	980	880	8140

Hankey village extends over rising ground cut through by the Klein River which joins the Gamtoos above a fording point on the old waggon route to Cape Town. Europeans live in the southern suburb in neat houses laid out behind the historic manse, whilst Coloureds, many of them descendants of the first Hankey residents, inhabit the northern bank of the Klein River in historic cottages grouped around the old missionary church. Before the promulgation of the Group Areas Act in 1950, Whites and Coloureds were permitted to buy property and settle in both these areas. Over the years other small growth points have developed in the immediate vicinity, all forming part of Hankey. There is Philip Town, a new suburb for Coloureds west of the older Coloured township, which houses the Coloured school, and Western across the Gamtoos River, also an area for Coloureds. Centerton, to the north, accommodates the various Bantu groups, whilst Milton, a traditionally Coloured settlement which now accommodates both Whites and Coloureds, and is historically linked to Hankey by its mill and irrigation works, is situated a little further up the river.

The first village of Hankey existed between 1822 and 1847 when it was totally destroyed by a great flood. No trace of this settlement remains since layer upon layer of silt has covered all evidence of building. Yet we know, from old maps and paintings,<sup>2</sup> that it was situated on the east

<sup>2</sup> Painting of Hankey made in 1841 by Captain S.W.Fenning, B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 108; Map of Hankey showing October 1847 flood line in J.J.Freeman, A Tour of South Africa, p 55.

bank of the Gamtoos River right in the path of all the major floods. Only the missionary manse, erected in 1840, survived the 1847 deluge, because the missionary who built it had the foresight to set it on elevated ground high above the other dwellings.

The new village was laid out on level ground behind this manse, and Hankey today is on this very site. In 1850 a second manse and the new church were erected which are still in existence today. The old manse which looked out over citrus groves and fields of waving corn to where the first settlement had stood, survived for many years, but was destroyed by fire in about 1920.<sup>3</sup>

Hankey functioned as a mission station until 1875 when the Society introduced a new policy of selling off its lands in plots to individual residents. By this time its mission churches in Southern Africa were being administered by the Congregational Union and the Hankey congregation was encouraged to support its minister by regular contributions. In 1875 Hankey was committed to the care of a Village Management Board consisting of five Coloureds, but by 1904 when the commonage was also put up for sale, the village population consisted of nearly one third Europeans, and was beginning to assume the character by which it is known today.

1914 saw a narrow-gauge railway coming up the valley past Hankey and on to the agricultural depot at Patensie. In 1980 a wide highway was completed linking Hankey by direct route to Humansdorp and Port Elizabeth. In parts this road follows the old waggon track to the East which travellers had made regular use of in the previous century until the service of a ferry at the Gamtoos River mouth made the

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3 Gamtoos valley farmer Mr. Noel Jones was an eye-witness to the destruction of the Hankey Manse. Evidence recorded 1st July, 1980.

coastal route more convenient. Having been somewhat off the beaten track for a number of years, Hankey is sure now to enjoy greatly increased economic development and enhanced tourist appeal.

In 1963 a local factory began producing the largest pre-cast cement pipes on the African continent.<sup>4</sup> These were supplied to the Department of Water Affairs for the valley's extensive irrigation works and heralded a whole new era of agricultural expansion in the region. Since early days as a mission station, Hankey has always known the need to exploit to the full the considerable supply of water in the area.

Today the village falls within the Division of Dias, a large area controlled by Port Elizabeth which stretches westwards to the Gamtoos valley and eastwards into the Suurveld. Thus are the links between Hankey and The Bay<sup>5</sup> maintained which date back to the time when a few of Bethelsdorp's residents came to live by the Gamtoos River.

The Coloured population has for the most part remained very loyal to the Congregational Church of Southern Africa, which in time took over from the Congregational Union, and it was this group who, in 1972, celebrated the one and a half centenary of the founding of Hankey.

A normal college was established by the Society at Hankey in 1900, under the principalship of the Reverend J.H.Walton, being a pioneer scheme to train Coloured teachers for their own community. As time went by this establishment received assistance from the Department of Education, and became the Dower Memorial College when it

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4 Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, Vol. 5, p 423.

5 "The Bay" is a term used by local people for "Port Elizabeth". It dates back to a time before the town was established.

was moved to Uitenhage in 1920. Now an entirely Government-run institution, it is housed in large new premises at Bethelsdorp, site of the mother institution from which Hankey sprang, and may one day become the first Coloured university of the Eastern Cape.

## 2. Historic Setting

The very first people to move to Hankey from Bethelsdorp were of predominantly Khoi extraction. Some of these people may well have been descended from the ancient Gamtouer nation, a Khoi tribe which inhabited the Gamtoos valley for over three centuries right up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

There is no evidence to suggest that earlier Boskopoid man ever inhabited the valley, nor that the Strandlopers (a mixture of Boskopoid and San) ever penetrated this far inland from the coast. However much in the way of ancient San artefacts has been discovered in the Gamtoos area, especially in the hills flanking the river and the mountainous region beyond. Skeletons and whole burial grounds of these Late Stone Age peoples are from time to time coming to light, whilst evidence of their beautiful rock paintings is often to be found in the more inaccessible caves and crannies. Naas Smith, for example, who owns part of Cambria in the Baviaanskloof Mountains, which was once one of Hankey's outstations, has discovered many San paintings in the caves above his farm, depicting hunting scenes, ritual celebrations and scenes of the wild animals which used to roam the valley in former years.<sup>6</sup>

The San were driven into these rocky regions by Khoi groups, in this case the Gamtouer, who coveted the valley's rich

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6 J. Coffee "Langs Ongebaande Weë" in S A Railways and Harbours Magazine, September 1964, pp 997/998.

grazing grounds for their long-horned, straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed sheep.

Khoi tribes settled in well-watered areas all over the Eastern Cape as far east as the Fish River, and have immortalised their language in the names of many rivers and mountains there. Several travellers journeying eastwards during the course of the eighteenth century have testified to the presence of a Gamtouer tribe of Khoi, quite distinct from the Damaquas, the Gonaquas and so on, though anthropologists today still know little of the former group. The earliest known record of them is provided by a few freebooters who visited the Gamtoos region in 1702.<sup>7</sup> Later Peter Kolbe indicated their tribal homeland on a map he made in 1710<sup>8</sup> and subsequently referred to "het land der Chamtouers" and "de Kaptein van de Chamtouers".<sup>9</sup>

Early writers made use of a variety of spellings when referring to this Khoi group and to their traditional homeland, which would one day be the site of a Christian mission station. Andries Finger wrote of "Gamtourland", August Beutler described the "Gamtousch River", whilst Hendrik Swellengrebel referred simply to the "Gamtouws".<sup>10</sup> Such inconsistency of spelling is to be expected when a little-known and primitive group is being reported on, yet never is the identity of the people themselves nor the area which they inhabited brought into question. The meaning of

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7 E.J. du Plessis 'n Onderzoek na die Oorspang en Bete-  
kenis van Suid-Afrikaanse Berg- en Riviername p 220.

8 C.G. Botha, Place Names of the Cape-Province, p 66.

9 Quotations taken from a Dutch translation of Kolbe's 1719 report, made in 1727; in P.E. Raper and G.S. Nienaber, Toponymica Hottentotica, p 363.

10 P.E. Raper and G.S. Nienaber, Toponymica Hottentotica, pp 363/364.

"gamtoos" on the other hand, has been the subject of much speculation. Francois de Vaillant, writing in 1782, assumed it to have been derived from an unfortunate captain whose ship was wrecked near the Gamtoos River mouth.<sup>11</sup> No evidence exists however to support this theory. G.F. Malan based the title of his book dealing with the Gamtoos valley, "Die Brullende Leeu Getem", on the erroneous assumption that "gamtoos" meant "wily as a lion".<sup>12</sup>

Today onomastics experts are generally agreed that the name "gamtoos" derives from the homeland of the Gamtouer nation who were settled along the lower valley until around the middle of the eighteenth century. This tribe could have taken its name from its founder or from a tribal leader. R.J. Gordon who visited the area in 1778, discovered that the people themselves referred to their river by another name altogether. "Gamtoos rivier, hiet in hottentots tei qua sunde kaauwdag rivier ..." he noted.<sup>13</sup> The Gamtouer, then, knew their river by the name of "Cold Day River", and perhaps it was the cool, moisture-laden breezes coming up from the sea which induced them to describe it thus.

Precisely when the Gamtouer moved into the valley would be difficult to determine. Portuguese writings have established that Khoi groups were already resident in the Mossel Bay area by the end of the fifteenth century, and clashes between these people and the Bantu only reached serious proportions during the eighteenth century, and affected the Gonaqua far to the east more than any other Khoi tribe. Thus we may assume that the Gamtouer occupied the lower valley of the Gamtoos River for over three centuries before they were displaced or dispersed by Bantu and European encroachment, as well as by San harassment and the

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11 Ibid, p 364.

12 G.F. Malan, Die Brullende Leeu Getem, p 16.

13 P.E. Raper and G.S. Nienaber, Toponymica Hottentotica, p 1023.

aftermath of introduced diseases.

The smallpox epidemic of 1713 which spread like wildfire through the entire Cape Colony, claiming the lives of many colonists and nearly extirpating entire Khoi tribes, may well have contributed to the downfall of the Gamtouer nation. This terrible disease was to visit the valley in later years, causing much death and suffering at Hankey and Cambria.

Evidence suggests that the most serious cause of suffering which the Gamtouer nation had to endure, at least during the mid-eighteenth century, was a series of raids from San tribesmen who lived in the mountains above the Gamtoos valley. Ensign Beutler, on a visit to the Eastern Cape in 1752, came across a group of impoverished Gamtouer who complained that the San had robbed them of all their cattle, so that they now had reverted to hunting and gathering in order to stay alive.<sup>14</sup>

Then there was the problem of inter-tribal warfare between different Khoi groups, whose loose organisational structure could not withstand the new pressures developing in the eighteenth century. Traditionally a Khoi tribe which for one reason or another had fallen on hard times, had several options open to it: it could journey to another region, which is what the Korannas, the Gouriquas and Bastaards, who trekked into the interior, chose to do; it could revert to a hunting and gathering existence (which seems to have been the fate of the Gamtouer nation); it could endeavour to recover its former position through war and plunder; or it could place itself under the protection of a wealthy chief and try to earn enough stock to re-start its own flocks and herds. When impoverished tribal Khoi decided to seek the protection of a Dutch farmer, it usually followed that they and their previous cattle were lost to the tribe

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<sup>14</sup> Testimony of Ensign A.F. Beutler, in Richard Elphick, Kraal and Castle, p 40.

for good.<sup>15</sup>

A few independent Khoi groups were still living in the Gamtoos valley in 1822 when Hankey was established, and some later came to join the mission station. Perhaps some of these were descended from the ancient Gamtouer nation which had lived in the area only seventy years before.

### 3. Geographic Setting

The enemy of all settlers in the Gamtoos valley, besides being their greatest ally, is the river itself. Time and again the Gamtoos has burst its banks and flooded the low-lying lands, sweeping away all in its path down to the open sea. An explanation for this sudden and violent phenomenon is to be found in the extent of the river's vast drainage system which covers an estimated 34,700 square kilometres.

Two tributaries, the Kouga River and the Groot River, come together to form the Gamtoos. We know that the Gamtouer inhabited these wide lower reaches, which is the reason why only below this confluence the river bears their name. Higher up the land becomes stony and mountainous, leaving fewer grazing areas along the river banks.

The Kouga River rises in the Avontuur/Uniondale district and flows through a long valley in an easterly direction parallel to the coast, winding its way between the steep precipitous Tsitsikama Mountains, the Kouga Mountains and the Winterberg before joining the Groot River to form the Gamtoos. The Kouga brings down a perennial flow of clear, salt-free water, devoid of any silt.

The Groot River begins life in its upper reaches as the

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15 Richard Elphick, Kraal and Castle, p 218.

Kariega River, rising in the Sneeuberg near Victoria West. It flows from thence through the Beervleipoort, past Willowmore and Steytlerville, changing its name to the Groot River as it passes between the Winterhoek Mountains and the Baviaanskloof Mountains to mingle its waters with the Kouga and form the Gamtoos. The drainage area of the Groot River system is much larger than that of the Kouga and in contrast its waters are exceptionally high in mineral salts, especially during low rainfall and drought years. In flood times this river brings down also quantities of fertile Karoo silts, which, over the centuries, have replenished the rich soils of the Gamtoos valley and ensured its immense agricultural potential. Such inundations are often so sudden and so severe, particularly when the two main tributaries simultaneously experience a peak flow, as to time and again claim the lives of both man and beast, besides destroying crops and pastures.

The early history of the Hankey mission station was fraught with sufferings of this kind, since its inhabitants were totally unprepared for this sudden and overwhelming phenomenon. It is because the Gamtoos valley falls in an intermediate region between winter and summer rainfall, receiving, on average, less than 50 cm annually, that the recurrence of drought and flood years has, from time immemorial, typified its climatic history. Though the region enjoys a relatively cool winter with only occasional light frosts, Hankey summers can be uncomfortably hot and dusty in drought years.

J.J. Freeman, describing the area in 1849, marvelled at the valley's botanical richness, praising its graceful mimosas, splendid proteas, euphorbias, geraniums and aloes.<sup>16</sup> In previous centuries impenetrable low bush and thorn trees

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16 J.J. Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, p 51.

vied with the olive wood, sneeze wood and wild fig for pride of place and despite the ex-tensive clearing of lands and cultivation of crops which has now taken place in this century, the natural vegetation is still very much in evidence. Many of the early writers enthused over the valley's suitability for crop cultivation and cattle rearing.

During the eighteenth century when very little land was cleared for ploughing, and the valley then abounded in wild animals, Carl Peter Thunberg noticed large numbers of hippopotami, known as sea-horses or sea-cows, along the wide river banks, which many believed to be impervious to death because of the thickness of their hides.<sup>17</sup> John Barrow, later, reported that both hippopotamus and rhinoceros skins were being used by the Dutch farmers in the valley to make whips for beating their Khoi servants, since these particular leathers could be made up into "most horrid instruments, tough, pliant, and heavy almost as lead".<sup>18</sup>

By the 1780's, the Bantu were already beginning to penetrate the Gamtoos region, and these people were probably more guilty than either the farmer, the hunter or the European traveller, of reducing the numbers of wild animals in the valley. In 1804 Henry Lichtenstein was told by a local field cornet that Bantu intruders, working in parties of several hundred strong, had for a long time been hunting in the area and indiscriminately destroying the game. Their procedure was to surround a wood, drive all the wild animals to one spot, and then slaughter the entire catch. Usually only the skins were taken, and the meat simply left to rot. This wasteful practice angered the White farmers since they liked to use game meat as a protein food-stuff and earn revenue from their cattle by

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17 C.P. Thunberg, Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia, Vol 1, p 208.

18 John Barrow, Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, Vol 1, p 94.

selling them on the Cape Town market.<sup>19</sup>

The wholesale slaughter of wild animals both within and beyond the colony's borders proved something of a headache for the authorities in Cape Town. From time to time regulations were promulgated by them for the preservation of harmless game, though for a long while the Dutch East India Company tended to encourage the slaughter of beasts of prey and even remunerated hunters who performed such a service. Ever increasing demands for ivory resulted in the virtual extinction of elephants in the Western Cape by the first half of the eighteenth century. Hermanus Hubner's party massacred so many of these animals beyond the Eastern border that in 1737 a prohibition was placed upon their slaughter, but within a year this also was rescinded because of man's insatiable "love of gain".<sup>20</sup> Zebras received legal protection in 1742 since the Council of Policy believed they could be tamed and put to commercial use.

Gradually it became clear to the authorities that dangerously large numbers of hippopotamus, rhinoceros, eland, buffalo and buck of all descriptions were being slaughtered for their flesh, their tusks and their hides. In 1753 a blanket order was issued that no large animals, except the carnivores, were to be shot by anyone not in possession of a licence.<sup>21</sup> In spite of this ruling, however, the destruction of game of all descriptions continued, for the simple reason that regulations issued in Cape Town and controlled from Cape Town could hardly be fully enforced in the interior and certainly not in the most easterly corners of the Cape Colony.

The extensive and illicit slaughter of wild animals throughout the eighteenth century explains why there were

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19 H. Lichtenstein, Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1804, 1805, and 1806, translated by Anne Plumtre, pp 284/285.

20 G.M. Theal, History of South Africa since 1795 Vol 1, p 35.

21 Ibid.

no vast quantities of wild animals in the Gamtoos valley when Hankey was established there in 1822.

#### 4. European Pioneers

Throughout the early part of the 18th century illegal parties of hunters often passed through the Gamtoos valley in search of lions, elephants and other prize game. These people were the first to open up the region to White men, but because their presence was strictly speaking against the law, few records of their impressions and discoveries have come down to us.

Adventurers, plunderers, army deserters and others were also living beyond the border during this time. As early as 1702 contact was made with Bantu tribes far to the east of the Gamtoos and by 1752 there was a well-beaten track right into Kaffirland used for bartering and plundering activities.<sup>22</sup>

These Europeans in and beyond the Gamtoos region were only visitors, however. They took the game, harassed or traded with the Khoi, but did not stay to till the soil. It was the Dutch pioneer farmers who really made use of the valley's rich pastures and who, in the course of time, began clearing and cultivating the virgin lands along the flood plain.

The Trekboers took one of three routes into the interior, the first leading into the northern Cape in the direction of the Roggeveld, the second over the Hottentots-Holland Mountains, and into the Karoo, and the third, the one which concerns us here, following a route parallel to the coast through the Langkloof and into the region of the Gamtoos River mouth.

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22 Testimony of Ensign A.F. Beutler in M.W. Spilhaus, South Africa in the Making, p 103; J.B. Scott, The Eastern Cape 1700 to 1800, p 112.

These pioneers on the whole seemed to benefit from their earliest contacts with the Khoi, notwithstanding Company prohibitions which restricted trading activities with these people. The long-horned Khoi cattle were usually available for barter and it was soon discovered that the fat from their distinctive broad-tailed sheep made excellent soap and was an ideal substitute for butter. Many useful homeopathic remedies made from local herbs, were also learned from the Khoi.<sup>23</sup>

With the break-up of the Khoi nations, however, supplies of sheep and cattle dwindled, and it became necessary for the frontier farmers to build up their own herds and establish their own more permanent homesteads. For this they needed adequate grazing lands, a good source of water, plentiful game and supplies of timber for building and cooking purposes.

Permits were issued for the grazing of cattle outside the limits of the colony, beginning in 1703 for a period of three months, later increasing to six months, and finally in 1721 to twelve months at a time. Initially most Trekboers who made use of the permit system were in possession of a permanent dwelling within the borders of the colony where wheat, vegetables, fruit and wine were produced.<sup>24</sup> Yet when permits became available for periods of one year, which could be renewed annually, some pioneers found it possible and indeed more convenient, to remain permanently outside the limits of colonial control. By 1744 the trekboers had reached the Gamtoos and though Governor Gustaff Willem van Imhoff ordered them back over the Groot Brak River in the following year,<sup>25</sup> their eastward migration continued.

Maria Botha held a farm on the Gamtoos River as early as

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23 J.B. Scott, The Eastern Cape 1700 to 1800, pp 88/89.

24 Ibid., p 33.

25 S.F.N. Gie, Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika, p 169.

23rd May 1744,<sup>26</sup> probably under the permit system, but it would be wrong to deduce from this that large numbers of pioneers were settling in the region at this time. August Friederich Beutler paid an official visit to the Eastern Cape in 1752 and reported that European settlement was very sparse, there being one farm on the Kabeljous Rivier, very near the Gamtoos, and another 80 kilometres to the east at the mouth of the Swartkops River.<sup>27</sup> There may well have been other unlisted settlers, but for the most part the scrubby territory between the Gamtoos and Algoa Bay held little appeal for the pioneer farmers. Jan Cloppenburgh paid an official visit to the Eastern Cape in 1768 and found the country beyond the Gamtoos River almost uninhabited, the nearest Bantu settlements being far away to the east on the Buffalo River.<sup>28</sup> From these observations it is clear why the people of Bethelsdorp, when they searched for a corn farm half a century later, could find nothing suitable nearer to Algoa Bay than the Gamtoos valley.

Cloppenburgh remarked upon the poor moral condition of many of the pioneer farmers who were without any educational provision for their children, or churches for family worship. For the next fifty years at least their position was to remain the same, which is why many of the White farmers harboured deep feelings of resentment when stations of the London Missionary Society began springing up in the Eastern Cape with the express purpose of providing religious and secular instruction for the Khoi.

During the first three quarters of the eighteenth century the illegal presence and wandering life-style of many of

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26 Receiver of Land Revenue, 73, *Lyst der Leningplaatsen*, in J.B. Heese, A History of Uniondale and District, p 1, and J.B. Scott, The Eastern Cape 1700 to 1800, p 35.

27 A.F. Beutler to Governor, V.C. 60 pp 10/13, in J.B. Scott, The Eastern Cape 1700 to 1800, p 57.

28 V.C. 96, *Journal of J.W. Cloppenburg, 1768*, pp 40/41 in J.B. Scott, The Eastern Cape 1700 to 1800, p 60.

the trekboers precluded anything much being done by the authorities for their welfare. A commission sent out in 1769 to inspect the eastern district reported that between the Gamtoos and Fish Rivers there were by now quite a number of farmers with large herds of cattle who were avoiding paying rental, moving about exactly where they pleased.<sup>29</sup>

In 1770 the Gamtoos River was officially recognised by the Government as the eastern boundary, a distinction which it held for five years until the colony was again extended eastwards to the Great Fish River. Robert Jacob Gordon made several important journeys to the Eastern Cape during these years, all in the service of the government.<sup>30</sup> European encroachment into these traditional Khoi homelands was often a key factor in the breakdown in their tribal autonomy. An additional complication was the Company's policy of buying large numbers of cattle from them in exchange for tobacco, brandy, glass beads and iron.

Another class of travellers going east during the eighteenth century was the botanists. Carl Peter Thunberg visited the Gamtoos River in 1772 and has left a vivid description for posterity of the wildlife abounding in the area at that time. He often travelled with Anders Spaarman, another botanist and fellow countryman from Sweden, and each of these pioneers gave his own individual assessment of the country he visited. Francois le Vallaint, a Creole from Dutch Guinea, was another traveller deeply interested in the natural sciences, who visited the Gamtoos region in 1782.

Some of the impressions left us by these pioneer travellers are coloured by their own prejudices, backgrounds and

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29 C.G. Botha, Cape History and Social Life, Vol 1 of Collected Works, p 111.

30 J.B. Scott, The Eastern Cape 1700 to 1800, pp 67/68

political leanings and should thus be treated with the greatest circumspection. John Barrow for instance, who journeyed through the Eastern Cape at the end of the eighteenth century on behalf of the First British Administration at the Cape held the Boer farmers in contempt, and this clearly shows in his writings. Martin Karl Heinrich Lichtenstein, on the other hand, an ardent naturalist who accompanied Governor de Mist to the same region when the Batavian Republic assumed control of the colony, held a more benevolent view of these pioneers.

The closing years of the eighteenth century saw a very different type of newcomer to the Eastern Cape, who arrived when insurgent White farmers, restless and disgruntled Khoi and raiding Bantu were making their presence felt in the region. This pioneer was the missionary, represented at first in the person of Dr. Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp, who, before long, was joined by other agents of the London Missionary Society.

After the failure of his ill-timed pilot scheme to convert the Xhosa to Christianity, Van der Kemp settled in Graaff-Reinet where he began work among the Khoi, a group to whom he was to devote the rest of his life. With government approval he then moved to Algoa Bay with a number of these people and in 1803 established the mother institution of Bethelsdorp. This was the first in a whole series of mission stations which, like Hankey, sprang up in the years that followed. Now the Khoi had spokesmen in the White community to represent their case to the Government and centres in the Eastern Cape to which they could repair for shelter, guidance and upliftment.

##### 5. The London Missionary Society

The London Missionary Society came into existence only twenty-seven short years before the founding of Hankey in 1822, though its growth and influence during this period

- were truly remarkable. The idea of a missionary society was born on the 4th May 1794 when a group of eight black-frocked clerics came together in London's well-known Coffee House in Baker Street and earnestly debated Christ's command to all men of God to go forth into the world and spread the word of the gospel. In the summer of the following year, when the British were in the process of assuming control of the Cape Colony, the London Missionary Society officially came into existence.

It should be remembered that this organisation was only one of several such bodies founded at a time of great evangelical revival in Britain, and constituted part of a movement first set in motion by the Wesleyans. The very *raison d'être* of the newly formed society was the promotion of missionary endeavour. At the outset it strove to be international and undenominational, and in this way brought together in common cause a number of different Protestant churches and affiliated societies.

Schemes for conducting evangelical work in France, a country then racked by political and religious unrest, were early set in motion.<sup>31</sup> Yet the main targets for the Society's missionary zeal were the far-off heathen countries whose peoples spoke unfamiliar tongues and adhered to strangely different cultures, countries which were very much an unknown quantity to the majority of nineteenth century Europeans.

Missionaries were recruited in Great Britain, Holland and the various German states, and were accepted if they could convince the Directors of their dedication to the missionary cause. This was a somewhat idealistic approach, yet it fitted in perfectly with the Society's overall objective which was to spread the gospel among the heathen and other unenlightened nations of the world.

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31 R. Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol 1, p 92.

Johann George Messer, the Society's first representative at Hankey, came originally from Germany and, like many of his countrymen who accepted the call and came to the Cape Colony, he had to master the intricacies of Colonial Dutch in order to communicate with his Khoi congregations and the White farmers, as well as learn English to facilitate interaction with both his colleagues and the Directors in London.

The London Missionary Society distinguished itself as the first British society to enter South Africa, when four of its pioneer emissaries landed in Table Bay in 1799. In the previous century the Moravians had been active for a brief period in the Western Cape, and long before this Portuguese Catholic missionaries had penetrated the African hinterland. Yet now, for the first time, a systematic and substantial effort was being made to bring Christianity, and with it the fruits of Western culture, to the indigenous peoples of the Cape Colony.

By 1816, the Society could boast a total of twenty missionaries at work in the field, all of them inspired by the Christian belief that to attempt such a calling was noble, and to fail more honourable than to have succeeded in another field.<sup>32</sup> No lesser faith could explain their often remarkable determination to persevere, even when faced with almost insuperable odds.

Between 1799 and 1822, during which period mission stations at Bethelsdorp, Pacaltsdorp, Theopolis, Hankey and elsewhere were founded by the Society, the humanitarian and philanthropic movement in Britain and on the Continent continued to grow and flourish. New religious societies sprang up during this time and sent abroad their own missionaries. The London Missionary Society however remained the only British organisation concerning itself

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32 Point made by Dr. David Bogue in 1795 at inception of the London Missionary Society, in R.Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, Vol 1, p 36.

with the upliftment of the Khoi peoples of Southern Africa, and 1799 therefore marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Coloured peoples of the Cape Colony.<sup>33</sup>

In the course of our survey we shall be examining the individual characters of the various missionaries who served at Hankey between 1822 and 1847, including an assessment of their strengths and weaknesses. We shall try to estimate the relevant contribution which each of these men made to Hankey's progress and development. In order to do justice to our task however, we shall first have to take a look at the type of missionary whom the Directors had in mind when first they considered recruiting men for service. What were the necessary requirements for missionary work as laid down by the Society at its inception?

The rules of examination set out by the Board of Directors in 1795 stipulated that a man should be dedicated to his calling, not necessarily a student, scholar or preacher, though certainly a Godly man who understood also the mechanical arts. Not all the Directors agreed that training in the mechanical arts would better fit a man for service than academic achievement and facility in the use of rhetoric, yet the opinion of this minority group did not in the first instance prevail. The enormous waste of resources caused by the adoption of the former view during the early years of the Society's history provided an object-lesson for succeeding generations<sup>34</sup> in what was to be concentrated upon and what discounted in the potential missionary.

It was later found that intense religious feeling could in no way make up for a lack of mental power and academic

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33 J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937, p 141.

34 R. Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol 1, p 47.

skills in the religious sphere. Soon seminaries for the special training of missionaries were brought into use, which helped solve some of the Society's teething problems. Notwithstanding this innovation, however, it is doubtful whether any training could have adequately equipped men for service in a country whose conditions were largely unknown to people in the mother land.

Irrespective of the racial group or groups making up his flock, it was generally expected of the missionary that he not only convert and civilise those under his immediate influence, but in addition, that he maintain and improve the station so that its residents were not wholly dependent upon the Society's funds and Government aid.

In actual fact the missionary, if he hoped to succeed at all, was required to be very much a Jack-of-all-trades, familiar in the arts of simple mechanical engineering, agriculture, home industries, medicine and even diplomacy (the last-named for dealing with local government authorities and the White farming community). He also needed a sound training in teaching, preaching and religious counselling. In addition to all these things, it was only the man of inner strength and dedication who could hope to carve out a meaningful life for himself and his flock in some usually far-flung corner of a distant land.

Often he would be alone for months or even years at a time, cut off from all civilised company save that of his immediate family and one or two colleagues, if the size of his station allowed this. On the other hand his mission station might be situated near a rising town, a state of affairs which often burdened the missionary with additional problems, besides providing job opportunities for those in his care. On the whole the missionary enjoyed few of life's simple comforts, though he may have lacked nothing in his own youth. Of greater moment even than this,

however, were the human tragedies, the natural disasters, the breakdown in relations with those for whom he was responsible, and even, occasionally, the disaffection or falling from grace of his own brethren. These were problems which the missionary sometimes found difficult to resolve in the isolated world of the institution.

The Society's missionaries in Southern Africa were neither supermen nor even, all of them, paragons of virtue. Nevertheless they were expected to set a shining example to those in their care. Amongst the missionary brethren serving at Hankey during the second quarter of the nineteenth century were the self-effacing, the self-inflated and the self-assured. Those who ultimately made a success of their missionary calling were men who, despite their own human limitations, were able to put the task in hand first in their scale of priorities. The missionaries who elected to give greater prominence to their own personal preoccupations (and only one falling into this category served at Hankey during the period under review), generally failed to make a meaningful contribution to the overall objective of the Society, which demanded the spreading of God's word by example and instruction.

#### 6. Racial Prejudice Amongst the Colonists.

One of the main stumbling blocks facing the Society's missionaries during the first two decades of activity in the Eastern Cape (before the founding of Hankey was contemplated) was the negative attitude of the White farmers towards the Khoi in general and the establishment of institutions for their welfare and upliftment in particular. With few exceptions the frontiersmen were a rough and ready breed, hard on their own servants and, having lived through a period of political turbulence at

the turn of the century, fiercely suspicious of both government policies and missionary endeavour which sought to protect people whose skin was darker than their own.

The seeds of this rigid state of mind were nurtured during the tumultuous years of the First British Administration which stretched from 1795 to 1803. During this time the Dutch farmers of the Eastern districts were divided amongst themselves, alienated from what they regarded as a strange foreign government in Cape Town, and faced with desertions from among their Khoi servants at a time when the Xhosa were launching massive incursions from the east. It took the British nearly a year after assuming control of the Cape Colony before their authority was recognised in Graaff-Reinet, and for the next seven years feelings of antagonism existed between the White farmers and the government.

Barrow paid a visit to the Gamtoos area in 1797 and found many Whites there still in a state of insurrection against the British.<sup>35</sup> And when General Vandeleur proceeded eastwards in February 1799 upon his journey to Graaff-Reinet to quell renewed unrest, he discovered so much disaffection amongst the farmers of the Swellendam district east of present-day George, that he ordered them to remain on their properties upon pain of being dealt with as traitors.<sup>36</sup>

The spectacle of a mainly Khoi regiment accompanying the general induced many farmlabourers to forsake their Boer masters and offer their services to the British forces, or to become camp followers under British protection. It must have incensed the Boers to learn in due course that Adriaan van Jaarsveld and his fellow insurgents had been imprisoned in the castle in Cape Town, whilst their own Khoi deserters

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35 John Barrow, Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, Vol 1, p 96.

36 G.M. Theal, History of South Africa since 1795, Vol 1, p 54.

went unpunished, even though they had stolen their master's weapons.

At about this time the loan farmers of the Suurveld and the northwestern border were being put to flight by attacking Xhosa forces under Mdlambi. Vandeleur, on his way back to Algoa Bay to await the final surrender of White rebels, suffered a surprise attack by the Gunukwebes, and lost many of his troops.<sup>37</sup> Now he needed the White farmers to help him contend with a new Xhosa onslaught, and they rallied around. Two commandos were called out in May 1799. Their task was to track down the few remaining Boer insurgents and British deserters under Conraad de Buys who had fled into Kaffirland and were inciting the enemy to continue its onslaught.

Vandeleur's fatal error at this point was to begin disarming the Khoi volunteers who had thus far served him so faithfully. This seemed to them like a betrayal of trust, and they hastily deserted to the Xhosa side, splitting into three groups under Klaas Stuurman, Hans Trompetter and Jan Boesak. The combined forces not only pillaged the farmsteads but also murdered any Whites who were unable to escape in time across the Gamtoos River to safety.<sup>38</sup>

Though the river at first proved a natural barrier to them, the combined Khoi and Xhosa forces swept across it on 22nd July 1799 and penetrated for many miles into the Langkloof. By the end of July hardly a house was left standing west of the Gamtoos, many White men, women and children had lost their lives, and in addition practically all the horses, cattle and sheep were now in the hands of the invaders.<sup>39</sup>

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37 Ibid., p 58

38 Ibid., p 59

39 Ibid., pp 59/60

Such a ferocious and unexpected invasion was bound to have a very traumatic effect upon the White families of the Gamtoos valley region, which would colour their attitude towards all people of Khoi or Bantu extraction, not least those residing on the Hankey mission station, for years to come. The farmers had barricaded and fortified their homes throughout the area from Plettenberg Bay to Algoa Bay, yet notwithstanding these precautions, hardly any buildings had escaped the ravages of fire and destruction in the onslaught.

Dr. van der Kemp saw his role as founder of Bethelsdorp and the Society's pioneer missionary in the Eastern Cape, to publicly condemn the Dutch farmers for leaving their farms in panic. He argued that their imagined fear of attack had been a manifestation of their suppressed guilt, brought on by the knowledge that they had robbed these people of their land and their cattle.<sup>40</sup> Such expressions of his liberalism were hardly calculated to endear this missionary to the local White farmers amongst whom he was destined to live for the years to come, nor encourage their co-operation with him in matters of mutual interest, such as land and labour needs.

General Francis Dundas, Acting Governor at the Cape between November 1798 and December 1799, showed sympathy for the landless Khoi who had thrown in their lot with the invading Xhosa. He viewed them as the descendants of the earlier occupiers of the country, and advocated that they be very tenderly dealt with.<sup>41</sup>

Honoratus Maynier, a man of liberal leanings from the Western Cape, who had first served at Graaff-Reinet in 1789, and was supposed to have some influence over both Ndlambi and the Khoi, was called in as a negotiator and a

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40 J. Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852, p 19.

41 G.M. Theal, History of South Africa since 1795, Vol 1, p 61.

shaky peace was concluded between the warring parties on 16th October 1799. Once troops had been withdrawn and commandos dispersed, Dundas admitted that he had been prepared to bring hostilities to an end using any means in his power, the present arrangement being more a withdrawal from war than a restoration of tranquility.<sup>42</sup> The implications of this statement were far-reaching at grass roots level in particular. For several years thereafter White farmers returning to their properties had to endure the inconvenience of parties of Gonaqua or Xhosa passing over their lands, camping where they chose and demanding gifts of food from the Boers. The colonists had very little to give, however, and very much resented the fact that such "peaceful" invaders now expected as a sort of tribute what in war they had seized by force.<sup>43</sup>

In 1801 Maynier, who by this time had been made Resident Commissioner, further outraged frontier opinion by issuing regulations governing the following: the registration and better treatment of Khoi servants; the worship by Khoi and slaves in the same church as the Whites; the restriction of contacts between Whites and Xhosa. At this time Van der Kemp was also involved in introducing a mixed congregation into his church in Graaff-Reinet, which turned many of the farmers against him. In 1802, with the Governor's blessing, he and fellow-missionary James Read took a motley band of Khoi followers to Algoa Bay to found the Society's first mission station at Bethelsdorp. It was a tacit admission of the fact that the root of the Khoi disturbances lay in their lack of land. However, the Boers were too strongly attached to their farms and still too divided in their own loyalties to be able to see the Khoi dilemma in this light.

October 1801 saw the Boers demonstrating their disapproval

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42 E.A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa, p 132.

43 H. Lichtenstein, Travels in Southern Africa, Vol 1, p 268.

of Maynier's liberal policies by laying siege to his drosdy. After this the Governor had no option but to remove his Resident Commissioner for Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet from an extremely hostile environment. It was again necessary to call out troops and commandos in order to deal with persistent bands of plundering Khoi who were still at large.

In the end Van der Kemp's services were called in by the local fiscal Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld on authority from the government in Cape Town, and the missionary was urged to persuade Klaas Stuurman to agree to a peace settlement. A grant of land was promised to the Khoi leader if he undertook to return all stolen arms and cattle held by himself and the other Khoi captains, and either enlist his men in the Hottentot Corp, send them to work for the farmers or have them join the Bethelsdorp missionary institution.<sup>44</sup> Stuurman was probably eager to sue for peace at this point, since the insurrection had lasted three long years by now, but he had difficulty in persuading leaders like Jan Boesak and even his own two brothers of the wisdom of arranging peace terms with the British.

Although Van der Kemp was convinced that Stuurman wanted a settlement and was trying to collect the cattle together, before any headway could be made, a small commando under Tjaart van der Walt went post-haste to the Gamtoos and snatched back all the stolen livestock. The Khoi insurgents were driven up the valley and into the Baviaanskloof Mountains, but here the campaign ended in disaster when Van der Walt was surprised and murdered by Bovelander and his gang.<sup>45</sup> His mutilated remains were buried by his men where they lay on the farm Goedehoop, now known as Cambria.

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44 J. Sales, Mission Stations, pp 18/19.

45 G.F. Malan, Die Brullende Leeu Getem, p 20.

The heart had been removed by his attackers and was never recovered.<sup>46</sup>

Years later in 1949 Van der Walt's rough grave was rediscovered by a member of the Humansdorp Cultural Society, Mr. Walter Smith, and in the following year this first Boer commandant to perish in action on the Eastern frontier was reburied and a stone erected in his honour beside the Goedehoop Church Hall.<sup>47</sup>

The farm Cambria was first bought in 1837 as an outstation for Hankey, but no mention appears in missionary records that Van der Walt was buried there. His death in 1802 was a blow for the members of his commando, for there was no other leader of his calibre to take over. The successful function of a Boer commando invariably depended upon the strong personality and moral vigour of its leader. Van der Walt's demise brought about the dispersal of the commandos from Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam, which had consisted a total of over 500 men. This was principally because his successor, P.R. Botha, was unable to stir up enough enthusiasm to continue the campaign.<sup>48</sup>

Correspondence which passed between Van Ryneveld, who was a religious man, and Van der Kemp at the time of the ill-fated commando's departure to the Gamtoos valley on 8th August 1802, reveals that neither the fiscal nor the governor himself had wanted to sanction this campaign, but that extreme pressure from the farmers had induced them to sanction it.<sup>49</sup>

Van der Kemp and his Khoi were then occupying Botha's Farm at Algoa Bay. In September 1802 when the English were preparing to withdraw from the Cape, Van der Kemp was persuaded by the Governor to move into the vacated blockhouse at Fort

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46 J. Coffee, "Langs Ongebaande Wee" in S A Railways and Harbours Magazine, Sept 1964, p 997.

47 G.F. Malan, Die Brullende Leeu Getem, p 20.

48 J.B. Scott, The Eastern Cape 1700 to 1800, p 109.

49 J.Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852, p 19.

Frederick for more adequate protection. No sooner had he left the farm than the buildings were razed to the ground by a group of incensed farmers who despised him for having spoken up for the murderers of their Boer hero. The Dutch colonists were unable to appreciate the overall predicament of the Khoi people who were a complicating factor in the Black/White as well as the Boer/British confrontations. These people had no rights to speak of and no land at all to call their own. The land issue, which involves the founding of Hankey, will receive our attention in the following pages.

## CHAPTER 11

## THE FOUNDING OF HANKEY

## 1. The Land Issue in Historical Perspective

The procedure by which the London Missionary Society acquired land in the Gamtoos valley in 1822 constitutes a unique event in the history of Khoi land ownership. The property was purchased in the name of trustees acting on behalf of a group of enterprising Khoi from Bethelsdorp who had made a considerable financial contribution towards its procurement. Such a strange form of land ownership would have been quite unnecessary if the Government of the day had been prepared to grant additional land to the Society for a mission station or if the law of the land had provided for Khoi to buy land in their own right. Before the promulgation of Ordinance 50 in 1828 however these people were severely restricted in their movements and privileges, and since in the early 1820's no land grants were forthcoming to the Society, this was the only course open to it for expanding its activities in Southern Africa. Precisely how the Hankey transaction came about will receive our attention in due course, but first it is imperative that we place it in a broader historical context in order to see where it fits into the pattern of land allocations to both Whites and Khoi in the years preceding 1822.

The Hankey lands formed about half of a large quitrent property typical of a number of old loan farms in the Gamtoos valley which between 1816 and 1818 were converted to grants and re-allocated to their occupants by Lord Charles Somerset. The loan farm system was by far the most popular form of European land utilisation in the eighteenth century, probably because it enabled a pioneer farmer to establish himself in any area unoccupied by other Whites, without enduring a heavy financial burden or being irrevoc-

ably committed to that spot. He was free to select his site, usually choosing one near water, and approach the local landdrost for permission to stay. Provided he was not found to be trespassing on another White man's farm and agreed to pay the annual government recognition fee, the applicant would be allowed to remain. If he thereafter became dissatisfied with his situation, the man would be free, upon the expiration of his lease, to move on to pastures new. Initially loan farms were leased out for periods of six months and a year, but in 1732 the fifteen year quitrent system of land tenure came into operation.<sup>1</sup> This inevitably led to a more permanent type of land development. In time even the size of loan farms became limited to an area which could be covered on horseback in any direction from a central point within half an hour. This usually amounted to about 3,000 morgen,<sup>2</sup> the size of the old quitrent farm Gamtoos River Waggon Drift upon which Hankey would one day stand.

During the days of the Dutch East India Company virtually no White man moving to the Eastern Cape was the actual owner of the farm on which he settled, all land being ultimately recoverable by Government. If he defaulted on his rental or for some other reason wanted to move away, then he was allowed to sell any buildings which he had erected on the land during his stay. The loan farm rights would then be automatically transferred to the new occupant, and no further compensation was forthcoming to the old occupant.<sup>3</sup> This system continued throughout the time of the First British Administration, the Batavian Republic, and for a while also under the Second British Administration.

Sir John Cradock, who governed at the Cape between 1811 and 1814, was responsible for piloting a new form of land

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1 C.G. Botha, Collected Works, Vol 1, Cape History and Social Life, p 113.

2 S.F.N. Gie, Geskiedenis van Suid Afrika, p 168.

3 C.G. Botha, Early Cape Land Tenure, p 11.

tenure for Whites which ultimately came into operation during the time of his successor, Lord Charles Somerset.

Under the new dispensation a man could hold his farm in perpetuity and bequeath it to his children; he could sell it in its entirety or subdivide it; he could even mine its mineral deposits unless they were gold, silver or precious jewels.<sup>4</sup>

Annual rental was now based on a farm's situation and the fertility of its soil rather than on its overall size. For the first time property boundaries were clearly demarcated and recorded on diagrams which had to be approved by the government before a title deed could be issued.<sup>5</sup> In this way the limits of about twelve farms in the Gamtoos valley were charted, leaving little land over for the few remaining groups of free Khoi who still roamed the area.

Under the exclusively White loan farm system one man at least in the Gamtoos valley made provision for some of the dispossessed Khoi in his area. Sometime before 1779 a certain Van Reenen occupied land at the Gamtoos River Mouth and set aside an area for the Stuurman clan under the jurisdiction of the father of Klaas Stuurman and his brothers David and Bootsman. Regrettably these people were later evicted when a new White tenant moved in and refused them permission to stay. Being Khoi, they were in no way eligible for a loan farm and without pastures, their livelihood as cattle traders was detrimentally affected.<sup>6</sup>

Government land allocations to the Khoi prior to 1822 were very few and far between. Under the Dutch East India Company rule Adam Kok, father of Cornelis Kok, was awarded

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4 Ibid., p 16.

5 Ibid., p 17.

6 Evidence of Dirk van Reenen, Die Joernaal van Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, translated by J.L.M. Franken and I.M. Murray, edited by W. Blommaert and J.A. Wild, pp 83, 85 & 87; in J. Sales, Mission Stations, pp 22/23.

a farm in the Kamiesberg for his half-breed clan, but by 1795 there were only two captains on record as holding land, the majority of Khoi being lowly paid farm workers or vagrants.

Apart from this there were a few small family groups holding the odd water source and cattle along the Sundays, Swartkops and Gamtoos Rivers, but hardly any independent Khoi kraals still existed by the time the British took over the colony in 1795. The new Governor, Major-General Francis Dundas had much sympathy with the landless Khoi, though little was achieved in the way of land grants to them during his term of office. He promised Dr. Van der Kemp a site for his Khoi mission station, which Governor Jan Willem Janssens of the Batavian Republic was able to honour a few years later. In 1803 land was granted to Jan Boesak and Klaas Stuurman as part of Janssen's peace negotiations. Stuurman chose the very site on the Gamtoos River where his clan had resided under his father's captaincy many years before.

The Second British Administration made several land allocations to the Society for mission stations, as also to the Moravians, token gestures which it was hoped would raise the living standards of the Khoi and discourage vagrancy. In this way several of the few remaining independent Khoi kraals, such as Hoogekraal and Zuurbraak, were converted to centres of Christianity. These transactions were not always officially recorded. In 1837 the missionary at Pacaltsdorp (the old Hoogekraal) discovered that the land on which his station stood had never been granted to the Society though it had been taken over as far back as 1813. A further eight years elapsed before the matter was regularised in the Society's favour.<sup>7</sup> John Campbell, the Society's one-man delegation

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<sup>7</sup> William Anderson to Tidman, 17th October 1845, LMS Archives, 21/3/B.

to the colony in 1813, besides procuring Pacaltsdorp, had also persuaded the Governor Sir John Cradock to grant land east of Bethelsdorp, which became known as Theopolis. However, by 1818 when W.A. Hankey wrote a begging letter to Lord Bathurst requesting additional land grants,<sup>8</sup> the new Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, was too disillusioned with the Society's activities in Southern Africa to make any further moves in their favour. These early land allocations to the Society were more in the way of trusts than grants. Much later, when legislation was passed allowing their sub-division and distribution among the residents, the Society gained no benefit.

## 2. Slow Progress at Bethelsdorp

Bethelsdorp progressed slowly during the early years, due mainly to the poor quality of its soil, but also to other factors. The original property granted to Van der Kemp on 30th May 1803 consisted of 6,700 morgens along the Little Swartkops River in the Algoa Bay area between Thomas Ferreira's farm, Papenkuilsfontein, and Widow Scheepers' lands. At first the station seemed large enough to support the 150 adults and their children who originally settled there. One of the Batavian Government representatives who chose the site, Dirk van Reenen, declared it ideal for growing corn and grazing cattle.<sup>9</sup> He was over-optimistic on both these counts, since the area usually only had between 28 and 36 centimetres of rainfall a year. Soon Van der Kemp was complaining to the Directors in London that he had been awarded left-over land.<sup>10</sup> His station endured drought conditions for the first five years of its existence and before 1808 only a handful of corn could be

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8 G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol X11, pp 55/57, W.A. Hankey to Lord Bathurst, 3rd Nov. 1818.

9 Die Journal van Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, in J.Sales, Mission Stations, p 26.

10 Transactions of the Missionary Society, Vol 11, p 89 in R. Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol 1, p 502.

harvested in any one year.<sup>11</sup> Cattle farming fared better after additional lands were granted in 1806 and by 1811 the station had 2,000 cattle and 1,200 sheep and goats to its credit.<sup>12</sup> Corn farming never prospered.

Besides taking an active role in the founding of Bethelsdorp, Van Reenen also helped Governor Janssens negotiate a peace settlement with Klaas Stuurman which included the granting of land to the Khoi leader at the Gamtoos River mouth. This was the very site occupied in the previous century by courtesy of Van Reenen's father. From now until its dissolution in 1809 the settlement was provided with religious counselling from Bethelsdorp. Most of the Stuurman clan then went to live at Bethelsdorp, whilst those Khoi remaining in the Gamtoos valley enjoyed very little in the way of Christian teaching until Hankey was established in 1822.

One factor hampering Bethelsdorp's development in the early years was the antagonism which existed between missionaries James Read and Van der Kemp and the local White community. Even before the station had been founded in 1803 the missionaries submitted a list of complaints to Major Von Gilten at Fort Frederick detailing cases of murder or maltreatment of Khoi by their White masters.<sup>13</sup> As a result of the enquiry which ensued, Thomas Ferreira and another farmer were banished to the Stellenbosch district. In 1812 Papenkuilsfontein came into the hands of a dynamic trader from Cape Town, Frederick Korsten, who was to play a role in the founding of Hankey.

The removal of Whites from the Algoa Bay area as a direct result of missionary agitation was a sore point with the local White community, still smarting as it was from the recent Khoi insurrections, and the Xhosa onslaught. Not one

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11 J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 28.

12 A.J.F. Meijers, Die Geskiedenis van Bethelsdorp, p 117.

13 G.M. Theal, History of South Africa since 1795, Vol 1, p 23.

White farmer was prepared to sell seed grain for planting to Bethelsdorp and at length the government was obliged to step in with a gift of 70 sackfuls to meet the station's pressing need.<sup>14</sup> In many respects the Batavian Government was at first favourably disposed towards Bethelsdorp, Janssens and Van der Kemp having been acquainted with one another in Holland.

Before long, however, official reports began reaching Cape Town about the lack of organisation on the station as well as the indolence of the people there, when unskilled labour on the surrounding farms was at a premium.<sup>15</sup> At the time he compiled his blueprint for a mission station in 1801, Van der Kemp put forward a plan for encouraging different occupations among his people. In this way he hoped to cultivate their minds, exercise their bodies, bring them in a living and benefit their society at large.<sup>16</sup> From the outset he discouraged them from entering service with the farmers.<sup>17</sup> His greatest battle was against what he described as their most prevalent evil, their laziness,<sup>18</sup> which made progress on the station very slow indeed.

Inevitably Van der Kemp soon fell out of favour with Janssens. Bethelsdorp was rather unfairly compared by the government to the Moravian station at Genadendal which had a far gentler climate and operated far more efficiently.

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14 C. Schauder, The Historic Village of Bethelsdorp, p 3.

15 W.B.E. Paravicini di Capelli, Reize in Binnen-Landen van Zuid-Afrika, 1803, edited by W.J. de Kock, pp 242/243 in J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 25; and H. Lichtenstein, Travels in Southern Africa, Vol 1, pp 291/295. Lichtenstein's book was published in English translation in 1812, when it caused much indignation among the British public.

16 Van der Kemp to General Dundas 11th February 1801, in which the principles upon which the new mission station would be founded were enumerated; in R. Lovett, The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, Vol 1, p 499.

17 J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p 126.

18 Report of the Directors for 1803, in C. Schauder, The Historic Village of Bethelsdorp, p 5.

Relations between Van der Kemp and the Landdrost of Uitenhage, Colonel Jacob Glen Cuyler also soon deteriorated after a while for the reason that the missionary refused to send his Khoi to Uitenhage to undertake public works.<sup>19</sup> During the Second British Administration Read indicted the magistrate for maladministering justice at the expense of Khoi servants and slaves, which led to a full enquiry by the circuit court.

Korsten's coming to the Eastern Cape on 1st January 1812, one year before Johann George Messer took over at the station, seems to have heralded a new era in the history of Bethelsdorp. He lost no time in utilising the three main occupations then practiced on the station which were wood-cutting, salt-collecting and animal husbandry. The Dutch trader was into the salt meat trade in a big way, supplying the troops on the border and elsewhere, and by 1815 he had 30 Bethelsdorp men in regular employment cutting wood for his meat casks.<sup>20</sup> With the opening up of the Eastern Cape by Korsten and others, new industries began to flourish at Bethelsdorp to meet the new demands, encouraged by several enterprising missionaries who came to serve at the station. William Corner, a qualified carpenter, soon had his apprentices making good quality furniture; John Bartlet and George Barker, both blacksmiths by trade, willingly taught their skills to the Khoi under their charge.<sup>21</sup>

It is indeed unfortunate that after 1816 many of these missionaries were transferred to the interior in line with the Society's policy of expansion and Bethelsdorp once more suffered a decline. All was not lost, however, for a member of Benjamin Moodie's settler party of 1817, David Arnot, soon opened a smithy at Bethelsdorp and took up where others had left off, though he proved a poor teacher of the apprentices under his instruction.

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19 J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p 126.

20 A.J.F. Meijers, Die Geskiedenis van Bethelsdorp tot 1930, p 119.

21 J. Sales, Mission Stations, pp 71/72.

Artisans from Moodie's party began settling in Uitenhage Grahamstown and at Algoa Bay, and Messer encouraged the boys from Bethelsdorp to apprentice themselves to these men to begin learning skills such as shoemaking and sadlery.<sup>22</sup>

James Wait, another of Moodie's settlers, made his home in the Gamtoos valley and was responsible, during the 1820's, for constructing an irrigation works at Hankey. There were very few of these men however and fewer still who were prepared to serve the mission stations. This, together with the lack of qualified and enthusiastic missionaries, caused Bethelsdorp to decline rapidly after 1816. The Society at last reacted to criticism being levelled against it by its own de facto superintendent in Southern Africa, Rev. George Thom, by sending out a two-man deputation in 1819 consisting of John Campbell and Dr. John Philip to investigate Bethelsdorp's problems. These men held a mandate from the Board to consolidate and restructure the Society's entire missionary network at the Cape and to correct any glaring irregularities with the greatest possible speed.

If the deputation should succeed in its allotted task, then the support of the Colonial Office was assured, even though Governor Charles Henry Somerset wanted to close down all the Society's stations both in the colony and beyond its borders whilst the enquiry was in progress. Earl Bathurst assured Somerset that the London Missionary Society was doing everything in its power to clamp down on malpractices at the missionary institutions.<sup>23</sup>

Philip was the more dominant of the two deputation members, and took the lead in defining policy. When Campbell went home, Philip remained in the colony as official superintendent of the Society's affairs, and for the next thirty years had a decided influence on the

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22 Ibid., p 74.

23 Lord Bathurst to Lord Charles Somerset, 28th September, 1819, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol X11, p 328.



Dr. John Philip

history of Hankey and that of the other stations. Hankey held a special place in his heart, however; he was largely responsible for its founding and two of his sons were to serve on the station during the period under review. His first self-appointed task was to move the ailing mother station of Bethelsdorp to a new and better location.

### 3. Plan to Move the Mother Station

The idea of purchasing land for a new institution quite separate from Bethelsdorp was too novel and too expensive for Philip to consider seriously when he began planning the reorganisation of the mother station. Another land grant from the Government was quite out of the question at this juncture, since Somerset made no secret of his low opinion of mission stations. The Directors on the other hand were unlikely to provide funds for such a scheme when in the past they had always looked to the authorities to provide land for new institutions. For this reason after Philip had made his first inspection of Bethelsdorp early in 1819 he decided that the Algoa Bay property must be disposed of and another more suitable location for the institution quickly found. What began as the search for a new site for Bethelsdorp, however, ended nearly three years later with the establishment of the new station of Hankey on the Gamtoos River, though the overall objective never altered: a grain farm was sought with enough water and arable land to permit cultivation of the soil on a substantial scale.

Philip had several reasons for wanting Bethelsdorp moved. Firstly he could see no more feasible solution to the age-old problem of its barren soil and inadequate water supply. Theopolis had been founded east of Bethelsdorp in 1814 in an attempt to alleviate overcrowding at the mother station. Though situated in excellent cattle raising country, it also suffered from periodic water shortages, however, which meant that agricultural activities were limited. There was

also the problem of Xhosa invasions; the station had suffered a serious attack in 1819 just prior to Philip's arrival.

Although some trades had been developed at Bethelsdorp during the second decade of the 19th century, by 1819 the station's fortunes were in decline, and many of the younger men and women were forced to seek work among the local White community. This was bound to affect the socio-economic structure of the institution because an insufficient labour force remained behind. Then there was the problem of Fort Frederick, situated close by, whose soldiers often encouraged the young Bethelsdorp girls into prostitution and got the station a bad name. In the days before the arrival of 5,000 British settlers in the Eastern Cape Philip and Campbell could not foresee that a flourishing town would spring up on Bethelsdorp's doorstep, bringing opportunities to earn and learn for all the station's inhabitants.

By the middle of 1819 the Society's deputation was back in Cape Town where its two members admitted that they had found Bethelsdorp and Theopolis both on the brink of ruin. Philip immediately blamed the government for this lamentable state of affairs, accusing it of having denied the stations' workers the right to earn high enough wages to enable them to improve their lot.<sup>24</sup> This was the first war of words in a whole series of battles which Philip was to have with the authorities on behalf of the wretched underdog over the next 30 years. He was no newcomer to suffering when he arrived in the colony and knew what it was to have overworked and underpaid labourers in his employ as well as on his conscience.

Born of a family of Kirkcaldy weavers in 1775, John Philip began work in his father's mill at the tender age of

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24 J.L. Dracopoli, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, The Origins of the Racial Conflict in South Africa, p 53.

eleven.<sup>25</sup> At twenty he was managing his own power mill in Dundee and later prospered as an independent master in his own right. The way was open to him to become a highly successful industrialist had not the call of the church proved stronger for the zealous and determined young Scot.

Philip abhorred the poor working conditions of most factory workers then obtaining in Scotland and was consequently loath to continue his career in the industrial sector. Whilst still in his teens he had spoken at missionary meetings and held Sunday school classes for the Congregational Church in Dundee. His decision to enter the ministry resulted in his receiving training at Hoxton College, followed by preaching for a period of fifteen years in Aberdeen. During this time Philip recruited missionaries and collected funds for the London Missionary Society, work which gave him invaluable experience for the duties as superintendent in Southern Africa which lay ahead. When he came to the colony Philip was already a man in his middle years, a small portly figure with dark penetrating eyes which peered out at the world from beneath remarkably bushy eyebrows. This determined gaze reflected a tenacity and resolution which many found difficult to challenge.

The Rev. George Barker, who had come to Bethelsdorp from Theopolis in 1819 to be ordained, was instructed by Philip to begin the search for a new site for the mother station. This task was undertaken with energy and enthusiasm, both qualities which typified Barker's personality. Like Philip, Barker possessed an iron will. He did not always see eye to eye with his superintendent over the merits of properties which came up for consideration. Barker had been in the colony several years longer than Philip and evidently considered himself more of an expert on Eastern Cape affairs, particularly when it came to choosing a site

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25 Biographical details of Dr. Philip's early life taken from W.M. MacMillan, The Cape Colour question, An Historical Survey, pp 97/99 whose most important source was the incomplete and unpublished text of T.D, Philip's "Life".

for a new station. It is also possible that Barker, and some of the other missionaries, a little resented the fact that a newcomer to the colony had taken over as superintendent. George Thom, Philip's predecessor, had resigned from his post in Cape Town and joined the Dutch Reformed Church, but his position had never included controlling the stations in the interior, which Philip now took over.

Barker had been a lay preacher in Essex before coming to South Africa in 1815 to assist Gottfried Ulbricht at Theopolis. He early distinguished himself by his piety and dedication to duty, often making long journeys into Kaffirland and to the Kat River mission. These tours provided him with an intimate knowledge of local soil and weather conditions which he could later use when considering locations for Bethelsdorp. Despite this knowledge Philip's instructions were that he be guided by the local magistrate, Jacob Glen Cuyler.<sup>26</sup> A good deal of antagonism had existed between this man and missionaries Read and Van der Kemp in former times. Now the superintendent went out of his way to be friendly to the landdrost, for diplomatic reasons.

Cuyler was a key figure in the search for a farm. He undertook to recommend properties to Barker as soon as they came on the market. He and the Bethelsdorp missionary had a very sound relationship, and Barker once even described the local magistrate as "The father of Bethelsdorp".<sup>27</sup> It was an unlikely title, given his antagonistic attitude towards the previous missionaries serving there.

Matters again deteriorated between Cuyler and the Society when James Kitchingman took over from Barker in 1821, a state of affairs which adversely affected the financial arrangement for Hankey's purchase. However, this should not colour our view of the satisfactory state of affairs which existed when the search for a new farm got underway.

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26 John Philip to Jacob Glen Cuyler, 10th Dec, 1819, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XXX, p 250.

27 Barker to Cuyler, 8th Jan 1821, LMS Archives, 8/3/A, in A.J.F. Meijer, Die Geskiedenis van Bethelsdorp, p 148.

Philip admitted to Cuyler that Bethelsdorp was a thorough disgrace,<sup>28</sup> and assured the landdrost that steps were being taken to put matters right. "The die is cast" he wrote to Barker in his usual emphatic style, "and everything makes it desirable that the present site of the institution should be abandoned if another place can be obtained."<sup>29</sup>

#### 4. The Search for a Farm

The first property put forward by Cuyler as a possible relocation for Bethelsdorp was the combined farm, Goedehoop and Onwerwagt, situated in the Gamtoos River region and owned by Nicolaas Lochenberg. Its availability was known about in April 1819, yet curiously Barker allowed another seven months to elapse before paying a visit to this picturesque farm which nestled in the foothills of the Baviaanskloof Mountains. Missionary duties may have prevented his going sooner, though Lochenberg, who led a strange and elusive life on both sides of the border, may have been away from home until this time. This Boer was intent upon capitalising on his two recently acquired loan farms, both of which had been granted to him in 1818.<sup>30</sup> He had occupied them as loan farms for several years before this time.

Lochenberg hailed originally from the Graaff-Reinet district, where he had become embroiled in the Republican disturbances there in 1795 and had eventually fled into Kaffirland. His first appearance as a loan farmer in the Kougaberg district was in 1805, yet by 1809 he was once more beyond the border, serving as Hintza's chief

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28 Philip to Cuyler, 2nd April 1819, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XXX, p 249.

29 Philip to Barker, 2nd Nov 1819, Brenthurst Lib., 3347/1/1. in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 58.

30 Goedehoop granted to Lochenberg in 1818, B. Holt, "Nicolaas Lochenberg, Freebooter, Elephant Hunter and Fugitive from Justice", in Africana Notes and News, Vol X1, No 1, Dec 1953, p 5. Onwerwagt granted on 15th July, 1818. Deeds Office, Cape Town.

counsellor, accompanied by a deserter from the British army.<sup>31</sup> When the whereabouts of the two was discovered they were offered a pardon by the Governor if they consented to return to the colony. Lochenberg must have accepted this offer, for his name reappears on the Opgaaf Rolls in 1810 as the occupier of the farm Onverwagt with 1,600 grape vines to his credit.<sup>32</sup> In 1815 he gained occupation of the adjoining Goedehoop property, which brought his vine quota up to 4,000.<sup>33</sup> In the same year he took part in the Slagtersnek Rebellion, probably out of family loyalty. The chief protagonists in this drama, Hans and Freek Bezuidenhout, were his cousins.<sup>34</sup>

During his absence from home, Lochenberg probably employed others to work his flourishing vineyards. In 1815 Goedehoop was being farmed by his eldest son Johannes and two other Europeans, Pietersen and Scheepers.<sup>35</sup> Lochenberg would certainly have wanted to see Barker personally over negotiations for the disposal of his farms, which could account for the missionary's delay in travelling to view them.

Choosing the hottest part of the year and accompanied by one or two of Bethelsdorp's more intelligent Khoi, Barker journeyed up the Gamtoos valley in November 1819 to meet the controversial Boer and to view his farms.<sup>36</sup> He described Goedehoop as one of the most delightful spots he had ever

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31 A.J. Smithers, The Kaffir Wars, 1779-1877, p 77.

32 B. Holt, "Nicolaas Lochenberg", in Africana Notes and News, Vol X1, No 1, Dec 1953, pp 3/5.

33 Ibid.

34 Gerbrecht Boshouer was both Nicolaas Lochenberg's and Hans and Freek Bezuidenhout's grandmother. See J.A. Heese, Slagtersnek en Sy Mense, p 93 and B. Holt "Nicolaas Lochenberg", in Africana Notes and News, Vol X1, No 1, Dec 1953, p 3.

35 B. Holt, "Nicolaas Lochenberg", in Africana Notes and News, Vol X1, No 1, Dec 1953, p 3.

36 Philip to Cuyler, 2nd April 1819, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XXX, p 249.

seen, though its price of 140,000 guilders or 50,000 rix dollars, which amounted to about £5,000, shocked him out of countenance.<sup>37</sup> Lochenberg made no secret of the fact that he was planning to retire on the interest from his realised capital on this deal. He was in a strong position to bargain also, since Onverwagt and Goedehoop made up the only sizeable piece of arable land along the lower reaches of the Groot River before it passes through a long, narrow poort and enters the Gamtoos. Philip astutely guessed that its very inaccessibility made this farm a doubtful investment. He warned Barker that anyone living there would feel "shut up in a cloister or nunnery" having little contact beyond the settlement.<sup>38</sup>

Barker viewed a number of other properties during the course of the next few months, yet Lochenberg's farm was never far from his thoughts. In July 1820 he suggested to his superintendent that the Boer be offered half the price originally asked, that is, 25,000 rix dollars.<sup>39</sup> It is unlikely that Lochenberg would have acceded to such an offer even had it been made since he was out to make money on the sale and had little respect for religious idealism.

Years before Van der Kemp had met up with this renegade whilst the former was on his pioneer mission to Ngqika's kraal. The missionary had been unimpressed by the man's devious behaviour. Lochenberg's Khoi wife Saartjie had listened attentively to the missionary's teachings and subsequently became his first convert to Christianity in Africa.<sup>40</sup> Lochenberg remained an unbeliever all his life.

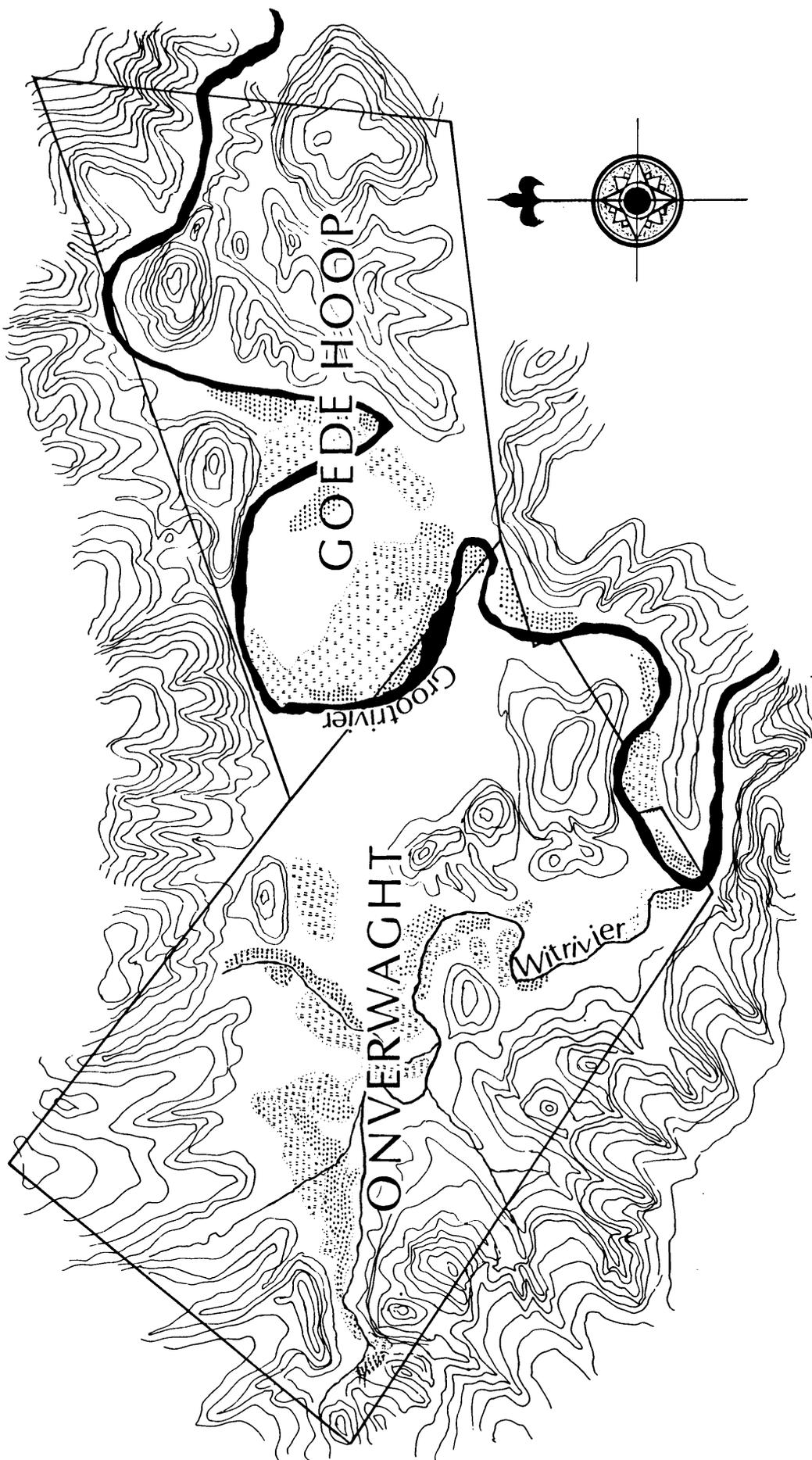
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37 Barker's Journal 10th November 1819, Brenthurst Lib., MS 14,258, in B.le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 59.

38 Campbell and Philip to Barker, 26th November 1819, Jagger Lib., A559, Vol 2. When the floods come down, the people living in this valley are completely cut off from the outside world.

39 Barker to Philip, 18th July 1820, Jagger Lib., A559, Vol 2.

40 B. Holt, "Nicolaas Lochenberg" in Africana Notes and News, Vol X1, No 1, Dec. 1953, pp 5/6.



THE FARMS ONVERWACHT AND GOEDEHOOP

He left the Gamtoos valley area in about 1821 and went to live permanently in Kaffirland. He later died there as a result of meddling in inter-tribal warfare.<sup>41</sup> Goedehoop and Onwerwagt were not forgotten by Philip. They featured once again in the history of Hankey when plans were drawn up to establish an outstation.

On his way back to Cape Town in 1819 from his tour of the Eastern Cape, Philip visited one or two farms in the Gamtoos valley vicinity which were then up for sale. One such property belonged to a Mrs. Kemp; perhaps this was the widow of the kindly farmer who had allowed slaves and servants to receive religious instruction on his property after Stuurman's kraal had been closed in 1809. Before Philip set out from Bethelsdorp he had been entreated by the people to be on the lookout for good water sources on the farms he visited to facilitate the irrigation of the lands.<sup>42</sup> Mrs. Kemp's farm probably fell short on this point for it was never mentioned again in his correspondence.

Another farm which Philip viewed was Deep River, south of the Gamtoos valley, owned in 1819 by Ignatius Ferreira. Following Philip's instructions, Barker contacted Ferreira's son-in-law, Mr. Huntly, early in 1820 who was then staying in Uitenhage. The farm measured 5,000 morgen, larger by two thirds than the size of most converted loan farms, and with reasonable water sources and soil. Even so, 25,000 rix dollars seemed too much to Barker, and he suggested bidding 20,000 rix dollars instead,<sup>43</sup> though he hadn't inspected the property. The matter was allowed to lapse so presumably Philip also found the price asked too high.

Negotiations over the Goedehoop farms, Mrs Kemp's place

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41 Ibid., pp 6/8.

42 Philip to Cuyler, 2nd April, 1819, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XXX, p 249.

43 Barker to Philip, 18th July 1820, Jagger Lib., A559, Vol 2.

and Deep River indicate that the Gamtoos valley region was considered an attractive area of settlement when the search for a farm first got underway.

Another centre of interest was the Suurveld, long before the 1820 British immigrants began settling in the area. Somerset himself recommended a farm to Philip situated just north of Theopolis and known as Major Frazer's Place. Since the two-man deputation had little knowledge of this region a description of the farm and its environs was swiftly posted to Barker, including details of the large reserves of timber which could be found there.<sup>44</sup> Another farm in the Suurveld which appealed to Philip and Campbell was Lynch's Place. In November 1819 Barker was instructed to approach Cuyler for an opinion on both these properties. Philip reasoned that the acquisition of either one might induce the Government to grant additional land along the seacoast to Theopolis.<sup>45</sup>

Barker was unmoved by the delegation's enthusiasm over the two Suurveld properties, (notwithstanding the fact that a recommendation had come from the Governor himself.) The missionary had spent four years in the area and knew its limitations only too well. No large quantities of good timber were to be found there, nor yet enough water even for drinking purposes most of the year round. Barker's warnings anticipated the later struggles of the 1820 settlers, yet in 1819 he nearly despaired of bringing the deputation round to his point of view. "Experience has nothing powerful enough in it to counterbalance your Opinions" he wrote in a bitter letter to Philip in Cape Town, and threatened to withdraw from the project altogether if his words went unheeded.<sup>46</sup>

Cuyler laughed outright at the prospect of Frazer's Place

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44 Philip and Campbell to Barker, 26th Nov, 1819, Jagger Lib., A559 Vol 2.

45 Ibid.

46 Barker to Campbell, 10th December 1819, Jagger Lib., A 559, Vol 2.

being chosen as a new site for Bethelsdorp, though he was careful not to formally advise Philip and Campbell against its purchase and thereby risk the Governor's wrath. He suggested the compromise arrangement of moving there until land on the far side of the Fish River could be made available for settlement,<sup>47</sup> a scheme which Barker totally opposed. Major Frazer was then on the point of departing for England and Barker implored him to make contact with Philip in Cape Town and dissuade him from buying the farm!<sup>48</sup>

Between January and July 1820 nothing was heard from the superintendent on either Frazer's or Lynch's farms, yet Barker's advice was ultimately effective in dissuading the Society from buying land in the Suurveld. Johan Knobel, the surveyor appointed by government to look at sites for the new British settlers, made an assessment of Frazer's Place in July 1820 and declared it fit to support one hundred people, though it only had one spring.<sup>49</sup> However, the land cannot have amounted to much since those parties which settled upon it very soon expressed their dissatisfaction and were moved to other locations.

Barker viewed the influx of immigrants from Britain in various ways. Their presence reduced Theopolis's chances of extending its lands towards the sea, principally because river mouths and coastal districts were now in high demand in view of their fishing potential. On the other hand the new people would soon be requiring bread in large quantities, he reasoned,<sup>50</sup> which made the search for a fertile corn farm all the more urgent.

Paul Maré, the later Voortrekker leader, owned land at the mouth of the Coega River, about one and a half hours' ride

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47 Ibid.

48 Barker's Journal, 25th January, 1820, Rhodes Univ., MS 14,258.

49 "Evidence of Johan Knobel, Land Surveyor on Location of Settlers, given to the Commissioners of Enquiry", Cape Town, 27th Oct 1824, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XX1, p 377.

50 Barker to Campbell, 10th Dec 1819, Jagger, A 559, Vol 2.

east of Bethelsdorp on the way to Theopolis, which he wished to dispose of. The property consisted of 4,400 morgen of reasonable grazing ground and buildings worth about 3,000 rix dollars. The water was brackish however and often in short supply.

Another farmer had first option on this place until 20th January 1820. Failing this, Barker felt that the Society should exchange it for Bethelsdorp and put in a cash payment of 8,000 rix dollars.<sup>51</sup> The reason Maré was interested in buying Bethelsdorp was because his other farm, Zwartkopsrivier, almost bordered on the missionary lands. He was also prepared to sell his Coega Mouth farm outright for 16,000 rix dollars.<sup>52</sup>

Zwartkopsrivier lay along the river of that name immediately below Cuyler's farm, Doornkloof, and Philip at one stage took a keen interest in buying this property. Barker was able to curb his superintendent's enthusiasm by pointing out that if the landdrost decided to irri-gate all his lands, he would drain the river dry before it ever reached Maré's farm.<sup>53</sup>

Whilst he was in charge at Bethelsdorp, Barker made regular contact with his neighbour Frederick Korsten at Cradock Town, the old Papenkuilsfontein. Matters discussed were contracts for the Bethelsdorp woodcutters and salt collectors. The Dutchman's farm Gamtoos River Waggon Drift may well have entered their conversations, but not as a selling proposition. Korsten had already promised this valuable property to his son-in-law, John Sancroft Damant.

The Damants had been a wealthy and influential family in Norfolk where for nearly a century they held the Manor of Lammis, outside Norwich.<sup>54</sup> At the beginning of the nine-

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51 Ibid.

52 Barker's Journal, 24th Jan 1820, Rhodes Univ. MS 14,258.

53 Barker to Philip 18th July, 1820, Jagger Lib. A 559, Vol 2.

54 F.C.D. White, Major T.C. White, 1820 Settler, p 48.

teenth century, however, not long after the death of John's mother, Elizabeth Castell Damant, ill-fortune struck again in the shape of financial ruin, and the children of the manor witnessed the break-up of their beloved country estate.<sup>55</sup> John Damant was the fifth son of William and Elizabeth Damant of Lammas, and the first member of the family to come to the Cape. His plans for Gamtoos River Waggon Drift inadvertently extended the Society's search for a new farm and for this reason they become worthy of our scrutiny.

#### 5. The Damants of Lammas

Before coming to the colony, John Sancroft Damant had made his career in the Commissariat Department of the British army. In this capacity he had travelled to Uruguay for the capture of Montevideo in 1806 and was on the Walcheren expedition of 1808.<sup>56</sup> He served as Deputy Assistant Commissioner General at Uitenhage between 1814 and 1819,<sup>57</sup> and in January 1817 married Korsten's only daughter Maria in that town's first Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>58</sup> From the time of this union onwards John Damant, wanting to re-unite his family, made overtures to his brothers Thomas and Edward and his sister Elizabeth to come and join him at the Cape. Korsten's farm in the Gamtoos valley was earmarked for founding the "New Lammas". It was transferred to John's name on 11th June, 1819.<sup>59</sup>

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55 Mary Damant, "History of the Cape Damants", pp 6/7.

56 G.C.C. Damant "Supplementary Notes on the Military Service of the Brothers Thomas, Edward and John Damant of Lammas", London, Dec 1961, in Looking Back, June, 1982.

57 P. Philip, British Residents at The Cape, 1795-1819, p 87.

58 John Damant married Maria Johanna Charlotte Korsten in the Dutch Reformed Church, Uitenhage on 25th Jan 1817; J.A. Heese, Die Herkoms van die Afrikaner, p 181.

59 Agreement over transfer of Gamtoos River Waggon Drift from Korsten to John Damant on 11th June 1819. Deeds Office, 152/116 and P. Philip, British Residents at the Cape, 1795-1819, p 87.

During the time of the Napoleonic Wars, when all English regiments were called up and kept continuously under arms, brothers Thomas and Edward Damant had both held commissions in the West Norfolk Militia.<sup>60</sup> In 1816 this regiment was disbanded, with provision for pension or half-pay made for its officers. Therefore it was an easy matter for John to persuade his two kinsmen to emigrate to the Cape.

Edward made an abortive attempt to come out with his sister and her family in 1817. Their vessel ran into storms and they were forced to return to port. Thomas came out privately in the following year<sup>61</sup> and went immediately to the Gamtoos River to plant barley for distilling. In April 1819 John and Thomas secured the services of six indentured labourers from a party of men whom Harvey and Nicholson of Londonderry had sent out from Northern Ireland,<sup>62</sup> and no doubt these men were also soon occupied at Lammas in clearing the land and planting the barley crops.

When Barker travelled up the Gamtoos valley in November 1819 he stayed over at Lammas with Captain Thomas Damant. He paid a second visit to this gentleman a few days later on his way back to Bethelsdorp from Lochenberg's place. He would certainly have seen the 200 acres of fertile land which Thomas was then bringing under cultivation and would have had an opportunity to assess the farm's overall potential, even though it was not on the market at that time.

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60 G.C.C, Damant, "Supplementary Notes on the Military Service of the Brothers Thomas, Edward and John Damant of Lammas", Dec 1961, in Looking Back, June, 1982.

61 Thomas Damant arrived in the Cape Colony on 12th June, 1818. Cape Archives, CO 6068. Information provided by Mr. P. Philip.

62 Men placed under indenture to John and Thomas Damant on 5th April 1819 had all been brought out from Londonderry by Nourse, Christian and Co., and had arrived in Table Bay on 4th Dec 1818. Their names were: Joseph Campbell, James Lynch, Patrick Gillespie, James Miller, Francis Hughes and Thomas Rolester. Information provided by Mr. P. Philip.

Thomas Damant was a solitary figure, having lost his young wife in childbirth fourteen years before and kept a deathbed promise made to her never to remarry.<sup>63</sup> One of several reasons why he emigrated to the Cape was to gain relief from severe attacks of rheumatism which were becoming unbearable in England's damp climate.

John Damant did not join Thomas at Lammas because until October 1819 he was the Deputy Assistant Commissioner General at Uitenhage. He then went on half pay and returned to England to join a party of settlers which Edward was bringing out under the new government-sponsored emigration scheme. The Damant party was very much a family affair consisting of brothers John and Edward Damant, and Edward's wife and children, their sister Elizabeth and her family, and Thomas's only daughter Ann. Besides this there were 20 labourers and their families who made up the labour force.

The Damants were most enthusiastic about their new venture. Edward had had the foresight to bring along some pedigree horses and a couple of prize Devon bulls.<sup>64</sup> Before embarking, Elizabeth Atherstone posted a jubilant letter to her sister-in-law, Maria Damant, at Cradock Town (a lady she had not yet met) in joyous anticipation of the new family settlement at Lammas. She envisaged this as rising "Phoenix-like o'er the remembrance of the once lov'd Norfolk village".<sup>65</sup> The Damant party was one of the first groups of settlers to arrive in Algoa Bay, landing in April 1820.<sup>66</sup> George Barker was there to greet its members when

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<sup>63</sup> Mary Damant "History of the Cape Damants", p 1, and F.C.D. White, Major T.C. White, 1820 Settler, p 48.

<sup>64</sup> Edward Damant to Henry Goulburn, 3rd November 1819, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol X11, p 359.

<sup>65</sup> Elizabeth Atherstone to Maria Damant, Sept 23rd 1819, Rhodes Univ. MS 5640.

<sup>66</sup> Damant Party sailed from London in the "Ocean" on 6th January 1820 and arrived in Algoa Bay in April of that year; G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol X11, pp 430/431.

they came ashore.<sup>67</sup> Edward's first plan was to inspect the location in Albany set aside for his party. Whilst transport for this purpose was awaited, the Damants and Atherstones repaired to Cradock Town<sup>68</sup> to meet their local relatives and consolidate their arrangements.

In January 1820 Philip had suggested to Barker that Frederick Korsten might wish to purchase Bethelsdorp as an extension of his business interests, in view of the settler influx.<sup>69</sup> The Dutchman had another scheme afoot. At the end of the year he moved to the coast nearby to concentrate on the whaling industry, leaving Cradock Town in the hands of an agent. Philip knew that Bethelsdorp's value would increase with the arrival of so many immigrants, but that fertile farms were becoming scarcer also and consequently more expensive. He despaired of conveying these vital facts to the Directors, however, who persisted in believing that Government grants of the finest land were available to missionaries for the asking.<sup>70</sup> Only the settlers were being awarded land at this time however, and they were expected to remain on their sites for a minimum period of two years if they wanted to assume ownership.

By June 1820 the Damant party had reached Waaiplaats on the Kasouga River, about halfway between Grahamstown and the sea. The location was then rejected outright and Edward took his people to the Gamtoos River.<sup>71</sup> No reason has been

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67 Barker's Journal, 28th April, 1820. Rhodes Univ. MS 14258.

68 Memoirs of William Guybon Atherstone, son of Dr. John Atherstone; in Guy Butler, When Boys were Men, p 44.

69 Philip to Barker, 7th Jan 1820. Brenthurst Lib., 4061/7a, in B. le Cordeur and G. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 61.

70 Philip to Barker, 8th Feb 1820. Brenthurst Lib., 3347/1/2, in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 61.

71 "Report of C. Trappes upon the Complaint of Mr. J.T. Erith" Cape Town, 24th Jan 1822, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XIV, p 272.

recorded for this decision, and it seems more than likely that in making the journey to the Suurveld, Edward Damant was merely honouring his contract as head of a settler party by bringing his party to its allotted destination. According to James Erith, who later took over the site, the land was very rocky.<sup>72</sup> This factor alone may have induced many of the Damant Party labourers to move with their leader to the Gamtoos valley. In making this decision, they each forfeited the right to own 100 acres at Waaiplaats, and it could be deduced that Edward offered them sufficient compensation in wages to make up for this loss. The more traditional master/servant relationship was not approved of for the Albany District and initially the Government banned the employment of non-European as servants. At Lammas we can be sure that a hierarchy of labour was established very similar to the system which had operated on the old family estate in Norfolk, which would have been familiar and accepted to all the Damant settlers. John Damant was made a special magistrate<sup>73</sup> and Dr. John Atherstone, who was a highly qualified surgeon, attended to the party's health. With such a homogeneous group of men and women, all hailing from the same part of England and settled now in one of the finest farming areas of the Eastern Cape, the ingredients were certainly present for creating a well-run and successful estate.

Why was it, then, that after 12 or 15 months, the Damant Party broke up? Edward and Thomas made arrangements to return to England, and Lammas was put on the open market. The reason given by Thomas when he later applied to return to the colony, was that an old liquor law had been brought into operation prohibiting the distillation of the barley crop<sup>74</sup> which had thwarted his entire undertaking in the

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72 James Thomas Erith to Lord Charles Somerset, 15th June 1822, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony Vol XIV p 397.

73 Mary Damant, "History of the Cape Damants", p 16.

74 Thomas Damant to Earl Bathurst, 6th March 1826, in G.M.Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XXV1, p 156. On 22nd August 1821 Sir Rufane Donkin issued a proclamation concerning the manufacture, storage and sale of alcohol, which may have included the ruling which affected Thomas Damant's farming activities in the Gamtoos valley. See G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XXV, pp 136/148.

Gamtoos valley. The prospect of growing other cereals does not seem to have arisen and we must assume that the Damant Party suffered as much as those settlers in the Albany District from the severe drought conditions.

On 3rd February 1821 John and Thomas Damant placed an advertisement in the Cape Town Gazette for letting out plots at Lammas. The area was described as "abounding with fish and game, and surrounded by most excellent timber ... tanners, carpenters, shoemakers, meat and fish salters would particularly flourish."<sup>75</sup> This advertisement clearly failed to produce the desired response.

In June 1821 the farm Gamtoos River Waggon Drift, or Lammas, was measured off into three smaller properties<sup>76</sup> and soon the Society focused its attention upon the largest and most attractive of these farms.

#### 6. A Farm is Found

Around the middle of 1820 when the Damants were organising their settlement in the Gamtoos valley, Barker grew ever more despondent at the prospect of not being able to find a new location for Bethelsdorp. "Seed time is approaching", he reminded his superintendent, "and we have no idea of a situation."<sup>77</sup> At this juncture, however, Philip was very pre-occupied with other matters, for he had just been appointed minister of the Congregational Church in Cape Town in addition to his duties as overseer of the stations.

Bethelsdorp deteriorated rapidly during 1820 with gardens being neglected, and harvests allowed to fall into

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<sup>75</sup> Advertisement in Cape Town Gazette of 3rd Feb 1821, in D.G. Damant, The Damants and their Party: The 1820 Settlers from Norfolk, p 82.

<sup>76</sup> Deeds Office, S.G. Diagrams 460/1816. 49/1821 and 50/1821, Uitenhage Quitrents Grant 1-48, No 184 Gamtoos River Waggon Drift.

<sup>77</sup> Barker to Philip, 18th July 1820. Jagger Lib. A599, Vol 2.

disrepair. In January 1821 the long-suffering Ulbricht died of tuberculosis and Barker was transferred back to Theopolis to assume control of that station. James Kitchingman replaced him at Bethelsdorp, travelling down from Namaqualand to fill this important position, and with his arrival the search for a farm now acquired new impetus.

Philip had the greatest respect for Kitchingman, whom he regarded as a man of good sense, piety and firmness of mind, even though he possessed a mild and conciliating temperament. The young missionary was indeed very reticent and self-effacing, yet with a will which was used when it came to matters of principle. This was especially the case where non-Whites were concerned. Kitchingman's stubbornness on their behalf brought him into conflict with local Government officials. James Read was recalled from Lattakoo to assist Kitchingman and greatly assisted the new missionary-in-charge. Read had a long record of disputes with the authorities over Khoi rights at Bethelsdorp.

Philip persisted in expressing an interest in one or other of Maré's farms, despite all Barker's warnings that neither property had an adequate water supply, and Kitchingman was immediately instructed to re-open this subject with Cuyler.<sup>78</sup> The Coega mouth farm may have appealed more to Philip than the other one since it was further away from what he regarded as the evil influences of Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth,<sup>79</sup> whereas Zwartkopsrivier practically bordered upon Bethelsdorp. Kitchingman, on the other hand, opposed the sale of Bethelsdorp from the outset, and may have been the first to propose that a new farm be purchased to serve the mother station. Nothing came of negotiations with Maré, and subsequently a dispute developed between them over a strip of Government land

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78 Philip to Kitchingman, undated letter, February or March 1821, Brenthurst Lib., 4061/7a.

79 Philip to Kitchingman, 13th March 1821, Kitchingman Papers, UCCSA Lib., discussed in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 63.

which Cuyler granted to the Boer farmer, but which had traditionally been used by Bethelsdorp. After much argumentation and investigation by a commission of enquiry which came out in 1823, the matter was finally decided in the Society's favour.<sup>80</sup> By this time relations between Kitchingman and the local landdrost had completely soured.

Other issues contributed to this unfortunate state of affairs, such as the heavy opgaaf dues which Cuyler imposed upon Bethelsdorp, and the numerous requisitions for labour made to Kitchingman, far more than Barker had received whilst he served at the station.<sup>81</sup> Read retaliated by accusing both the landdrost and the local Whites of maltreating labourers from Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, which the Acting Governor himself, Sir Rufane Donkin, felt called upon to deny. Then in September 1821 on a visit to the Eastern Cape, Philip discovered evidence at Bethelsdorp which satisfied him that all but one of the charges brought against Cuyler were justified.<sup>82</sup> From this point onwards, though it had not been his original intention, the Superintendent of Stations and the landdrost of Uitenhage became sworn opponents in the battle for Khoi rights. Philip's report to the Colonial Secretary in London was carried home two months later by his good friend, Sir Jaheel Brenton, then serving as Commandant at Simonstown.

During this second eventful visit to Bethelsdorp, Philip became alarmed by a rumour then circulating that Cuyler and the farmers were planning to take over all the station's able-bodied young men and women, leaving only the sick and the aged, when the community transferred to a new location.<sup>83</sup>

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80 Documentation on Bethelsdorp land dispute in G.M. Theal Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XXV, pp 252/253, Vol XXV11, pp 241/242 and Vol XXX, pp 192/202.

81 Compare requisitions for labour and opgaaf dues made upon Barker and Kitchingman respectively, in Jagger Lib., 559/a (i) and (ii).

82 J. Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol 1, p.xx.

83 Ibid., p 318.

Now Philip decided to heed Kitchingman's advice and leave the mother station where it was. In October 1821 he informed the people of his new strategy, which was to buy another farm. They were told that in order to achieve this objective, they would have to make contributions towards the purchase. They would also have to rebuild Bethelsdorp into an institution of which they could be proud.

The old disreputable houses had to be torn down and replaced by brick and stone constructions according to Philip's detailed plan. Kitchingman was presented with a diagram showing squares, wide streets and numbered plots to which he was expected to refer when sending in his monthly reports to Cape Town. Philip carried his own copy of the Bethelsdorp reconstruction plan back with him to the mother city so that he could accurately chart the progress being made and leave very little to chance. Anyone who refused to work was automatically excluded from the institution since idleness was a burden on both fellow labourer and missionary. Other stations, such as Theopolis, came in for a similar treatment, yet only at Bethelsdorp was the improvement scheme linked to the promise of procuring a new farm.

Everything now depended upon the missionaries, if the closure of the stations by the Government was to be avoided and the Society's enemies thwarted in their purpose. Philip firmly believed that the Khoi should at all costs be raised out of their abject poverty and dependency upon the White man. If they could enjoy the amenities of civilised life and the right to own property, only then could they be turned from mere producers to actual consumers,<sup>84</sup> and earn the status which they deserved.

Philip probably heard about Lammas on the Gamtoos River

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84 D.K. Clinton, The South African Melting Pot, p 122.

when he visited Bethelsdorp in the latter part of 1821, though it is not known exactly when the largest part of this farm became available to the Society. Stephanus Ferreira had occupied the whole property as a loan farm before Korsten took it over in 1812.<sup>85</sup> The latter received it in grant from Lord Charles Somerset on 1st July 1816.<sup>86</sup> Ferreira was granted the adjoining farm Vensterhoek in the same year.<sup>87</sup> In 1821, when the Damant Party broke up, he arranged to purchase the largest portion of Lammas which bordered conveniently on his own lands. He was unable to find the money for this transaction and the sub-division once more came up for sale.<sup>88</sup>

The two smaller and less attractive portions of the farm went to two settlers; one of these men had been a member of Edward Damant's own party and had no doubt staked his claim fairly early, for his name appears on the survey map drawn in June 1821. The second settler, who had himself headed a party which he left behind in Albany, may have joined the Damants soon after they settled in the Gamtoos valley (and bought land there when they left.)

Kitchingman would have been the first to hear that part of Lammas was once more on the market. John Damant returned (from the Gamtoos River) to Cradock Place, then called Cradock Town, when the party broke up and became Bethelsdorp's nearest neighbour. He and brother Thomas had

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85 Stephanus Ferreira was occupying Gamtoos River Waggon Drift in 1810: Deeds Office, Opgaaf Roll for 1810, information from Mrs. Kuitjie Malan.

86 Deeds Office, Deed of Grant No 184 for Gamtoos River Waggon Drift, Uitenhage Quitrents 1-48, 1st July 1816.

87 Deeds Office, Deed of Grant No 157, Uitenhage Quitrents, 1st July 1816.

88 Mrs John Philip to Kitchingman, 1st Jan 1822. UCCSA Lib.

purchased the Gamtoos River farm on 16th December 1820 yet documentation on its re-sale bears Korsten's name as well as their own.<sup>89</sup> This suggests that they had not yet fully honoured their financial commitments to the Dutchman. Both Kitchingman and the people of Bethelsdorp were convinced that the remaining portion of Lammas was ideal for their requirements.<sup>90</sup> Philip conceded that, notwithstanding its great distance from Algoa Bay and locality "in a remote part of the country enclosed by a range of lofty mountains, but having an abundance of water" it was the perfect spot for the growing of corn.<sup>91</sup>

An agreement was concluded on 6th December 1821 between John and Thomas Damant and the London Missionary Society in respect of the disposal of the remaining portion of Lammas. This was followed on the 25th of that month by a down payment of 640 rix dollars in confirmation of the deal.<sup>92</sup> Three months later, on 29th March 1822, a deed of transfer was issued stipulating that the largest portion of Gamtoos River Waggon Drift had been purchased from the Damant brothers by nine of the Society's trustees. These trustees were John Philip, William Alers Hankey, William Bengo Collyer, John Pye Smith, Thomas Lewis, H. Foster Burder, John Arunder, Alfred Hardcastle and John Beck and Company.

This document, which bears Korsten's signature, states that the property was being bought for use as a corn farm for the Khoi of Bethelsdorp.

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89 Purchase of Gamtoos River Waggon Drift by John and Thomas Damant; Deeds Office, Deed No 188 (T.87), Uitenhage Quitrents of 29th March 1822 between Korsten and the trustees of the London Missionary Society, and an earlier agreement between Korsten and the Damant brothers dated 16th Dec 1820. (The latter deal superseded the one of 11th June 1819 between Korsten and John Damant.)

90 Philip to Directors, 17th August 1822. LMS Archives, 8/5/A.

91 J. Philip, Researches, Vol 1, p 318.

92 Deeds Office, Agreements attached to Deed No 188 (T.87) Gamtoos River Waggon Drift, (No. 184, Uitenhage Quitrents, 1-48.)

The farm was also intended for the purpose of founding a school for the children of missionaries. Many years would elapse before this scheme reached fruition, yet it is commendable that Philip tried to implement something along these lines at a time when formal education in the colony was still in its infancy.

When they heard that a farm had at last been procured, the people of Bethelsdorp immediately promised 6,000 rix dollars towards its purchase, having been told by Philip that they alone would bear responsibility for its purchase.<sup>93</sup> Their magnanimity is remarkable in view of the severe crop failures which Bethelsdorp was experiencing. Korsten helped out by awarding the woodcutters a large contract for cask staves for his fishing industry worth 7,000 rix dollars.<sup>94</sup> When Cuyler heard of this deal, he swiftly banned the Bethelsdorp woodcutters from felling timber in any place other than Landman's Bush, which meant that the Tsitsikamma Forest, their traditional source of superior woods, was now totally out of bounds to them, and Korsten was obliged to place his order elsewhere.

The excuse given by the landdrost of Uitenhage for taking this drastic measure was that he did not approve of the careless way in which Bethelsdorp people left logs lying around to rot at the edges of the forest and hunted game there without permission. It was his task to preserve these areas for use by the Whites of the Graaff-Reinet and Albany Districts.<sup>95</sup> Fortunately, the presence of the immigrants brought increased work for the Bethelsdorp transport riders. By December 1822, when due to Philip's negotiations with the govern-

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93 Philip to Directors 17th August 1822, LMS Archives, 8/5/A, and J. Philip, Researches, Vol 1, p 319.

94 J. Philip, Researches, Vol 1, p 319.

95 A.J.F. Meijer, Die Geskiedenis van Bethelsdorp, pp 129/130.

ment the ban on the woodcutters was finally lifted, but by then most of the money for the second installment on the farm had been found elsewhere.

On the day the Society took formal possession of the Hankey farm, the other two sub-divisions of Lammass were transferred to two 1820 settlers, namely, John Parkin and Philip Frost. Parkin hailed from Devonshire and like Edward Damant he had originally headed a settler party, but had later left the Albany District altogether.<sup>96</sup> Philip Frost was a member of Edward's own party, who elected to remain in the Gamtoos valley when the Damants abandoned their settlement. Both men were 32 years of age on arrival in the colony, married and with a number of dependents. Details of their transfer agreements, and that of the Society, concluded on the 29th March 1822, are set out below:<sup>97</sup>

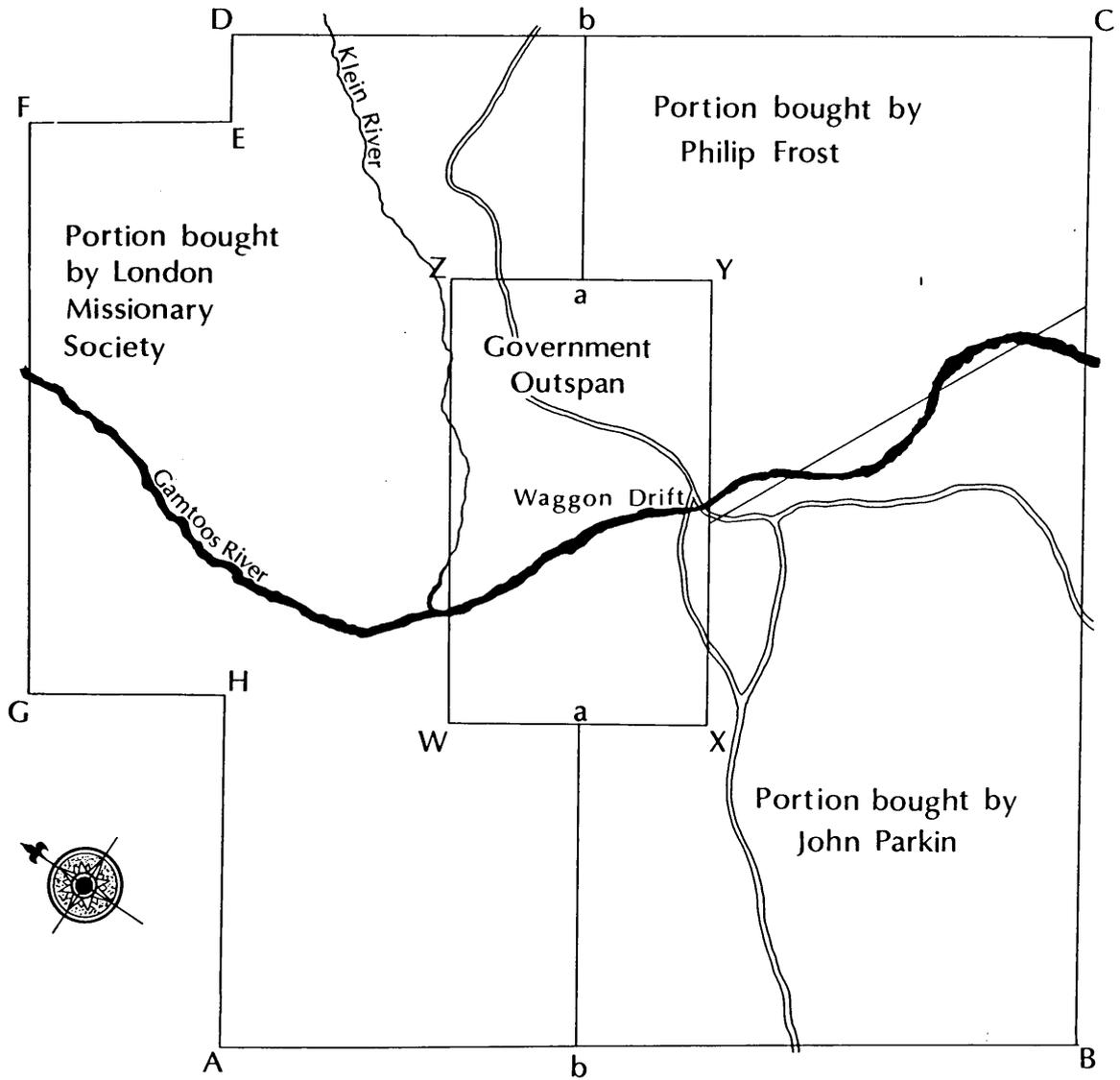
TRANSFER OF GAMTOOS RIVER WAGGON DRIFT (LAMMAS) ON 29 MARCH  
1822

Buyer	Area sold, to nearest morgen	Selling Price, in Cape Guild-ers	Equival-ent in Rix Dollars	Equival-ent in Pounds Sterling	Price paid per Morgen £ s. d.
London Mission-ary Soc.	1428	48,000	15,000	1,200	16.9 <sup>3/4</sup>
Philip Frost	602	13,000	4,333	325	10.9 <sup>1/2</sup>
John Parkin	970	12,000	4,000	300	6.2 <sup>1/4</sup>

<sup>96</sup> John Parkin's land in Albany, originally named Devonshire by him, was ceded to Benjamin Leech, a member of his party, in 1822, Guy Butler, The 1820 Settlers, pp 115 and 119.

<sup>97</sup> Deeds Office, Deed No 188 (T.97) of 29th March 1822 and agreement. Deed No 185 (T.86) of 29th March 1822, and agreement dated 28th March 1822. Deed No 186 (T.76) of 29th March, 1822, and agreement.

## THE FARM – GAMTOOS RIVER WAGGON DRIFT



The above figures show that the Society paid one and a half times as much as Frost and two and a half times as much as Parkin for its land, calculated by the morgen. At first glance it would appear that either the Society was grossly overcharged for its lands, or the settlers paid too little for theirs. To establish which of these two cases is the more likely, we need to review the prices being asked by other potential sellers of property to the Society, together with Barker's estimate of the farms' true values:<sup>98</sup>

## LAND VALUATIONS IN THE EASTERN CAPE IN 1820

Seller	Farm	Price Asked		Barker's Valuation		Area in Morgen
		in Rix Dollars	Per Morgen	In Rix Dollars	Per Morgen	
Paul Maré	At Coega Mouth	16,000	4.3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	16,000	4.3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	4,400
Ignatius Ferreira	Deep River	25,000	7.6	20,000	6.0	5,000
Nicolaas Lochenberg	Goedehoop/Onverwagt	50,000	15.10	25,000	7.11	4,729

It will be remembered that Coega Mouth was only a grazing farm with a brackish and unreliable water source, whilst Goedehoop/Onverwagt contained far less arable land than Lammas<sup>99</sup> and was much further from the Algoa Bay markets.

<sup>98</sup> Area of Goedehoop in G.F. Malan, Die Brullende Leeu Getem, p 22.

<sup>99</sup> Compare Government Printers, map of Cambria, 3324 DA CAMBRIA, with map of Hankey, 3324 DD HANKEY.

Barker estimated the value of Lochenberg's farm at less than half that eventually paid by the Society for the Gamtoos River farm.

- Since Korsten's name appears more prominently than that of the Damant brothers in all the Lammas transfer agreements, it seems reasonable to suppose that he had the final say in sanctioning the prices paid for the land. He was a long-standing friend of the Bethelsdorp missionaries and is unlikely to have overcharged the Society for the Hankey farm. On the other hand he may have undercharged the two settlers who purchased the other sub-divisions. Parkin was given easy repayment terms, being ten equal payments of 1,200 guilders, the first payable only in 1824.

Korsten knew what it was to struggle financially, having come to the colony in 1796 as a poor Dutch naval cadet and prisoner-of-war of the British.<sup>100</sup> Very little profit can have been made out of the Lammas transaction since Thomas Damant later indicated that he had lost heavily on the Gamtoos River venture.<sup>101</sup> A further explanation for the difference in selling price between the three buyers may be that Frost and Parkin took possession of their farms in June 1821, whereas the Society only agreed to buy its portion in December of that year, during which period land values were increasing steadily.

The most plausible explanation for the differences in selling prices lies in the quality of the land itself. Frost and Parkin's farms were situated on either side of the Gamtoos River around the Government outspan, Parkin's being larger in area, but Frost's containing a higher proportion of arable land, hence its greater value. The Society's farm had an even larger area of cultivable land along the Gamtoos River flood plane, with the added advantage of the Klein River, which runs into the Gamtoos at

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<sup>100</sup> Korsten's life history, his accumulation of wealth and his philanthropic leanings are dealt with in J.C. Chase, Old Times and Odd Corners, and J.J. Redgrave, Port Elizabeth in Bygone Days, pp 50/53.

<sup>101</sup> Thomas Damant to Earl Bathurst, 6th March 1826, in G.M.Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XXV1, p 156.

this point and which could easily be dammed up for irrigation purposes. In addition the Society's boundaries ran across the Gamtoos River rather than ending at its banks, which meant that there was no danger of losing territory to a neighbour when the river changed its course.<sup>102</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century when Hankey no longer functioned as a mission station and small plots of land had been sold off by the Society to individual buyers from all racial groups, a fiery and eccentric district surgeon, Dr. J.J. Coulton, came to live in the area and began taking an interest in the settlement's early history.<sup>103</sup> He soon concluded that the Society had paid far too much for the Hankey farm, apart from cheating the Khoi out of their rightful inheritance,<sup>104</sup> which we shall consider at a later stage. The calculations made in this section however will hopefully serve to refute Coulton's claim and to show rather that the price paid by the Society for the Hankey land was very reasonable indeed.

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102 The three original sub-divisions of Lammas are indicated on Gov. Printers map 3324 DD HANKEY, compare with Deeds Office S.G. Diagram No 460/1816.

103 Dr. Coulton's personal history in Looking Back, Vol V, Part 2, p 8 and Vol 14, p 60.

104 J.J. Coulton, A Short History of Hankey or the Other Side of Missions in S.A., pp 2/4. Coulton calculated that the rix dollar was worth about 1/6d in 1822 and since this was its value when the switch-over to English currency was made in 1825, all figures in this section have been based upon that figure. The Cape guilder was then worth about 6d. See J.T. Becklake, From Real to Rand, pp 9/11.

## CHAPTER III

## THE EARLY YEARS

## 1. The First Hankey Residents

Anyone wishing to move to Hankey from Bethelsdorp in the 1820's only had to make a down payment on the 100 rix dollars in order to gain a stake in the new farm; or so it was understood. The more adventurous and ambitious people were keen to take up this option. James Kitchingman kept a careful note of all monies received during the four year period between December 1821 and the end of 1825 when he transferred to Cape Town. No fewer than 256 individuals contributed between 2 and 100 rix dollars during this period, amounting in total to 5,795 rix dollars.<sup>1</sup> A further ten entries were added to the list in August 1827, bringing the grand total of contributions to 6,055 rix dollars,<sup>2</sup> or about two fifths of the overall purchase price.

Dr. Philip had explained to these people that they would be entirely responsible for finding the purchase price; he began negotiations to buy the farm in the Gamtoos valley before authorisation to do so was received from London.<sup>3</sup>

The buyers undertook to repay the whole amount by annual instalment, though this objective was never entirely realised.<sup>4</sup> Indeed if each family had fulfilled its promise to give 100 rix dollars, the property would have been paid for nearly twice over!

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1 Hankey Estate and Mission, Resumé of History Prepared for the Directors, Jan. 1903, p 2.

2 J.J. Coulton, A Short History of Hankey, p 4.

3 Philip to Directors, 17th Aug. 1822, LMS Archives, 8/5/A.

4 Richard Miles, Report from Boston, 27th Oct. 1830, LMS Archives, 12/3/B.

The first instalment fell due in March 1822 and the second in December of that year, a prospect so alarming, that Dr. and Mrs. Philip urged Kitchingman to keep the contributions rolling in, so that these important deadlines could be met.

Korsten generously permitted the immediate occupation of the Hankey lands and in January 1822 a few families moved over to graze their cattle and begin cultivating the soil. The remaining subscribers concentrated upon earning money to help pay for the new venture. There were approximately 350 working men attached to Bethelsdorp, 200 of whom were in the employ of local farmers,<sup>5</sup> and earning low wages. From the remainder were drawn recruits for the Cape Regiment, Government runners to deliver the post and labourers for repair work on the public roads. These were temporary, unremunerated duties which were nevertheless compulsory. They prevented a man from earning money to honour his financial commitments.

The Bethelsdorp waggoners, who numbered about 40, were able to earn between 30 and 35 rix dollars per week due to the new influx of British immigrants. There were others with experience in the trades who could command a similar wage.<sup>6</sup> Consequently the crippling ban imposed upon the woodcutters by Jacob Glen Cuyler, just as they were about to set off for the Tsitsikamma Forest on 1st February 1822 to fulfill Korsten's contract,<sup>7</sup> was largely offset by the activities of other groups. The woodcutters constituted an important and respected section of the Hankey subscribers, yet only in December 1822, after Philip had exerted considerable pressure upon the authorities in Cape Town, were they again allowed to work in all the Government forests and by so doing contribute to the cost of the new farm.

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5 W.A. Hankey and George Burder to Earl Bathurst, 27th Aug. 1823, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XV1, p 217.

6 Ibid.

7 J. Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol 1, p 319.

It has been said that only a tenth of the original subscribers, or about 25 families, moved over to Hankey in the 1820's, the rest choosing to stay on at the mother station or to migrate to other settlements.<sup>8</sup> Their rights in the Gamtoos valley remained inviolable. Later others were admitted to the station without any financial demands being made upon them, and this group was regarded as inferior by the original Hankey residents. It was an unsatisfactory state of affairs, though with numbers so low during the first few years, there seemed to be enough room for everyone.

The precise racial compositions of Hankey's first residents would be difficult to determine. They were mainly of Khoi extraction, often with Bantu, White or slave blood flowing through their veins. Some could probably trace their ancestry back to the ancient Gamtouer nation which had inhabited the Gamtoos valley only a century before. Others were possibly part-Damaqua, a tribe which had lived in the region between the Gamtoos and the Swartkops Rivers, or part-Gonaqua, a Khoi/Bantu tribe which occupied the territory between the Sundays and Great Fish Rivers in the east, but which was dislodged by Bantu incursions in the latter part of the eighteenth century. After a trip to the Eastern Cape in 1772, Carl Thunberg made the interesting observation that he had witnessed the peaceful cohabitation of Khoi and Xhosa in the Gamtoos River/Kabeljous River area.<sup>9</sup> When Hankey was established in 1822, however, the bulk of all Bantu-speaking peoples was still east of the Great Fish River, Khoi-speakers living mainly west of this area. The dividing line between these two racially dissimilar groups, the so-called "line of equilibrium", has gradually moved westwards over the years until today it runs along the course of the Gamtoos River, swinging northwards to Graaff-Reinet and then joining up with the Orange River.<sup>10</sup>

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8 John Melvill to William Ellis, 1st March, 1838. LMS Archives 16/1/A.

9 C.P. Thunberg, Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia performed between the years 1770 and 1779, Vol 1, p 203.

10 J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937, p 1.

Miscegenation between Eastern Cape Khoi servants and slaves certainly took place. Sailors often co-habited with Khoi women when visiting Eastern Cape ports. The Dutch farmers made so much improper use of their female Khoi servants that Van der Kemp accused them of seducing the Khoi nation into whoredom and drunkenness.<sup>11</sup> Then there were the Bethelsdorp girls who prostituted themselves for the soldiers at Fort Frederick and bore their bastard, half-caste children. As a result the Coloured communities of the Eastern Cape in the first two decades of the nineteenth century were racially mixed, though still predominantly Khoi in origin. And a cross-section of these people hailing from the Algoa Bay and Gamtoos River regions found their way to the Gamtoos River settlement in the course of the 1820's.

Throughout 1822 Hankey was without a missionary and Kitchingman had to oversee the station from Bethelsdorp, 80 km to the east. Thomas Damant was still living in the Gamtoos valley and only set sail for England in December 1823. He was accompanied home by his daughter, Ann, who had come out to the colony with the Damant party.<sup>12</sup> One of the Damant brothers offered to supply glass for the buildings at Hankey, but this offer was not taken up.<sup>13</sup>

When John Monroe, the new school teacher at Bethelsdorp, visited Hankey in April, 1822, he found the houses and gardens in a ruinous condition, cattle wandering unchecked through the orchards and, despite promises made by the people to James Read, the irrigation sluice gate designed to lead water onto the lands was still in a state of disrepair.<sup>14</sup>

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11 J. Sales, Mission Stations 1800-1852, p 26.

12 Permission granted to Thomas Damant, Miss Damant and Miss Campbell to leave the Cape Colony, 10th December 1823, Cape Archives, CO 6067-85, P. Philip. British Residents at the Cape 1795-1819, p 87.

13 Mrs John Philip to Kitchingman, 11th Jan. 1822, UCCSA Lib.

14 Monroe to Philip, 13th May 1822 LMS Archives, 8/4/C.

Despite the fact that in January Philip had granted a European gardener permission to remain on the station for two or three months, provided he could get on well with Thomas Damant and maintain the gardens and fences in reasonable order,<sup>15</sup> little evidence of improvement was visible by April. This man may well have been James Wait who was living near the station when Monro paid his visit and who claimed to be the very first person to have cultivated the Hankey lands.<sup>16</sup> Wait believed there was no place in Africa more suited to the growing of corn and vegetables than the Gamtoos valley. He decided to stay on when the Damant Party dispersed.

Although the first Hankey residents lived far from the temptations of Port Elizabeth, they had their own temptations near at hand. One of these was a liquor shop, known as "The Norfolk Hotel", situated across the river, which caused the missionaries at Bethelsdorp many headaches. It had been established by Richard Tee, one of Edward Damant's group when the party broke up, and was frequented by a set of indifferent immigrants, who probably included John Parkin and Philip Frost. Monro used the threat posed by the drinking shop as an excuse to visit Hankey; Tee had refused to leave the district until Dr. Philip or another missionary came to the station.<sup>17</sup> Kitchingman later intimated to the superintendent that he, himself, had been against the trip because of the unnecessary expense involved, and had only reluctantly agreed to it after enduring much pressure from his school teacher.<sup>18</sup>

The waggon left Bethelsdorp on the 5th of April 1822. That night it was attacked at the Gamtoos River by a deserter from the Cape Regiment and burnt to the ground. Luckily the people escaped without serious injury and made their way to Van Rooyen's farm nearby, where shelter and sustenance were provided. Another waggon was made avail-

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15 Philip to Kitchingman, 10th Jan. 1822, UCCSA Lib.

16 Monro to Philip, 13th May 1822, LMS Archives, 8/4/C.

17 Ibid.

18 Kitchingman to Philip, 9th April 1822, LMS Archives, 8/4/C

able the next day to take them on to Hankey.<sup>19</sup> The culprit, Plaatjie Matroos, was later captured with the help of Hankey scouts and tried by court martial in Grahamstown on 29th July, 1822.<sup>20</sup> A few stolen items were recovered but nothing belonging to Monroe, who lost all his money and personal possessions in the Gamtoos River incident.

Those who had accompanied him were called in as witnesses. They formed part of, or were related to, the first Hankey residents, so their names provide us with evidence of who some of these pioneers were. The state witnesses were Hanna Stilbaai, Flora Januarie, Vietjie Dragoonder, Katrina Kiewiet, Jan Scheepers who followed the criminal's spoor,<sup>21</sup> Piet Windvogel, Roelof Diederich, Jan Abraham, Stuurman Dragoonder, Keiser Windvogel, Thomas Armoed, David Scheepers and Piet Koemdo, Monroe's waggon driver.<sup>22</sup> Jan Abraham was put in charge of Hankey by Kitchingman in 1822,<sup>23</sup> but by the end of the year it was clear that a station without adequate European supervision was defenceless against many things. Besides the lure of the liquor shop there was the cruelty of some of the local farmers and the unreasonable demands of the local Government.

Solomon Ferreira was field cornet for the Hankey area. In March or April 1822 his son took Andries Jantjies, a Hankey man, into custody, strapped him round the neck and ordered two others from the station, Kleinbooi Gerts and Jan Konstabel, to take the prisoner to the Ferreira farm. Here

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19 Monroe to Philip, 8th April, 1822, LMA Archives, 8/4/C.

20 J.K. Staedel to Kitchingman, 15th July 1822, Jagger Lib., Cape Town Archives, A559, Vol 3(b),(ii).

21 Kitchingman to Staedel, 18th June 1822, Jagger Lib., Cape Town Archives, A559 Vol 3.(b),(i).

22 Kitchingman to Staedel, 26th June 1822, Jagger Lib., Cape Town Archives, A559, Vol 3(b),(i).

23 Kitchingman to Cuyler, 3rd Dec 1822, Jagger Lib., Cape Town Archives, A559, Vol 3(b), (iii).

he was held prisoner for four days.<sup>24</sup> Jantjies was probably suspected of stealing cattle, since Plaatjie Matroos was still at large, and there were other deserters also in the Gamtoos valley. Hankey's first residents must often have served as whipping boys for the crimes of vagrants in the early years.

Relations between Ferreira and the Hankey people were so bad that eventually they refused to deliver the Government post for him. This insubordination infuriated the landdrost of Uitenhage, Jacob Glen Cuyler, who reminded Kitchingman that the delivery of post was a compulsory public duty, and that the men were also expected to repair the roads under Ferreira's supervision.<sup>25</sup> The missionary at Bethelsdorp protested that Hankey was only a cattle post, with few people living there except at harvest time. He asked that only urgent duties be required of this group.<sup>26</sup> His request fell upon deaf ears.

Some members of the Ferreira family were obliged to remain on good terms with the first residents of Hankey. Before the founding of Hankey, Stephanus Ferreira of the adjoining farm, Vensterhoek had enjoyed a reciprocal arrangement with Thomas Damant whereby each farmer utilised that portion of the other's lands falling on his own side of the river. Philip, in Cape Town, allowed this agreement to remain intact until he could find an opportunity to assess the situation on the spot.<sup>27</sup> No problems were thereafter recorded between the two parties.

The first Hankey residents were in need of both spiritual guidance and the sound organisation of their secular

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24 Kitchingman to Cuyler, letter undated, about April 1822, Jagger Lib., Cape Town Archives, A559, Vol 3 (b),(i).

25 Cuyler to Kitchingman, 23rd Nov. 1822, Jagger Lib., Cape Town Archives, A559 Vol 3(b),(iii).

26 Kitchingman to Cuyler, 28th Nov. 1822, Jagger Lib., Cape Town Archives, A559 Vol 3(b),(iii).

27 Philip to Kitchingman, 11th Jan. 1822, UCCSA Library.

affairs. Monro wanted very much to head the new station, but Philip chose someone else. The man he selected was the catechist Johann George Messer.

## 2. Johann George Messer and the Fallen Missionary

The first European to serve at Hankey, Johann George Messer, stayed there for eight years. He was a man of German extraction and had arrived at the Cape in 1811 where he began working in Swellendam. Thereafter he transferred to Bethelsdorp at a time when the station was experiencing a revival. Before long he was sending home reports of his various agricultural and domestic pursuits. He wrote of harvesting an abundance of peaches, pears, figs, almonds, grapes and tobacco, and of growing cauliflower, pumpkin, carrots, radishes, potatoes and lettuce.<sup>28</sup> These accounts were probably exaggerated, given the barrenness of Bethelsdorp's soil and the general lack of water. Nonetheless a good season could produce startling results and Korsten expressed his amazement at the progress which had been made since Messer's arrival. The missionary took more pleasure in pursuing his own gardening, baking and brewing activities than in teaching these skills to the Khoi on the station.<sup>29</sup>

If Messer didn't care very much for the residents of Bethelsdorp, he cared even less for some of his White colleagues there. In 1816 F. Hooper, the school teacher, asked to return to England because Messer had criticised his work, unfairly treated the residents and appropriated supplies of produce which were intended for everyone's use.<sup>30</sup> Messer was especially hard on the less obedient members of his church, and would exclude anyone for a relatively minor offence. Usually exclusion from church fellowship was imposed for immoral conduct, for drunkenness

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28 A.J.F. Meijer, Die Geskiedenis van Bethelsdorp, pp 114/115.

29 J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 72 and p 77.

30 A.J.F. Meijer, Die Geskiedenis van Bethelsdorp, pp 114/115.

or for fighting. Some of the Bethelsdorp girls were still prostituting themselves for the soldiers at Fort Frederick in Messer's time. This infraction of sexual mores he put down to the climate!<sup>31</sup>

Whilst at Bethelsdorp Messer made some effort to encourage diligence in his school pupils by handing out pictures to the high achievers. Even so attendance was poor and progress slow. It has been suggested that this was due to a general lack of respect for the teachers, some of whom were having illicit sexual relations with Khoi women on the station.<sup>32</sup> Moral laxity was certainly present among the Society's missionaries in the second decade of the 19th century. This was one reason why John Campbell paid the colony a visit in 1812. In the same year George Thom arrived in Cape Town to work among the soldiers and before long he began sending reports home to the Directors on the defective moral character and inadequate mental capacity of many of the missionaries.<sup>33</sup>

As early as 1801 John Kitcherer had been accused by fellow worker, William Edwards, of leading an immoral life.<sup>34</sup> In the years that followed similar cases were suspected. In 1816 James Read was involved in a paternity suit involving a girl from Bethelsdorp. Missionaries Michael Wimmer, William Forglor Corner and John Bartlett were all accused of immoral conduct.<sup>35</sup> Thom took upon himself the task of investigating these cases and initiating disciplinary action without authorisation from London. Messer and

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31 J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 76.

32 H. Cloete, Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers, p 32, in A.J.F. Meijer, Die Geskiedenis van Bethelsdorp, p 113.

33 J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p 138.

34 Z.J. Lazarus, "Die Stigting en Vrooë Jare van die Suid-Afrikaanse Sendinggenootskappe 1799-1830", p 97 in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 41, n 41.

35 B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 37, p 39, n 28 and p 53 n 85.

two other missionaries wrote to the Directors to complain about the treatment being meted out to these "fallen men". The London office seemed to care little about them, yet they were surrounded on all sides in the colony by bitter enemies.<sup>36</sup>

Not long after this Messer suffered his own "fall". He was transferred to Pacaltsdorp at the end of 1818 upon the death of that station's founder, Charles Pacalt, and remained there alone for three years. He was joined by William Anderson from Griqua Town in January 1822. Soon afterwards Philip visited the station on his way home to Cape Town from a trip to the interior. Neither his own nor Anderson's warnings could persuade Messer to mend his ways. Anderson reported to his superintendent that Messer was wanting in uprightness and lacked "a true humbling sense of the seriousness of the crime".<sup>37</sup> Messer, a married man, was guilty of making improper advances to Khoi women on the station. Finally Philip had him debarred from preaching and catechising. Anderson took away half his treasured farming lands, denied him the use of the oxen and dealt direct with the Khoi on matters of station procedure. Messer was indignant at such high-handed treatment from a colleague, but to his superintendent he showed genuine signs of remorse.<sup>38</sup> He even penned a letter from his wife to Philip in which she explained that she had forgiven her husband for his indiscretions.<sup>39</sup>

Philip was highly embarrassed by the whole affair,

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36 J.G. Messer, Evan Evans, and F. Hooper to Directors 7th Dec. 1818, in J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 77.

37 Anderson to Philip, 3rd April, 1822, LMS Archives 8/4/A.

38 Messer to Philip, 4th April, 1822, LMS Archives 8/4/A.

39 Mrs Messer to Philip, 3rd April, 1822, LMS Archives 8/4/A. Letter written by Messer.

especially since at that time he was involved in negotiations with the Government to prevent Pacaltsdorp's closure. Such irregularities only tended to aggravate the problem.<sup>40</sup> Messer was hastily transferred back to Bethelsdorp to assist Kitchingman in a secular capacity. In the meantime the matter was referred to the Directors for resolution. After six months Kitchingman sent him to Hankey while a final decision from London was awaited. Here Messer received news that he was to return to Europe. He quickly responded by begging to be allowed to remain in the colony. He was prepared to go anywhere in any capacity so long as he could continue in the Society's employ.<sup>41</sup>

The Directors had been prepared to pay for Messer's passage home. Ultimately they left it to Philip to decide the man's destiny.<sup>43</sup> It was arranged that he should stay at Hankey in the reduced capacity of a catechist.

One reason why Philip may have decided to keep Messer on in the Gamtoos valley was to thwart any schemes of Monro's to be posted to the station. This catechist was not long out from England. His knowledge of the scriptures and ability to compose and deliver sermons were still in need of refinement under the instruction of an able missionary. Monro had arrived in Cape Town with his family early in 1822, and had moved into Philip's house whilst the superintendent was away in the interior. During this interim period he had made the acquaintance of many critics of the Society, and upon Philip's return proved an outspoken and difficult house-guest. He couldn't wait to be sent to a station and Philip finally had no option but to post him to Bethelsdorp. Monro took with him Philip's confidential report on his character and shortcomings, addressed to James Kitchingman.<sup>43</sup>

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40 Philip to Directors, 14th April, 1822. LMS Archives 8/4/A.

41 Messer to Directors, 18th March, 1823, LMS Archives 9/1/B.

42 George Burder and W.A. Hankey to Philip, 18th July, 1823, LMS Archives, Southern Outgoing Letters.

43 Philip to Directors, 17th August, 1822, LMS Archives, 8/5/A.

Despite extensive warnings and advice from Philip, the new school teacher gave Kitchingman a lot of trouble during 1822. This was a difficult time when the missionary-in-charge was already over-burdened by Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin's investigation into allegations of racial injustice. Monro's trip to the Gamtoos River settlement, made at his own instigation, had unfortunate consequences, apart from the material losses. For long afterwards he darkly believed that the missionaries of Bethelsdorp had planned the attack upon his waggon.<sup>44</sup> He disapproved of the house set aside for him on the mother station and remained for many months under Kitchingman's roof, to the general discomfiture of both families.<sup>45</sup> It was during this time that Monro discovered Philip's confidential report on himself among Kitchingman's papers.<sup>46</sup> He lost no time in demanding an explanation from the superintendent himself!<sup>47</sup> Philip took a firm line with the impertinent young teacher. After learning Kitchingman's side of the story he demanded apologies from Monro, which in time were forthcoming.<sup>48</sup>

Monro's behaviour had been intolerable, yet it was not Philip's style to dismiss a man unless he showed no signs of genuine repentance. Unconditional rejection was hardly the Christian way, and might anyway have resulted in a serious diminution of the missionary work force at a time when a policy of expansion in the colony was already underway. In the early years the Society had allowed missionaries a great deal of liberty, in line with the fundamental principles upon which it was based. This had led to a serious lack of control, especially of the less well educated men.<sup>49</sup> Men of talent, erudition, maturity and

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44 Ibid.

45 Kitchingman to Philip 18th June, 1822. LMS Archives 8/5/C.

46 Philip's confidential report to Kitchingman on Monro's character quoted verbatim in Monro's subsequent letter to Philip of 2nd July, 1822. LMS Archives, 8/5/A.

47 Monro to Philip, 9th June 1822. LMS Archives 8/4/C.

48 Monro to Philip, 2nd July, LMS Archives. 8/5/A.

49 D.K. Clinton, The South African Melting Pot, p 152.

fixed habits were now sought to head the stations; men with the ability to expand into their roles of father, master, minister and magistrate, who could counter the indolence of the Khoi and resist the worldliness of the officials with whom they would have to deal. Philip knew the kind of man he was looking for:

"Our missionary stations in South Africa are large families, exhibiting every variety of temper, disposition, and the man who has not much discernment of character, and who does not love the people under him as his own children, and who is incapable of suiting his manners to the different dispositions he has to govern, will never gain the confidence nor love of the people, nor be useful among them as a missionary."<sup>50</sup>

Philip emphasised the importance of having artisan-teachers on the stations. However he was against reducing the missionary to the level of a mere mechanic, who taught his trade first and the principles of Christianity second.<sup>51</sup> The superintendent hoped that the more intelligent placing of men in the missionary field, followed up by an efficient system of supervision, would ultimately wipe out all corruption, moral laxity and internicine squabbling on the stations and turn the phenomenon of the "fallen" missionary into no more than a fading memory.

### 3. Economic Development

When Johann George Messer learnt that he was to remain permanently at Hankey, he must have heaved a sigh of relief at being given this second chance to prove his integrity. Responsibility for the new settlement rested with Kitchingman who conveyed Philip's instructions to Messer in person and drew up a list of regulations on station

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50 Philip and Campbell to Directors, 1821, in D.K. Clinton, The South African Melting Pot, p 123.

51 J.L. Dracopoli, Sir Andries Stockenström, p 54.

procedure.<sup>52</sup> Correspondence of any kind between Hankey mission station and the Landdrost of Uitenhage was strictly prohibited: no-one wanted Messer to participate in the highly charged polemic which was then raging between Cuyler and the Bethelsdorp missionaries over local Government labour demands.

At this time Philip was still on cordial terms with the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset. For a couple of years the two men co-operated on matters of mutual interest. Somerset had returned to the Cape at the end of 1821 to find that many of his major policies had been reversed by Donkin during his absence. He reacted by turning against all of Donkin's supporters. Philip did not count himself among their number, so the Governor welcomed a renewal of their acquaintance.<sup>53</sup>

On the 25th July 1822 the British Government announced that a Commission of Enquiry was to visit the Cape to assess the colony's political, financial and judicial circumstances. Because of representations made by William Wilferforce in London, whom Philip had supplied with the necessary information, an investigation into the conditions pertaining in the colony in respect of slaves and Khoi was set in motion. The commission arrived at the end of 1823 and visited Hankey in addition to the more controversial mother station at Algoa Bay.

The Gamtoos River settlement was not nearly as important as Bethelsdorp, (which Philip planned to make into a showpiece of Khoi endeavour, since only a few people were then living on the settlement. The superintendent nevertheless considered it significant enough to warrant a preliminary visit of inspection by Kitchingman or his colleague, James Read to ensure that everything looked neat and presentable when the eagle-eyed gentlemen from London arrived.<sup>54</sup> The

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52 Philip to Kitchingman, 14th March, 1823, UCCSA Library.

53 Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol 1, p 614.

54 Philip to Kitchingman, 20th Aug. 1823, UCCSA Library.

development of Hankey and the improvement of Bethelsdorp were proceeding well, and it was hoped that the appearance of these and other stations belonging to the Society would convince the agents of the British Government that the Khoi were worthy of full civil rights and liberties.

The Commission of Enquiry delved into a number of controversial issues at Bethelsdorp, such as the land and labour disputes which implicated Jacob Glen Cuyler. On a more routine level an examination was made of the buildings, industrial activities and educational programmes on the mother station. Good reports of Bethelsdorp's progress had been filtering home to England for some time,<sup>55</sup> and the Directors asked Philip (who needed no prompting) to draw the Commissioners' attention to each and every new feature which would show the Khoi up in a favourable light.<sup>56</sup> Cuyler's account of Bethelsdorp's physical appearance was negative and damning. He claimed that only one or two stone houses had been completed, whilst many other dwellings stood unfinished and unworked-upon. Read maintained that there were at least six completed stone houses at Bethelsdorp, as well as a number of other sound dwellings of raw brick or clay; much more could have been achieved if many of the people had not been ill or absent on Government contract work, in the employ of local farmers, doing military service, or living at one of the stations such as Hankey.<sup>57</sup>

The Albany settlers had only completed 27 stone and 15 brick houses by this time, most of their dwellings being constructed of far more primitive materials.<sup>58</sup> By the

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55 A good report on Bethelsdorp's progress was sent from John Thomas to his brother on 24th July, 1822. LMS Archives, 8/5/A.

56 W.A. Hankey and George Burder to Philip, 18th July, 1823. LMS Archives, Southern Outgoing Letters.

57 James Read to Philip, 12th May, 1825. Cape Town Archives. A1487.

58 "Return of the Settlers located in 1820 in the Albany District and State in May, 1823", in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XV1, pp 40/41.

end of 1823, when the Commissioners arrived, the immigrant settlement was in ruins. The people had lived through three successive harvest failures, and only one third of the original 1,000 families was left on the land. Though Bethelsdorp felt the effects of the adverse weather conditions prevailing between 1820 and 1824, a new chapel went up in 1821, then a new blacksmiths' shop, a school and charity house. The latter building was paid for by the people themselves in addition to the contributions they made to the new farm.<sup>59</sup>

At Hankey there were no centres of trade and industry, and a charitable attitude to the new catechist was decidedly lacking. A house and other buildings came with the farm, probably the Damant's old homestead and the labourers' cottages. These were taken over by the first Khoi families who moved over from Bethelsdorp in January 1822. About a year later when Messer assumed control of the station, with instructions from Philip to move into the house, it was only with the greatest reluctance that the Hankey people agreed to vacate the premises.<sup>60</sup> They were under the impression that the farm, apart from a small corner to be set aside for a seminary, was their private property to do with as they pleased.

Confusion existed also in the minds of the Directors. They had passed a resolution that all contributions collected from the Hankey subscribers were to be used to build these people decent houses at the Gamtoos River settlement.<sup>61</sup> We know that the money was never used for this purpose but went towards paying for the farm. The London office wanted a plan of existing buildings at Hankey so that they could decide whether these needed to be altered to house the seminary and provide quarters for the seminary's

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59 Philip to Earl Bathurst, forwarded by W.A. Hankey, 14th October, 1824, in G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, Vol XV111, p 499.

60 John Melvill to William Ellis, 1st March, 1838. LMS Archives, 16/1/A.

61 Hankey Estate and Mission, p 2.

superintendent.<sup>62</sup> When the gentleman chosen to fill this position arrived in Hankey three years later, he declared the old buildings uninhabitable and the newer ones, built of wood, quite unsuitable for such a purpose.<sup>63</sup> Messer continued to reside in the house for the duration of his stay at Hankey. Cultivable land was given out indiscriminately on a loan basis until such time as the people could pay for their plots in full.<sup>64</sup> Families cultivated the same soil year after year, and gradually they came to regard the lands as their own.

Oral tradition has it that ground at the upper end of the allotments was set aside, free of charge, for the widows, known as "The Widows' Portion".<sup>65</sup> A rudimentary form of irrigation and fencing existed when the first Hankey residents took over the farm in 1822. Each family undertook to provide a man to clean out the canals and replace the branches in his section of the hedge whenever these chores became necessary.<sup>66</sup> Dr. and Mrs. Philip inclined to the view that duties such as clearing canals and keeping the streets clean should devolve upon the children. It was suggested that at Bethelsdorp they be employed thus for a minimum of two hours daily.<sup>67</sup>

Hankey survived the long droughts of 1822 and 1823, which were followed by violent and excessive rains. In 1825 the

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62 Directors to Philip 18th July, 1823. LMS Archives, Southern Outgoing Letters.

63 Foster to George Burder, 19th July, 1826. LMS Archives, 10/1/C.

64 Edward Williams to William Ellis, 23rd April, 1838. LMS Archives, 16/1/B.

65 Oral Tradition recorded by Mr Pieter le Roux, former headmaster of Hankey school for Whites, and used by his son J.J. le Roux, in his unpublished "History of Hankey", p 2.

66 Ibid.

67 Mrs. John Philip to Kitchingman, 11th Jan 1822, UCCSA Library.

people, who now numbered over a hundred counting the children, reaped an abundant harvest.<sup>68</sup> In this year the station was mentioned by name for the first time in the Missionary Register, signifying that its status had been elevated above that of a cattle post. In 1823 the Directors sent out detailed questionnaires to all the fully-fledged institutions for information such as annual population and livestock figures, crop production, educational and religious activities, housing, incidence of crime, polygamy, etc. It is unfortunate that a copy of this schedule did not reach Hankey until 1830. Such a return would have enabled us to form a detailed picture of the settlement during the early years.

Messer may have been debarred from writing to the Directors because of his disgrace, or he may simply have been a poor correspondent, but the fact remains that he sent very little information through to London on Hankey's progress before being specifically asked to compile a report in 1828. By this time the population had risen to 300,<sup>69</sup> treble the figure for 1825. A plausible explanation for this phenomenal increase can only be found by examining negotiations taking place at Bethelsdorp during this period.

It will be remembered that Kitchingman received contributions for the Hankey farm up to the end of 1825 after which time he was transferred to Cape Town. At this juncture a number of Bethelsdorp people may have decided to move over to the new station. In August 1827 the names of ten further contributors appear mysteriously on his list, suggesting a new wave of migration to Hankey.

In 1825 a group of enterprising Bethelsdorp residents, headed by Paul Ketteldas, the woodcutter, negotiated to buy

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68 Missionary Register for 1826, p 40.

69 Messer to Richard Miles, 17th Jan. 1829, LMS Archives, 11/3/A and Report to the Directors for 1830, p 79.

John Parkin's farm on the Gamtoos River which conveniently bordered on Hankey. It was agreed that the first instalment should be made in kind in the form of 3,000 cubic feet of timber, to be delivered to Parkins by April of that year.<sup>70</sup> Ketteldas was a pious and respected man, undoubtedly one of the "powerful people" whom Philip hoped would set an example of self improvement to the rest of the Khoi.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps because Kitchingman was no longer there to provide encouragement in the face of adversity, the Ketteldas/Parkins land deal fell through in 1828. A total of 5,000 cubic feet of wood had to be forfeited to Parkins and 125 rix dollars in interest, for which Kitchingman was the guarantor. It was said that Parkins "was inclined to take every advantage of his power."<sup>72</sup>

Hankey gained Ketteldas as a resident and others in his group who had probably first settled on Parkins' farm. The influx of people helped to push up the station's population. In 1828 Ketteldas planned the construction of a corn mill at his own expense to serve the institution's needs, and to earn revenue from the neighbouring Whites.<sup>73</sup> In this man we have a fine example of the cultured Khoi for whom Christian principles and Western concepts such as progress and refinement were well understood. His marriage feast at Bethelsdorp in 1815 was "very proper", with table cloths, flowers and well prepared food.<sup>74</sup> It is not known whether his milling project at Hankey was a success.

In 1825 after much litigation, the disputed territory lying between Bethelsdorp and Paul Maré's farm was finally awarded to the institution.<sup>75</sup> It was a welcome augmentation

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70 Kitchingman to J.J.F. Rosett, Secretary at Uitenhage, 1st March 1825, Jagger Lib., A559 Vol 3 (c).

71 Philip to Kitchingman, about March, 1825, UCCSA Library.

72 B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers p 96.

73 Messer to Miles, 17th Jan. 1829, LMS Archives, 11/3/A.

74 J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 124.

75 Kitchingman to J.J.F. Rosett, 13th May 1825, Brenthurst Lib., 4061/11/C.

of the station's grazing lands. Philip continued to press for the purchase of one or two new farms. He emphasised that the people would have to finance such ventures themselves and not rely on the Society for funding.<sup>76</sup> Kitchingman had drawn 2,000 rix dollars on him in 1822 to help pay the first instalment on the Hankey farm, much to Philip's dismay.<sup>77</sup> Though the subscribers subsequently honoured this debt, Philip was anxious not to involve the Society in any new land transactions.

Buchenroder's farm and Moll's Place were then on the market, the former being situated close to Bethelsdorp and available to the institution on very reasonable terms. Philip was perturbed by the anomalous position of those contributors living at Bethelsdorp who had elected not to move over to Hankey. He suggested that they buy Moll's farm in exchange for their rights in the Gamtoos valley.<sup>78</sup> Both Buchenroder's farm and Moll's Place were used by the mother institution as cattle stations in 1825. It is not known whether Bethelsdorp ever acquired them on a permanent basis.

When Philip visited Bethelsdorp in 1825 he does not seem to have given any attention to regularising the system of land allocation at Hankey. This was a very serious oversight for it led to misunderstanding and quarrelling among the people in later years. He left for England in 1826 to press for an elevation of Khoi rights and privileges, and the Reverend Richard Miles was sent out to the colony to deputise for him during his absence.

This man supported a request made by Messer in 1828 for the granting of additional Government land at Hankey. With Messer's encouragement trades such as tanning, shoemaking and mat-making by the women were followed for profit.<sup>79</sup>

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76 Philip to Kitchingman 25th March, 1825, UCCSA Library.

77 Philip to Kitchingman 11th Aug., 1822, UCCSA Library.

78 Philip to Kitchingman, about March, 1825, UCCSA Library.

79 Messer to Miles, 17th Jan., 1829, LMS Archives, 11/3/A.

Without watered pastures, however, the horses began to die. Between December 1829 and the end of 1830 the number of cattle at Hankey dropped from 550 to 212. Only the sheep and goats managed to survive the rigours of an extended drought and their numbers remained constant at 150 and 300 respectively during the period under review.<sup>80</sup>

In 1829 the people ploughed early. The crops were scanty and some people sought work among the farmers whilst others reverted to their trades as woodcutters and sawyers. A difficulty arose when too many people left the station, since in dry years the livestock migrated from the higher lands to the Gamtoos flood plane, an area used for the growing of corn and vegetables, causing havoc in a few short hours. Another farmer's crops as well as those belonging to the institution, might be damaged in this way by Hankey cattle. They would be captured and pound fees would be claimed. In anticipation of this problem many residents remained on the institution who would otherwise have been free to earn money elsewhere.<sup>81</sup> For the Khoi cattle were a form of revenue. They provided milk, meat and skins, and could be used to barter for clothing and foodstuffs not produced on the station.<sup>82</sup> Whether it rained too much or too little, however, Messer was expected to hold his small community together in the worship of the Lord, and to provide its members, as far as he was able, with a sound basic education.

#### 4. Secular and Religious Instruction

The first few years at Hankey were something of a trial for

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80 Report of South African Mission Stations submitted by Philip in 1830. LMS Archives 12/2/A and Schedule for Hankey for 1830 sent in by Messer on 20th Jan. 1831, LMS Archives 12/3/A.

81 Report of South African Missions Stations submitted by Philip in 1830, LMS Archives, 12/2/A.

82 Document accompanying the "Tabular View of Missions in South Africa belonging to the London Missionary Society". LMS Archives 12/1/D.

Messer because of the lack of discipline among the people. He claimed that they behaved like wolves.<sup>83</sup> Consequently any attempt to educate them or give them Christian instruction met with firm resistance. They resented his occupation of the large house, though Messer had moved in on the express orders of his superintendent.

Some of the people lapsed into drunkenness and, with Tee's liquor shop just across the river near the ford, this was an on-going problem. The presence of a drinking house near any mission station was bound to cause difficulties, though these were not necessarily insuperable. In 1821 Theopolis had a canteen selling spirits right on its doorstep. Taking up a suggestion made by his superintendent and assisted by the more abstemious members of his congregation, George Barker made a list of all those using this establishment and prayed for them in public by name, with the result that the shop soon went out of business!<sup>84</sup> The euphemistically named "Norfolk Hotel" on the Gamtoos River eventually suffered a similar fate, and years later this triumph was related to James Backhouse, a Quaker from England, when he visited the station. The story goes that the missionary finally persuaded the offenders that Tee was intent upon ruining them and their prospects, for no greater object than his own personal gain.<sup>85</sup>

Apart from Messer's warnings, the closure of Tee's canteen may also have been due to a dearth of White customers. In the 1820's, because of recurring droughts, there was an exodus of settlers from the valley. By 1826 both John Parkin and Philip Frost had settled in Port Elizabeth. They were in the building supplies business and tendered the Society for consignments of wood and bricks to build a chapel and mission station in that fast growing

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83 Messer to Miles, 17th Jan. 1829, LMS Archives 11/3/A.

84 J. Sales Mission Stations pp 96/97.

85 J. Backhouse, "A Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa," pp 148/149.

town.<sup>86</sup> Adverse weather conditions forced many of Hankey's people to seek work among the White farmers, and this further disrupted Messer's programme of religious and secular instruction.

In 1826 Hankey was visited by William Foster, a well-educated and cultured gentleman from England whom the Directors had chosen to found the new seminary. This establishment was intended for the sons of missionaries and the more promising and intelligent Khoi youths. It was an ambitious and forward-thinking scheme on the part of the Society, since education for Whites, let alone other race groups, was still in its infancy and the literacy rate was very low. There were then about 60,000 Boers in the colony, according to the Reverend George Thom, of whom barely 400 could speak English and hardly 150 could read or write.<sup>87</sup> The free Government school system, initiated by Lord Charles Somerset in 1823 and designed to bring schools to the larger centres, had only just been introduced. There was virtually no provision for higher education until the South African College was established in Cape Town in 1829.

Dr. Philip held firm views about how the children of missionaries should be educated so as to be well equipped for life in the colony. They should first be given a basic education, followed by a training in a trade such as smithying, bricklaying or carpentry. They should continue their academic studies at evening school during their apprenticeship. Finally from among this group a selection would be made of those students who, according to ability, suitability and piety, deserved to undergo training as school masters or missionaries.<sup>88</sup> For Philip education was

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86 Minutes of Meetings held to Establish a Mission Station at Port Elizabeth, 21st Jan, 21st April, 16th June, 23rd June, 31st Oct., 11th Nov. 1826, and 23rd March 1827.

87 G.E. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, Vol 11, p 102.

88 Philip to Foreign Secretary, 14th April, 1822. LMS Archives 8/4/C.

a vitally important aspect of missionary endeavour. "Knowledge always desires increase" he wrote, "it is like fire, which must first be kindled by some external agent, but which will afterwards propagate itself in every direction."<sup>89</sup> What better way to fan the flames of knowledge than by producing well-qualified teachers from among the sons of missionaries and the Khoi population, so as to elevate the indigenous peoples to the level of their White countrymen?

Perhaps if Philip had not left the colony for England in 1826 the plans for a seminary, which he supported with such enthusiasm, might have seen the light of day. From the outset Richard Miles and Foster were sceptical about the merits of establishing a centre for higher learning at Hankey, even before the latter had visited the institution in the Gamtoos valley.<sup>90</sup>

When he finally made the trip, Foster found fault with everything he saw: the buildings were uninhabitable, some of them only made of wood; they were sited too close to the river which was subject to unexpected flooding, and this caused damp conditions in the winter-time; the summers were too hot and the air too stagnant; worst of all, Hankey was far removed from cultural and commercial centres like Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth where the students might learn the manners and customs of the urbanised Dutch and English, and earn a little money in their free time.<sup>91</sup> Foster decided that it would be far better to establish the seminary at Bethelsdorp.

Whilst a decision on the erection of a suitable building on the mother station was awaited from the Directors, Foster busied himself with instructing one or two youths in his own home. Very little was achieved during his four year

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89 J. Philip, Researches in South Africa, Vol 1, p ix.

90 Miles to Dr. George Burder, Secretary of the Society, 31st March 1826, LMS Archives, 10/1/B.

91 Foster to Dr. George Burder, 19th July, 1826, LMS Archives, 10/1/C.

term of office in South Africa, and at the end of this period he requested, on the grounds of his wife's health, to be sent back to England.

Soon after returning to the colony, Philip began to weigh up the extent of Foster's incompetence; he had cost the Society £1,000 in salary for which there was nothing to show, and besides failing to establish a seminary, he had allowed the schools at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis to fall into a state of utter chaos.<sup>92</sup>

Foster's inefficiency and procrastination thwarted the Directors' efforts to bring higher education to Southern Africa. It made them think twice about their plans to establish such centres of learning in other areas where they had influence such as the South Seas, India and Madras.<sup>93</sup> Without a seminary Hankey was deprived of the recognition and prestige which invariably come from being associated with such an institution. This honour would come to the station in later years.

Messer's efforts to influence the Hankey Khoi finally paid off. In 1818 he announced that they were more sober, obedient and faithful than in all the five years that had gone before.<sup>94</sup> By this time he had established a fairly full programme of religious and secular instruction for the benefit of both the adults and children living on the station and the slaves who visited Hankey on Sunday evenings.

The schools were typical of those on all the Society's mission stations. There was one for boys and another for girls. By 1828 about 50% of the pupils were fluent in reading Dutch and English. One of the recommendations of

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92 Philip to Mr. William Orme, Foreign Secretary of the Society, 14th June, 1830. LMS Archives 12/1/B.

93 George Bennett to Southern Committee, 23rd July, 1830. LMS Archives 12/1/C.

94 Messer to Miles, 17th Jan, 1829. LMS Archives 11/3/A.

the Commission of Enquiry had been that English should replace Dutch as the medium of instruction in the schools. At Bethelsdorp this ruling had been welcomed by the missionaries from England who found teaching in Dutch well nigh impossible. The change-over was of doubtful benefit to the pupils because colloquial Dutch was their adopted mother tongue and English still very much a foreign language to them. Since they couldn't understand their lessons, it was decided to re-introduce Dutch into the syllabus at Bethelsdorp, and things went better from then on.<sup>95</sup> It is likely that Messer continued to teach both languages from the time that he set up school in Hankey.

The adults were provided with two schools on Sundays, one in the morning for the residents and another after the Sunday evening service for the slaves. Messer's three daughters and a Khoi teacher assisted him in running the schools.<sup>96</sup> Mrs. Messer is not listed as helping and it is possible that she was only semi-literate herself. Her letter from Pacaltsdorp to the Directors in 1822, indicating that she had forgiven her husband for his irregular conduct, was written for her by Messer.

Two divine services were held on Sundays and one on every evening during the week except on Wednesdays. On this day church members came together for a prayer meeting and experience meeting, when other interested parties might join them.<sup>97</sup> The children were catechised twice a week and were compelled to attend the evening services and scripture readings.

Messer's moderate success in evangelising and instructing the Hankey Khoi is reflected in the church and school attendance figures, as well as in the numbers of

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95 J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 90.

96 Schedule for Hankey for 1830 compiled by Messer, 20th Jan. 1831, LMS Archives, 12/3/A.

97 Messer to Miles, 17th Jan. 1829, LMS archives 11/3/A.

communicants and candidates for baptism, for the period 1827 to 1830, set out below:<sup>98</sup>

		1827	1828	1829	1830
Population			300		264
Day Schools	Boys		38		30
	Girls		36		37
	Total	80	74	50	67
Sabbath Schools	Adults Male				30
	Female				33
	Total		40/45	50	63
Average Number of Congregation	On Sabbath			90	100
	On Weekdays				30/50
Candidates for Baptism	Male				3
	Female				2
Baptised within the Year	Adults Male				1
Communicants	Male )		29		9
	Female)				16

The absence of many families from the station during 1829 caused day school attendance figures to plummet sharply. Many adults still made an attempt to attend Sabbath School classes and Sunday church services. Only one man was baptised in 1830, a mere one percent of the congregation, but Messer defended this by explaining that experience had

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98 Statistics extracted from Missionary Register for 1828; Reports of the Directors 1820/1831, Messer to Miles, 17th Jan, 1829, LMS Archives 11/3/A; Report of the South African Mission Stations compiled by Philip in 1830, LMS Archives, 12/2/A. and Schedule for Hankey for 1830 compiled by Messer on 20th Jan. 1831, LMS Archives, 12/3/A.

taught him not to be too hasty in baptising people who might afterwards fall from grace.<sup>99</sup> His caution was typical of nearly all the Society's missionaries, who had been instructed to baptise only the more worthy and deserving candidates.<sup>100</sup>

Hankey's first missionary laboured in the educational field under the most trying circumstances since for a long time neither elementary books, religious tracts, New Testaments nor bibles were sent through to aid him in his work.<sup>101</sup> He could probably have sold religious literature to the local farming community, a practice long followed at Bethelsdorp. The Whites were usually too proud to attend his church services and sit alongside the slaves and Khoi. Messer's answer to these people was clear and simple: "In heaven there will be no distinction, because we may go in South Africa wherever we like, we will meet the Hottentots, and coming to heaven we will find some too."<sup>102</sup>

It cannot be said that Messer's teaching and preaching were of a high standard; Miles found him inefficient and inadequate.<sup>103</sup> Foster declared him unskilled and unprepared to use the British System, which would have speeded up progress in his large classes.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of limitations placed upon him such as the initial antipathy of the people towards him, the harsh drought conditions which persisted for several years and the shortage of

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99 Schedule for Hankey for 1830 compiled by Messer 20th January, 1831, LMS Archives, 12/3/A.

100 Document Accompanying "Tabular View of Mission Stations in South Africa belonging to the London Missionary Society", LMS Archives, 12/1/D.

101 Schedule for Hankey for 1830 compiled by Messer on 20th January 1831, LMS Archives, 12/3/A.

102 Messer to Miles, 17th Jan. 1829, LMS Archives, 11/3/A.

103 Miles to William Orme, Foreign Secretary, 14th Jan. 1829, LMS Archives, 11/3/A.

104 Foster writing from Guildford to Mission House, 2nd Nov., 1830, LMS Archives, 12/3/A.

appropriate literature, Messer still managed to lay the foundations for secular and religious education at Hankey upon which later missionaries were able to build.

## 5. The Water-Course

A major achievement which took place during Johann George Messer's term of office at Hankey was the construction of a water-course on the Klein River, the precursor of other more elaborate schemes to come. William Foster's report on the station, sent home in 1826, may have been deliberately damning. He so obviously did not relish the idea of establishing a seminary in this backwater settlement. Yet even he could not deny the extreme fertility of the Hankey lands which, with irrigation, could compare favourably with any in South Africa. When he visited the station, work on a water channel, over three miles in length, had begun. It had not progressed far due to a shortage of timber<sup>105</sup> which needed to be transported from the Tsitsikamma Forest. Throughout the 1820's Hankey only had four waggons,<sup>106</sup> and if these were being used by the woodcutters and sawyers for contract work, then supplies of timber for the irrigation works were held up.

On the 14th of April 1827 two contracts were drawn up for the construction of the water-course under European supervision, one between James Wait and the Khoi and another between himself and Messer, acting on behalf of the Society. These gave details of services to be rendered and payment to be made, in cash or kind:<sup>107</sup>

"We the undersigned faithfully each one to give to Mr. James Wait one young ox or heifer of three years old, that is to say that Mr. James Wait has agreed for

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105 Foster to Dr. George Burder, Secretary of Society, 19th June, 1826, LMS Archives, 10/1/C.

106 Report of the South African Mission Stations compiled by Dr. Philip in 1830, LMS Archives, 12/2/A.

107 Quoted in J.J. Coulton, A Short History of Hankey, p 7.

50 head of such cattle as his payment for being superintendent to bring the water over the Institution of Hankey with 50 good workmen and good tools and said payment Mr. James Wait has to receive from the people as soon as the water is running in the ditch over the place.

Signed by fifty Hottentots."

"The undersigned duly declares to pay to Mr. James Wait in the name and on account of the Rev. Richard Miles the value of 399 Rds. (£22) or 12 good oxen fit for drawing as soon as the water is in the ditch running over Hankey Institution."

Signed J.G. Messer, Missionary."

Wait came to settle in the Gamtoos valley before Hankey was founded and claimed he had been the first man to work the lands. If he was the gardener whom Dr. Philip allowed to remain for two or three months on condition that he could get along with Thomas Damant and keep the grounds in order, then Wait only arrived towards the end of 1821, and this seems likely. He would have been preceded there by John and Thomas Damant's apprentices who were hired in Cape Town in 1819 and by Edward Damant's settler party which broke up in about June 1821.

As a member of one of Benjamin Moodie's private settler parties, Wait arrived in the Colony with his wife and five children in September 1817.<sup>108</sup> After staying in Cape Town until March the following year, during which time he found only scant employment on the Cape Town to Simonstown Road at Three Cups (now Mowbray), he decided to try the Eastern Cape for work and took his family to Uitenhage.<sup>109</sup> He still owed Moodie £98 in passage money and may have applied to Korsten for a job. Korsten was the most prominent trader in the area and already employing another Moodie settler, David Arnot.<sup>110</sup> In this way Wait would have got to know of

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108 E. Morse Jones, Roll of the British Settlers in South Africa, p 21.

109 E.H. Burrows, The Moodies of Melsetter, p 192.

110 J. Sales, Mission Stations p 74.

the Gamtoos valley, where he later settled. In 1824 he was once more in Uitenhage, probably because of the long drought which affected the small farmers in particular.

Unlike Philip Frost and John Parkin, Wait did not decide to make an urban centre his permanent home. He chose rather to supplement his income by constructing a water-course at Hankey with the help of an enthusiastic group of Khoi labourers.

By January 1829 the bush had been cleared and a course laid 3,000 yards long. Now the hardness of the ground, which not even a pickaxe would penetrate, prevented further progress for a while.<sup>111</sup> A year later, the water-course, which extended for 6,000 yards or 3½ miles along the northern bank of the Klein River, was finished. Wait sent in a report on its dimensions and features, which is given in diagrammatic form overleaf.<sup>112</sup>

The Khoi took daily turns at working on the channel, forming themselves into shifts of 10 to 15 men.<sup>113</sup> Wait praised them highly for their energy and endurance, and admitted that they had "laboured at it like lions, anxious to see the whole completed".<sup>114</sup> Miles drew up plans for a new village wherein each house was served by a fine garden. Messer forbade all other building projects until the water-course had been completed. Paul Ketteldas planned his mill, for using the water course to provide the power.

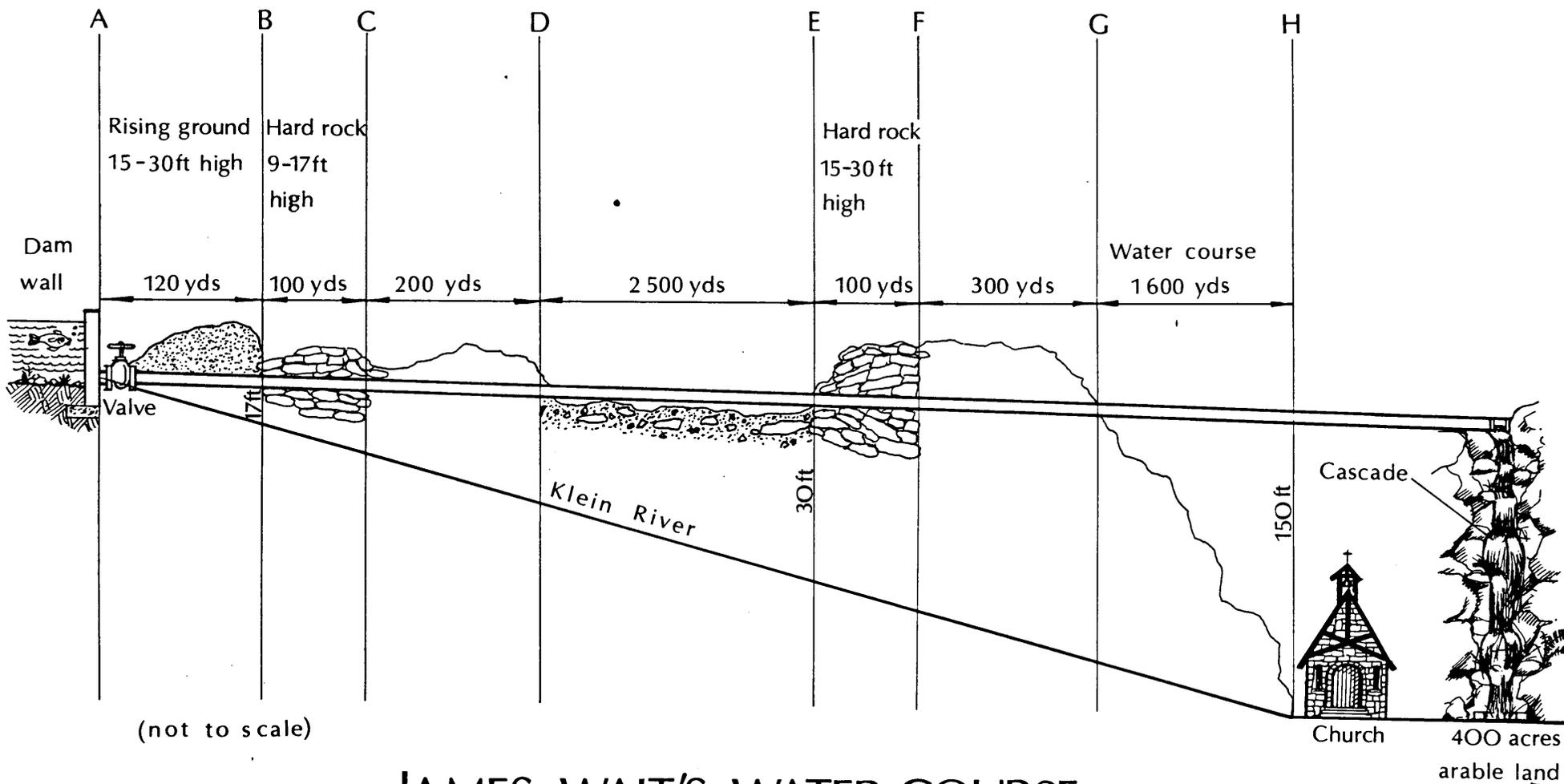
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111 Messer to Miles, 17th Jan. 1829, LMS Archives, 11/3/A.

112 All the figures and features used in compiling the diagram of the water-course taken from James Wait's report which appears in "Document Accompanying the Tabular View of Mission Stations in South Africa, belonging to the London Missionary Society." LMS Archives, 12/1/D.

113 Report of the South African Mission Stations compiled by Dr. Philip in 1830. LMS Archives, 12/2/A.

114 James Wait's report on the water-course in "Document Accompanying the Tabular View of Mission Stations in South Africa belonging to the London Missionary Society, LMS Archives, 12/1/D.



## JAMES WAIT'S WATER-COURSE

Meanwhile the missionary dreamt of abundant harvests and the sale of surplus produce to the surrounding farmers.<sup>115</sup>

The White settlers in the Gamtoos valley, far from rejoicing at the prospect of an elaborate irrigation scheme, regarded it with suspicion and alarm, and did their utmost to discourage the Khoi from having anything to do with it.<sup>116</sup> There was dissension among the workers themselves: Messer was loath to go into details about this, but he indicated that the water-course caused him many vexations. By 1831 he was ready to leave the station, burdened down by his multifarious duties, suffering from the Hankey summers, which, at 58 years of age, he found almost intolerable, and regretting the fact that he seemed never to have time for spiritual reflection and study.<sup>117</sup> We can be sure that the real reason for his anxiety was the land issue. Now the Hankey contributors were clamouring for irrigated plots, though they had not all paid the required 100 rix dollars.

Ordinance 50 which granted Khoi the right to own land, was passed in 1828 and a number of people from Bethelsdorp and Theopolis moved to the Kat River Settlement in the following year to take advantage of the new dispensation. Philip had played an important part in bringing about this new deal for the Khoi through his efforts on their behalf in London. Andries Stockenstrom, Commissioner-General for the eastern districts, was responsible for drafting the legislation. The Kat River Settlement was a social experiment much as the Hankey purchase had been, with the difference that it was on a much larger scale and was sanctioned by law. When Maqomo was expelled from the Kat River region in the frontier war of 1819, Philip, on the advice of Joseph Williams's widow, considered the area as a possible site for Hankey. If the idea of a mission

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115 Messer to Miles, 17th Jan. 1829, LMS Archives, 11/3/A.

116 Ibid.

117 Messer to Foreign Secretary, 22nd Jan 1831, LMS Archives, 12/4/C.

station on the colony's eastern border had been implemented, it would have met with almost certain disaster later because Maqomo continued to plague the region for many years to come.

In 1829 the area was cleared by Stockenstrom and settled by the Khoi and other free persons of colour. Hopes ran high for a rosy future. The Hankey residents, who in 1822 had been led to believe that they too were landowners, also began to press their claims and to cause their missionary much consternation. If they were free now to move about the colony without the restriction of pass laws, then they were free also to voice an opinion, and this they did with gusto.

Unquestionably the new irrigation works at Hankey brought prominence and status to the station which it had never previously enjoyed. A stronger man than Messer was needed at the helm to guide the settlement's development. Philip had toyed with the idea of transferring George Barker there in 1825, but this was more with a view to removing him from Theopolis than to improving the young station.<sup>118</sup> In the event the idea came to nothing. Kitchingman would have been a better choice for Hankey at this stage, because he would undoubtedly have encouraged the people to continue saving for their plots. He might even have persuaded Paul Ketteldas and his associates to strive harder to meet the financial deadlines on John Parkin's farm.

The Bethelsdorp missionary was more urgently needed in Cape Town however, to take Philip's place during an extended absence overseas. Kitchingman had many doubts about his ability to fulfil this function.<sup>119</sup> H.E. Rutherford, a prosperous Cape Town merchant and shipping agent and trusted friend of the missionaries, was to handle the

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118 Philip to Kitchingman about March, 1825, UCCSA Library.

119 Kitchingman to Philip 6th Dec. 1825, Cape Town Archives, A559 Vol 3 (h) and Kitchingman's Journal 6th Dec. 1825, Wits Univ. A 65 f.

financial side, and serve on a committee, dealing with matters of policy, together with a Mr. J. Birk, Rev. A. Faure and William Foster.<sup>120</sup>

Upon reaching Cape Town Kitchingman was disappointed to find that the Directors had sent out Richard Miles to fill Philip's post, making his own presence in the mother city redundant. His dismay turned to horror when Miles dissolved the committee, in defiance of Philip's instructions, and assumed all responsibility for decision-making himself.<sup>121</sup> He sanctioned the building of a water-course at Hankey in 1827, and probably supported other schemes of an equally laudable nature. In financial matters Miles showed an immaturity which Philip later found difficult to excuse. The superintendent had fought to put missionaries' salaries on a regular footing, because in the past these men had only been meagerly recompensed for their services. He had obtained incomes of £75 per annum for single missionaries, £100 for married men, and an allowance of £5 each for any children.<sup>122</sup> He had promised Kitchingman 2,000 rix dollars or £150 for his labours in Cape Town<sup>123</sup> and Miles saw that this directive was put into effect.<sup>124</sup> However, during Philip's absence Miles increased the salaries of schoolmasters, catechists and artisans to the level of the missionaries, with the result that the Society's salary bill between 1826 and 1829 was inordinately high.<sup>125</sup> Kitchingman went to Paarl for four

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120 Kitchingman Journal 18th Nov, 1825, Wits Univ. A 65 f.

121 Kitchingman to Reverend H. Nelson, 14th April, 1826. Cape Town Archives A 559, Vol 3 (h), and I. Buchenroder to Philip in England 3rd May, 1826, LMS Archives, 10/1/B.

122 R. Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895, p 543.

123 Kitchingman Journal, 18th Nov, 1825, Wits Univ. A 65 f.

124 Miles to W.A. Hankey, 31st March, 1826. LMS Archives, 10/1/B.

125 Philip to Directors, 18th Nov. 1829, LMS Archives, 11/4/B.

years in December 1826, after which it was decided that he should serve at Hankey. A competent missionary from Griquatown, John Melvill, came down to take over the schools, and the impact this man made upon the people was so remarkable and so immediate that before long he was permitted to take entire control of the station. In this way he became responsible for finding a solution to the water-course controversy and other important issues.

## CHAPTER IV

## CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION

## 1. John Melvill

John Melvill's coming to Hankey heralded a number of changes and improvements on the station which will occupy our attention in due course. It will help us in our understanding of the man if we begin by taking a look at his character and background. Melvill was in his mid-forties when he arrived in Hankey with his wife and their eight children, who ranged between one and eighteen years of age.<sup>1</sup> This appointment was as a schoolmaster and though he retained his missionary's salary of R125 per annum,<sup>2</sup> the Melvills still struggled to make ends meet. It was a sharp contrast to their years of prosperity in Cape Town between 1815 and 1822, when Melvill had held a responsible position in the Government. Hardship was not unknown to this man; in his youth he had worked hard and battled to be properly educated.

Melvill came to the Cape from England as a young boy during the First British Administration, when his master mariner father, Thomas Melvill, decided to settle in Saldanha Bay.<sup>3</sup> For nine months young Melvill was boarded with the Cape

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1 Schedule of Returns for Hankey for 1831, 10th Dec., 1831, LMS Archives, 12/4/E.

2 Under the superintendency of Richard Miles, Melvill's salary shot up from £80 or £90 to £125, plus allowances for two children. Philip considered this excessive. It was still far below the salary enjoyed by Melvill when he was a Government surveyor in Cape Town. Philip to Orme, 29th Nov. 1829, LMS Archives, 11/4/C.

3 John Melvill's unpublished journal in J.M. Marquard, Family Register of the Melvill's Family, pp 3/7. All the biographical details of Melvill's youth, up to the time of his employment by the Government, have been taken from this source.

Town merchants, Bray and Venables, where he served in the shop in the mornings and attended school in the afternoons. Then his father recalled him to Saldanha Bay to help with his farming and fishing ventures. The work was so hard that at one stage the young boy attempted to escape to sea on a privateer. When war broke out between England and France in 1804, the Melvill's being British, were summoned to Cape Town by the new Batavian Government and John, then aged sixteen, attended school for a further six months. He was hopelessly behind in his studies, but a sense of his own ignorance spurred him on and he progressed well.

The next move of the Melvill Family was to Stellenbosch as prisoners of war. Here young John continued to learn on his own. He began to draw and studied navigation with the help of his father. When the British retook the Cape in 1806 Melvill received his first lucky break; he was trained as a surveyor by Louis Thibault at the request of the Earl of Caledon, and in due course became the former's assistant.<sup>4</sup> In 1815 he took over Thibault's position of Government Sworn Surveyor.<sup>5</sup> Many urban and rural schemes received the surveyor's attention during the next seven years. In 1821 he drew up plans for the sub-division of the farm Gamtoos River Waggon Drift, little realising that one day he would serve there as a missionary.<sup>6</sup>

In 1812 Melvill married Anna Fredrica Stadler.<sup>7</sup> However, the prestige of his job and the happiness that flowed from his marriage were not all that Melvill wanted out of life, he discovered. In his youth he had suffered a serious illness which had given him the opportunity to make an

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4 Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, Vol 7, p 327.

5 P. Philip, British Residents at the Cape, 1795-1819, p 276.

6 Diagram accompanying Deed of Grant No 184 (N.460/1816), Uitenhage Quitrents drawn by Melvill in his capacity as Government Surveyor.

7 C.G. Botha, Collected Works, Vol 3, Cape Archives and Records of the Cape, p 267.

intensive study of the Bible and the Pilgrim's Progress. These works so affected his outlook on life that he determined to become a true Christian from then on.<sup>8</sup>

Friendships were cultivated with the missionary fraternity and in 1816 Melvill accompanied the Reverend Charles Latrobe on a tour of the Moravian stations.<sup>9</sup> His intelligent and informed conversation was appreciated by many; in 1815 he paid a visit to George Rex of Knysna who begged the young surveyor to extend his stay.<sup>10</sup> The Melvills entertained James Kitchingman and his colleagues on their first arrival in Cape Town in October 1817;<sup>11</sup> the Government Surveyor's house was thrown open to Robert Moffat on the occasion of his marriage in December 1819.<sup>12</sup> At about this time Melvill approached Moffat on the possibility of becoming an assistant missionary. He was advised that his position with Government held far greater opportunities for Christian endeavour than he would find on a mission station.<sup>13</sup>

In 1820 Melvill became closely acquainted with Dr. John Philip when the two collaborated over the selection of a site for a new church. The superintendent persuaded Melvill to accept the post of Government Agent at Klaarwater (later known as Griquatown) where the Society had a station, to relieve the missionary, William Anderson, of

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8 J.M. Marquard, Family Register of the Melvill's Family, p 6.

9 Journal of Reverend Charles Latrobe, in J.M. Marquard, Family Register of the Melvill's Family, p 6.

10 P. Storrar, George Rex, Death of a Legend, p 154.

11 Journal of James Kitchingman, 22nd Oct. 1817, in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 40.

12 Extract from "Book of J.S. Moffat", in J.M. Marquard, Family Register of the Melvill's Family, p 10.

13 J. Melvill to George Burder, 26th Dec. 1825, LMS Archives, 9/4/C.

his civil responsibilities.<sup>14</sup>

On 21st March 1822, when far away in the Eastern Cape the purchase of the Hankey farm was nearing completion, Melvill accepted the Government post beyond the border and travelled north to Griquatown with his wife and two children. His salary was a mere Rd. 1,000 or £75 per annum, one seventh of the income he had enjoyed in Cape Town as Government Surveyor.<sup>15</sup> In Griqualand the Melvills moved into a small house with a kitchen garden belonging to the Society.<sup>16</sup> In Cape Town they had owned several properties and had known a grander lifestyle.<sup>16</sup>

The situation beyond the Orange River was fraught with difficulties which Melvill's arrival did little to allay. Whilst under Caledon's administration, the Griquas had chosen two elderly men, Barend Barends and Adam Kok, as their leaders. The new Government Agent selected Andries Waterboer as their paramount chief and this was bitterly resented by many of them.<sup>17</sup> Inter-tribal jealousies persisted for some years. Yet when danger threatened from outside the Griquas were capable of acting in unison, spurred on by Melvill and the missionaries. On 26th June 1823 between 40,000 and 50,000 Mantatee warriors, on their march southwards, were defeated by a band of 100 armed and mounted Griqua soldiers, supported by 500 Batlapin tribesmen on foot.<sup>18</sup> After the fighting, Melvill showed tre-

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14 Ibid.

15 George Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, Part 1, p 73 and G.E. Cory, The Rise of South Africa, p 227.

16 List of properties owned by Melvill in Cape Town between 1813 and 1819, given in P. Philip, British Residents at the Cape, 1795-1819, pp 276/277.

17 G.E.Cory, The Rise of South Africa, pp 227/228.

18 J. Melvill, Family Register of the Melvill's Family, (extended edition of J.M. Marquard's book of same name) p 136.

mendous courage and true missionary spirit by twice risking his life in the cause of charity. He ventured onto the battleground, first with Robert Moffat and then with missionary Robert Hamilton, to save the surviving Mantatee women and children from slaughter by the enraged Batlapin.<sup>19</sup>

Melvill did his best to maintain order amongst the Griquas even though they were suspicious of colonial law. It is unfortunate that his efforts were doomed from the start. Andries Stockenstrom Junior, the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, had recommended a Government presence beyond the border. Yet when Melvill required support from this quarter to protect Waterboer from marauders, the authorities refused to send help.<sup>20</sup>

It cannot be denied that the success of any Government Agent in the early part of the 19th Century depended very much on the personality of the man holding the post. Melvill's nature was too cautious to allow him to function adequately in this role.<sup>21</sup> He demonstrated a lack of sufficient insight and finer judgement when he chose to support Andries Waterboer without first consulting the other chiefs. These shortcomings would become apparent in his dealings with the Hankey people in later years.

Melvill remained at Griquatown for four years, encouraged in his dismal task by Dr. Philip.<sup>22</sup> On 26th April 1826, he wrote to Sir Richard Plasket, Secretary to the Government,

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19 John Melvill's account of the defeat of the Mantatees on 26th June 1823, and his part in the events which took place thereafter, given in George Thompson, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, Part 1, pp 142/159.

20 J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, pp 38/39.

21 Assessment of Melvill by D. Williams, The Missionary as Government Agent on the Eastern Frontier, 1818-1831, p 92.

22 Melvill to George Burder, 26th Dec. 1825, LMS Archives, 9/4/C.

tendering his resignation.<sup>23</sup> It came as no surprise when he applied to join the London Missionary Society and was posted for a further four years to Philippolis. Melvill held somewhat idealistic views on the role and function of "good and prudent" missionaries. He believed this category of men were capable of maintaining peace by means of their sanctified position and the respect accorded them by the Griquas.<sup>24</sup> For this reason he had longed to count himself among their number. It was felt by Melvill that missionaries should be truthful in reporting on their stations. They should indulge less in exaggerating their achievement to please the Directors and the general public and covering up their failures for fear of being judged too harshly. Whilst at Griquatown Melvill had corresponded with George Burder, the Society's Foreign Secretary, on this very issue. Melvill asked that the practice of printing the names of missionaries alongside their highly coloured published accounts of their activities be abolished and that the Directors desist from selecting for publication only those items of news which were contrived to elicit financial support from the reader. Melvill knew very well that most missionaries had some degree of self-interest at heart when compiling information for home consumption.<sup>25</sup> It often happened that a missionary whose character did not bear close inspection, received the warmest public praise because of his reports, whilst another man who laboured in silence remained anonymous.

Melvill touched upon a sensitive issue in challenging the accuracy of missionary reporting, though his solution that missionaries remain faceless and that all achievements in the field go unacknowledged was too uncompromising to deserve serious consideration by the Board. The mission-

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23 Melvill to Sir Richard Plasket, 21st April 1826, in J.M. Marquard Family Register of the Melvill's Family, p 13.

24 Ibid.

25 Melvill to George Burder, 28th May 1823, LMS Archives, 8/5/B.

ary's in the field's dilemma remained whether to give an honest account of his activities when his labours were not bearing fruit. By so doing he might incur the Directors' displeasure and gain no credit for his exertions.<sup>26</sup> A stylish correspondent like William Foster, with his descriptions of grandiose educational schemes for the colony, was able to impress the Board for several years until it was discovered that in all this time he had actually achieved very little. Melvill's style of writing was far more sober - though he tried not to concentrate only on the dark side of life!<sup>27</sup> Throughout his service as a missionary he strove after honesty and accuracy in his reports to the Directors, even when the issues being handled reflected badly upon himself.

Initially Melvill worked at Philippolis with James Clark, another member of Dr. Philip's congregation in Cape Town who had been persuaded to enter the missionary field and who would later serve at Hankey. Life at Philippolis was hardly less eventful than at Griquatown. Soon after Melvill's arrival one of the mission farms was set upon by Tswana marauders who burnt down several huts and slaughtered any occupants who tried to escape including a number of Mantatee women and children. The attackers then made off with all the cattle.<sup>28</sup> Mrs. Melvill later recalled a frightening attack upon her family by hostile tribesmen when she was heavily pregnant. Because they had been forewarned of the onslaught, the Melvills had time to bury their valuables and escape into the bush where they watched their house being razed to the ground.<sup>29</sup>

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26 Melvill to George Burder, 19th May, 1824, LMS Archives, 9/2/B.

27 Melvill to George Burder, 28th May, 1823, 8/5/B.

28 A contemporary account of this bloody incident was sent in to a Cape Town newspaper by a Mr. Robertson. Newspaper cutting in R. Miles to W.A. Hankey, 17th July 1826, LMS Archives, 10/1/D.

29 "An Aged Colonist", The Mossel Bay Advertiser, 1886, in J.M. Marquard, Family Register of the Melvill's Family p 16.

There was trouble also between the San and Griquas on the station, the former claiming superior rights because they had been the original residents. Clark vacillated in his allegiance between the two groups and eventually resigned his superintendency to Melvill.<sup>30</sup> The problem was not solved until a new San station was founded near the junction of the Orange and Caledon Rivers with Clark at its head.<sup>31</sup> Although Miles reported to the Directors in 1828 that Melvill now enjoyed the complete confidence of Adam Kok and the Griquas,<sup>32</sup> this state of affairs didn't last long. The people were concerned about security, and tried to persuade Melvill to supply them with gunpowder as he had done in his capacity as Government Agent at Griquatown. When Melvill protested that this was not the role of a missionary, life was made so difficult for him that in February 1830 he requested to be transferred to the colony.<sup>33</sup> Philip agreed to this arrangement on one condition, that Melvill serve there as a school master, and not as a missionary.<sup>34</sup> With this agreed upon, the Melvills set off for Uitenhage on 13th March 1831 en route to the Gamtoos valley.

## 2. The Revival

In April 1831, shortly after Melvill's arrival in Hankey, Messer posted a good news letter to his superintendent in Cape Town, telling of the wonderful change which had taken place on the station since his last communication. In consequence of a miraculous religious awakening affecting

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30 Melvill to W.A. Hankey, 8th June 1827, LMS Archives, 10/2/C.

31 James Clark's Report on the Site for a San Station. 25th Dec. 1826, LMS Archives, 10/3/C.

32 Miles to Orme, 7th June 1828, LMS Archives, 11/1/C.

33 Melvill to Orme, 4th Feb. 1830, LMS Archives, 12/1/A.

34 Philip to Orme, 14th Jan. 1831, LMS Archives, 12/3/B.

the people, he had baptised 12 adults and 17 children in the space of about eleven weeks.<sup>35</sup> The Dutchman, Dirk Brinkhuis, then 83 years old and living in the district, had finally seen the light and been accepted as a member of the Hankey church. Many other enquirers flocked to the tiny chapel on Sundays to seek a place on the crowded floor. Slaves from the surrounding farms boosted church attendance figures, and after service they retired into the bush to sing and pray through the night by the light of their flickering whale lamps.<sup>36</sup>

Philip was astonished by the news of the revival at Hankey, coming as it did so soon after Messer's request to be transferred. The missionary-in-charge now asked to be allowed to remain at the institution - a complete volte-face on his part. It was difficult to reconcile the "doleful and awful account" of the station which Messer had previously submitted with the elation expressed in his latest report.<sup>37</sup> Philip wondered whether Melvill's arrival had had anything to do with the change. James Wait intimated that the place had been "a hell" until Melvill came. Philip was disinclined to accept the opinion of a layman on such a "spiritual" matter.<sup>38</sup> Kitchingman was already en route to Hankey to take over the running of the station when news of the revival reached Cape Town. It

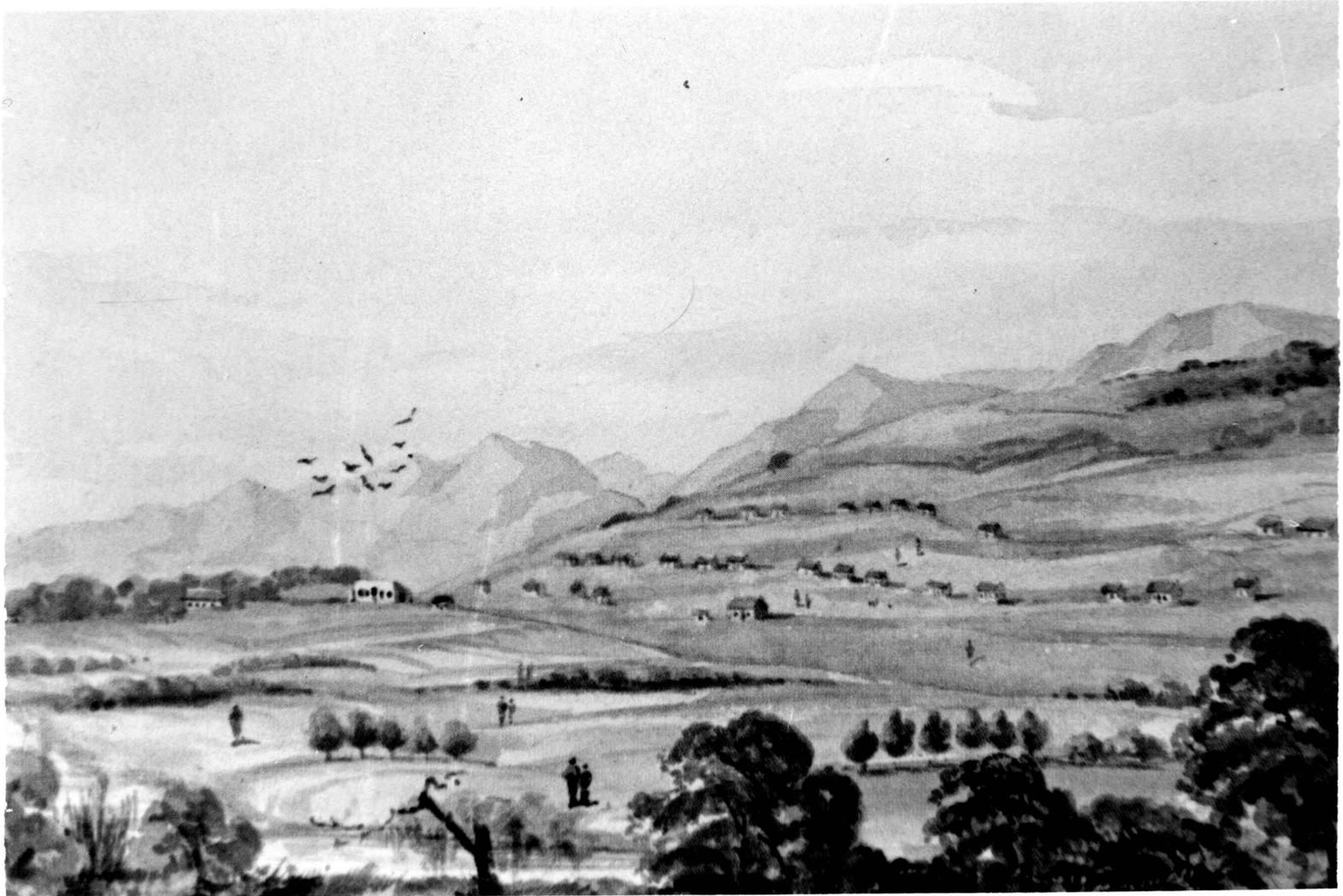
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35 Messer to Philip, 29th April 1831, quoted in Philip to Kitchingman, 19th May, 1831. Brenthurst Lib. 3347/1/9, in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 107. In this letter Messer claimed that the baptisms began on 7th February 1831, but that the revival had been in progress for six months. The latter claim is probably an exaggeration since in his Schedule for 1830 dated 20th Jan. 1831, Messer made no mention of the revival. Only one man was baptised during the course of 1830.

36 Ibid.

37 Philip to Messer, 18th May 1831, in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 110.

38 Philip to Kitchingman, 24th June, 1831, Brenthurst Lib., 3347/2/33, in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 112.



The first village of Hankey

became his first task upon his arrival to investigate this phenomenon and report back immediately to his superintendent.

Philip was not in favour of allowing Messer to remain at Hankey despite the latter's request, since the man was so obviously unequal to the demands of this fast expanding young station. Philip knew that the attention of the Directors would be focused upon Messer when news of the Hankey revival reached London. Therefore the German missionary's removal would need to be arranged with a great deal of delicacy and tact.<sup>39</sup>

Melvill had angered his superintendent by proceeding to Hankey on the advice of Robert Moffat without first waiting for instructions from Cape Town. When Philip got to hear of this he instructed Melvill to return to Bethelsdorp.<sup>40</sup> Kitchingman enquired into the situation at Hankey (which he reached on 13th June 1831,<sup>41</sup> about two months after Melvill) and vouched for the integrity of the missionary. He asked that the man be allowed to remain and work under him, and Philip agreed to this as a temporary arrangement only.<sup>42</sup> Messer was transferred to Uitenhage in September 1831, leaving two highly respected and competent missionaries to run the station in the Gamtoos valley.

It is doubtful whether Melvill played a major part in sparking off the revival, since he arrived in Hankey in mid-April 1831 after the first spate of baptisms which had

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39 Ibid.

40 Philip to Kitchingman, 19th May, 1831. Brenthurst Lib., 3347/2/33, in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 109/110.

41 Report of the Directors for 1832, p 84.

42 Philip to Kitchingman, 8th July, 1831, Brenthurst Lib., 4061/17, in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 113.

begun in February.<sup>43</sup> Melvill made a positive impression on Brinkhuis and on other people too.<sup>44</sup> He seems to have helped along a religious movement which was already underway. The presence of the new schoolteacher had a profound effect upon Messer also. It is suspected that the intelligent and agreeable newcomer, with a wealth of knowledge and experience behind him, so impressed the German as to make him think twice about leaving.

Messer had been alone at Hankey for eight long years, without assistance from any other European in his school or chapel, or bibles, chronicles and educational aids to assist him in his task.<sup>45</sup> This was an appalling omission on the part of the Directors and the inference drawn is that Messer was entirely neglected whilst serving in the Gamtoos valley, his name not once appearing in the Reports of the Directors until his departure from that place in 1831. It is certain that Melvill commiserated with the German missionary over the lack of supplies. He held strong views on the need for the institutions to be sent parcels of useful and inspiring literature. In 1823, whilst still a Government Agent in Griquatown, he had taken the liberty of writing to the Directors on this very issue.<sup>46</sup>

The real reason for the revival at Hankey early in 1831 seems to have been the completion of the water-course. Messer earlier indicated that there had been a lot of

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43 Melvill left Philippolis on 13th March, 1831. Report of the Directors for 1832, p 84. He arrived at Uitenhage on 9th April of that year. Janet Melvill, Register of the Melvill's Family, p 106. He could not have reached Hankey before the middle of April.

44 Report to the Cape Town Auxiliary Missionary Society for 1832, LMS Archives, 13/2/A.

45 Messer received his first chronicle in January 1831. Schedule for Hankey for 1831, 20th Jan. 1831. LMS Archives 12/2/A and Messer to Foreign Secretary, 22nd Jan. 1831. LMS Archives, 12/4/C.

46 Melvill to George Burder, 28th May, 1823. LMS archives, 8/5/B.

frustration surrounding this project and that it had been completed too late to affect crop figures for 1830. With the arrival of the summer rains, the course swung into action, sending streams of water down its winding length and out in a fine cascade over the arable Gamtoos flood plane beneath. People came from far and wide to view the spectacle, and Philip later declared it the greatest work of its kind even undertaken in the Colony.<sup>47</sup>

Before the completion of the water-course, Hankey had lost a number of people, many of whom had probably been attracted by prospects at the Kat River Settlement. In 1831 the population increased suddenly to 337.<sup>48</sup> This number included a few Bethelsdorp contributors, come to stake their claims now that the irrigation system was operational, and others with no such rights and privileges.

Melvill and Kitchingman reported that some newcomers had moved to Hankey because the prospects of gaining a livelihood from the soil had improved so considerably, but that others had joined the institution from a sincere desire to receive religious instruction. Abundant rains fell in October and November 1831 and the decision was taken to divide up 20 acres of irrigable land into regular plots, fence them in and distribute them among the people. Kitchingman awarded an allotment to the head of each family on a temporary basis only, regardless of whether the man

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47 Philip to John Clayton, 15th March 1832. LMS Archives, 13/1/A.

48 Annual Report for 1831 by Kitchingman and Melvill, 1st Dec. 1831, LMS Archives, 12/4/E. The Report of the Directors for 1832 gives population statistics at Hankey for 1831 as follows:

January: 216

May : 313

December: 400

The December figure is inaccurate because it includes many people who had already left the institution, but whose names were still on the books. See Annual Report for 1832, Melvill, 10th Jan. 1833, LMS Archives, 13/3/A.

was a new or an old Hankey resident. Kitchingman left it to the superintendent to take a final decision on the matter of land rights at Hankey when next he visited the station.<sup>49</sup>

The gardens were sown alternately with maize and beans, which could be grown in succession on the same land during the course of one season, so fertile was the soil. Pumpkins, potatoes and other vegetables were planted, an orchard of one thousand fruit trees was laid out and another area was set aside for growing corn.<sup>50</sup> Rust, a disease first remarked upon at Hankey by William Foster in 1826 and prevalent throughout the colony for the previous hundred years,<sup>51</sup> reduced the latter crop by 50%. This condition was thought to be caused by peculiarities in the soil and adverse weather conditions. We now know that it is a fungal disease, lying dormant in the grain tissue, which only makes its appearance in the mature stages of growth.<sup>52</sup> It is unfortunate that the planting of corn in the Gamtoos valley was not entirely successful, for this was the main reason why the Hankey farm had been procured. The other crops produced fine harvests in 1831, and with the people's temporal welfare assured. They were able to remain on the institution under the spiritual guidance of the missionaries.

Very little backsliding was reported during the year, and religious enthusiasm during church services ran so high, with much weeping and wailing, that the people had to be warned against exhibitionism.<sup>53</sup>

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49 Melvill to William Ellis, 1st March, 1838. LMS Archives, 16/1/A.

50 Annual Report for 1831, Kitchingman and Melvill, 1st Dec. 1831, LMS Archives, 12/4/E.

51 G.M. Theal, History of South Africa under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company, Vol 2, 1724-1795, p 62.

52 Guy Butler, The 1820 Settlers, p 138.

53 Annual Report for 1831, Kitchingman and Melvill, 1st Dec. 1831, LMS Archives, 12/4/E.

Outward protestations of conversion and remorse were not always signs of a true change of heart, it was felt. The people were encouraged to prove their faith by rendering service to others rather than by calling out hysterically in church.<sup>54</sup> Dr. Philip was sceptical about flamboyant revivals and declared that he had never known a case where "all the leaves and blossoms were turned into fruit".<sup>55</sup> His fears of a falling-off at Hankey during 1831 were groundless. The impact of two new and competent missionaries on the station, and the comfort of a good harvest, meant that the people were positively orientated towards the Christian message and ready to work hard at any task.

The revival had a good effect on education and school attendance figures increased by 35%. The children received daily religious instruction, as well as being taught to read and write and master the intricacies of arithmetic. In addition to the classes which Messer had initiated, Melvill began an evening class for the more advanced boys and those people who found it impossible to attend during the day.<sup>56</sup> For the moment at least Philip dispensed with the idea of establishing a seminary in the colony. His main objective now was to improve the quality of teaching on the stations so that the children of the missionaries, and even those of the White farmers, would want to attend these establishments, given their high standards. The more promising pupils could be sent for their higher education to the South African College in Cape Town, whilst those remaining on the stations could learn a trade such as carpentry or blacksmithery.<sup>57</sup> At Hankey, under Melvill,

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54 Ibid.

55 Philip to Kitchingman, 24th June 1831. Brenthurst Lib., 3347/2/33, in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 111.

56 Annual Report for 1831, Kitchingman and Melvill, 1st Dec. 1831. LMS Archives, 12/4/E.

57 Philip to Directors, 14th Jan. 1831, LMS Archives, 12/4/B.

education prospered, but for many of the other stations there were simply no good teachers to be found. Philip was moved eventually to declare that whilst he would not trade his kingdom for a horse, he was almost ready to say "A kingdom for a schoolmaster".<sup>58</sup>

Some of the missionaries were unequal to their duties and during Philip's absence overseas had allowed their stations to deteriorate. At Bethelsdorp the squabbles of the missionaries, merchants and mechanics brought the station to the brink of ruin, which Adam Robson, because of his lack of organisational ability, was unable to reverse.<sup>59</sup> In February 1832 it was arranged that Melvill would fill in at Bethelsdorp for a season, and that a newcomer, William Kelly, would take over his teaching duties at Hankey.<sup>60</sup> Throughout the whole of 1831 Melvill and Kitchingman had lived in a state of uncertainty regarding their future placement and the new arrangement did not appeal to them at all. Events at Hankey overtook Philip's decision. On 24th February 1832, two days after he had penned his letter of instruction regarding the new arrangement, a terrible flood hit the village, destroying the buildings and sweeping the crops and fruit trees away.

A wall of water rolled down the valley almost without forewarning. Few possessions could be salvaged from the collapsing dwellings and, in order to save themselves, the people were obliged to wade through the rising waters in the pouring rain and take refuge in the little chapel, set upon higher ground. Here they spent the night beneath its leaking roof.<sup>61</sup>

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58 Ibid.

59 Philip to John Clayton, 3rd July 1831. LMS Archives 13/1/B.

60 Philip to Kitchingman, 22nd Feb. 1832. UCCSA Lib.

61 Kitchingman and Melvill to Philip, 1st March 1832, LMS Archives, 13/1/A.

The water-course, hardly more than a year completed, was the worst hit of all. Its sluice gate and most of its wooden guttering were swept away. The banks of the Klein River caved in upon it and the damage was so great that major reconstruction was required. When one of Philip's colleagues, a Mr. Buchenroder, visited the water-course at Hankey soon after the deluge he found to his amazement a team of 40 men cheerfully at work on re-excavating it,<sup>62</sup> proof indeed of the continuing revival which induced many to work for the common good.

Philip appealed to London immediately for money to finance these repairs, warmly praising the Hankey Khoi and recommending them to the Directors. Not only had they collected funds towards the purchase of their farm, he reminded the Board, but they had helped to pay for the water-course, and given freely of their labour. Due to the example set by a few individuals at Hankey the station had undergone a spiritual change more remarkable than anything experienced at the other stations, which justified money being given to them in their hour of need.<sup>63</sup> The Society pledged a substantial sum and long term planning began to bring the water-course, the pride of the inhabitants, back into operation.

The Hankey revival became famous and visitors to the station were told extraordinary stories of how it had all begun. One such account described the conversion of two brawny and belligerent youths who had once brought fear and chaos to the settlement by their brawling and had even placed the missionary's life in danger. For eighteen months they had been totally peace-loving and abstemious.<sup>64</sup> The sons of bedridden old Dirk Brinkhuis followed his example and were baptised. Before long a temperance society was formed consisting of 190 founder members.<sup>65</sup>

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62 Buchenroder to Philip, 23rd March, 1832, LMS Archives, 13/1/A.

63 Philip to John Clayton, 15th March, 1832, LMS Archives, 13/1/A.

64 Report of Cape Town Auxiliary for 1832, LMS Archives, 13/2/A.

65 Ibid.

Morale on the settlement was very high when disaster struck in February 1832. Because the crops were mostly harvested by then and the cattle well fed, flood damage was not such an insurmountable hurdle to negotiate as it otherwise might have been. The deluge brought new urgency to the question of which missionary was to remain at Hankey. Buchenroder chose Melvill because the kindness and zeal of this man had quickly endeared him to the people. Kitchingman, though very popular at Hankey, would, it was felt, be better placed at Bethelsdorp where the people knew him and trusted his knowledge of local conditions.<sup>66</sup> In the light of his colleague's recommendations, the superintendent of stations allowed Melvill to assume control at Hankey and Kitchingman moved back to Bethelsdorp. For most of 1832 the men were occupied in repairing the water-course which was again damaged by the second flood later in the year.<sup>67</sup> Even before the great flood of February 1832, sections of guttering had twice come loose and been swept away.<sup>68</sup> The heavy work failed to dampen the people's spirits, and everyone worked diligently at his allotted task. Melvill allowed 100 newcomers onto the station in 1832, a 25% increase on the previous year's intake, which brought numbers up to 437.<sup>69</sup> The people, including those occupied on the water-course, lived through the winter months on an allocation of one meal per person per day.<sup>70</sup> In this way the community remained intact and independent of the farmers for its sustenance.

Good rains fell in the summer of 1832/1833, when 26 acres were put under irrigation. At last a start could be made on building the new church, measuring 60 ft by 21 ft, whose

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66 Buchenroder to Philip, 23rd March, 1832. LMS Archives, 13/1/A.

67 Annual Report for 1832, Melvill, 10th Jan. 1833. LMS Archives, 13/3/A.

68 Kitchingman and Melvill to Philip, 1st March, 1832. LMS Archives, 13/1/A.

69 Annual Report for 1832, Melvill, 10th Jan. 1833. LMS Archives, 13/3/A.

70 Melvill to Foreign Secretary, 31st May, 1833. LMS Archives, 13/3/B.

foundations had first been laid during Kitchingman's time.<sup>71</sup> Philip paid a visit to Hankey in September 1832, when he made a point of collecting information on the continuing revival there.<sup>72</sup> Whilst Melvill scrupulously avoided suggesting that everyone on the station was affected by the movement, he went into raptures over the impact it had had on the people. "The state of the mission, comparing past with present," he declared, "is as life from the dead, and the angels in heaven have had occasion to rejoice over repenting sinners."<sup>73</sup> Church attendance was excellent and an auxiliary society consisting of 173 members, was formed. Though the adult Sunday school did not come up to Melvill's expectations, he felt that it provided a service for those who were willing to learn. Kelly coped admirably with the large classes under his tuition, despite doubt previously expressed by Philip about his capabilities.<sup>74</sup> In addition to the day school, an infant school was begun under the supervision of Melvill's thirteen-year-old daughter, Janet. Mrs. Philip had campaigned for the introduction of these schools in the colony and they were gradually established at all stations.<sup>75</sup> In due course Janet went to Bethelsdorp to train under Miss Lindall who ran a first class infant school there, after which apprenticeship this lady visited Hankey to proffer further suggestions.<sup>76</sup>

As long as the weather held and the harvests were plentiful Melvill's efforts to promote the spiritual and educational welfare of his people bore fruit. Statistics for the first years of his superintendency reflect this state of affairs

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71 Ibid., and Cape Town Auxiliary Society Report for 1833. LMS Archives, 13/4/C.

72 Melvill to Foreign Secretary, 8th Oct. 1833. LMS Archives. 13/4/A.

73 Annual Report for 1832, Melvill, 10th Jan. 1833. LMS Archives, 13/3/A.

74 Philip to Kitchingman, 22nd Feb. 1832, UCCSA Lib.

75 G.P. Ferguson, CUSA, p 26.

76 Report of the Cape Town Auxiliary Society for 1833, 16th Dec. 1833. LMS Archives, 13/4/C.

and are set out in tabular form below:<sup>77</sup>

	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835
Population	317	447	492	655	665
Males, married	61	80	87	120	125
unmarried	12	26	36	15	18
widowers	4	4	5	6	5
Females, married	63	81	87	127	127
unmarried	8	13	18	11	10
widows	3	19	17	18	15
Children, males	72	99	128	184	192
females	94	125	114	164	173
Day Schools, boys	48				
girls	58				
Total	106	140/150	100/150	40/110	70/80
Infant School		50	50/60	50/80	50/80
Sabbath Schools	60	50/60	80/100	80/120	90
Average Number of Congregation on Sabbath	170	250	245	150/300	150/300
on Weekdays	90	70/100	70/100	70/130	70/100
Candidates for Baptism, male	3	4	2		1
female	9	3	1	6	5
Baptised within the year, adults male	9	3	2		
female	15	11	3		2
children, male	15	11	2		4
female	8	9	2		
Communicants, male	21	18	18		
female	33	40	45		

Melvill made an effort to get to know the White farmers in the area. He converted one of them soon after arriving at Hankey, and urged the Directors to send him religious books

77 LMS Archives: Schedule of Returns for 1831, 10th Dec. 1831; Annual Report for 1831, 1st Dec. 1831, 12/4/E; Annual Report for 1832, 10th Jan. 1833, 13/3/A; Schedule of Returns for 1833, 24th Dec. 1833, 13/4/D; Report of the Cape Town Auxiliary for 1833, 16th Dec. 1833, 13/4/C; Report for 1833, 24th Dec. 1833, 13/4/B; Annual Report for 1834, 14/2/A; Annual Report for 1835; Report of the Directors 1832/1836.

and pamphlets for distribution amongst these people.<sup>78</sup> James Wait was on excellent terms with the missionary and his children were given permission to attend the Hankey school.<sup>79</sup> Since he had four sons, Alexander, Charles Victor Require, John and Ignatius, aged 17, 12, 8 and 1 years respectively,<sup>80</sup> this facility was much appreciated by him. In those days Government education was still in its infancy and schools were confined to the larger centres.

When sickness struck the station in May 1833, Melvill persuaded the district surgeon of Uitenhage to come out and tend to the sick and the dying. This service was rendered absolutely free of charge.<sup>81</sup> The station lacked a comprehensive stock of medicines which prevented the missionary from dealing with such emergencies himself. Melvill lost no time in requesting medical supplies from England to be sent out at the earliest opportunity.

The end of 1833 saw some backsliding among the people, though religious enthusiasm still ran very high.<sup>82</sup> In 1834 there was a drought, which lasted for several years. As agricultural conditions deteriorated, so did the morale of the people. Many were forced to seek work among the farmers, which meant a partial severing of ties with their mission station. This situation brought to an end the religious awakening which had lasted so long.

### 3. Land Allocation and Augmentation

The revival at Hankey in the early 1830's tended to

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78 Melvill to Foreign Secretary, 31st May 1833. LMS Archives 13/3/B.

79 Philip to Kitchingman, 20th Sept. 1831, UCCSA.

80 Information from Mr. W.T. Wait of Honey Clough Farm, Klein River, a descendant of James Wait.

81 Melvill to Foreign Secretary, 31st May 1833. LMS Archives, 13.3.B.

82 Report of Cape Town Auxiliary Society, 16th Dec. 1833, LMS Archives, 13/4/C.

obscure for a while the growing discomfort of the subscribers whose land claims were not being honoured. Whilst he was at Hankey Messer had studiously avoided the issue. When Kitchingman took over in 1831 he gave plots out on a temporary basis only until Dr. Philip could settle upon a more equitable plan. After his return from England, the superintendent was preoccupied with more pressing issues in Cape Town, such as the libel suit brought against him by William Donald MacKay, Acting Landdrost of Somerset East, whom he had accused of exploiting the Khoi.<sup>83</sup> He had little time to devote to the Hankey land question.

Throughout 1831 and 1832 the stream of new-comers to the station found themselves in an invidious position. They had contributed nothing towards the land they now occupied, they had not laboured at the water-course nor helped to pay for its construction and they were clearly regarded as inferior by the other residents. James Wait began pressing for additional fees for his services and Philip suggested that the new admissions might be asked to pay him something. It was intimated by the superintendent that such a levy system should not be allowed to continue indefinitely. Kitchingman was told rather vaguely by Philip that providence would tell him when to stop it!<sup>84</sup> The superintendent was in favour of imposing an annual rental on the allotments, which money might go towards meeting the annual quitrent bill required by the Government, the cost of repairing the water-course and improvements to public buildings.

Wait wanted an additional fifty heifers from the subscribers over and above the fifty already received.

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83 The Philip versus MacKay case was heard between 5th and 16th July 1830, Menzies Reports, Vol 1, pp 455/464. Philip lost the case and had to pay damages amounting to £200 and costs totalling £900. Friends in London and Manchester set up a relief fund to help him find the money. Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol 1, p 616.

84 Philip to Kitchingman, 13th Oct. 1831, Brenthurst Lib., 3347/1/10 in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 114.

This demand brought forth a protest from Philip since it had not formed part of the original agreement. Apart from any gratuity which the people might like to make to him, this was all that Wait could reasonably expect out of the deal.<sup>85</sup>

From the Society Wait demanded an increase in the cash payment of Rds. 100 already made. Philip pointed out to Kitchingman that if Wait was now in financial difficulties this was no reason for him to attempt to change an agreement drawn up between them some time before.<sup>86</sup> The first contract made between Messer, Wait and Richard Miles dated April 1827 stipulated a figure of Rds. 399, or twelve good oxen fit for drawing, to be paid by the Society for services rendered. This sum was later reduced to one quarter of the original charge.

Philip made a tour of the interior in the second half of 1832. On 29th January 1833, whilst at Bethelsdorp, he chaired a meeting of original Hankey contributors. Some of these people were still living on the mother station whilst others came over from the Gamtoos valley for the occasion. The following resolutions were passed:<sup>87</sup>

- "1. That as Rds. 6,000 had been paid by the subscribers, 60 allotments of garden ground and of cornlands should be measured off - each of Rds. 100 and that those who had paid Rds. 100 and wished to live there should be entitled to an allotment in freehold - and that if any one have subscribed for a smaller sum, he may purchase or obtain from his friends (who have subscribed) as many shares as will amount to Rds. 100 and obtain an allotment.
2. To prevent all disputes in giving out the ground, lots shall be drawn.
3. Every subscriber is at liberty to sell his share to any person that is an inhabitant of Hankey or who may be received there as one."

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85 Philip to Kitchingman, 20th Sept. 1831. UCCSA Lib.

86 Philip to Kitchingman, 13th Oct. 1831. Brenthurst Lib., 3347/1/10 in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 114.

87 Minutes of Meeting held on 29th Jan. 1833 at Bethelsdorp, included in Melvill to William Ellis, 1st March 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/A.

The above information was posted to William Ellis, the Foreign Secretary, five years after this meeting had taken place, when many of the issues mentioned were in dispute. A similar version of the minutes of meeting appears in J.J. Coulton's book "A Short History of Hankey" with the addition of another clause:<sup>88</sup>

"4. That the missionary society shall retain fifteen of these allotments for the use of the mission or to be let out for a rent of six rix dollars per year to whom they may choose."

With the Society's reserve of fifteen plots, and Hankey contributors occupying another twenty-five units, twenty allotments became available for the new people. For the first time in Hankey's history a man, whether he was an original subscriber or a new-comer, had the chance of possessing land. Since few of those falling into the first category had paid up the full Rds. 100 by 1833, virtually everyone interested in participating in the scheme began on an equal footing.

The garden plots amounted to one third of an acre each and the cornlands to one acre, which many considered too small. Because of the fertility of the soil several families were able to live off the produce of their gardens and the milk from their cows for a period of six or seven months.<sup>89</sup> Melvill instructed the people on how to till the soil so as to double their harvests. During the next season he gave out another 75 acres for cultivation,<sup>90</sup> and planned to increase this area year by year.

He was not altogether satisfied with the water-course which Wait had constructed along the north bank of the Klein River. This constantly ran the risk of being damaged by unexpected flooding when large sections of the wooden

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88 J.J. Coulton, A Short History of Hankey, p 6.

89 Annual Report for 1833, Melvill, 24th Dec. 1833. LMS Archives, 13/4/B.

90 Ibid.

guttering were carried downstream. Iron pipes were the answer, he felt, and an appeal was made to England for these.<sup>91</sup> Ultimately Melvill worked out plans for building a second aqueduct on the south bank of the Klein River whose water would issue onto the Government outspan. In July 1833 he made application to the Government for a 60 morgen strip of this land. Being a trained surveyor, he was able to accompany his request by a professionally drawn up plan of the precise area required.<sup>92</sup>

The Government outspan encompassed 400 morgens of fertile land along the Gamtoos flood plane. Melvill pointed out to the authorities that this was far too large an area for the few travellers who now crossed the drift. Most people used the coastal route to the east now that a ferry had been installed at the Gamtoos River mouth. Those who did come through Hankey were disinclined to use the outspan, covered as it was by dense thicket, for fear of losing their oxen. They made use of a stretch of the Society's land along the Klein River near the missionary village.<sup>93</sup>

The field cornets and local officials supported Melvill in his request for land. They felt that the whole outspan should be granted to the Society on condition that the farm in its entirety became subject to outspan rights. After nine months the Government acceded to Melvill's proposal on condition that the mission lands, with the exception of those areas under cultivation, become liable to servitude of outspan.<sup>94</sup> On the strength of this not inconsiderable triumph Melvill admitted another 100 people to the station, confident in the knowledge that there was more

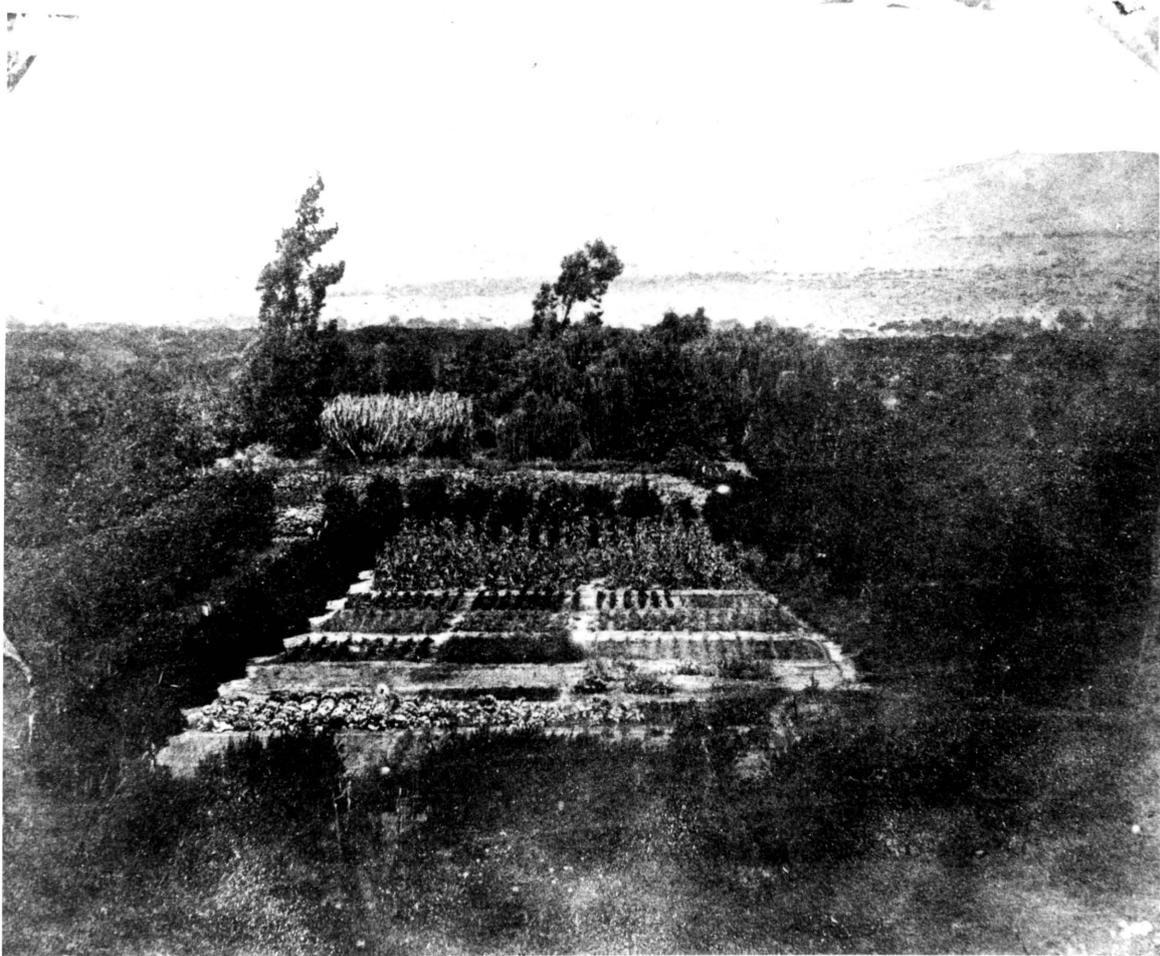
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91 Kitchingman and Melvill to Philip, 1st March 1832, LMS Archives, 13/1/A.

92 Melvill to Sir G. Lowry Cole, 16th July 1833. Cape Town Archives, CO 3965, Vol 5, and accompanying diagram.

93 Ibid.

94 J.C. Brink, Acting Secretary to Government on behalf of the Governor, to Civil Commissioner for Uitenhage and George, 10th April, 1834, in J.J. Coulton, A Short History of Hankey, p 9.



The mission garden

than sufficient irrigable land now to support an increased population.<sup>95</sup>

The rapid expansion of Hankey's population during the 1830's brought a gradual realisation on the part of the missionary that not only the cultivable, but also the grazing lands would have to be augmented if the people were to survive and prosper. Most of the land was covered by impenetrable bush, leaving few open grazing areas for the sheep and cattle. Milk still formed a vital part of the Khoi diet, especially during the winter months, so it was imperative that the grazing land should be increased. In 1833 the cattle were still trespassing on neighbouring farms and the institution had to pay pound fees which it could ill afford. This was a perennial problem. One farmer whose lands adjoined those of the institution and who later sold a portion of them to the Society, boasted that all his coffee and sugar money came from the fines he collected on Hankey cattle!<sup>96</sup>

Messer had applied to the Government in 1828 for grazing land, with the help of Richard Miles, but had been unsuccessful. In 1831 Melvill and Kitchingman again made application, their request was referred to England and turned down.<sup>97</sup> These two disappointments make Melvill's later acquisition of the valuable Government outspan all the more remarkable. The authorities were not prepared to grant the Society a grazing farm in addition to their other concession.

Melvill then recommended that the Hankey people acquire a 3900 morgen farm adjoining the institution, known as Klein River. Its going price was Rds. 8,000 or £600, which amounted to only 3/- per morgen, or half the figure asked for Deep River in 1822. James Wait was the owner and occupier of Klein River. Though in financial difficulties - hence his requests to the Society for extra wages for his services - he was loath to sell his farm to a White farmer.

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95 Melvill to Foreign Secretary, 31st May 1833. LMS Archives, 13/3/B.

96 Hankey Estate and Mission, p 24.

97 Melvill to Foreign Secretary, 31st May, 1833. LMS Archives 13/3/B.

He wanted it to go to the institution's Khoi, even if this meant waiting some time for payment.<sup>98</sup>

Whilst enquiries were underway for a grazing farm for Hankey, Philip was approached by Philip Frost who wanted to exchange his Gamtoos River farm for another in the Algoa Bay region then used by Bethelsdorp for grazing purposes.<sup>99</sup> The superintendent seriously considered this offer. On reflection, however, he felt that Klein River was a more attractive proposition than Frost's place. Wait's Farm covered three times the area of Frost's and commanded the head waters of the stream which furnished Hankey's water. The Khoi promised Rds. 2,900 in subscriptions towards the purchase of this valuable farm. Due to appeals made by Melvill, Dr. Philip gave £22.10s. from his own purse, a gentleman from India, a Mr. Bruce, contributed a further £45 and the Society donated £200 towards this excellent land.<sup>100</sup> As a result of the missionary's efforts to augment the land at Hankey, the institution increased its livestock and crop production figures considerably between 1831 and 1835 as the statistics given hereunder show:<sup>101</sup>

		1831	1832	1833	1834	1835
Cattle and Implements	Horses	32	40	43		150
	Oxen	132	83	110	130	120
	Cows and Calves	152	462	510		500
	Sheep	164	1	12	40	
	Goats	40	12	30	20	
	Waggons	2	4	6	9	9
	Ploughs	1	3	4	4	4

98 Ibid.

99 Philip to Kitchingman, 27th Dec. 1833, Brenthurst Lib. 3347/1/15, in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 116.

100 Melvill to Foreign Secretary, 8th August, 1834, LMS Archives, 14/2/A and Report of the Directors for 1835, p 82.

101 Annual Reports for 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834 & 1835, Melvill. LMS Archives, 12/4/E, 13/3/A, 13/4/B. 14/2/A, 14/5/A.

		1831	1832	1833	1834	1835
Land and Houses (figures for land in acres)	Common/Meadow		3000			8000
	Cornfields	26	16+	20	70	60
	Garden Ground	20	26	31	36	20‡
	Premises	35	52	58		70
State of Cultivation (figures in bushels)	Wheat	6	8	16		25
	Oats	small	1	4		8
	Barley	small	3	3		8
	Peas & Beans	3	4	2		3
	Potatoes	2	12			10
	Rye	5	half			4
Number of Trees	Trees	1000	120	200	30	15
	Tobacco			50		

+ = Second planting in 1832 because of the great flood.

‡ = 20 acres only partly cultivated in 1835 due to the long drought.

The drought conditions which set in in 1834 are reflected in the lack of harvests for that year. People went away to cut wood or worked for the local farmers and consequently work did not commence on the new aqueduct.<sup>102</sup> The children spent their afternoons digging for roots and berries instead of attending school. Melvill's health became so poor that Kelly had to attend to the station's secular affairs. As if this was not enough, December 1834 heralded a period of unrest on the Eastern frontier which was to place a further burden on the services of Hankey's able-bodied young men.

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102 Annual Report for 1834, Melvill, 11th Dec. 1834. LMS Archives, 14/3/A.

## 4. The War of 1835

On the night of 21st December 1834, without the missionaries on the eastern border suspecting anything unusual, about 10,000 Xhosa swept into the colony along a 50 km frontier and began a campaign of murder, pillage and arson throughout the length and breadth of the settler country.<sup>103</sup> Soon all the land between the Indian Ocean, Somerset East and nearly as far as Uitenhage was in the hands of the enemy. Only Salem, Theopolis and Grahamstown escaped the onslaught, having hastily formed laagers for self protection. The ladies of Uitenhage, fearing an attack upon their village, fled to Port Elizabeth whose citizens had united to man an elaborate system of defence.<sup>104</sup> Fortunately neither of these urban centres was subjected to attack by the enemy.

Melvill was relieved to be able to report that the Xhosa had not come as far as Hankey. A mere 60 years before the Gamtoos River had formed the colony's eastern frontier. During the war of 1799 only 35 years before, the Xhosa had penetrated far west of this area and gone deep into the Langkloof. In total 80 men were called up from Hankey to serve on the eastern border.<sup>105</sup> Another 150 went from Bethelsdorp and this figure later rose to 275.<sup>106</sup> Initially some of these men were stationed at Algoa Bay because of a shortage of guns. The Hankey and Bethelsdorp levies made up the equivalent of an entire provisional battalion of infantry, as will be seen from a study of the figures for assembled forces given below:<sup>107</sup>

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103 J.C. Chase, The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay, pp 309/310.

104 P. Ffolliott, One Titan at a Time, pp 41/42.

105 Melvill to William Ellis, 24th July, 1835, LMS Archives, 14/4/D.

106 Kitchingman to Philip, 21st Nov, 1835, LMS Archives, 14/5/A, and J. Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, p 117.

107 Return reproduced in J.B. Scott, The British Soldier on the Eastern Frontier, 1800-1850, p 199.

RETURN OF FORCES ASSEMBLED ON THE EASTERN FRONTIER FOR THE  
 ADVANCE INTO KAFFIRLAND, Headquarters: Grahamstown, 19th  
 March, 1835.

	Mounted	Infantry	Total
Royal Artillery		25	25
72 Highlanders		371	371
Cape Mounted Riflemen	358		358
First Prov. Batt. Colonial Infantry		411	411
Second Prov. Batt. Colonial Infantry		350	350
			1515
Burghers from George, Graaff- Reinet, Somerset, Swellendam, Beaufort and Guides	1639		1639
			3154

In many ways it was an unnecessary war. When Sir Benjamin D'Urban replaced Sir Lowry Cole as Governor in January 1834, his instructions were to formulate a workable frontier policy in the east. He had spent several months on this project with the aid of Dr. Philip.<sup>108</sup> The superintendent visited Kaffirland in September 1834 on one of his tours of the districts when he was able to convey the new system worked out by himself and the Governor to the Xhosa chiefs. Though he waited at the Kat River for the Governor to join him to confirm the new frontier policy, the anticipated visit never materialised. Philip returned to Cape Town in December of that year. Meanwhile the Xhosa were subjected to commando attacks under the direction of Colonel Henry Somerset. It was these incursions and the dilatoriness of the Governor - both factors that had frustrated Philip's attempts to strengthen civil control in the area - which finally brought about the December invasion.<sup>109</sup>

Colonel Harry Smith was immediately placed in charge of

108 W.M. MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp 290/291.

109 Ibid.

operations on the eastern frontier and given full civil and military plenary powers, to put an end to hostilities.<sup>110</sup> His legendary dash on horseback from Cape Town to Grahamstown in only six days is too well documented elsewhere to require repetition. He didn't pass through Hankey, for there was a shorter coastal route to the east using the Gamtoos River ferry. The colonel had a high opinion of the Khoi as soldiers and believed implicitly in their overall allegiance. Some of the White burghers who fought alongside the Khoi were more suspicious than their colonel and half expected these people to align themselves with the enemy forces.<sup>111</sup> It is strange that when the Kat River Settlement came under attack only a few Khoi cattle were taken, whilst Boer farms in the area were thoroughly plundered. Whether or not the Xhosa were trying to bribe their brown brothers to join them in routing the White man, in this war the Khoi remained firmly on the Government side.

The Provisional Infantry as well as the Cape Mounted Riflemen, showed a remarkable aptitude for army service. They were familiar with the African bush and the Xhosa ways, able to withstand the hot daytime temperatures and chilly nights and skillful in tracking down the enemy in very difficult terrain. Khoi soldiers were invariably placed under the command of European officers, a procedure which James Kitchingman disapproved of except when it came to the highest positions.<sup>112</sup> The Khoi soldiers were undoubtedly more amenable to the rigours of military discipline than their more individualistic Boer counterparts.<sup>113</sup>

It was suggested that the British officers, through their policy of firmness and fairness towards the men, were responsible for maintaining Khoi loyalty to the Government.<sup>114</sup>

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110 A.J. Smithers, The Kaffir Wars 1779-1877, p 150.

111 J. Sales, Mission Stations, pp 115/116.

112 Kitchingman to Philip, 21st Nov. 1835, LMS Archives, 14/5/A.

113 J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, p 137.

114 A.J. Smithers, The Kaffir Wars, 1779-1877, p 157.

Though this is no doubt partly true, credit should also go to the missionaries, especially those of the London Missionary Society, who in the 35 years since the 1799 uprising had striven to build up a civilised, Christian, and loyal people from the remnants of the de-tribalised, dispossessed and anchorless Khoi groups. Contact with the White man over several decades, be he missionary or benevolent employer, had made the best of these people amenable to training and discipline.<sup>115</sup> Colonel England praised the two Provisional Battalions and marvelled at their "extra-ordinary degree of system and regularity".<sup>116</sup> Colonel Smith was amazed to see how quickly they could be turned into worthwhile soldiers. In his inimitable style, he claimed that no people in the world, (except perhaps the men from the South of France), were so naturally suited to soldiering as the Khoi.<sup>117</sup> Twelve days before martial law was proclaimed, Dr. Philip sent a circular letter to all the mission stations urging the Khoi to support the Government in the war and reminding them of the benefits conferred on them by the authorities over the years.<sup>118</sup>

The Hankey and Bethelsdorp levies under Colonel Smith and the other commanders saw a lot of action in the bush. By mid-February D'Urban, who by then had arrived on the frontier, ordered the advance into Kaffirland. Somerset set off with several companies, which included the two Khoi battalions, to attempt the re-capture of Fort Willshire.<sup>119</sup> In April the Second Battalion took part in a campaign under Smith which ended with the burning of Hintsas' kraal, the capitulation of the defeated Xhosa chief and the signing of the first peace agreement on April 30th 1835.<sup>120</sup> It is likely

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115 D.E. Rivett-Carnac, Thus-Came the English, p 94.

116 England to D'Urban, 7th May, 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, p 148.

117 A.J. Smithers, The Kaffir Wars, 1779-1877, p 158.

118 Circular Letter from Philip to Heads of Missions, 1st Jan. 1835, Jagger Lib., BC 312.

119 A. J. Smithers, The kaffir Wars 1779-1877, p 161.

120 Ibid., pp 164/168.

that Hankey and Bethelsdorp men accompanied Smith's expeditionary force into Kaffirland on 9th May to recover stolen cattle, on which occasion Hintsas, who was with them, attempted to escape and was inadvertently slain.

Some of the provisionals set out on 21st May under Smith's command, together with a number of the Cradock burghers, to dislodge the enemy from the banks of the Buffalo River.<sup>121</sup> About 200 provisionals joined forces with the burghers, the 72nd Highlanders and over a thousand Bantu and Mfengu under Chiefs Pato and Kama on 1st June 1835, to clear out the mountains between the Tyhume and Buffalo Rivers.<sup>122</sup>

After this sweeping operation D'Urban gave permission for the burghers to return home to plough and plant their crops for the coming season. Each man was expected back on duty on 1st September, bringing with him one or two of his best packhorses.<sup>123</sup> Alternatively he could send a Khoi servant in his place, provided the man was armed, equipped and riding a suitable mount! The second alternative appealed to Colonel Smith, who regarded the Khoi as more effective soldiers than the Boers.<sup>124</sup> This was small comfort to the provisionals, who were detained on the border to build new forts whilst the White men, alongside of whom they had fought and triumphed, were released from duty.

For weeks on end the Khoi levies had suffered food shortages, inadequate clothing and the usual discomforts of living in the bush, all of which they had borne with stoicism and resignation. However, the idea of being used as common labourers whilst others were allowed to go home was too much for many of them to bear. Demonstrations of discontent broke out in both the provisional battalions

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121 Smith to D'Urban, 1st June 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, p 194.

122 Smith to D'Urban, 3rd June, 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, pp 201/206.

123 J.B. Scott, The British Soldier on the Eastern Frontier, 1800-1850, p 211.

124 Smith to D'Urban, 4th Aug. 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, pp 208/209.

during July 1835. The families of soldiers coming from the mission stations were provided with Government rations following an appeal made by Philip to the authorities early in January 1835.<sup>125</sup> There was thus no immediate danger of hardship or starvation among the wives and children. Nonetheless after having spent six long months on the frontier and with the sowing season approaching, the men were naturally eager to return home to plough and plant their lands. After June 1835 the wives and children of provisionals were allowed to join their menfolk in camp.<sup>126</sup> For the Hankey families the distance involved was too great to enable them to take advantage of such a scheme.

In July 1835 Melvill received a startling letter from one of his men describing the grievances of the provisionals. They firmly believed that the Government had deceived them on a number of important issues, which had made the men very "hardened and highly provoked".<sup>127</sup> In theory the two provisional battalions were supposed to receive the same pay as the regular soldiers, whilst the burghers were only entitled to rations and ammunition. This was one reason why it was considered unjust to keep the latter group for long periods away from their farms and businesses.<sup>128</sup> Later it was agreed to put the burghers on the same footing as the Cape Mounted Riflemen, which meant that the former were hardly entitled to privileges not granted to the latter. The Khoi levies were justifiably furious at the treatment being meted out to them by the authorities, especially when it was further discovered that, though they had originally been promised wages dating back to January, they were to be

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125 Philip to D'Urban, 16th Jan. 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, LMS Archives, 14/1/D.

126 D'Urban to Smith, 30th June 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, p 243.

127 Phrase used by a disgruntled Hankey soldier and evidence quoted in Melvill to Philip, 15th July 1835, LMS Archives, 14/4/C.

128 J.B. Scott, The British Soldier on the Eastern Frontier, 1800-1850, pp 200 and 210.

paid out only from June.<sup>129</sup> In his reply to the soldier's letter Melvill urged patience and forbearance on the men and, above all, that they preserve their good name. However, before his letter reached Fort Cox, a deputation of three Hankey men arrived on his doorstep with accounts of a series of mutinies which had broken out in the First and Second Battalions. There had been trials by courts martial of the guilty ones in King William's Town under the command of Colonel Smith. Smith put on one of his colourful and impressive shows of strength so as to terrify the offenders into submission. The first court martial, related to Melvill by an eyewitness, went as follows:<sup>130</sup>

"A Court Martial was lately held for 10 men of the First Battalion for refusing to do some duty. Being reported to the court they were ordered to the Guard House of the 72nd (Highlanders). Orders were then given for all the troops to assemble. Everyone in the camp flew about like lightning. Colonel Smith, with the noise he made and riding up and down and appearing ready to shoot the first man that opened his mouth, made all the men tremble. In a few minutes all in the camp were assembled within the fort, the 72nd were ordered to fix bayonets, and Cape Rifles to mount. The Court was held and the prisoners sentenced to 300 lashes and the ringleader to 3 months solitary confinement. The Colonel then made a short speech, saying: 'Now you see what martial law is. You think you cannot be forced to do anything, but I say you shall serve as long as it pleases His Majesty. Will you not be faithful to your Government and King who try to make you comfortable at all times? I have seen some of you have to go home, and you shall all have leave in time. There is the Major of the 2nd Battalion; he wishes to go home on urgent business. I refused him and allowed you to go! Must you not fight for your country when the farmers went home? I gave you pay. Now are there any in the assembly who will be securities for the good behaviour of these men, if so, step out!' on which 15 sergeants and corporals came forward. 'Shall I forgive them or not?' 'Forgive them!' was the universal cry. They were then pardoned."

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129 Melvill to Philip, 15th July 1835, LMS Archives 14/4/C.

130 Verbatim account of first court martial involving 10 men from the First Provisional Battalion, recounted by an eyewitness, in Melvill to Philip, 15th July 1835, LMS Archives, 14/4/C.

Not long after this the entire Second Battalion at Fort Beresford was reported for insubordination. The two principal ringleaders were sent for but refused to journey to King William's Town unless accompanied by the whole company. This was arranged and in due course the men appeared before their colonel. The court martial of the Second Battalion, as related to Melvill, went as follows:<sup>131</sup>

"All the troops were assembled. It was so still. The Cape Rifles mounted and the 72nd fixed bayonets. The prisoners were drawn up in a close order and the Colonel gave the command 'Load the gun with gunpowder and point it at that company. Light the match. Now will the company obey my orders or not?' 'Yes, willingly!' was the reply. The two ringleaders were then put in the guard house for the night in order to receive punishment the next day. On the following morning, being Sunday, Colonel Smith read prayers and some chapter on the forgiveness of sins. He then called out to the prisoners in a very good humour: 'Do you think that if you pray to God, He will forgive you your sins?' 'Yes!' they said. 'Well then, if God will, then I must also.'"

The two ringleaders in the Second Battalion were Hankey men and Melvill sent on a message to them from the mission station recommending that they be obedient in future. They should make representation against injustices in the proper quarter rather than by disregarding their orders.<sup>132</sup> Philip was requested to write to the men sending his letter via Stretch or Melvill's son Thomas, who was based at King William's Town.<sup>133</sup> Even though he no longer exerted any influence over the Governor, the superintendent was anxious that all Khoi from the stations should remain true to their orders. Major Cox was ordered by Smith to pounce upon any further trouble-makers.<sup>134</sup> This proved an unnecessary precaution, for with the first-hand advice of Stretch, and comforting letters from Melvill and Philip, the men

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131 Verbatim account of second court martial of the whole of the Second Provisional Battalion, recounted by an eye-witness, in Melvill to Philip, 15th July, 1835, LMS Archives 14/4/C.

132 Melvill to Philip, 15th July, 1835, LMS Archives, 14/4/C.

133 Ibid.

134 Smith to D'Urban, 25th July 1835, in G.M. Theal Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, p 280.

gradually adopted a more peaceful turn and bore with resignation the remaining months of the war.

Captain Charles Lennox Stretch, who had charge of one of the provisional companies, had calmed the men down after the first incident, and didn't report the insubordination to his superiors so as to give his soldiers a second chance. He was a pious and highly respected man, who had first come to the Cape in November 1818 as an ensign in the 38th Staffordshire Regiment. He had witnessed the bloody battle of Grahamstown during the war of 1819, and had then worked as a Government engineer and surveyor until the war of 1835.<sup>135</sup> Stretch made friends with the missionaries and is known to have stayed over with George Barker at Bethelsdorp when the latter was serving on that station in 1819.<sup>136</sup> During the war of 1835 Stretch held Sunday church services for his troops whenever he could. Though a true soldier at heart, Stretch possessed the ability to see and sympathise with the enemy's point of view. He objected to the exaggeratedly derogatory accounts of the Xhosa appearing in the Grahamstown Journal.<sup>137</sup> The Xhosa, far from being fierce and destructive, were terrified of the White man, Stretch maintained. They usually fled from their kraals, leaving behind them their cattle and often even their assegias to be confiscated by Government forces. Stretch had nothing but praise for the provisionals during their long forays in the bush and begged that they be provided with items such as blankets to keep out the cold night air.<sup>138</sup>

When hostilities ceased and the men were put onto routine labouring work, Stretch was ordered to proceed to Fort

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135 J.B. Scott, The British Soldier on the Eastern Frontier, 1800-1850, p 212, n 6.

136 George Barker's Journal, entry 20th April 1819, Rhodes Univ. MS 14258.

137 Stretch particularly objected to the exaggerated accounts of cattle theft, one of which appeared in the Grahamstown Journal on 10th April, 1835, in Stretch to D'Urban, 24th April 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, p 134.

138 Ibid.

White.<sup>139</sup> In view of the mutinies which had broken out in the ranks, he elected to remain at Fort Cox and see what he could do to put matters right.<sup>140</sup> His remarkable peacekeeping qualities and the respect he enjoyed among the men, (though he failed to keep the Khoi from being tried in King William's Town) earned Stretch the admiration of many bystanders and drew compliments from Colonel Smith.<sup>141</sup> Here was a man who would later be awarded the post of Government Agent to the Ngqika people because of his ability to listen to and weigh up both sides of an argument. These people named him "Xolilizwe", which means "The Peacemaker".<sup>142</sup> In 1854 Stretch became a Member of the Assembly for Fort Beaufort and fifteen years later joined the Legislative Council. For the Hankey soldiers of 1835 he was best remembered as their beloved captain who took their part and tried to ease their burden.

Captain Rarostorm was another officer for whom the men and missionaries had much affection and respect. On the whole there were few in authority made in the same mould. The paymaster of the First Battalion was grossly inefficient and probably responsible for the mix-up over pay to the Khoi provisionals. Another officer in charge of one of the battalions was so unsatisfactory that Smith demanded that he be replaced.<sup>143</sup> It is regrettable that, due to a shortage of officers of a high calibre, unsuitable men were put in command of the Khoi provisionals at a time when they needed very careful handling.

In January the two provisional battalions had been given uniforms made out of cheap brown material, nothing better

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139 Smith to D'Urban, 25th June 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, p 234.

140 Melvill to Philip, 5th Aug. 1835, LMS Archives, 14/4/D.

141 Smith to D'Urban, 27th July 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, p 281.

142 B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 195, n 27.

143 Smith to D'Urban, 25th July, 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, p 278.

then being available in the Grahamstown shops. The material had not withstood even one campaign through the dense bush of the Fish River area and a new contract for clothing was negotiated which took months to come through.<sup>144</sup>

Smith was furious about a lack of clothing for the Khoi levies and the neglect of Fort Cox due to bad management and the non-delivery of supplies.<sup>145</sup> Hardly a letter passed between himself and D'Urban during July without the uniform issue being mentioned. Smith knew that to keep men like the Khoi provisionals under the confines of martial law, their not being used to soldiering and possessing an independence which ill-brooked restraint, required tact, energy and integrity. Above all, it required that the officers keep promises made to the men no matter how difficult the circumstances might be.

#### 5. The Squabble over Land Rights

From November 1835 onwards the Hankey levies began filtering back to the station and John Melvill looked forward to the completion of the second water-course which had been delayed for ten months. The Gamtoos valley was blessed with good rains during 1835 which improved the grazing and brought on the corn planted during the men's absence on commando.<sup>146</sup> Though passive now, these people were still disgruntled about the treatment they had received at the hand of the Government. Melvill observed a new truculence in them and Kitchingman, at Bethelsdorp, noticed a certain air of independence in these men. He was told by one of his soldiers: "The Governor has given us Brown people a very bad crust to chew".<sup>147</sup> The time away

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144 A.J. Smithers, The Kaffir Wars, 1799-1877, p 158.

145 Smith to D'Urban, 27th July, 1835, in G.M. Theal, Documents Relating to the Kaffir War of 1835, p 281.

146 Annual Report for 1835, Melvill, 17th Nov. 1835, LMS Archives, 14/5/A.

147 Kitchingman to Philip, 21st Nov. 1835, LMS Archives, 14/5/A.

on the border during which they had been subjected to hardships and injustices, had bred in the men a hostility to authority which would be difficult to reverse. In the case of the Hankey levies they turned their rancour to the issue of land rights and before long the old erfholders were facing the newer residents on opposite sides of the fence.

The resident population at Hankey by the end of 1835 was 665 people. This figure was little more than that obtaining in the previous two years, yet it represented more than double the number recorded for 1831 when Melvill arrived at the station. The revival and the completion of the first water-course had accounted for the initial increase. Thereafter many joined the institution out of a genuine fear that the Government would sanction a vagrancy law restricting their movements and binding them to their employers, the White farmers.<sup>148</sup> Some of the people from this latter group were not at all interested in learning the Christian message and left again as soon as the panic was over. Others stayed on as second class citizens.

By 1836 Melvill was beginning to admit that it was perhaps foolhardy to allow unlimited new additions to the station when drought conditions prevailed, bringing food shortages, pressure upon land and friction among the residents. Because of the dry weather conditions many families temporarily vacated the station which meant an interruption of their children's schooling and a reduced congregation at the Sunday services. The woodcutters were slightly better off than the rest at such times for there was no need to halt their timber-felling operations. Wood was always in constant demand in the nearby villages. The

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148 Annual Report for 1835, Melvill, 17th Nov. 1835, LMS Archives, 14/5/A.

drought phenomenon and the war of 1835 intensified the old feeling of rivalry between various sections of Hankey's population.

When the old subscribers began making the newcomers feel unwelcome, Melvill made the cardinal error of taking the part of the latter group. As the weeks and months went by tension mounted and must have reached crisis proportions towards the end of 1836. Always a meticulous correspondent, Melvill failed to send in a report that year. It is true that his eyesight had been troubling him for several years and that in 1834 he had developed a physical disability which made preaching impracticable. William Kelly had been obliged to take over many of his duties.<sup>149</sup> It was Melvill's inclination to take the part of the underdog, however, which would finally count against him. The old residents were loath to tolerate a missionary who challenged their superior status.

Notwithstanding the agreement on land allocation at Hankey drawn up in January 1833 and subsequent follow-up meetings, the people either did not fully understand or else were disinclined to pay any more money towards lands on which options had been taken out as far back as the 1820's.

Melvill had repeatedly urged his people to buy up shares from the Bethelsdorp subscribers, but his advice had gone unheeded. By the end of 1837 only eight families occupied plots for which they had paid in full.<sup>150</sup> Many people could not afford to make contributions because of the drought conditions; others regarded Melvill's motives as suspect and testified against him to the Directors.

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147 Kitchingman to Philip, 21st Nov. 1835, LMS Archives 14/5/A.

148 Annual Report for 1835, Melvill, 17th Nov. 1835, LMSA Archives, 14/5/A.

149 Ibid.

150 Melvill to William Ellis, 1st March, 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/A.

A serious bone of contention between the original subscribers and the newcomers was the construction and use of the second water-course. It was designed to lead water onto the old outspan lands granted to the Society by the Government. A team of newer residents had more than half completed the work when war on the Eastern frontier interrupted the scheme. In 1836 every means was used by the old subscribers to prevent the completion of this important work. A meeting was called to iron out the various points of difference at which the views of this latter group dominated:<sup>151</sup>

"Old erfholder to missionary: 'The ground belongs to us and would not have been obtained from government had we not bought Hankey. We wish to keep it for our children.'

Second old erfholder to missionary: 'We have taken these people under our protection as fathers do their children and now they rebel against us.'

Old erfholder to Non-subscriber: 'I took you under my wings. Now get away from underneath them.'

Non-subscriber to missionary: 'I was a slave among the farmers. I came here in the hopes of being free but I now find I am still a slave.'"

The last-named complainant was evidently protesting against having to participate in public works such as the construction of a water-course and the building of fences from which he derived no benefit.

The abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire, made law by William Buxton in August 1833, came into effect at the Cape on 1st December 1834.<sup>152</sup> Slaves were automatically apprenticed to their former owners for a further period of four years. Some slaves escaped to the towns before this date, and others joined the mission stations. It is clear that those coming to Hankey were by no means well received by the resident population, already bowed down by the twin burdens of drought and dispute.

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151 Ibid.

152 G.M. Theal, Compendium of History and Geography, p 229.

The upshot of the land quarrel was that many newcomers, together with a few subscribers who sympathised with their cause, decided to abandon the station. A church deacon, himself an old erfholder, but who refused to associate himself with the high-handed attitude of his colleagues, joined the ranks of those leaving the settlement. Melvill couldn't understand why the Hankey people were seemingly incapable of living harmoniously together, now that the station had an additional piece of arable land and a second grazing farm, partly paid for by public donation. The squabble over land rights was not even of his making. He had been responsible neither for drawing up the original conditions of ownership nor for the subsequent agreements. Yet, like Messer before him, he had to bear the brunt of the people's wrath. Dr. Philip was chiefly answerable for permitting the Khoi subscribers to believe, in the early 1820's, that if they paid their contributions, the Hankey farm would belong to them. Later he bitterly regretted having given this impression in view of the complications which arose. In 1822 the purchase of a new farm by the Bethelsdorp Khoi was the only way he could see of solving the mother station's land and population problems, at a time when the Government was unwilling to make any further grants and the Directors refused to shoulder the financial burden of buying property themselves.

Melvill had come to Hankey with a wealth of knowledge and experience behind him, and a willingness to employ his energy and ability in the service of the young settlement. The peculiar nature of the land conflict which existed on the station, and his inability to deal with all the arguments put before him, eventually led to confrontation. He was misrepresented by some of the people in correspondence addressed to Philip and the Directors. There was nothing for it but to arrange his removal. At Griquatown Melvill had been unsuccessful in uniting the Griqua chiefs under Andries Waterboer. At Philippolis he had failed to bring about a reconciliation between the Griquas and the San. At Hankey he could not satisfy the

aspirations of a group of Khoi, nor yet those of a handful of frustrated ex-slaves who were also looking for rights and recognition.

By the time Melvill left Hankey the institution had been reduced to one third of its normal population, many people having left to find work among the farmers, to move into the forest, or to apply to join another station.<sup>153</sup> Philip later described this dismal phenomenon in succinct but graphic terms which summed up his disappointment in a man who had once held such promise.<sup>154</sup>

"Poor Melvill reduced the Institution to a perfect wreck. Before he left it the schools, the place of worship, the Institution were deserted."

Melvill's missionary career was by no means at an end. After leaving Hankey he founded a new outstation for Pacaltsdorp known as Dysselsdorp. In 1847 he moved to George for health reasons and continued to serve the church there until his death. It is sad that a man who had done so much to promote Hankey's growth and prosperity should leave the station under a cloud, with no mention being made of the achievements he brought about during his term of office. The Klein River property deal was not one of his successes. This deal fell through almost certainly because of a lack of funds. The burden of the land squabble now fell upon the shoulders of the new missionary, Edward Williams, who arrived in Hankey on 24th November, 1837.<sup>155</sup>

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153 Edward Williams to William Ellis, 23rd April, 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/B.

154 Letter from Philip, 21st Nov. 1838, in Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa, Vol 7, p 327.

155 Melvill to William Ellis, 1st March, 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/A. Williams left his wife in Port Elizabeth and proceeded to Hankey on horseback. He later brought her out by waggon, which arrived in Hankey on 6th Dec. 1838. Williams to William Ellis, 23rd April, 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/B.

## CHAPTER V

## A NEW BROOM SWEEPS CLEAN

## 1. The Arrival of Edward Williams

In the last week of November, 1837 a black-frocked figure on horseback came thundering up the Gamtoos valley in the direction of Hankey. It was Edward Williams, the Welshman, come to take over from Melvill. His extreme haste was occasioned not so much by a burgeoning enthusiasm for his new task, which, given the recent troubles at that institution, was an unenviable one, as by a desire to make up for lost time spent in Cape Town when he should have been journeying east.

Williams hailed from Flintshire. He first became a member of the church in Newcastle in that county, was ordained in Bethesda Chapel in Liverpool, and served there as a minister before coming to the Cape Colony at the end of 1836. Williams took over Dr. Philip's job during one of the superintendent's numerous visits to Britain. It was a position which the Welshman enjoyed immensely for he and his wife got along famously with Mrs. Philip who had stayed behind. When John Locke arrived from London in August 1837 with the request that Williams transfer to Hankey, the man was given a very cool reception.<sup>1</sup> Williams simply didn't want to go. Then letters began arriving from Philip and the Directors to the effect that Williams's presence in Hankey was urgently required. Finally a pressing plea came from Melvill himself. Due to personal circumstances, he wrote, he was leaving the station almost immediately. Edward Williams knew that he could no longer argue with his fate. In mid-November 1837, he and his wife, accompanied by Dr. Philip who had recently returned from England, (and one of James Kitchingman's daughters) embarked for Algoa Bay.<sup>2</sup>

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1 John Locke to William Ellis, 5 October 1837, LMS Archives, 15/3/C.

2 Mrs. Philip to James Kitchingman, 17th Nov. 1837, Brenthurst Lib., 3347.

There being no waggon immediately available in Port Elizabeth, William left on horseback for Hankey and arranged to come back for his wife and their luggage in due course.

In his correspondence with the Directors Williams justified his four month delay in Cape Town after receiving instructions to proceed to the Eastern Cape, by listing a number of reasons: Firstly a waggon could not be procured and a new one was commissioned which took too long to build; secondly, the congregation of Union Chapel had been reluctant to release him from his duties as their temporary minister; thirdly, he had been attending the local hospital as often as possible so as to gain some medical knowledge in preparation for the new position.<sup>3</sup> These excuses may have been genuine ones, though Locke also reported a reticence on Williams's part to go which was difficult to understand.

Once in Hankey, Williams threw himself into his new duties with energy and enthusiasm. Mrs. Philip wanted James Kitchingman to introduce the newcomer to the people and then stay for several weeks with him to help iron out any difficulties. In fact the Kitchingmans came out later to Hankey with Mrs. Williams and in the first instance Williams faced his new congregation alone. Despite the language barrier (he could speak no colloquial Dutch, the language of the Khoi) the new missionary spent several days coming to grips with the problems then facing these people. There had been an almost unbroken drought for the previous three years, the old water-course had been repaired too late to coincide with the last growing season, and the new aqueduct, begun in Melvill's time, was still in a state of incompleteness.<sup>4</sup> Controversy surrounded this last project. Daniel Coega had written to Mrs. Philip telling her of a White farmer in the area who was prepared

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3 Williams to William Ellis, 29th Jan. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/A.

4 Ibid.

to finish the job for 700 rix dollars, an amount which she found excessive. Melvill had indicated that only a few people were in favour of such a contract, and that he could arrange a better one for only 200 rix dollars. It was the group opposing him which had caused him so much trouble during his last two years of office there.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the White farmer was James Wait who was asking for additional payment for the first water-course. Wait was in financial difficulties in the early 1830's, and had been forced to put his farm on the market.

This Scotsman, who had resided in the Gamtoos valley for about 18 years by 1838, was a striking example of the Afrikanerisation of some British settlers. In the course of time all the sons born to himself and his wife, Alison Bean, married Afrikaans women from the area and became progenitors of the numerous Waits who live in the district today.<sup>6</sup> Wait was on good terms with the Hankey Khoi and with the missionaries also at first. His children had attended Melvill's school. Whether it was Wait or another White farmer who sparked off the second water-course controversy, the picture which emerges of a European settler stirring up trouble between a group of Khoi and their spiritual protector is an ugly one indeed.

When Melvill left Hankey for Dysseisdorp there was a complete division among the people, and only about seven families remained on the institution.<sup>7</sup> All but one of the tradesmen, a carpenter, and the majority of those without property, had left, with the firm intention of never coming back. Their houses they had allowed to fall into ruins, their gardens lay neglected, their church and school-house were nearly empty. Only on Sundays was the congregation swelled by the soon-to-be-released slaves who came in from the surrounding farms to study and to worship. The

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5 Mrs. Philip to Kitchingman, 17 Nov. 1837, Brenthurst Lib., 3347.

6 J.A. Heese, Die Herkoms van die Afrikaner, p 43.

7 Mrs. Philip's account of a tour round the stations 1838/39, LMS Archives, 16/3/A.

following figures illustrate the grave situation that existed when Williams arrived:<sup>8</sup>

ATTENDANCE AT HANKEY CHURCH AND SCHOOLS IN JANUARY 1838	
Day Schools	4/5 (sometimes no attendance)
Infant School	9/10
Average Number of Congregation	
On Weekdays	16/20
On Sunday mornings	80/100
Sabbath School	
Children and Adults	30/40

Melvill had allowed large numbers to settle at Hankey, yet when the Welshman arrived, the population had dwindled almost to nothing. It might be argued that if Melvill had not allowed so many people to come, then there would not have been such a crisis on the station. From the Christian standpoint a higher concentration of people on the stations was something to be welcomed. Institutions were seen as religious centres where the Khoi might learn about Christianity and be converted. The greater the numbers accumulated, therefore, the better.<sup>9</sup> This attitude on Melvill's part which took no account of temporal circumstances, certainly contributed to his unpopularity. In his defence it may be argued that he could not be expected to know that three years of plenty, during which excellent agricultural, educational and religious programmes were planned, would be followed by a four year drought. During the 1830's and 1840's overcrowding was experienced at a number of institutions. The initiative of the more industrious and progressive elements was often stifled by the idleness of the others.<sup>10</sup> This was precisely the situation which existed at Hankey during Melvill's term of office, further complicated by the controversy over

<sup>8</sup> Williams to William Ellis, 23rd April, 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/B.

<sup>9</sup> J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, p 153.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p 154.

land, which had eventually driven people away.

Williams's first task when he arrived was to bring Hankey's population up to its former level by reconciling the warring factions. He visited all those who had left the institution and invited them back for a meeting, chaired by himself and Kitchingman, at which all complaints and grievances would be aired. The more vociferous group at this gathering turned out to be the so-called newcomers, who said that they were tired of being labelled "bastards" and "intruders" and being denied all civil and land rights.<sup>11</sup> The meeting held five years before at Bethelsdorp, chaired on that occasion by Dr. Philip, had revolved around this very issue, and now it was being debated again.

At the Bethelsdorp meeting in 1833 the newcomers had been urged to buy up shares from old Hankey contributors who still lived on the mother station or resided at the Kat River settlement but who did not wish to take up their options in the Gamtoos valley. Whilst many people complied with this offer, they were prevented from taking possession of their land by the menacing attitude of the old erfholders. At the 1838 meeting one man reiterated the old complaint that he had been forced to work on building a water-course which gave him no benefits at all. Another claimed he had been allotted dry land and had therefore no means of supporting himself. Still more people maintained that they had left the station in sympathy with the irate newcomers, whose position they appreciated. The result was a total rift in Hankey's population.<sup>12</sup>

The old erfholders were at first more silent than their indignant ousted brothers, but gradually spoke up when encouraged to do so by Williams and Kitchingman. At a second meeting held the following week new laws for the

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11 Williams to William Ellis, 23rd April, 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/B.

12 Ibid.

institution were read, debated and finally approved. It was agreed that all those who had paid the required R100 were to be allocated suitable plots, whilst those who occupied irrigated land for which they had not paid in full were to be given 15 months in which to do so, after which the land would be re-appropriated and given out by lot to others.<sup>13</sup>

The second meeting was rounded off by speeches made by Williams and Kitchingman. They admonished the people for the extreme impropriety of their past conduct and emphasised the need to exercise prudence at all times in the future. The meeting closed on a happy note with former enemies shaking hands and agreeing to forget past differences. Williams breathed a sigh of relief that his new flock had at last been reunited.

## 2. A Community Restored

On the first day of January 1838 - the day on which John Melvill reached Pacaltsdorp to begin a new chapter in his missionary career,<sup>14</sup> the Hankey people came together for a New Year's tea meeting. Edward Williams was eager to start the New Year on the right note, and take full advantage of the spirit of forgiveness which was then wafting over his community. This seemed the ideal way to proceed. Dr. Philip's second son, John Ross, was staying in Hankey at the time for the benefit of his health and the people elected him chairman of their meeting.

Philip wanted this son to enter the ministry and plans were later made to send him to Griquatown as a schoolmaster, though these never materialised. Much to the superintendent's disappointment, as well as that of the Society's Foreign Secretary, John Freeman,<sup>15</sup> the young man chose to enter the printing industry and became a junior partner in

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13 Ibid.

14 Melvill to William Ellis, 1st March, 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/A.

15 J.J. Freeman to John Philip, 27th Dec. 1839, Cape Town Archives, A 1487.

the firm of Richert, Philip and Pike in Cape Town. He made a success of this career and came east in 1844 when Richert died to open Port Elizabeth's first printing works. John Ross was co-founder, with John Paterson, of the Eastern Province Herald.<sup>16</sup> Although he never entered the Society's employ, his stay in Hankey in 1838 marks the beginning of a keen interest taken in the settlement's affairs by Philip's sons, an involvement which was to last for many years.

One good thing to come out of the New Year's tea meeting of 1838 was the formation of a Total Abstinence Society consisting of 50 members.<sup>17</sup> This society went from strength to strength during its first year of operation and by September the number taking the pledge had risen from 50 to 75.

The people had a law passed that no strong liquor was to be brought onto the station, a ruling which had certainly held good in Melvill's time but which may have fallen away later. Williams claimed triumphantly at the end of 1838 that there had been no sign of drunkenness or suspected intoxication on the settlement for nearly a year.<sup>18</sup>

A high point in the anti-liquor campaign was a meeting on 3rd December, 1838, attended by upwards of 500 people, many of them ex-slaves from the surrounding farms, when no fewer than 160 people took the pledge. Present on this occasion were two visitors from England, Quakers James Backhouse and George Washington Walker who took the vow of abstinence for the first time also. They provided the tea and flour for refreshments, and Backhouse later wrote a graphic description of the proceedings, in which he commended the

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16 A. Porter, "Early Printing in the Cape Colony", Looking Back, Vol 10, p 51 and W. Yalden Philip, "Old Port Elizabeth" Looking-Back, Vol 15, p 98.

17 Williams to William Ellis, 29th Jan. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/A.

18 Annual Report for 1838, 20 Dec. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/2/C.

people on their neatness, cleanliness and demeanour:<sup>19</sup>

"The chapel is a neat, plain building. In order to accommodate the Temperance Tea Meeting, the tables were placed in a line down the centre, with three rows of seats facing them on each side. At the time appointed for the meeting, notice was given by striking a suspended wheel-tire, that supplied the place of a bell. The men assembled on one side of the chapel, and the women on the other, according to their common mode of sitting. Tea and cakes were dealt out by some of the females, and handed to the company on each side, by those of their own sex. Some of the attendants would not have done discredit, either in appearance or dexterity, in that capacity, in any English gentleman's family. The men all wore jackets and trousers and the women gowns; the latter had handkerchiefs tied round their heads in turban style. This is the common head-dress of coloured females in this Colony. All were remarkably clean. They conducted themselves with sober cheerfulness, and looked full of interest. After the tables were cleared, and thanksgiving had been devoutly expressed by Edward Williams, he addressed the company briefly, on the object of the meeting. It was my privilege to follow him in recommending total abstinence from intoxicating liquors. Several Hottentots and freed slaves then addressed the meeting, which afterwards adjourned for a short interval at milking time ...."

The Hankey experience prompted these two gentlemen to renounce snuff and tobacco at the next place they visited, the Kat River settlement. In this pledge they were joined by an old friend of the Hankey people, Charles Lennox Stretch, who promised to give the money he would save to the missionary cause.<sup>20</sup>

Williams visited the Kat River in January 1838, soon after his arrival in Hankey, whilst his wife was staying in Port Elizabeth for the birth of their first

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19 James Backhouse, Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa, pp 147/148.

20 James Read to James Kitchingman, 21st Jan. 1839, Brenthurst Lib., 3349/1/34, quoted in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, pp 203/204.

child. He was duly impressed by the piety, industry and perseverance of the people of that community, many of whom travelled 35 miles to attend a Sunday service.<sup>21</sup> He determined to arouse a similar spirit of devotion in the Gamtoos valley people for whom Hankey could become a devotional centre.

A female slave, one of many who now swelled the Sunday congregation, became William's first candidate for baptism. The sixteen trouble-makers, suspended by Melvill eighteen months before, were forgiven and readmitted to the church.<sup>22</sup> Williams had a more flexible attitude than Melvill to local political issues. Perhaps it was easy to forgive and forget a dispute when this had been inherited from the previous incumbent.

Spiritual matters took a turn for the better under Williams's guidance. He quickly won the confidence of the people and introduced a full programme of religious instruction and worship along the following lines:<sup>23</sup>

Sunday	6 a.m.	Prayer Meeting
	9 a.m.	Schools for adults, adolescents and infants
	11 a.m.	Sunday Service
	2 p.m.	Schools for adults, adolescents and infants
	6 p.m.	Evening Service
Monday	7 p.m.	Meeting to expound the Scriptures
Tuesday	7 p.m.	Adult School, similar to Sunday School
Wednesday	4 p.m.	Female Prayer Meeting for the young
	7 p.m.	Public Prayer Meeting
Thursday	7 p.m.	Meeting to expound the Scriptures (Mrs Williams)

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21 Williams to William Ellis, 29th Jan. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/1/A.

22 Ibid.

23 Annual Report for 1838, 20th Dec. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/2/C.

Friday	6 p.m.	Bible class for Teachers of Sunday Schools. Instruction given for Sunday lesson.
	6 p.m.	Church Service (William Kelly)
	7 p.m.	Prayer Meeting (William Kelly)
		Once a Month: General Meeting.
Saturday	7 p.m.	Prayer Meeting
	.	Once a Month: Church Meeting.

The new schedule was similar to the one introduced by Messer ten years before and continued by Melvill, though there were important differences also. Greater emphasis was placed on adult education and the minister's wife now took an important part in the proceedings.

Apart from the Sunday schools and meetings, the Reverend and Mrs. Williams ventured forth into the homes of their community to give counsel and distribute tracts. Half the village was visited by Williams on Mondays and the other half by Mrs. Williams on Saturdays.<sup>24</sup> All those still unable to read were encouraged to come together in one of the houses where tracts would be read out to them for their edification. This method stimulated learning and provided an important antidote to idleness. The home visits were a means of checking on neatness and hygiene and when everything was found to be as as it should be, the missionary was quick to give praise.<sup>25</sup>

Classes for the religious and secular instruction of both children and adults were organised in the following way:<sup>26</sup>

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24 Ibid.

25 James Backhouse, Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa, p 147.

26 LMS Archives, Annual Report for 1838, 20th Dec. 1838, 16/2/C, Mrs. Williams to Mrs. Philip, 14th Dec. 1839, 16/4/C, and Williams to Directors, 20th Jan. 1840, 16/4/C.

## RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

School	Tuition	Classes	Instruction
Sunday Schools	Adults	7 classes twice on Sundays	Run on lines of Christ Church Sabbath Schools
	Juveniles	twice on Sundays	Religious instruction given in Dutch, most suitable medium of instruction for religious enlightenment
	Infants	twice on Sundays	
Tuesday School	Adults	in evening	Run exactly on lines of Sabbath School

## SECULAR INSTRUCTION

Writing School	Adults	once a week	Adults highly motivated
Day Schools	Juveniles	on week-days	Introduction of English. Children read scriptures in English and Dutch. Writing, Grammer, Geography, Arithmetic.
	Infants	on week-days	Introduction of English. Mrs. Williams instructs, aided by daughter of James Read and Khoi teacher, Susanah Smith. School later taken over by English teacher.

Williams was a great believer in the value of infant school education as a means of inculcating habits of diligence and devotion in the children at a stage when they were quick-witted and eager to learn. "Infant Schools will prove to be a nursery of tender plants which will afterwards become trees of righteousness, bringing forth fruit to the Glory

of God", he maintained.<sup>27</sup> After his tour of the stations in 1839 and 1840, Dr. Philip agreed with Williams that the mission schools, and in particular the infant schools, were indeed promoting the development of mind and manners in the children. He nevertheless felt that their spiritual growth left much to be desired.<sup>28</sup> Backhouse noticed that the well-fed children made good progress in their studies, but that those who subsisted on scanty rations were not intellectually as well endowed.<sup>29</sup>

The Williams's laboured under something of a disadvantage when they first came to Hankey for they could not understand Dutch and had difficulty in communicating directly with the people. In these circumstances it is remarkable that they achieved so much so soon. By the end of the first year Williams claimed that he could speak Dutch almost as well as he spoke English, and was thus able to dispense with the services of an interpreter.<sup>30</sup>

Hankey had one or two illustrious converts including the sister of David Stuurman. She died on the station in 1838. She had probably been a member of the Khoi settlement at the Gamtoos River mouth re-established by her brother Klaas in 1803, taken over by David on his death in 1804 and closed down again in 1809. This state of affairs had come about through pressure from the White farmers who saw it as a hotbed of idlers, unlawful Xhosa and runaway Khoi servants.

One of David Stuurman's wives, Poela, who had studied under Dr. van der Kemp, had been the Khoi settlement's first convert.<sup>31</sup> David Stuurman was imprisoned on Robben

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27 Annual Report for 1838, 20th Dec. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/2/C.

28 Evangelical Magazine for 1840, p 251, quoted in J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 132.

29 J. Backhouse, Narrative of a Journey to the Mauritius and South Africa, p 147.

30 Annual Report for 1838, 20th Dec. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/2/C.

31 J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 37.

Island, later escaped into Kaffirland but was apprehended and banished to New South Wales. His relatives (no doubt including his sister) campaigned for his release, and in 1831, thanks to representations made by Thomas Pringle, the Acting Governor, Major General Richard Bourke, granted Stuurman a pardon. Sadly he died before news of it could reach him in Australia.<sup>32</sup> Oral tradition has it that he had murdered his brother Klaas in 1804 so as to take over the clan. The old Khoi leader's grave at Mist Kraal (now exhumed) was marked by a cairn assembled by his followers and added to stone by stone whenever they passed the site.<sup>33</sup> Bootsma Stuurman, the last of the Stuurman brothers, never lived at Hankey but was probably the most pious of them all. He was baptised at Theopolis, later moved to the Kat River settlement and ended his days evangelising among the San.<sup>34</sup>

Dr. and Mrs. Philip visited Hankey at the end of 1838 on one of their many tours of the interior. They approached the settlement at night and were met by a choir of singing women who had walked three or four miles along the road to greet them. Of even greater joy to the couple was the orderly state of the institution under Williams's management. Mrs. Philip saw this as evidence in support of the theory that a change of missionary was occasionally a very good thing!<sup>35</sup>

In June 1839 the measles broke out at Hankey. Far from leading to despondency, the emergency brought about an unexpected religious revival. Early morning meetings were held daily, when the people prayed earnestly for deliverance. In the evenings each member of the community established his own "praying place" in the bushes, a discreet distance from his neighbour, and some of these

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32 J. Meiring, Thomas Pringle, p 139.

33 "Gruesome Trophies", Looking Back, Vol 10, p 60.

34 J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 157.

35 Mrs. Philip's account of a journey round the stations 1838/1839, Jan. 1839, LMS Archives, 16/5/A.

places were visited so frequently that little beaten paths leading up to them were easily discernible in the grass. Praying in the bushes was regarded by the missionaries as evidence of conversion and revival, and has been common practice since 1802.<sup>36</sup>

The introduction of prayer meetings in the early mornings in times of emergency or distress was commonplace at the mission stations. Revivals took place at Zuurbraak, where the measles first broke out, Caledon and Hankey.<sup>37</sup> At Bethelsdorp over 300 cases of measles were reported, but though a renewed interest in religion was noted then, nothing approaching a revival took place at that station.<sup>38</sup> The reason why the Hankey movement was so successful might have been because Williams instituted prayers for deliverance from the measles long before the disease reached his institution. He took as his theme "Behold the judge standeth at the door". This anticipation of impending danger went a long way towards humbling the people before calamity struck. When it came, all households were cleaned, white-washed and fumigated with chloride of lime. Despite these precautions, 300 people were affected at Hankey, and four of these lost their lives.<sup>39</sup>

The whole country was soon in the grip of this serious epidemic and Dr. Philip appealed to the Governor, Sir George Napier, to donate food, clothing and medicine to the mission stations.<sup>40</sup> Only medicine and the occasional visit by a district surgeon were allowed by the Government.<sup>41</sup> and the Hankey people struggled to get over this hardship, which was aggravated by an extended drought.

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36 J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 34.

37 Philip to William Ellis, 15th Jan. 1840, LMS Archives, 17/1/A.

38 Kitchingman to William Ellis, 26th Dec. 1839, LMS Archives, 16/4/C.

39 Annual Report for 1839, 20th Jan. 1840, LMS Archives, 16/4/C.

40 Philip to Sir George Thomas Napier, 25th April 1839, LMS Archives, 16/3/C.

41 John Bell of the Colonial Office, on behalf of Napier, to Philip, 30th April 1839, LMS Archives, 16/3/C.

In 1839 two Hankey men went to the Langkloof, entirely at their own expense, to catechise and distribute tracts among the farm workers and their masters. They were cordially received wherever they went. At one place in the course of a service, a nearby river burst its banks and danger threatened. Those people in attendance who lived on the other side of the river refused to re-cross it to safety until the sermon came to an end.<sup>42</sup> Williams could see that there was a real need for both religious and secular instruction in the Langkloof region. He set about fulfilling this need by appealing to the Hankey people and his fellow missionaries for assistance.

On 30th October, 1839 a meeting was held attended by Messrs Kitchingman, Read, Kelly, John Clark and Williams and all the Hankey people to form an Instruction Society. The object in mind was the support of itinerating schoolmasters and the building of schools in districts where the population was widely scattered and without such facilities.<sup>43</sup> It was agreed that Williams and one member of the committee should journey through the Langkloof to ascertain the extent of the demand. With characteristic energy the missionary soon set off to meet the Boers of that rather far-flung region. After an initial reticence, these people warmed to his integrity and charm and welcomed him and his party into their homes. The sanguine disposition of the missionary was well-known to many.<sup>44</sup> It enabled him to make meaningful contact with about 40 Dutch farmers and their families. Relations with the White farmers during Melvill's time had often been strained. Williams's tour heralded a new era of co-operation to the mutual advantage of both parties. Philip was especially pleased about the new arrangement, since the farmers of the Langkloof had always been hostile to missionaries. Twenty-five years before one of the most respected farmers

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42 Williams to William Ellis, 30th Nov. 1839, LMS Archives, 16/4/C.

43 Annual Report for 1839, 20th Jan. 1840, LMS Archives, 16/4/C.

44 James Read to Kitchingman, 23rd Jan 1842, Brenthurst Lib., 3349/2/11 in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 224.

there had denied Charles Latrobe a shelter for the night.<sup>45</sup>

It was discovered that many of the ex-slaves had never seen the inside of a church. There were White farmers who had not heard a sermon in years, their nearest church being a four day journey away by ox-waggon. The Dutch Reformed minister had last been in the area in the previous year yet had not found time to visit all the farms. The ecumenical district of George, including the Langkloof, was 4032 square miles in extent, with a Dutch Reformed population of 6056, yet served only by two churches and one minister.<sup>46</sup> The Church of England following was only marginally better provided for, with a following of 5881 people, served by three ministers and three churches.<sup>47</sup>

Williams chose two suitable places where schools could be established and the farmers in one area collected Rds. 400 immediately towards the cost of finding a teacher. Thomas Samuel Hood, a teacher at Pacaltsdopp, began at Avontuur in 1840<sup>48</sup> and Williams helped him in his new commitment.<sup>49</sup>

A great change in the system of public instruction was taking place in the colony at around this time, with the extension of the educational machinery according to the recommendations laid down by Sir John Herschel between 1834 and 1838.<sup>50</sup> There had been free Government schools in the principal villages for some time now, and a few private schools also, mainly in the Eastern Cape. However, those receiving public instruction by 1839 only amounted to 500 in all<sup>51</sup> and the standard of education was anyway very low.

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45 Philip to William Ellis, 15th Jan. 1840, LMS Archives, 17/1/A and Report of the Directors for 1840, p 79.

46 J.C. Chase, The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province, p 141.

47 Ibid.

48 B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 119, n 53, give a biographical note on Thomas Samuel Hood.

49 Philip to J.J. Freeman, 26th Oct. 1940, 17/2/D.

50 G.M. Theal, Compendium of South African History and Geography, pp 235/236.

51 Ibid.

Most of the farmers' children had not even been able to make use of the schools and were traditionally taught by itinerant teachers who spent only a few months at a time at any one homestead.

In 1839 a new Superintendent of General Education, James Rose-Innes, was appointed, and from this time on the state of education in the colony improved considerably. The mission stations were affected by the new move in so far as they now received a Government grant for their schools and were open to inspection by the Colonial Minister of Instruction. Philip saw no harm in this since the Society still had control over the selection and training of its teachers.<sup>52</sup> Williams responded to the teacher shortage amongst the stations by founding a small multi-racial teachers' training college in his own home. The idea of a seminary at Hankey had first been mooted by Philip and the Directors twenty years before, but had been thwarted by the incompetence of William Foster. Mrs. Williams now found herself with a house full of student boarders who swelled her family to fourteen in number, including her small baby. She accepted the situation with alacrity, and managed to feed and clothe them all, even if this sometimes meant appealing to her dear friend Mrs. Philip to send through supplies.<sup>53</sup>

Williams chose several of the more intelligent Hankey youths to attend his college and accepted one or two from the other stations. John Ross Philip was in attendance because it was felt that he would benefit from studying at Hankey.<sup>54</sup> Six hours of daily instruction were given devoted to reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as grammar and geography, sacred and profane.<sup>55</sup> The syllabus was not unlike

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52 Philip to William Ellis, 28th Jan. 1840, LMS Archives, 17/1/A.

53 Mrs. Williams to Mrs. Philip, 14th Dec. 1839, LMS Archives, 16/4/C.

54 Ibid.

55 Annual Report for 1839, 20th Jan. 1840, LMS Archives, 16/4/C.

the new one presented at the Government schools with the difference that history, natural history and physical science were not offered at the institution.<sup>56</sup>

Hankey's new cohesion as a community was strengthened by its societies, of which the Abstinence Society and the Instruction Society have already been examined. The Auxiliary Society, established under Melvill, was resuscitated and the people gave generously in cash and in kind for the execution of various public works. They offered their labour, free of charge, to complete the new church which had been started in Melvill's time and gave up Mondays for public duties, except during the sowing or harvesting seasons.<sup>57</sup> The children formed a Juvenile Auxiliary Society in 1839 and earned money between school hours by wool-picking and selling milk, garden produce and poultry.<sup>58</sup>

Thus was the Hankey community restored. By the end of 1840, as the table below clearly illustrates, the people were fully co-operating with their Welsh missionary and submitting joyfully to his secular and religious instruction:<sup>59</sup>

	1838	1839	1840
Sabbath Schools for Adults	90/130 sometimes 250	well attended	well attended
Day School for Juveniles	80/170	well attended	90/120
Infant School	50/80	50/70	60/75
Enquirers		80	
Baptised within the Year			
Adults	7	44	38
Infants	5	12	/...

56 J.C. Chase, The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province, p 143 gives a full account of the new Government syllabus.

57 Annual Report for 1838, 20th Dec. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/2/C.

58 Annual Report for 1840, 27th Dec. 1840, LMS Archives, 17/3/C.

59 LMS Archives, Annual Reports for 1838, 16/2/C, 1839, 16/4/C and 1840, 17/3/C. The people described by Williams as received into church fellowship or admitted to the Lord's Supper" are the "Communicants". "Candidates for the Lord's Supper" are given as "Candidates for Church Fellowship".

	1838	1839	1840
Readmissions	15		
Transferred from other Churches	4		
Communicants	58	33	43
Candidates for Baptism	6	45	45
Candidates for Church Fellowship	5	41	30

### 3. Shelter for the Freed Slaves

Hankey played an important role in accommodating the ex-slaves in the Gamtoos valley area when their apprenticeships came to an end on 1st December, 1838. Some of these people had been released before this date by buying themselves out of bondage and had come to live at the institution during Melvill's term of office. The vast majority were obliged to wait until 1838 before gaining their freedom, and little or no provision was made for them when they left their masters' service.

The ending of slavery in South Africa came as a short-term disaster to master and slave alike, for it brought about an economic depression in the colony and left thousands of apprentices homeless, helpless and unemployed. Of the 36,000 slaves manumitted in 1834, few remained with their masters beyond November 1838, except perhaps to bring in the harvest before leaving.<sup>60</sup> Compensation was paid out by the Government to the farmers for the loss of services rendered but this was not nearly enough to cover their losses. Andries Stockenstrom, the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, had originally put forward the suggestion that a more gradual process of manumission, granting freedom first to the children of slaves and then to the slaves themselves upon payment of a fixed amount, would be a more sensible arrangement since it would save the Treasury money

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60 Many slaves who attended services at the mission stations expressed themselves willing to harvest their masters' crops before leaving. See Mrs Philip's account of a journey round the stations, 1838/1839, LMS Archives, undated, 16/1/A.

and allow Cape society to adjust gradually to the new dispensation. Though this idea was not adopted, the general consensus of opinion today is that it would have caused far less chaos in the long run.<sup>61</sup> The majority of those apprentices who left their masters, either because in the past they had been badly treated or because they thought they could improve their prospects elsewhere, ended up in slums in the towns, or roamed the countryside as vagrants.

The granting of freedom to the ex-slaves was a bitter pill for many of the colonists to swallow, and their indignation occasionally manifested itself in outward shows of aggression. The slaves in the Hankey district had for years attended Sunday services at the institution, usually with the tacit approval of their employers. When they wanted to attend a meeting there on Sunday, 2nd December, 1838 to celebrate the abolition of slavery, some farmers put up a show of resistance. Such was the case with the master of Jacob, who up to this time had been on good terms with his servants and had wanted them to remain with him after their apprenticeships ended. He vehemently opposed the idea of their going to Hankey. Jacob remained behind to protect the servants' corn fields in case they might be interfered with by his master. The farmer's son and son-in-laws beat this unfortunate man and whipped him to within an inch of his life.<sup>62</sup> His case was brought before the Civil Commissioner of the district to demonstrate that the emancipation of the slaves had at last become a reality. Ultimately the aggrieved party received a cash settlement and the matter was settled out of court.

Injustices of this sort had been meted out to slaves and Khoi servants down the ages and often never reached the ears of the authorities. Around the turn of the century John Barrow recorded several cases of cruelty by the Dutch

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61 The idea of the gradual abolition of slavery in the Cape Colony, discussed in J.L. Dracopoli, Sir Andries Stockenström, p 94.

62 A full account of the flogging of Jacob in Backhouse, Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa, pp 149/150. See also J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 123.

farmers to those in their employ. He described a practice known as "flogging by pipes" whereby an offender was whipped for the length of time it took his master to smoke one, two or three pipes of tobacco, the number depending on the magnitude of the crime.<sup>63</sup> In 1803 Dr. van der Kemp brought to the notice of the Batavian Government a number of injustices perpetrated by his neighbour Thomas Ferreira of Papenkuilsfontein (the farm later purchased by Frederick Korsten). The man was banished with his family to the Swellendam district, but otherwise escaped punishment.

In 1812 a man called Edward Fairconer, then a captain in the 23rd Regiment of Foot, reported to the Second British Administration that two years previously he had seen a young girl fastened to a stake in the middle of a room on Frans Greeff's farm in the Sundays River area. She was forced to pound wheat in this restricted condition whilst the family looked on.<sup>64</sup> It is not known whether this case ever reached the courts. From the time onwards there was a new awareness of the plight of the slaves as a consequence of the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire which had come into force in 1807.

Early in the 19th century the rapid expansion of the Eastern Cape economy brought with it an increase in the slave population of that region, the number rising from fewer than 1,000 in 1798 to about 5,000 in the 1820's, and increasing to over 8,000 by 1834.<sup>65</sup> Whilst serving at Paarl in the Western Cape in 1831, James Kitchingman explained to

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63 J. Barrow, Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa p 95.

64 Copy of a Report of the Appearance of Edward Fairconer of the 93rd Regiment of Foot, 5th Oct. 1812. Report translated by H. Murphy, Brenthurst Lib., 4061.

65 A.L. Muller "The Economics of Slave Labour at the Cape of Good Hope", in The South African Journal of Economics Vol 49, No 1 1981, p 57. Muller has almost certainly taken the Eastern Cape to include the districts of George, Uitenhage and Graaff Reinet. See also "Population Return for 1818 for Slaves" in W. Bird, State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822, p 107.

his Treasurer, William Alers Hankey, that a slave owner usually preferred to punish an offending slave himself and to conceal the crime from the authorities. The reason for this was twofold. Firstly, if a slave stood trial and was found guilty, he was removed from his master's employ and put to work on the public roads, which meant that his services were lost. Secondly, if bad publicity surrounded a slave because of his transgression, his saleable value diminished.<sup>66</sup> The sale of slaves in the Cape Colony was not common practice and generally only occurred in cases of distress or the insolvency of the master, when selling a slave helped to pay the debts.<sup>67</sup> Not all the Directors of the London Missionary Society were equally staunch on the question of the abolition of slavery. In 1832 W.A. Hankey was made to resign his position as Treasurer because of his extensive business interests in the West Indies which made unlimited use of slave labour.

When Dr. Philip first visited the Cape Colony in 1819 and made a tour of the stations, he was horrified to find that some of the Society's missionaries were employing slaves. This was the case even though a directive had gone out in the previous year to the effect that keeping men and women in bondage was inconsistent with the principles of Christian religion and with the character of Christian missions, and was punishable by dismissal.<sup>68</sup> Needless to say the practice was rapidly terminated when Philip became superintendent of stations, when a start was made on providing the rudiments of education for this unfortunate group of people. In 1820 there were only 50 out of a total of 7,500 slaves in the colony under Christian instruction. Gradually, with the spread of the missionary institutions throughout the country, this situation began to change for the better. With the abolition of slavery at the end of 1834 many of the apprentices still serving out their four

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66 James Kitchingman to W.A. Hankey, 24th Jan. 1831, LMS Archives, 12/4/C.

67 G.M. Theal, Compendium of History and Geography, p 228.

68 J.L. Dracopoli, Sir Andries Stockenström, p 53.

year terms of duty were allowed by their employers to attend the mission stations on Sundays for a modicum of secular and religious instruction. At Hankey Melvill undertook this important work and Williams continued it.

On the day set aside to celebrate the final release of the slaves, Sunday, 2nd December 1838, one old man at Hankey stood up and described the ex-slaves as a flock of sheep without a shepherd, suddenly exposed to many dangers.<sup>69</sup> Williams was determined to exert an influence over those who had long formed part of Hankey's Sunday congregation. He knew that to accept a large contingent of new people at Hankey might not work out very well, in view of the continuing dispute over land rights and the onset of another drought. Therefore he arranged the purchase of two entirely separate properties for the manumitted slaves, to provide them with shelter and educational facilities for their offspring.

Early in 1838, soon after his arrival at Hankey, (having anticipated the problem soon to be facing the apprentices), Williams bought on his own account two adjacent farms in the Krom River area, south of the Gamtoos River valley. They were Elandsjagt and Kruisfontein. The land was acquired from the brothers Joshua and Ebenezer Kemp and together measured between 11,000 and 12,000 acres (or roughly 6,000 morgen). An amount of £425 was paid for the former and £225 for the latter.<sup>70</sup> The price worked out at only 2/6d. per morgen which was an exceptionally reasonable figure for grazing land in those days.

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69 Annual Report for 1838, 20th Dec. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/2/C. See also J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 122.

70 Philip to Tidman, 23rd Nov. 1844, LMS Archives, 20/3/B. Authorised Copy of Deed of Transfer for Kruisfontein comprising 2305 morgen 269 roods, dated 5th Oct. 1838. Property transferred from Ebenezer and Joshua Kemp to Edward Williams. Rhodes Univ., MS 4542. Philip's estimate of 6,000 morgen for the two farms Kruisfontein and Elandsjagt has been used to calculate the amount of 2/6d. per morgen.

The new settlement, called Kruisfontein, which became an outstation served by Hankey, was established mainly for the benefit of the ex-slaves, their families being sent on ahead of them to Kruisfontein by their masters to await the day of manumission. Some Khoi families from Hankey moved over as well and a few English people went to live there also. At this time there were still wandering groups of Mfengu in the area, probably the remnants of the disruptive 1835 War and some of these were admitted to the new outstation. Kruisfontein village was laid out in plots, each house having a little garden surround by clay walls. Soon these walls ran into several thousand yards in length.<sup>71</sup>

Kruisfontein was served by three fountains, and had a reasonable amount of arable land so it could support a sizable population. A day school was established run by a Coloured teacher with 70 pupils in attendance, many of whom graduated from total illiteracy to proficiency in both English and Dutch in a very short space of time. Williams and Kelly visited the settlement alternately once a month. When measles struck, the station experienced a revival similar to the one experienced at Hankey.<sup>72</sup>

Before long the tiny Kruisfontein church was bursting at its seams. It was twice enlarged by taking down two inner walls, but with a congregation of more than 250 people, arrangements were made to build a new church. By the end of 1840 there was a new schoolhouse and a dwelling for the use of the visiting missionaries. The people submitted themselves readily to religious instruction and in that year 22 were baptised, 30 became candidates for baptism and there were 18 communicants.<sup>73</sup>

Williams persuaded Philip, when the latter visited Hankey towards the end of 1838, to purchase another farm for the manumitted slaves, one situated nearer to Hankey on the

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71 Annual Report for 1839, 20th Jan. 1840. LMS Archives, 16/4/C.

72 Ibid.

73 Annual Report for 1840, 20th Dec. 1840, LMS Archives, 17/3/B.

Groot River. As with Kruisfontein, the property consisted of two farms, Onverwagt and Goedehoop. These places had excited the interest of Philip and George Barker 19 years before, so it was not a difficult matter for Williams to persuade the superintendent to buy. Philip still considered the property, now called Cambria after a famous mountain range in Scotland, the finest watered area in the country for an institution with more land available for irrigation, he claimed, than all the other missionary institutions put together.<sup>74</sup> The fact that the area was rather cut off from the outside world did not seem to bother him at this juncture.

Funds were available for an outright purchase by the Society from the sale of a cattle farm in the Algoa Bay district for which Bethelsdorp had no use. This had come into the Society's possession originally in settlement of an old debt. Cambria was a five hours' ride from Hankey and consisted of 4,729 morgen of land. Williams claimed that it contained enough arable, irrigable land to support about three times Hankey's population.<sup>75</sup>

Like Philip, Williams was sometimes guilty of gross exaggeration. A glance at any map of Cambria will show that although Goedehoop and Onverwagt take up virtually all the arable land in the area for miles around, the vast majority of their surface area consists of the rocky foothills of the Baviaanskloof Mountains.<sup>76</sup> Most of the irrigable land of Goedehoop lies along the banks of the Wit River, a seasonal tributary of the Groot River. Since the water of the Groot River is brackish in drought years, we can be sure that the property could not possibly support

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74 Philip to Directors, 15th March, 1839, LMS Archives, 16/3/B.

75 Annual Report for 1838, 20th Dec. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/2/C.

76 See Gov. Printer Map of Cambria, 3324DA.

three times Hankey's population. A comparison between Hankey and Cambria reveals that the former's cultivable lands are far more extensive than the latter's and able to produce more crops.<sup>77</sup> Cambria was without agricultural value, though it is suspected that Williams (like Barker before him) was overwhelmed by its magnificent setting and tended to play down its serious shortcomings.

The price paid for Cambria was very reasonable: only Rds. 11,000, or less than 3/6d per morgen. This was infinitely less than the 15/10d per morgen asked by Nicholaas Lochenberg nineteen years before, and less than half of the 7/11d per morgen that Barker suggested the Society should pay for it then. In the late 1830's and 1840's sheep farms often fetched higher prices than agricultural land, due to the new wave of interest in wool farming with merino rams which was then sweeping the country. During this period the price per morgen of grazing land ranged between 3/-d and 10/-d per morgen, whilst arable land was sometimes un-saleable at between 3/-d and 4/-d per morgen because of a scarcity of labour.<sup>78</sup>

Probably another factor in the competitiveness of Cambria's selling price was that the Society could pay ready cash and the deal was clinched right away. Had there been any delay, the price would certainly have rocketed to Rds. 16,000 or even Rds. 18,000,<sup>79</sup> which was a truer reflection of the farm's real value.

During the 19th century land deals were usually negotiated on the basis of the payment of between one quarter and one third of the purchase price upon signing the sales agreement and the balance over one to five years at 6%

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77 See Gov. Printer Maps of Cambria, 3324DA and of Hankey 3324DD.

78 J.C. Chase, The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province, p 227. Chase quotes between 1/6d and 2/- per acre for arable land and between 1/6d and 5/- per acre for sheep farms.

79 Philip to Directors, 15th March, 1839. LMS Archives, 16/3/B.

interest.<sup>80</sup> If the Society had been obliged to pay for Cambria in this manner, the price for this farm would have been much higher.

The exodus of many Boer families into the interior at this time to escape British authority, otherwise known as the Great Trek, had an adverse effect on land prices which was to the Society's advantage. Many of the British settlers, long dissatisfied with their small allocated plots, were now able to move onto large farms and experiment with sheep farming, encouraged in their efforts by men like T.C. White, son-in-law to Thomas Damant. Even before the 1835 War, in which he was sadly struck down, this farmer imported Saxony rams for his farm near Grahamstown.<sup>81</sup> Enterprising businessmen like Frederick Korsten, who returned to the Eastern Cape in 1825, also saw the benefits to be gained from sheep farming. He went into partnership with Messrs Scheubles and Chase in the 1830's.<sup>82</sup>

Though purchased essentially for the ex-slaves, Cambria also accommodated a few Khoi families from Hankey and Bethelsdorp. These people moved over on a temporary basis because of the prevailing drought. At first it was difficult to estimate how much land capable of irrigation was available at the new sub-station. Philip proposed that two or three acre plots be given out at an annual rental of between 6/-d and 20/-d each to help pay for the settlement's expenses.<sup>83</sup> He wanted to impose a similar system at Hankey but felt that exacting levies during a period of drought was an unwise move. Because the drought had also hit the Kat River settlement, James Read expressed the wish that some land at Cambria could be made available to people from this settlement. They had been surviving on

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80 J.C. Chase, The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province, p 227.

81 I. Mitford-Barberton and V. White, Some Frontier Families, p 283.

82 J.C. Chase, The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province, p 185.

83 Philip to Directors, 15th March, 1839, LMS Archives, 16/3/C.

Government rations and had come to depend on this assistance, which would automatically fall away if they moved to Cambria. In the circumstances Philip didn't think they would make ideal settlers for the new community.<sup>84</sup> Williams wanted the people at Cambria to have larger plots than those given out at Hankey. Until the exact extent of the area suitable for cultivation was known, Philip was not prepared to sanction any such arrangement.

It was recommended that James Kitchingman take over at Cambria and assume joint management of the new station with Williams. The missionary-in-charge at Bethelsdorp was reluctant to leave the mother station where he filled an important position.<sup>85</sup> Because Kitchingman was a friend and confidant of the superintendent, he kept Philip closely informed of developments at Kruisfontein, Hankey and Cambria, and visited the Gamtoos valley whenever there was a need for him to do so. Williams himself had wanted to move over to Cambria, but this could not be countenanced. The reason for this was that Hankey had become far too important a station and was very much in the public eye. Williams would be more difficult to replace at Hankey than it would be to find a suitable man for Cambria. A Khoi teacher, Mr Wentzel was put in charge of the new sub-station and his views were soon sought on how he felt it could be turned into a fully-fledged institution.<sup>86</sup> His was a temporary position, since the appointment of a European supervisor was intended as soon as a proper school had been built.

In both the educational and religious spheres the station flourished. By the end of 1840 there were 12 church members, 150 people attending church on Sundays, and between 50 and 60 children at school during the week.<sup>87</sup> In

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84 Philip to Kitchingman, 29th May, 1840, Brenthurst Lib., 3347.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Annual Report for 1840, 20th Dec. 1840, LMS Archives, 17/3/C.

the secular sphere arrangements were not quite as satisfactory. The ex-slaves of the Hankey area nevertheless had a roof over their heads, Cambria being one of the two places under the Society's protection which provided this facility.

#### 4. Economic Expansion

Edward Williams's forte was tackling problems head-on and solving them in a very short space of time. Before long he had a number of successes to his credit: settling the land dispute; liaising and making meaningful contact with the White farmers; finding accommodation for the ex-slaves; re-organising religious and secular instruction on the station. Greater emphasis was now placed on adult education and this included the instruction of young girls and women in a particular trade. The females in the community often found it difficult to obtain work, and Williams felt that to teach them a trade would keep them out of gossiping and idleness and help them to realise their full potential.

Teaching trades at the stations was not entirely new. There had been a knitting school at Bethelsdorp during Dr. Van der Kemp's time in 1805 started by a Mrs. Tromp and continued for three further years under Mrs. Smith.<sup>88</sup> Bethelsdorp later had a trade school for boys when a handful of suitably qualified missionaries were staying on the station and provided instruction in the arts of carpentry and blacksmithery. At Hankey there was a tanner, carpenter, shoemaker and two smiths, but there is no record of formal instruction being provided in these skills during either Messer's or Melvill's terms of office. The Hankey fellers and sawyers who worked in the Tsitsikamma Forest procuring yellowwoods and stinkwoods traded these woods in the towns rather than first making them up into beautiful furniture for sale. The women sold straw mats, thereby

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88 J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 45.

making commercial use of a traditional craft.

Williams's ideas about industrial development were more ambitious than anything previously tried at Hankey and highly innovative into the bargain. He concentrated upon instructing the young women, initially for two mornings a week, in the arts of spinning, knitting and weaving. James Clark was transferred from the Kat River settlement in 1839 to assist with this scheme and proved an invaluable asset to the station.

Clark had first travelled to the colony as an 1820 settler, but his ship the "Abeona" caught fire off the Equator and, after burning for fifteen hours, sank with two thirds of its passengers and crew.<sup>89</sup> Clark was one of the few who survived. With five of these same settlers he again embarked for the colony in the following year and was granted land near the Kowie River. He never got that far. Dr. Philip persuaded him to remain in Cape Town and learn the art of bricklaying, and prepare for a job on one of the stations.<sup>90</sup> In 1825 Clark went to Philippolis as an artisan and catechist, where he was soon joined by a new appointee, John Melvill. In May 1828 Clark established a San station at the confluence of the Caledon and Orange Rivers and later transferred to the Kat River to work as a schoolmaster under James Read.<sup>91</sup> Differences soon arose between himself and James Read Junior, who regarded Clark as a nuisance and a troublemaker.<sup>92</sup> Perhaps it was partly for this reason that he was moved to Hankey in 1839. Williams was an easy man to get along with and regarded Clark as a useful new assistant.

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89 H.E. Hockly, The Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa, pp 66/67 and p 212.

90 Philip to the Directors, 17th Aug. 1828, LMS Archives, 9/5/A.

91 J.O. Whitehouse, A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, etc from 1796 to 1896, p 68.

92 James Read to James Kitchingman, 4th June, 1837. Brenthurst Lib., 3349/1/22, in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 195.

Before any industrial project could be launched, the basic requirements for such a venture had to be bought or made. Williams sent home a list of necessities in January 1839, which read as follows:<sup>93</sup>

"2 looms, with or without a flying shuttle, to be furnished with treadles, pulleys, and a set of double harnesses or gears to correspond with the keys.

23 pairs of coarse and fine combs for combing the wool.

24 spools, 6 inches long for reeling.

1 reel for forming skeins.

Keys or reeds, sizes 400, 500, 600, 700 (one or more of each)

Various keys or reeds of different specified sizes."

Ventures such as spinning, knitting and weaving required the acquisition and processing of the raw wool. Here some merchants from Port Elizabeth, who had long been associated with Bethelsdorp, donated five sacks of wool for Hankey's new industry.<sup>94</sup> Williams probably built up his own flock of merino sheep after this, in keeping with the new swing to wool farming then sweeping the Eastern Cape. By 1840 it was reported that the Hankey children were picking wool in their spare time between classes.<sup>95</sup>

Preparation of the raw wool was an elaborate process and took the following form:<sup>96</sup> A quantity of wool was spread on a mat and beaten with smooth rods to loosen it. A large pot, preferably made of brass, was then filled with a mixture of two-thirds water and one third stale urine. Into this the wool was submerged and heated to a temperature just below boiling point and stirred for about an hour. It was then placed in a basket and plunged into

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93 Williams to William Ellis, Jan. 1839, LMS Archives, 16/3/A.

94 Williams to Directors, 20th Dec. 1838, LMS Archives, 16/2/C.

95 Annual Report for 1840, 27th Dec. 1840, LMS Archives, 17/3/C.

96 Information on the process of preparing the wool. J. Clark to Mrs. Kitchingman, Nov.. 1839, Brenthurst Lib., 4061.

the river to be rinsed, drained off, sprinkled with a little oil and spread out on a mat in the sun to dry. When ready, it was combed or scratched in preparation for spinning. James Clark supervised this entire operation and found that it required many more people to card the wool than it did to carry out the spinning.

Williams designed and built his own spinning wheel. This was such a success that Philip made funds available to finance the construction of a further six models on the basis of Williams's wheel. Clark made an annotated sketch of the spinning wheel and sent it on to Bethelsdorp for Kitchingman's information. It is clear that the Hankey people regarded Williams's invention as a closely guarded secret, for an injunction went with the drawing to "keep it quiet".<sup>97</sup>

Knitting operations ran into some difficulties due to the unavailability of metal needles. Nothing deterred the Welsh missionary, however, and soon these were being produced locally, made out of wood. Only coarse items such as nightcaps could be manufactured using these implements, but the sense of achievement experienced by the women, more than compensated for the shortcomings of the wooden needles.

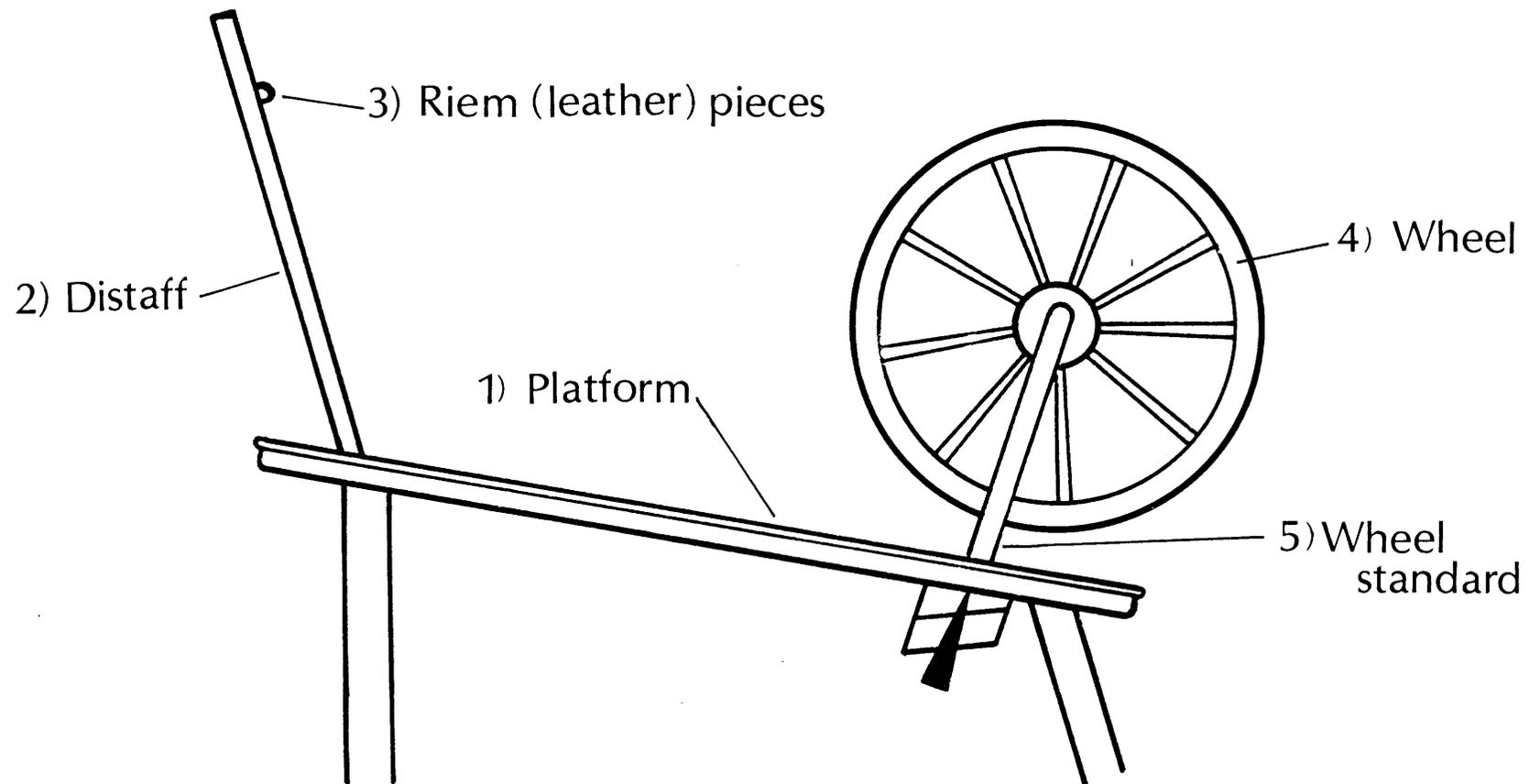
The loom, also made at Hankey, was constructed almost entirely of yellow-wood, only the minimum of iron being used.<sup>98</sup> It was capable of producing a fine-textured weave one yard in width. Because it was so narrow the strips had to be sewn together afterwards to make blankets. This detracted somewhat from their saleable value and a larger loom was planned which would do away with the necessity of joining up the strips. In the meantime each weaver was given a blanket of her own making in part payment for services rendered.<sup>99</sup>

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97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

99 Mrs. Williams to Mrs. Philip, 14th Dec. 1839, LMS Archives, 16/4/C.



CONSTRUCTION OF THE SPINNING WHEEL  
(Designed and built by Edward Williams)

One advantage of the weaving operation was that a single loom kept more than a dozen spinning wheels busy at one and the same time. This, in turn, kept many carders employed preparing the raw wool for the wheel. The latter operation was a suitable occupation for the older women on the station. By 1840 75 yards of blankets had been produced and another 35 yards of duffle were ready to make up.<sup>100</sup> Practically every female on the station except the very young, was occupied in washing, combing, carding, dressing, spinning, warping, weaving or knitting. Though not every item could be sold and the quality was not always equal to European standards, still everyone learnt from the experience. Viewed in this way, the project could be regarded as a success.

Williams had ambitious schemes for extending the irrigation system at Hankey. Before the end of 1838 two new courses for channelling water from the Klein River had been completed, one 15,000 yards in length and the other twice as long.<sup>101</sup> One of these was certainly the project planned by Melvill and the other possibly an extension of it. The people worked hard at clearing and levelling the old Government outspan for which this system was intended and the land was sub-divided into garden plots. Work began on another two water-courses and a further two were in the design stage. Altogether five or six miles of ditches were dug at Hankey though, due to the drought, they could not be fully utilised. No mention is made of a contractor for this work and Williams probably took it on himself. James Backhouse was amazed at the industry and determination of the Khoi labourers who were highly motivated. Because of the drought, their diet was insufficient and they lacked energy. Some had to leave off working on the water-courses and seek work amongst the Boers in order to stay alive.<sup>102</sup>

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100 Annual Report for 1839, 20th Jan. 1840. LMS Archives, 16/4/C.

101 Annual Report for 1838, 20th Dec. 1838. LMS Archives, 16/2/C.

102 J. Backhouse, Narrative of a Journey to the Mauritius and South Africa, p 147.

The very poor at Hankey still wore traditional karosses and in times of need lived mainly on wild roots. Those who were slightly better off could afford to wear cotton or woollen garments or fashioned leatherwear. Their food supply was more varied and nutritious and consequently their children seemed to do better at school.<sup>103</sup> The older members of the community who could no longer fend for themselves were kept from starvation by supplies from the missionary. The effects of the drought continued into 1839, complicated now by a measles epidemic. It was only the support and inspiration of the missionary which kept the people from despair.

Despite sickness and hardship the people built a number of new homes for themselves during 1839 which reflected their desire for economic advancement. Most of the constructions were neat and clean, white-washed both inside and out and divided into two rooms, with proper fireplaces and chimneys. The old-style traditional dwellings still persisted here and there. In these fires were made in the middle of the only room and the smoke escaped through the doorway or holes in the thatched roof.<sup>104</sup>

About half the funds collected by the Auxiliary Society went towards the enlargement and improvement of the church. This operation included the building of a gallery to accommodate the children, the provision of a pulpit and extra seating space. Williams appealed to London for money, clothing, pickaxes and other tradesmen's tools so that building operations could be started without delay.<sup>105</sup> He received a measure of support from the Directors. However, he was requested by them to curtail large projects as far as possible since funds were low. He converted Melvill's old house into a school and home industries centre, instead of erecting a new building, and used the

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103 Ibid.

104 Ibid, p 146.

105 Williams to the Directors, . 29th Jan, 1838. LMS Archives, 16/1/A.

old school house for housing the needy.<sup>106</sup> Besides the water shortage the crops were subjected to periodic attacks of rust and plagues of locusts. One farmer in the area spent £60 on seed for which he reaped absolutely nothing because of these plagues. Farmers in the Eastern Cape tried all sorts of remedies to ward off the locusts, the most common being to dig pits behind which sheets were stretched out vertically. The pests were then driven into them and buried, and used as fertiliser.<sup>107</sup> After a while the Hankey cows ceased to give milk and forty horses died of an epidemic.

Then came the rains, at the beginning of 1840, and, as if to make up for lost time, there was a deluge. The Gamtoos River burst its banks at midnight when the people were all asleep, rousing them from their slumbers by the roar of its rushing stream. They ran from their homes in terror and grasped at the trees and bushes to avoid being carried away. Water ran through the mission house, sending the boys tumbling from their beds; an old woman was nearly swept away and Clark, weak from dysentery, was hard put to it to save himself. Much damage was done to the lands, the water-courses and the buildings; whole trees were uprooted and carried downstream. Miraculously no lives were lost.<sup>108</sup> The water-course system was so badly damaged that it could not be repaired in time for the planting season. This was a bitter disappointment to the people who had striven so hard to complete it and who depended so utterly on the produce of the soil.

Williams's house was ruined beyond repair. He appealed to the superintendent for permission to build a new one so as to preserve the character and name of the Society and maintain the health and comfort of his family and pupils.<sup>109</sup>

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106 Annual Report for 1839, 20th Jan, 1840, LMS Archives, 16/4/C.

107 W.S. Sellick, Uitenhage, Past and Present, p 116.

108 Annual Report for 1839, 20th Jan. 1840, LMS Archives, 16/4/C.

109 Ibid.

Plans were approved for the building of a new manse. It was to be situated this time on higher ground, east of the Klein River, overlooking the Gamtoos valley and well above the flood plane. Later Williams was criticised for designing his new home along palatial lines and using expensive materials in its construction. However, it is difficult to know whether he did this for his own benefit or as a means of enhancing the image of the society he represented. Certainly he needed space to house the young men who attended his seminary. The foundation stone of the new manse was laid on 27th November, 1840 and the Hankey people promised to give of their time and labour in order to effect its construction.<sup>110</sup> Despite this generous offer building operations took several years to complete. The reason for this was that Williams absented himself from the station for long periods at a time. He developed a throat infection in 1840 which took away the use of his voice and left him weak and in need of treatment. During his absence in Cape Town a young missionary of Jewish descent, Edward Solomon, was sent to fill his place.

##### 5. Edward Solomon Takes a Turn

Edward Solomon was only twenty years of age when he first came to Hankey towards the end of 1840. he was the son of a Jewish merchant, born on the island of St. Helena in 1820, the youngest of three sons. In 1832 his father decided to emigrate to the Cape Colony so as to provide his children with a good education. In due course they were all enrolled at the South African College in Cape Town.<sup>111</sup> No attempt was made by their parents to dissuade them from attending the Christian church and at the age of sixteen Edward Solomon was converted to Christianity. He was ordained in the Union Chapel in Cape Town on 21st October, 1840,<sup>112</sup> and sailed for Algoa Bay soon thereafter

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110 Annual Report for 1840, 27th Dec. 1840, LMS Archives, 17/3/C.

111 B. Jordaan, Splintered Crucifix, pp 152/154.

112 J.O. Whitehouse, A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, etc. from 1796 to 1896, p 138.



**The 1840 Manse**

with his young wife, Jessie Matthews (a niece of Dr. Philip.) It had not been the superintendent's intention to send Solomon so soon into the interior. However, the young man was a very promising candidate for missionary endeavour and there was no-one else of his calibre available to replace Williams.<sup>113</sup>

Philip asked Kitchingman to find a waggon for the Solomons to take them to Hankey from Port Elizabeth and to present a letter of instructions to the young missionary.<sup>114</sup> On their arrival in Algoa Bay they discovered that the Reverend Robson had met with a serious accident which prevented him from carrying out his normal duties. Because of his incapacity the Solomons remained in Port Elizabeth for a few weeks to assist him.<sup>115</sup> Williams's removal to Cape Town to have medical treatment was thereby delayed and he only arrived in March 1841. His doctor in Port Elizabeth, Dr. Chalmers, had recommended a journey inland either to Griquatown or to Philippolis to help him overcome his affliction,<sup>116</sup> but this never transpired. The Welsh missionary went west to the mother city and returned periodically to Hankey whenever a slight improvement in his condition made this possible.

Within a month of leaving Hankey, Williams's complaint was only slightly better and his Cape Town physician recommended a sea voyage to St. Helena. Instead he took a boat trip to Algoa Bay and thence on to the Gamtoos valley. On this occasion he was accompanied by Dr. Philip's second eldest son William who was on a tour of the stations with his wife, with instructions to survey the Society's lands.<sup>117</sup> Another young missionary joined Williams and William Philip in Port Elizabeth and accompanied them on the bumpy ride by

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113 Philip to J.J. Freeman, 26th Oct. 1840, LMS Archives, 17/2/D.

114 Philip to Kitchingman, 9th Oct, 1840. Brenthurst Lib., 3347.

115 Solomon to J.J. Freeman, 5th Feb. 1842, LMS Archives, 18/2/D.

116 Philip to Kitchingman, 9th Oct. 1840, Brenthurst Lib., 3347.

117 Philip to Kitchingman, April, 1841, Brenthurst Lib., 3347.

ox-waggon to Hankey. He was David Livingstone who later became famous for his exploration of the African hinterland. Whilst awaiting the completion of his own waggon for the long 530 mile journey northwards to Kuruman, Livingstone accepted an invitation to visit Hankey. He was not disappointed with what he saw. The scenery along the way delighted him and gave him a taste for travel in Africa which he was never to lose, this despite the tortuous route they took along the sea shore and inland over hills so steep that the oxen could scarcely hold out.<sup>118</sup>

The party arrived in Hankey at the end of April 1841. The visitors were given a tumultuous welcome with the singing of hymns and firing of guns from both sides of the river. Solomon had proved himself a well liked and capable missionary. Nonetheless the people were thankful to have their old pastor once more in their midst. In Cape Town the Williams's had lost their eighteen-month old son after an illness of short duration and the people showed their sympathy by wearing black bands or black handkerchiefs around their heads. "My expectations have been far exceeded." wrote Livingstone to his parents after the visit. "Everything I witnessed surpassed my hopes, and if this one station is a fair sample of the whole, the statements of the missionaries with regard to their success is far within the truth. They have not been guilty of vain boasting."<sup>120</sup>

The early morning prayer meetings, begun by Williams during the measles epidemic, had been continued by Solomon with equally strong support. Family groups were to be seen everywhere outside in the pre-dawn dusk, sitting round

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118 David Livingstone to his parents, 19th May, 1841 in I. Schapera, Livingstone Family Letters, 1841-1856, Vol 1, pp 33/34.

119 Williams to Directors, 23rd Feb. 1842, LMS Archives, 18/3/B.

120 David Livingstone to his parents, 19th May, 1841, in I. Schapera, Livingstone Family Letters, 1841-1856, Vol 1, p 35.

their fires and singing hymns until the rocks re-echoed with their voices. Livingstone was duly impressed. He found the Hankey people infinitely superior to some of the local farmers. He visited at least one White family whilst he was at Hankey to attend a sick child.<sup>121</sup> On 20th May 1841 Livingstone set out from Algoa Bay in his own waggon on his journey northwards.

After spending a few weeks with his people, Williams returned to Cape Town on horseback. He took this opportunity to investigate the areas through which he passed with a view to their being included in the Society's sphere of influence. He recommended establishing stations at Stellenbosch and Riversdale and bought a property in the latter village at his own expense.<sup>122</sup>

William Philip didn't remain long at Hankey due to technical difficulties connected with his work. When he began surveying the Hankey lands it was discovered that the beacons failed to coincide with those marked on the Society's maps. Re-siting involved legal action and a supreme court decision so it was pointless for him to begin a survey. He prepared to move on to another station, but before doing so paid a Sunday visit to Cambria in the company of Edward Solomon. This visit was to completely change the course of his life. Two cases of smallpox were discovered on the station, the start of a serious epidemic.<sup>123</sup>

Smallpox had been introduced into the Colony by slaves from other parts of the British Empire and had worked its way speedily around the country with devastating effect. In 1839 over 300 cases were reported at Betheldsorp. Two years later the disease began taking its toll at the Kat River Settlement, though vaccination was available for

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121 Ibid.

122 Williams to Directors, 23rd Feb. 1842, LMS Archives, 18/3/B.

123 Williams Philip to Rev. Tidman, Annual Report for 1842, 3rd Jan. 1843, LMS Archives, 18/5/C.

those caught in time.<sup>124</sup> At Cambria William believed that this was a God-sent opportunity to use his medical knowledge to good advantage. Before he left England the Directors had pointed out to William the many benefits which could be gained from a knowledge of medicine. "With this" they wrote in their letters of credence, "you will be enabled, under the blessing of God, to remove or to alleviate the bodily diseases and sufferings of the people, to excite emotions of joy and gratitude in their hearts, and to acquire a moral influence over them which otherwise it might be difficult to gain."<sup>125</sup> There being no medical aid within sixty miles of Cambria besides that which William himself had to offer, the young missionary saw it as his duty to remain.

At first the attacks were mild and the people grew careless of exposure in spite of the Williams's many warnings. He had seen suffering in the industrial towns of northern England, but nothing to compare with conditions at Cambria. Many of the victims had no mats on which to lay their ulcerated bodies, no blankets to keep them from the cold at night and no food to eat apart from a few dried mealies. The local farmers, naturally fearful of contracting the disease, refused the people work. They accepted money in payment for food only if it was first cast into a bucket of water and purified.<sup>126</sup> Ninety people were affected and 22 died within three months, of whom five were the victims of starvation. At Bethelsdorp the death rate amounted to between 25 and 35 in every 100; at Cambria the number of deaths was half of this. Notwithstanding the carelessness of the people, therefore, William Philip's treatment of the Cambria people assisted them to a certain extent.

The smallpox and measles epidemics which ran through the

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124 J. Read Senior to James Kitchingman, 12th Oct. 1841, Brenthurst Lib. 3349/2/7 in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 222.

125 Directors to William Philip, 10th Aug. 1840. P.Philip Coll., p 46.

126 Annual Report for 1842, 3rd Jan. 1843. LMS Archives, 18/3/C.

colony in the late 1830's and early 1840's were made worse by the dispersal of the ex-slaves who were released towards the end of 1838. Many of these people migrated to the towns and villages, where they lived in unhygienic slum conditions, the breeding grounds for disease. The epidemics were a hundredfold worse amongst the ex-slave and Khoi populations than amongst the Whites.<sup>127</sup> At Cambria smallpox took away Mrs. William Philip's trustworthy maid and left the missionary's wife without any assistance during her confinement. Oral tradition has it that another woman was subsequently appointed who fled the scene as soon as Alison went into labour.<sup>128</sup>

In June 1841, in Cape Town, Mrs. Edward Williams gave birth to twin daughters. Three months later the family set out east again for Hankey. The superintendent and Mr. Bruce, a gentleman from India, accompanied them. The party experienced serious delays along the way: Dr. Philip injured his leg, then the waggon broke down and the party moved slowly, when it moved at all, because of Mrs. Williams's two small babies.<sup>129</sup> The party visited Pacaltsdorp, Dysseisdorp and Avontuur on their way to Hankey, the latter being the station in the Langkloof which Williams had recently established. The experiment was an interesting one. A Dutch farmer in the neighbourhood offered the use of a house and grazing land to Mr. W. Hood, the missionary. In return Mr Hood organised the church and the schools. The Society owned none of the land, but the farmer offered plots on easy terms to those who wanted to settle there. In this way the farmer gained a stable labour force and the people (mostly ex-slaves) enjoyed both a religious and secular education and a place in the sun. One of the Society's Directors, J.J. Freeman, visited the station a few years later and was suitably impressed by the progress

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127 J.C. Chase, The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay, p 236.

128 Note by P.H. Philip on letter Mrs. Philip to William Philip, 19th Nov. 1841. P. Philip Coll., p 49.

129 Dr. Philip to William Philip, 21st Oct. 1841. P. Philip Coll., p 47.

which had been made.<sup>130</sup>

When Dr. Philip and his party reached Hankey, they were met by James Read Senior and his wife, and a Captain Fenning, all of whom had come to accompany the superintendent on the rest of his tour round the stations. Samuel Watson Fenning of the Regiment of Artillery, Bengal Service, was on leave at the Cape at the time. He made a fine water-colour sketch of the village, whilst at Hankey, the only pictorial record yet discovered of the early settlement.<sup>131</sup>

The visitors arrived at an awkward time, for Mrs. Solomon was in labour with her first child. For more than a week her life hung in the balance. As soon as it was convenient to do so, Dr. Philip and Mr. Bruce visited William Philip at Cambria. Their arrival had long been expected and a sheep had been set aside for them.<sup>132</sup> William was away from home attending a patient and Alison was in bed, recovering from the birth of her son, John Lethem Philip, who was born on 28th October, 1841.<sup>133</sup> When Dr. Philip's wife heard about her husband's inopportune "arrivals" at Hankey and Cambria, she wished that her husband had chosen a better time to visit the Gamtoos valley! Jessie Solomon was very ill after the birth of her child and, having a weak constitution, she took a long time to recover.<sup>134</sup> The Hankey people prayed earnestly for her deliverance and as soon as she was well enough to travel, it was decided to release Solomon from his duties so that she could convalesce in Port Elizabeth.<sup>135</sup>

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130 J.J. Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, p 43.

131 Water-colour sketch of Hankey by S.W. Fenning reproduced in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitching-man Papers, p 108. See also p 225, n 132.

132 Note on Biographical Sketch of the Reverend William Enow Philip by T.D. Philip. P.Philips Coll., p 118.

133 P. Philip, A Fifehire Family, The Descendants of John and Thomas Philip, Vol 1, p 33.

134 Mrs. Philip to William and Alison Philip, 19th Nov. 1841, P. Philip Coll., p 49.

135 Solomon to J.J. Freeman, Feb. 1842, LMS Archives, 18/2/D.

As from 17th January, 1842, Edward Williams was again left in charge of Hankey, a duty which he willingly assumed. Though Solomon's child had survived, one of his own twin daughters had died soon after his arrival in Hankey and neither he nor his wife wanted to accompany Dr. Philip further on their tour.

The Welshman's return to Hankey was heralded by another revival. All sections of the community were affected, from the children to the old and hardened sinners. There had been few back sliders during Solomon's first year in office. He had received twenty people into church fellowship during this time and baptised a further eighteen.<sup>136</sup> Williams made a number of stirring speeches to the people but before long the old throat infection returned and he lost the use of his voice altogether. Coming over to Hankey to treat the Welshman's child, William Philip found Williams in a very poor condition, and decided to take control of the station until his father's return. Solomon had gone over to Stinkwater in the Kat River Settlement to help James Read Junior whilst his father was away. Only when the party came south again did Solomon return to Hankey.<sup>137</sup>

Meanwhile the two missionaries, Edward Williams and William Philip, were together at Hankey, the one officially in command but sick, the other taking over in a temporary capacity, impatient and headstrong. It was an awkward situation for them both. When the two had first set out together for the Gamtoos valley in April 1841, Dr. Philip had expressed misgivings as to whether they would be able to work together.<sup>138</sup> It seems that his apprehension was well grounded. Edward Williams and William Philip didn't get along well together at all and this was due primarily to a

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136 Solomon to J.J. Freeman, 5th Feb. 1842, LMS Archives, 18/2/D.

137 B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 225, n 126.

138 Dr. Philip to Kitchingman, 15th May 1841, Brenthurst Lib. 3347.

clash of personalities. Edward Williams had a sanguine temperament, whereas William Philip was rather obstinate, hyper-logical in his thinking and with a temper which often needed cooling.<sup>139</sup> Blame for the rift between them does not lie with William Philip alone. In September 1842 Edward Williams quarrelled with Solomon over a dispute which had begun with their wives. Before long there was an "open rupture" between the two parties.<sup>140</sup>

Domestic upheavals of this kind were bound to take place occasionally between missionary brethren who were living and working together, yet far removed from other European society. In this case William Philip sided with the Solomons and was indiscreet enough to divulge confidences about Williams, entrusted to him by his father, so as to gain the upper hand in an argument.<sup>141</sup>

Williams retired to Port Elizabeth where Dr. Chalmers performed a painful operation to his throat by removing two large growths. Chalmers had earlier predicted that a return to Hankey would be the death of Williams.<sup>142</sup> At the end of 1843 he returned with his family to England, and died in the following year.

Edward Williams had been an enthusiastic and able missionary, who devoted himself entirely to the interests of the Hankey people, enhancing the institution's image in the eyes both of the Society and of the world. He was not, however, a man without shortcomings which became apparent during his stay in the Gamtoos valley. His enthusiasm sometimes bordered on the impetuous, and an inconsistency in his thinking and conduct were sometimes confusing. He purchased Kruisfontein in his own name and with his own

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139 James Read, Junior, to Kitchingman, Brenthurst Lib. 3349/2/11, 2nd Jan. 1842, quoted in B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 224.

140 Kitchingman to T.S. Merrington, 27th Sept. 1842, Jagger Lib., BC 612.

141 Ibid.

142 Dr. Philip to Kitchingman, 19th Oct. 1840, Brenthurst Lib. 3347.

funds, ostensibly for the benefit of the freed slaves. Yet he never made it clear whether he intended the land to belong to the people or whether he wished to hold it in trust and loan it out to them for their use. After his death there was much confusion over who should pay the station's expenses and whether his widow was entitled to inherit the land.<sup>143</sup> The matter was only straightened out years later in 1857 when the Society purchased Kruisfontein from Mrs. Williams.<sup>144</sup> Edward Williams allowed his enthusiasm to run away with him in the case of Riversdale which he bought on the spur of the moment, without consulting the Society and had to dispose of again when no decision was taken to establish a station there.

Cambria was another case in point. Williams advocated its purchase towards the end of 1838, yet five months later he recommended its exchange for Herman's farm, adjoining Hankey.<sup>145</sup> The argument given for this change of mind was that Cambria was too far removed from Hankey and that there were few farmers to provide employment. Dr. Philip had made the same point twenty years before. Perhaps only after it had been purchased did Williams learn that in times of flood Cambria was completely cut off from the outside world and in drought years the water of the Groot River was too brackish to be used. After the onset of his illness Williams changed his mind constantly and the superintendent found this very confusing.

Notwithstanding his deficiencies, Edward Williams left Hankey with a number of triumphs to his credit, such as the founding of the teacher training college, which pre-dated Lovedale by two years. The latter institution was more

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143 Dr. Philip to Tidman, 23rd Nov. 1844. LMS Archives, 20/3/B.

144 Kruisfontein was transferred to the London Missionary Society on 14th Sept., 1857. Rhodes Univ., MS 14,542. Cory.

145 Dr. Philip to Kitchingman, 20th May, 1839. Brenthurst Lib., 3347.

dynamic and long-lasting, having its own full-time rector, and a policy of accepting students from all denominations,<sup>146</sup> yet it mirrored the Hankey seminary in accepting students from all racial groups. Of the eight pupils in attendance at Williams's institution, three of the seniors became teachers, one at Kruisfontein, another at Port Elizabeth and a third obtained a post on a farm. Two of the juniors went to Kat River to study under James Read upon Williams's retirement, and the Welshman took another one home with him to England.<sup>147</sup> Williams left behind him at Hankey an atmosphere of harmony and goodwill, upon which his successor was able to build.

Edward Solomon came back to the Gamtoos valley for a short while in 1842, but Dr. Philip soon arranged for him to be transferred to Griquatown. William Philip took over officially in August, 1842. Though Solomon left the Society altogether in 1857 he maintained a close interest in missionary affairs. He was later appointed one of three commissioners who prepared the Missionary Institutions Bill which provided for the gradual transfer of freehold lands to those living on the stations.<sup>148</sup> Jessie's baby daughter died, but four sons born thereafter did their father credit. One became Chief Justice of the Union and another High Commissioner in London.<sup>149</sup> As a temporary replacement for Edward Williams, Solomon had been an excellent choice. The time he spent with William Philip before leaving for the north was taken up in meaningful discussions on the station's improvement.

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146 J. du Plessis, History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p 185/6.

147 Williams to Directors, Nov. 1843, LMS Archives, 19/2/D.

148 R. Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895, pp 377/378.

149 B. Jordaan, Splintered Crucifix, p 155.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE TUNNEL

## 1. William Enowy Philip

William Enowy Philip was a practical, intelligent and enterprising young man whose talents were to raise the fortunes of the Hankey residents beyond their wildest dreams. The few contemporary accounts of him which are available, written mainly by family and friends, give us some idea of his strengths and weaknesses. Even so, William remains something of an enigma to anyone attempting an assessment of his personality today. William's brother, Thomas Durant Philip, wrote a short biography of him shortly after his death, which provides us with a cameo portrait of the man behind the legend:<sup>1</sup>

"Everyone that knew the Reverend William Philip would admit that he was a man of no ordinary stamp. His intellectual abilities were above average, but not so remarkable as the rapidity with which he formed his judgements and the promptitude and energy with which he carried them into execution. All difficulties seemed to disappear before the fiery ardour of his will. These excellent qualities had the drawback of bringing him occasionally into collision with the more tardy and sluggish movements of other minds that had independence and .. inertia enough to resist his influence, but in other cases he carried along with him those with whom he came into contact as by his own impetuosity."

William had a hot temper. He could attack his enemies in an argument with the same whiplash energy that he employed to drive his muscular but resilient little horse when riding off on an errand of mercy. He was disliked by some of his colleagues, admired and appreciated by others. The Gamtoos valley Boers, to whom he rendered

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1 "Biographical Sketch of the Reverend William Enowy Philip by Thomas Durant Philip," PHP, p 115. Extracts from this document are reproduced in P. Philip, A Fifeshire Family: The Descendants of John and Thomas Philip, Vol 2, pp 139/140. All the biographical details of William Philip's early life have been taken, unless otherwise stated, from this source.

an excellent medical service, thought very highly of William. Above all the young missionary was loved by the Hankey people who looked to him for their salvation and advancement.

Who was this fiery young man (only 28 years of age when he took over at Hankey) who came to the Gamtoos valley to survey the institution's lands and stayed to revolutionise the irrigation system? William Enowy Philip was born in Aberdeen on the 31st July, 1814, the second son of John and Jane Philip. He came to the Cape with his parents and elder brother, John Ross, in 1819. When William was twelve years of age the family returned to England on one of the superintendent's periodic visits and the two boys were enrolled at Mill Hill School near London. Being a rebellious child William soon found himself at odds with his teachers and resented the restrictions placed upon him by so many rules and regulations.

In 1829 his father placed him in Marischal College, University of Aberdeen, under the charge of Dr. Brown, the intention being that William would study for a career in medicine. After a few months he abandoned this course and ran away to join the Royal Navy. His guardian, finding out just in time of the impetuous youngster's plan, persuaded William to accept an officer's berth in the merchant navy. In this capacity he spent the next three years, sailing to far-off places and learning a lot about human nature. One important skill which William picked up whilst in the merchant navy was that of navigation; another was the art of handling people in compromising situations. In 1833, whilst William was serving on a ship plying the Indian Ocean, the captain died suddenly of apoplexy. The second in command who took control was so mentally unbalanced that he allowed the ship to drift directionless for weeks on end. Finally William seized his chance and brought the boat into Port Louis, Mauritius. It was a harrowing experience which induced him to abandon the seafaring life forever and go, tail between his legs, to join his father in Cape Town. Prior to this experience William had

regarded the navy as an excellent career;<sup>2</sup> later he became appalled at the class of people with whom he had mixed.<sup>3</sup>

With all the trials and tribulations behind him, William Philip realised the value of a good education. He expressed a desire to resume those studies so carelessly abandoned several years before. Dr. Philip detained him in Cape Town for the next two and a half years to study land surveying and in due course qualified William as a Sworn Government Surveyor. He founded the Young Men's Christian Association during his stay in the Cape Colony, Edward Solomon being one of its members<sup>4</sup> and began evangelising amongst the underprivileged.

In 1836 Dr. Philip made a trip to England; William went along with him to attend Glasgow University and study for the ministry. Concurrent with this degree he took courses in medicine at the Andersonian University, as did some of the other missionaries-in-training, such as David Livingstone. The two became firm friends.<sup>5</sup>

In Glasgow William met and married Alison Blair Bell, a young Scots girl from the Isle of Arran who was only 17 years of age at the time of their union.<sup>6</sup> His long and detailed letters to Alison, written whilst William was visiting London and Paris in order to gain first-hand experience of applied medical science, reveal the young man's convictions and pre-occupations. These included a

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2 William Philip to Dr. Philip, End 1832, P. Philip Coll., pp5/6.

3 William Philip to Dr. Philip, 15th Nov. 1833, P. Philip Coll., p 11.

4 Letter to William Philip from Juvenile Christian Society or Young Men's Christian Association, 15th Aug. 1836. P. Philip Coll., pp 13/14.

5 P. Ffolliott, "The Man Who Built the Hankey Tunnel", in The Eastern Province Herald, 4th May 1970.

6 P. Philip, A Fifeshire Family, Vol 1. p 33.



**William Enowy Philip and his wife, Alison**

determination to serve the missionary cause to the best of his ability and a firmly-held belief in the value of a good education. Perhaps he was remembering his own mis-spent youth when he urged Alison to give at least four hours daily to her studies. She was urged to concentrate on history, geography, mathematics and metaphysics and to cultivate writing in good style. William was very anxious that she should not show her ignorance in Cape society or disgrace his parents once the two of them were settled in the Cape Colony. It was hoped that Alison would help Mrs. Philip with her Bible classes and meetings. The young girl had to start planning for this beforehand.<sup>7</sup>

Alison found the prospect of so much cramming and cultural improvement in so short a space of time rather daunting. She quaked at the thought of the enormous duties which lay ahead. William tried to allay her fears by gallantly stating that in his opinion a missionary's wife should be a companion, a comfort and an ornament to her husband rather than an out and out intellectual.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless his constant references to study and reading indicate that William expected his wife to have more than a smattering of general knowledge. William himself was passionately fond of reading and found it difficult to refrain from talking and writing about the books he had read. On his death he left a library of 224 books at Hankey, all of them lovingly brought over from Britain.<sup>9</sup>

Besides appealing to Alison to study intensively and improve her written skills, William also urged her, before they departed for Africa, to familiarise herself with the arts of soap and candle making, weaving and plaiting straw

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7 William Philip to Alison Blair Bell, undated, about June/August 1839. P. Philip Coll., pp 26/27.

8 William Philip to Alison Blair Bell, 4th Sept. 1839. P. Philip Coll., p 31.

9 Inventory of Property owned by William Philip when he died, including specified list of 224 books: Cape Town Archives. Death Notice M00C 6/9/37 D/N 8042.

hats and manufacturing cheese and butter. He was a romantic at heart and took a particular interest in the subject of chivalry.<sup>10</sup> Yet he expected his wife to be practical and accomplished as well as loving and pretty. Thomas Durant, William's younger brother, who had introduced the couple to one another, also gave Alison some advice before the couple left for Africa. He advised her to stand by her convictions. In reverse proportion to the intensity with which these were held would all her difficulties disappear.<sup>11</sup>

The couple sailed for the Cape in August 1840 and for six months William assisted his father in his multifarious duties. This did not satisfy the young man for long and he was given the assignment of surveying the Society's properties in the colony. He was to begin at Hankey, which by now was a well known station and very much in the public eye.

## 2. A Fresh Approach

William Philip spent a year at Cambria coping with the smallpox epidemic, before returning to Hankey to take over from Edward Williams in about June, 1842. He assumed his new office with some trepidation since so much had been written and spoken about the station's flourishing condition and spiritual revivals under Edward Williams that William feared any falling off would be attributed to his own shortcomings.<sup>12</sup> He was somewhat jealous of his predecessor's achievements and disliked the idea of having to compete with someone else for his good name. It

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10 At this time William Philip was reading Mill's "History of Chivalry", Sir Walter Scot's "Tales of the Crusades", etc. William Philip to Alison Blair Bell, 4th Sept. 1839. P. Philip Coll., p 30.

11 Thomas Durant Philip to Alison Blair Bell, 9th March 1840. P. Philip Coll., p 41.

12 William Philip's Annual Report for 1842, 3rd Jan. 1843. LMS Archives, 18/5/C.

therefore came as a shock to him, to learn that moves were afoot, sanctioned by his own father, to install John Melvill at Kruisfontein. He wanted to itinerate in the surrounding district. William saw this as a halving of his own sphere of influence and found it impossible to accept. If Melvill were settled at Kruisfontein, William reasoned, then many Hankey people, especially those without garden plots, would be attracted to the station. This in turn might induce Thomas Melvill to make a gift of all or part of his farm to their people. Rightly or wrongly, William interpreted this arrangement as a plot by Edward Williams to bring about his own downfall and lodged strong objections to it ever coming into being.<sup>13</sup>

It is doubtful whether Melvill would have moved to Kruisfontein, even if William Philip had given the plan his blessing. In 1842, Melvill was suffering from an eye complaint which obliged him to retire from Dysselsdorp and go to Pacaltsdorp to convalesce.<sup>14</sup> This disease became so severe that in 1844 he went to Cape Town to receive treatment.<sup>15</sup> The Kruisfontein affair gives us some insight into a negative aspect of William's nature: an inability to countenance competition in any shape or form.

In 1842 there was a terrible drought in the Eastern Cape. Many of the crops not affected by the water shortage were eaten up by locusts. Only the irrigated and protected gardens at Hankey escaped being ravaged in one way or another and helped to sustain the people, together with food supplies purchased by the missionary. William lodged an official complaint about the missionary salaries. These had remained the same for a long time whilst the price of foodstuffs such as meat, meal, potatoes and butter had

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13 William Philip to Dr. Philip, 28th Sept. 1842. P. Philip Coll., p 63.

14 William Anderson to James Kitchingman, 8th Feb. 1842. Brenthurst Lib., 4061/28/9.

15 Mrs. John Philip to James Kitchingman, Brenthurst Lib., 3347/211/25.

increased threefold in the same period.<sup>16</sup> Most of the Hankey residents - virtually all the men, many of the women and a number of the children - sought work amongst the farmers at this time, and laboured for wages so low that they could barely make ends meet. Notwithstanding the drought, few people were absent from the station for more than two or three weeks at a time. William marvelled at the tenacity of these people who would walk many miles to attend one of his Sunday services.<sup>17</sup>

It was against his principles to speak loosely of religious revivals on the station and to attribute sentiments to his congregation which might not have been there. The resurgence of religious feeling experienced by the people when their old pastor, Edward Williams, returned to them at the beginning of 1842, was followed by a certain falling off when he left. William Philip's appointment to Hankey in August 1842 did much to reverse this trend.<sup>18</sup> He was cautious about baptising new enquirers and accepting people into church fellowship who did not seem entirely worthy of this honour. There was a considerable amount of status attached to being a church member and the missionary had the difficult task of distinguishing between "those who are influenced by the spirit of God" and "those who seek the praise of men."<sup>19</sup>

Sunday services at Hankey were arranged as follows: two were held in Dutch and one in English, conducted by William Philip or by William Kelly. The pastor not on duty at Hankey would travel either to Kruisfontein or Cambria. At Kruisfontein, where Pegine van rooyen was in charge, two services were held on Sundays and one adult school.<sup>20</sup> James Clark officiated at Cambria and took the Sunday services

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16 Annual Report for 1842, 3rd Jan. 1843. LMS Archives, 18/5/C.

17 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 17th Dec. 1842. P& Philip Coll., p 65.

18 Report of the Directors for 1845, p 102.

19 Annual Report for 1842, 3rd Jan. 1843. LMS Archives, 18/5/C.

20 Report of the Directors for 1844, p 88. William Philip to Edward Solomon, undated, about May 1844. P. Philip Coll. p 93.

except when William Philip came over from Hankey to arrange communion, baptisms or marriages.<sup>21</sup> Weekday evenings at Hankey were taken up by prayer meetings, adult classes or exhortations. Here William was ably assisted by Kelly.

The moral climate on the stations was exceptionally good, virtually no drunkenness being reported, no swearing nor theft and few incidents of adultery. Hendrick Damant was the only drunkard. He had the temerity to bring liquor onto the station, for which indiscretion his lands and privileges were taken away from him.<sup>22</sup> It is not known whether he was of European or Khoi descent. His surname suggests that he was a descendant of John, Thomas or Edward Damant who had stayed in the Gamtoos valley in the early 1820's.

Kelly had charge of the Hankey junior school, a task he executed to everyone's satisfaction. Though housed in a dilapidated building, the school was reputedly one of the finest of its kind in the colony.<sup>23</sup> In lean times the children survived mainly on wild roots, beans and berries collected in the woods. Mrs. Kelly ran the infant school at first, but she gave this up in the course of 1842. William appealed to London urgently for a replacement and offered free board and lodging, plus a salary supplement out of his own pocket, to the right person.<sup>24</sup> Alison was unable to assist, for she already ran the evening prayer meetings, adult evening school and craft classes.<sup>25</sup> In 1843 William put in for a Government subsidy to help him run the

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21 Annual Report for 1842, 3rd Jan 1843. LMS Archives, 18/5/C.

22 William Philip to Edward Solomon, undated, about May, 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 93.

23 Annual Report for 1842, 3rd Jan. 1843. LMS Archives, 18/5/C.

24 William Philip to Dr. Philip, 25th May, 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 76.

25 Ibid.

schools.<sup>26</sup> The education provided at Hankey had been highly commended to the authorities by one of their visiting inspectors.<sup>27</sup> Church and school attendance figures in respect of Hankey and Kruisfontein for the years 1842, 1843, 1844 and 1845 are given in tabulated form below:<sup>28</sup>

	1842	1843	1844	1845
Population of Hankey and Kruisfontein	1,000	1,000	1,000	
<u>Hankey</u>				
Number of families		80		
Day School for Juveniles	30/40		50	60
Infant School				80
Sewing School				40
Sabbath Schools Adults			150	
Juveniles			65	
Average Congregation				
On Sabbath	300	280		
On Weekdays:(between 40/100)				
(including Adult School)	40/100			
Church Members			130	138
Candidates for Church Fellowship			12	
<u>Kruisfontein</u>				
Number of Families		40/50		
Day School	30	35		
Sabbath School		140		

Whenever the opportunity presented itself William would hold a service on one of the White farms, though in general his duties at Hankey didn't permit this sort of activity. Edward Williams and Edward Solomon had made contact with the farmers by means of their scanty medical knowledge.

26 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 17th Nov. 1843, P. Philip Coll., p 89.

27 Report on Education to the Government by a Government official, copy of which was included in letter from Dr. Philip to the Directors, 2nd April, 1844. LMS Archives, 20/1/D.

28 Annual Report for 1842, 3rd Jan. 1843. LMS Archives, 18/5/C. and Reports to the Directors for 1844, pp 187/88; 1845, pp 102/103; 1846, pp 97/98.

The latter treated a Mr. Hughes - perhaps Francis Hughes, an apprentice indentured to John and Thomas Damant in 1819 - amongst others. William Philip was the only professionally qualified medical doctor to be stationed at Hankey and his homoeopathic cures, acquired in Glasgow, London and Paris, were very popular amongst the colonists. They ordered his globules in large quantities and firmly believed that he cured them by "sympathie" in other words, by jugglery.<sup>29</sup>

Remembering the words of the Directors that his medical knowledge placed him in the desirable position of being able to influence others, William never lost the opportunity to communicate "a word in season" to the farmers whenever he graced them with a visit. Of necessity such calls were kept to a minimum, except in the case of close friends and colleagues, such as the wife of the missionary at Uitenhage whom he treated in November 1843.<sup>30</sup> William Philip always charged for his visits to the farmers and could have built up a remunerative practice in the Gamtoos valley, had not Hankey been his first priority.

In 1843 William tried to help the Hankey residents, without making money for himself, by establishing a shop on the institution. This was run with the assistance of Kelly, but it probably didn't stay open for very long. When she got to hear of the project Mrs. Philip wrote to her son expressing her disapproval. In her experience such ventures were doomed to failure since either the people lost confidence in their missionary whom they regarded as avaricious, even if prices were low, or they got into debt and stayed away from church.<sup>31</sup> At Bethelsdorp a shop was operated by two laymen, the Kemp brothers, and this was a more sensible proposition.

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29 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, undated, about Sept. 1843, P. Philip Coll., p 81.

30 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 17th Nov. 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 88.

31 Mrs. Philip to William Philip, 16th Aug. 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 101.

With the onset of the terrible drought of 1842 which ruined all the crops and drove many families from the institution, William Philip took the decision to introduce trade-training at Hankey so as to give some of the youngsters alternative forms of employment. For several reasons he placed little value on Edward Williams's attempts at developing a wool industry: it had been unprofitable; the people had disliked the confinement it necessitated; the activities themselves, wool winding and blanket weaving, did not have a particularly civilising influence on the people, as far as William could tell.

Edward Williams was quick to justify his position with regard to the Hankey wool industry. He maintained that he had never intended to compete with the English market, nor yet to shackle the people to a new form of slavery. His principal interest had been teaching the value of honest and productive labour as an alternative to idleness and gossip.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps William Philip was right in supposing that the people were not yet ready for operating heavy machinery or following complicated procedures. On the other hand it is a pity that the project was not given a longer period in which to establish its true worth.

Attention was given to training selected youths in the arts of blacksmithery, carpentry and waggon-building. William Philip built and fitted out shops for these trades entirely at his own expense. James Backhouse donated £6 for the education of a trainee and one of the blacksmith's apprentices was duly selected for sponsorship.<sup>33</sup> Donations of this kind were sometimes accompanied by awkward provisos such as the bestowing of a new name on the recipient. In such cases this was usually the same as that of

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32 Edward Williams to Directors, Nov. 1843, LMS Archives; 19/2/D.

33 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 18th Oct, 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 84, and Mrs Philip to William Philip, 26th Jan. 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 91.

the benefactor. William found such stipulations distasteful and confessed to his mother: "This is the kind of benevolence which demands the highest degree of liberality to accept as such."<sup>34</sup>

The women and children remained in Alison's charge to learn the arts of straw hat and bonnet making and needlework. After a while some of the younger students were able to earn a little money for themselves in this way. The older women were not as amenable to training as had been hoped.<sup>35</sup>

The drought put paid to building operations during 1842 and many houses which had been started in 1840 and 1841 were still in a state of incompleteness. The new manse begun by Edward Williams also stood unfinished and was a source of acute embarrassment to William Philip. Edward Solomon had helped design the building but Edward Williams had modified the design to include three extra apartments.<sup>36</sup> To William this was pure extravagance. In the Welshman's defence it must be said that he was making plans for a seminary to be housed in this building and needed a lot of space. This does not justify his ordering expensive materials however, and William replaced what he could with cheaper products. There were far too many doorlocks for one thing and all the extra ones were dispensed with. William ordered thatch in place of slate for the roof, used common and easily obtainable types of wood wherever possible and did away with wainscoting, closets and cupboards.<sup>37</sup>

The Hankey people were bound to the soil and the key to their future development lay more than anywhere else in the exploitation of the institution's agricultural potential.

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34 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 18th Oct. 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 84.

35 William Philip to Dr. Philip, 21st April, 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 71.

36 William Philip to Dr. Philip, 28th Sept., 1842. P. Philip Coll., p 64.

37 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 17th Dec., 1842.

"No farm is more capable of improvement than this"<sup>38</sup> William wrote to the Directors, and ordered a proper plough from England soon after he had arrived on the station. He was a great believer in the scientific method and Edward William's water-course came in for criticism because it failed to provide enough water in the summer months when it was most urgently needed. William adapted this construction and built another better one which gave water all the year round. Even Edward Williams, before he left, had to admit the advantages to be gained from the innovation and promised to collect £20 towards the cost.<sup>39</sup> The rest of the expenses William bore out of his own pocket though he could ill-afford to do so. His was a problem which any dynamic-thinking missionary had to face: whether to finance one's projects oneself or await approval and funding from the Directors which might never be forthcoming. A much larger venture than the water-course was formulating itself in William's mind already in 1842, which he debated at length with Edward Solomon before the latter's departure for Griqualand. It was to be William Philip's pre-occupation for the next three years.

### 3. Negotiation and Excavation

Upstream from Hankey and clearly visible from the village is a narrow steep-sided hill which juts out into the Gamtoos valley forcing the river to make a sharp horseshoe bend around it. A natural hole through this ridge, about halfway along its length, marks the point at which the river turns northwards and this distinctive feature in the landscape has given the farm, Vensterhoek, its name. Perhaps it was the "window" which gave William Philip and gave him the idea of constructing an irrigation tunnel through the hillside and leading the river water thus diverted onto a sizeable stretch of arable land below.

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38 Annual Report for 1842, 3rd Jan. 1843, LMS Archives, 18/5/C.

39 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 17th Dec. 1842. P. Philip Coll., pp 65/66.

In order to be effective, the tunnel would have to be excavated at its upper entrance at exactly the point where the river swings northwards. The force of the water and the gravitational pull would then send it through the cavity at a fast enough rate to facilitate satisfactory irrigation. At this time the lands in question, which adjoined Hankey, belonged to someone else.

The farm Vensterhoek, consisting of 2173 morgen and 450 square roods, was originally granted to Stephanus Ferreira by Lord Charles Somerset in 1816. On 31st May, 1839 Ferreira transferred three quarters of this property to Anthonie Michael Ferreira (probably his son) and put the remaining quarter, the land below the hill, on the open market. This was the land which Edward Williams had suggested the Society should exchange Cambria for. Nothing came of this and the area was sold to Ignatius Leopold Rautenbach on 31st January 1840.<sup>40</sup> Three years later Rautenbach expressed a willingness to exchange his farm for Cambria, subject to certain conditions. In view of the projected tunnel, Dr. Philip gave his son permission to begin negotiations along these lines. As part of the exchange deal Rautenbach wanted two of the irrigated plots served by the tunnel, once the water had been brought through. Dr. Philip was against the idea since there would be nothing to prevent Rautenbach from sub-letting to a trader. In no time at all there might be a wine and spirit shop on Hankey's border similar to the old Norfolk Hotel, which had caused Messer consternation in the 1820's.<sup>41</sup>

Another complication which arose on 21st January 1843, was the sale by Anthonie Michael Ferreira of three eighths of his inheritance - that part of Vensterhoek immediately above the rocky ridge - to Marthinus van Rooyen.<sup>42</sup> The water-

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40 Uitenhage Quitrents, No 157, Humandorp Division, Vol 1, Folio 7.

41 Dr. Philip to William Philip, 21st March 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 69.

42 Uitenhage Quitrents, No 157, Humansdorp Division, Vol 1, Folio 7.

course had to pass through this land on its way to the upper tunnel opening. A dam lay in the aquaduct's projected path, which would have to be destroyed. Van Rooyen wanted access rights amounting to £100. Since Rautenbach also enjoyed some water rights from Van Rooyen's farm, he became liable for this amount. After several months of negotiations William Philip secured an agreement between the various parties as follows: Rautenbach's farm was exchanged for Cambria; The Society paid Rautenbach £200 and took care of the transfer costs;<sup>43</sup> Rautenbach, in turn, paid Van Rooyen £100 for access rights on the farm he had sold to the Society; Rautenbach was not entitled to any irrigated plots below the tunnel.<sup>44</sup> All the necessary documents were sent through to Cape Town for registration and William was justifiably proud of the fact that he had negotiated a difficult deal to the Society's advantage. Now there was no farmer in the area who could object to water being channelled from the river onto the institution's lands. William was highly regarded by the White farmers but the Hankey residents were held in contempt by them. Therefore it would not have been wise to divert the river water without first obtaining permission to do so from all concerned.

A final matter to be settled was the exchange of a small section of the institution's land for a portion of a neighbour's farm. The agreement included a clause which allowed water to be brought out above or through the farmer's land without any costs being charged.<sup>45</sup>

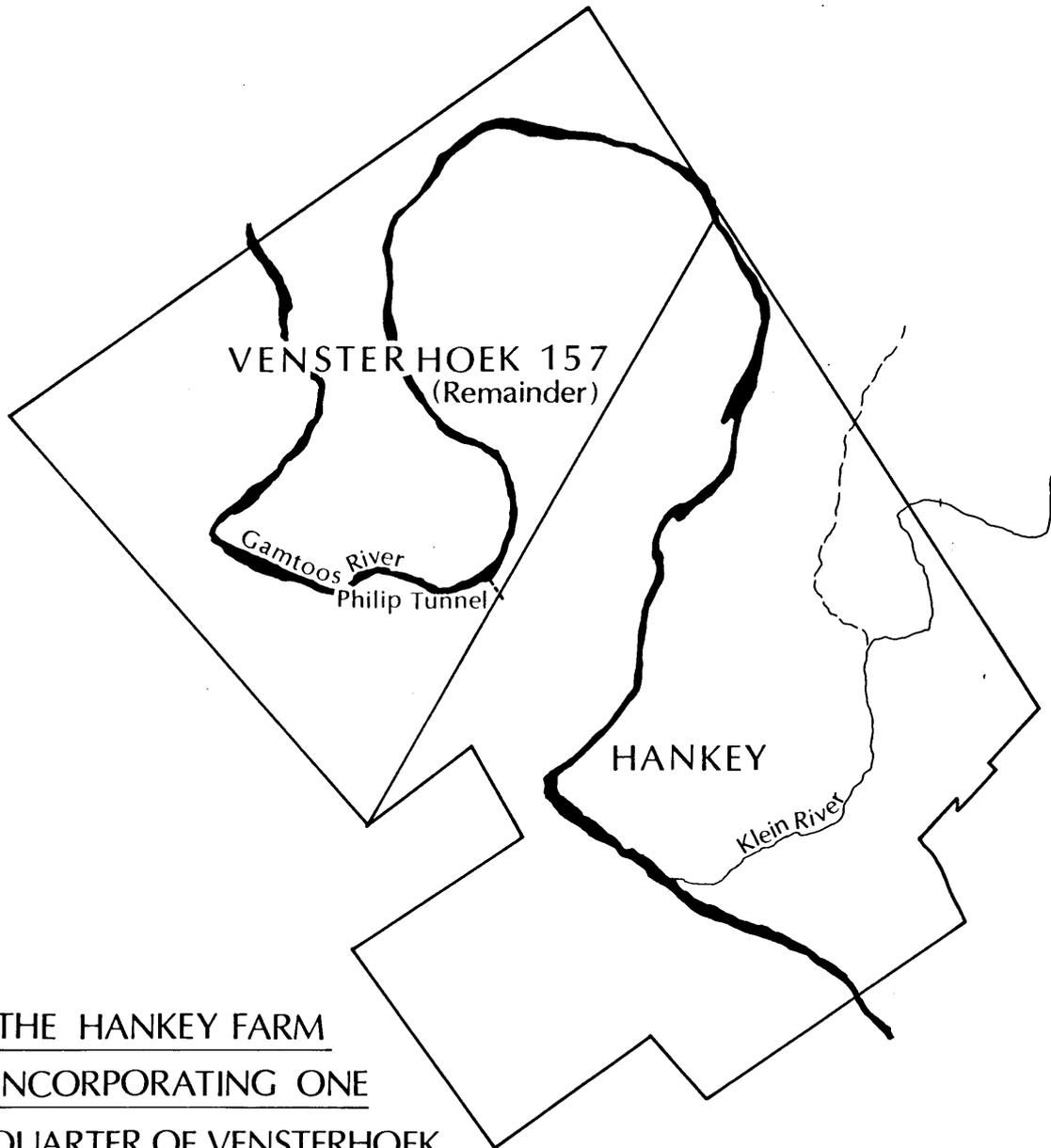
Apart from the land deals and agreements, another serious hurdle to be overcome was the matter of financing the excavation works. As a start William agreed to take on this responsibility himself and he estimated that the costs would be somewhere in the region of £300. He was confident that all expenses would be recoverable from

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43 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 25th May, 1843. P. Philip Coll., pp 75/76.

44 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 18th Oct., 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 84.

45 William Philip to Dr. Philip, 21st April, 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 71.



payments for the plots to be given out once the water had been brought through. The people of Hankey supported him and many of them offered a donation of £3 per family to help him initiate the scheme. He pointed out to them that these sums could in no way be regarded as buying rights to the land they wished to cultivate. He had it in mind to give out the 300 morgen or so coming under irrigation in one morgen or half morgen lots for which an annual payment of £2 or £3 would be charged.<sup>46</sup>

All the surveying work connected with the purchase of a quarter share of Vensterhoek and the measuring off of areas for the construction of the tunnel were undertaken by William Philip himself. The expertise he had acquired in Cape Town proved useful now and saved the Society a great deal of money. In April 1843, long before the land deals had been finalised or any large scale donations for the project received, work on the tunnel commenced. Digging began on both sides of the hillside at once with the objective of meeting in the middle. At first William predicted that the work would take six months hired a contractor named Smith to do the work. By the end of July, 1843 very little had been achieved and William, therefore decided to save time and money by assuming responsibility for the excavation himself.<sup>47</sup>

Only 20 or 30 yards had been dug in three months, yet when William took over, assisted by two foreman and fifteen workers, he achieved the same distance again in two short weeks. Alison acted as purser and William assumed the roles of surveyor, engineer and encourager, as well as teacher, doctor, tunnel worker and missionery-in-charge.<sup>48</sup> Wages were paid at the rate of 1s/6d. per day, plus food. During the entire duration of excavation work not a drop of liquor in any shape or form, neither wine,

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46 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 6th May, 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 73.

47 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 10th Aug. 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 77.

48 Ibid.

spirits nor beer, was consumed by the hard-working miners.<sup>49</sup>

By November 1843, 80 yards had been penetrated on the Hankey side of the hill and 30 yards from the opposite face. The work progressed at an average of 1 foot per day. Taking into account labour, food, iron and oil (the latter item for lighting purposes), this worked out at 18/-d per yard.<sup>50</sup> It transpired that there were two types of rock to contend with, sandstone and conglomerate. The latter consisted of hard pebbles in a softer matrix which could be penetrated with picks, hammers and chisels.<sup>51</sup> Solid sandstone, made up 180 yards of the 220 yards excavated by May 1844. The men worked day and night in alternating shifts, the two forges in the blacksmith's shop were in constant operation and several hundredweights of iron were used in the manufacture of picks and hammers.<sup>52</sup>

If the tunnel were constructed today, modern methods would be available and two to three tons of high explosives would be used; drills would be employed which could penetrate 8 feet into the rock in minutes; mechanical loaders would dump waste material into cocopans and locomotives would then pull trains of these to a dumping area in no time at all; generators would provide electricity; fans would ventilate the air.<sup>53</sup> William's team worked in heat and semi-darkness, without these modern aids. They attacked the

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49 The South African Commercial Advertiser, 16th Oct. 1844, p 164. The Report of the Directors for 1846 p 98 maintains that the tunnel workmen were neither provided with food nor paid, but this was not the case. See William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 17th Nov. 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 87.

50 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 17th Nov. 1843, P. Phillip Coll., p 87.

51 W.J.R. Alexander, "An Engineering Assessment of the Construction of the Hankey Irrigation Tunnel", in Looking Back, Vol 2, Part 4, p 7.

52 William Philip to Edward Solomon, undated, about May 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 93.

53 W.J.R. Alexander, "An Engineering Assessment of the Construction of the Hankey Irrigation Tunnel", in Looking Back, Vol 2, Part 4, p 7.

rock with primitive tools and removed the debris laboriously by hand.

The Hankey men were without safety helmets - a prerequisite for the present-day tunnel worker - and nothing was known then of precautions such as roof bolting or the lining of danger areas with concrete to prevent a serious collapse. One safety measure which William took was to cut away the superincumbent soil around the tunnel entrance on the Hankey side to prevent any caving-in. Another alternative would have been to make an arch using bricks and mortar, but this was an expensive process and no skilled labour was available for the task.<sup>54</sup> The soil thus excavated was resting on a sandy foundation, so a larger area than originally anticipated had to be dug away, which took three months to complete.<sup>55</sup>

During the entire duration of the tunnel project no injuries of any kind were sustained, apart from a few cuts and bruises. In November 1843 two Hankey men were killed after falling seven hundred feet from a precipice in a futile search for honey. One of these people had left off work in the tunnel during the previous week because he had considered it too dangerous!<sup>56</sup>

Though the tunnel project was accident-free, Mrs. Philip became anxious for William's safety. With the birth of his second son, William Patterson, on 9th April 1844,<sup>57</sup> (named after a close friend of the family and co-founder of the Eastern Province Herald) she began to think about provision for his children in the event of William's death.<sup>58</sup> It was arranged that his life would be insured for £500. Because William was also eager to provide his children with a sound European education, he planned to increase the income

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54 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, about Sept. 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 93.

55 Willaim Philip to Mrs. Philip, 17th Nov. 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 89.

56 Ibid.

57 P. Philip, A Fifeshire Family, Vol 2, p 107.

58 Mrs. Philip to William Philip, 3rd May 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 95 et al.

received from the farmers for his medical services. They were already coming for treatment from as far afield as the Langkloof, the Kouga district and Plettenberg Bay.<sup>59</sup>

It became a bone of contention between William and the Society that no funds were allocated for the making of his tunnel. In the Directors' defence it must be stated that finances were very low just then, and since nothing of this kind or on such a scale had ever been tried in the colony before, they could not be certain that the venture would be a success. No-one could be certain of this, not even the Hankey workers, who laboured on in blind faith, guided only by faith in their missionary. Dr. and Mrs. Philip stood staunchly by their son and guaranteed his mounting debts. Yet even they wondered, as the months wore away and there was still no sign of completion, where and when it was all going to end. Dr. Philip gave £100 out of funds placed at his disposal by James Cropper, a late member of the Society of Friends. The man had asked that his money be used for the promotion of civilisation in Southern Africa through the Society's missions there.<sup>60</sup> Mrs. Philip, who was a shrewd judge of human nature, recommended that William approach the Quakers, especially James Backhouse of York, for funds. He should send with his application a plan of the project and a full explanation of it. He was to mention the Cropper donation, and was to thank Mr. Backhouse in particular for his sponsorship of a Hankey youth. "Notice taken of little favours is the surest way to get larger ones" she explained to her son.<sup>61</sup> Pamphlets publicising the project were distributed in England by Thomas Durant Philip: the tunnel promotion became very much a family affair.<sup>62</sup>

Letters went to the stations asking for donations: one was

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59 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 10th May, 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 97.

60 Mrs. Philip to William Philip, 26th Jan. 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 91 and Report of the directors for 1845, p 103.

61 Ibid.

62 Thomas Durant Philip to William Philip, 31st Aug. 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 105.

posted to Philippolis addressed to Edward Solomon.<sup>63</sup> A few of the stations responded. Pacaltsdorp and Dysselsdorp gave donations<sup>64</sup> and the missionaries at Bethelsdorp sent along axes and spades.<sup>65</sup> Joshua Kemp was asked to invest these contributions at the best possible interest rate.<sup>66</sup> Meanwhile William and his workers plodded on with the work and hoped that sufficient funds would be forthcoming.

A new agreement was drawn up stipulating that every family occupying one of the irrigated plots would be liable to an immediate payment of £3 or half the produce of the first sowing: or, if this was valued at less than £3, its equivalent in cash or kind. The occupier was to build himself a cottage according to strict specifications, within eight months of signing for his land. He forfeited all rights to his house, ground and garden if expelled from the institution for bad conduct, or for disregarding the station's laws. With customary thoroughness William had completely revised these laws; the old ones were completely out of date.<sup>67</sup>

Whilst the men laboured on at the rock face, week after week, month after month, William calculated the extent of the irrigable land. Part of his genius lay in an ability to visualise possibilities which nobody else had seen. Apart from the land below the Vensterhoek Hill, which he estimated would come under irrigation, he cast his gaze across the river to the great thorn flat on the other side. This was the largest flood plane area, the arable land of the original Hankey farm, on which the village stood. It

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63 William Philip to Edward Solomon, about May 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 94.

64 Report of the Directors for 1845, Appendix cxxii, Pacaltsdorp Auxiliary gave £2.10s and Dysselsdorp Auxiliary gave £5.12s.0d.

65 Mrs. Philip to James Kitchingman, 22nd March 1844. Brenthurst Lib., 3347/11.

66 Mrs. Philip to William Philip, 3rd May 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 95 and P. Ffolliott, One Titan at a Time, p 88.

67 William Philip to Dr. Philip, 25th May, 1843. P. Philip Coll., pp 75/76.

lay on either side of the Klein River before it flowed into the Gamtoos, and constituted an area of 1,500 to 2,000 acres or between 750 and 1,000 morgen. Various water-courses along the Klein River had been built by Messer, Melvill, Williams and William Philip himself, to serve this area. However, because of the seasonal variation in rainfall they had only been able to partially irrigate the land. William reasoned that if the Gamtoos River could be brought through the Vensterhoek hillside and led over or under the original stream further down, the force of the water would send it pouring out over this extensive stretch of fertile land.<sup>68</sup>

Plans were considered to bring out a few pious families from Scotland to run a shop and act as stewards or "grievances". These people would be given agricultural and grazing land, free of charge, in return for their agricultural expertise.<sup>69</sup> The drought had driven away many of the people, but with the tunnel project well underway a number of them returned. Plots were cleared and measured and houses begun in anticipation of the years of plenty which everyone believed lay ahead.

When the miners had been working on the tunnel for almost a year and had come four fifths of the way through the hill, the two teams began to hear one another's digging through the rock.<sup>70</sup> Still they laboured on for three more months. On the morning of the 14th August, 1844, between one and two o'clock, William was awakened by a shot fired outside his window and realised at once that the tunnel was through. He saw in the distance a man fast approaching bearing a lighted torch and shouting as he ran. It was Jan Bosman, a trusted worker, who had struck the first blow from the further gallery to the Hankey side. In his eager-

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68 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 6th May, 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 73.

69 William Philip to Dr. Philip, 25th May, 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 76.

70 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 10th May, 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 97.

ness to tell the good news, he had omitted to climb through the hole he had made, but had run back along the tunnel, over the hill and on to Hankey the long way round.<sup>71</sup>

Pandemonium broke out in the village then: shots were fired, bells rung, torches lit, pots and pans banged in gay discord as the people whooped and screamed with joy.<sup>72</sup>

"It is impossible to describe the state of the village.... In every direction was heard shouting, hallooing, yelling, screaming, while these serenades were constantly broken by shots fired off from the houses. If you can imagine all the jackals, wolves, baboons, men, women and children gathered together in mingled war, you will have some idea of the noise. Some thought the Caffres (sic) were in the village, when the flash from a gun fell upon their half-awakened eyeballs, and ducked under the bedclothes again: the bell was ringing, fires were blazing, and lighted brands seemed as if they had got legs and were traversing the place in every direction. Bands of children had in the meantime collected all the old iron and tin scuttles out of the houses, and were accompanying the local concert with rough music and shrill screams."

William had withdrawn to his bed again in the hope of getting some sleep before the dawn, but this was not to be. Old Thys Jantjies rushed into his room, grasped him by the hand and then praised the Lord for a job well done. "What a great work is this", she sobbed, "and the Lord has spared us to see it through!"<sup>73</sup> Many ran off to the tunnel then to see for themselves that the two galleries now met. When daylight came, William went also to let the water through. Only half the channel was opened at first, but the rush of water resembled a strong flowing stream. William was not an engineer by profession and had used only a sextant to guide him. The galleries nevertheless met in a perfect

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71 Thomas Durant Philip to Alison Muir, 5th April 1882. P. Philip Coll., p 45. (Alison's second husband was Andrew Muir).

72 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 16th Aug. 1844, quoted in W.M. MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp 272/273.

73 Ibid.

line, with only 4 or 5 inches difference in levels between them. His first exercise in applied engineering had been a resounding success. The perseverance of his workmen was also to be congratulated, in particular that of his foreman, David Anton, who had been with him from the start.<sup>74</sup>

The tunnel measured 260 yards in length, six feet in height and four feet in breadth. It had taken fifteen months to build and had cost a total of £500. £100 of this had come from the James Cropper fund and William had been responsible for borrowing the rest. With the tunnel completed, liberal contributions began flowing in. Large amounts were received from James Backhouse and William Alers Hankey, who took a personal interest in the scheme.<sup>75</sup> It captured the imagination of all who saw it or heard about it, being the first irrigation tunnel of its kind in the country. Smaller holes through rock faces had been attempted - Andrew Geddes Bain made one to lead through a water furrow on his farm, Blockdrift, in 1836<sup>76</sup> - but nothing like the tunnel through the Vensterhoek Hill had ever been attempted before; in this sense it was unique.

The drop in levels along the length of the tunnel was so dramatic - between 40 and 50 feet - and the force of the water so strong that William made plans to build a watermill to grind the Hankey corn. With his customary generosity Backhouse agreed to finance this project; he even sent over mill stones and specialised building materials from England.<sup>77</sup> The Quaker proved so magnanimous that the stretch of irrigable land immediately below the tunnel, which nestled in a corner where the river made a sharp bend, was given the name of Backhouse Hoek.

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74 William Philip to Edward Solomon, May 1884.

75 William Philip's Report on the Irrigation Tunnel in Report of the Directors for 1845, p 103.

76 H.L. Housman, "Andrew Geddes Bain in Command at Fort Thomson", Looking Back, Volume 13, p 83.

77 Report of the Directors for 1846, p 98 and for 1847 p 97.



The Hankey tunnel

A large and flourishing estate was now envisaged. William ordered 100 ornamental and fruit trees from Cape Town so as to give his institution an attractive and cultivated appearance.<sup>78</sup> It was expected that revenue from the lands would soon pay all the tunnel expenses, as well as for Rautenbach's farm. These funds might also finance the building of a new church and school and the sinking of wells on the grazing lands.

By now Hankey had three distinct locations, the old village stretching on either side of the Klein River, the new settlement across the Gamtoos, very near to the tunnel, and a third area, which accommodated the ex-slave population.<sup>79</sup> There were as many of this group at Hankey now as Khoi, and no doubt a number of Mfengu as well. Some Mfengu still led a semi-nomadic life after the War of 1835 and wandered the countryside alone or in groups. One such heathen passed through Hankey a few months after the tunnel had swung into operation and marvelled at the health and prosperity of the people he saw. His story bears closer examination:<sup>80</sup>

"After looking round him for a few minutes, and seeing a number of houses the gardens of which were concealed, he asked the deacon how the people obtained their food on such a place. The deacon, who was an intelligent man, gave no direct reply by pointing to the gardens, but bade the Fingo look at him, and see if he was not healthy and well clothed. He then called a fine child that was playing at some little distance, lifted it up, and told the man to look at it, asking him whether it was not also well fed? The stranger assented, but his countenance wore an air of perplexity. The deacon, resuming his peculiar course of argument, told him, that, if he would attend the place of worship on the morrow, he would see numbers like himself well fed and better clothed. The Fingo, rising from his seat, adjusted his kaross; and, commencing his departure, lifted up his eyes and his right hand to heaven and said, 'It is always so where that God is worshipped'."

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78 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 19th July, 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 99.

79 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 10th Aug., 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 78.

80 Testimony of Mfengu visitor to Hankey, reproduced in Report of the Directors for 1845, p 103.

The harvest reaped in 1844 was plentiful. Now the station could support many sheep and goats, calves and pigs.<sup>81</sup>

With the sale of Cambria, James Clark went to Kruisfontein. He replaced the Khoi teacher John Prins and the preacher Pegine van Rooyen there.<sup>82</sup> Van Rooyen was transferred to the tunnel settlement (later known as Milton). However, with 50 or 60 families scheduled to be located near the tunnel European supervision was essential. Dr. Philip had submitted his resignation to the Directors on 26th June, 1843 because of squabbles between the missionaries and his strong opposition to the committee system which threatened his authority.<sup>83</sup> In the event of his father's retirement, which was still uncertain, William wanted his father to live in Hankey. He had the choice of either superintending the main Hankey village, or residing across the river in Rautenbach's flat-roofed, double-storeyed house and overseeing the new tunnel settlement.<sup>84</sup>

In September 1844 William travelled with his family to Cape Town to discuss his father's future, as well as to find funds for the tunnel. It was arranged that the superintendent and William's brother Thomas Durant, the latter just out from England on his way to India, would make a tour of the stations and would visit Hankey for the tunnel opening along the way. Also present at this ceremony was Johnny Fairbairn, William's nephew and son of the controversial editor of the Commercial Advertiser. The boy was in Hankey to convalesce after a long illness. It is sad to think that his visit would end in tragedy.

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81 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 7th Feb. 1845, P. Philip Coll., p 108.

82 William Philip to Edward Solomon, about May 1844. P. Philip Coll., pp 93/94.

83 W.M. MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, p 250 and B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, p 194 and p 235, n 165.

84 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 10th Aug., 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 78.

#### 4. Death by Drowning

The opening of the Hankey tunnel took place in April, 1845. A number of the Philip family were present on this auspicious occasion including Dr. Philip and his two sons William Enowy and Thomas Durant. Alison was there with her two small sons and nephew, Johnny Fairbairn and probably John Ross Philip and his wife, Isabel, who had moved to Port Elizabeth in February of that year.<sup>85</sup> Mrs. Philip could not be at the opening; she stayed behind in Cape Town to conduct the Society's affairs during her husband's absence. The Hankey people remembered this important event for many, many years. One old Coloured woman living in Hankey in 1924 remembered Dr. Philip's presence. She described him as "n dikke", or stout man, in view of his portly figure.<sup>86</sup> Unfortunately no accounts of the tunnel opening have so far been traced.

Durant and his father spent three weeks in Hankey before moving on to the other institutions. During this time they were thoroughly initiated by William into the plans he had for the station's expansion, as well as contingency arrangements made to guard against any mishaps in the elaborate irrigation scheme.<sup>87</sup> Durant entered completely into the spirit of his brother's ideas. In the event, it was providential that he received so thorough a grounding in the operation of this project.

Once Dr. Philip and Durant had left, William and young Johnny settled down to a more normal routine and found themselves constantly in one another's company. The lad was sweet-natured, intelligent, but delicate. He possessed

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85 Mrs. Philip to William Philip, 20th Feb., 1845. John Ross Philip and his wife were then on the point of leaving for Port Elizabeth.

86 W.M. MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, p 97.

87 "An Account of the Death of the Reverend William Enowy Philip and John Philip Fairbairn," by T.D. Philip, undated. P. Philip Coll., p 119.

a remarkable knowledge of historical events and a reasoning ability far beyond his years.<sup>88</sup> Johnny Fairbairn was the eldest son of William's elder sister, Elizabeth, who had died on her twenty-eighth birthday five years before. Now William and Alison became like the parents of this motherless child. They took him into their family circle and treated him as a son.

The boy was to spend a year at Hankey to build up his strength by participating in activities such as riding and running.<sup>89</sup> Being then ten years old, his chances of recovery were reasonably good and he often accompanied his uncle on excursions to the tunnel. They passed many hours together in the missionary's book-lined study, absorbed in reading or discussion. The room lent itself to such activities, with its yellowwood tables, rickety writing desk and rows of books. These volumes dealt with topics ranging from history, geography, literature, philosophy and education, to medicine, carpentry and even mechanics.<sup>90</sup> The family sitting room was equally well stocked with books. Throughout the spacious manse could be found items of furniture from William's sea-going past - a sea chest, cabin chair and an eight-day clock - which no doubt aroused the young boy's curiosity and led to the telling of many tales.

Like Johnny, the Hankey people grew in moral strength and courage under the influence of William Philip. Nowhere in the country was there such industry or public spiritedness as at the Hankey institution. Since coming to Hankey William had developed an impressive style of rhetoric which was used to good effect in his Sunday sermons. He had always been interested in literary style: as a student at Glasgow University he had won a prize for the brilliance

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88 T.D. Philip to A. Tidman, 18th July, 1845. LMS Archives, 21/2/A.

89 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 7th Feb. 1845. P. Philip Coll., 1.108.

90 Items listed in William Philip's study given in Death Notice 8242, Cape Town Archives, MOOC 6/9/37.

and originality of his essays.<sup>91</sup> His sermons at Hankey held the people's attention for up to two hours at a time without any apparent flagging on his part or lack of interest on theirs.

One Sunday morning in the third week of June, 1845 William delivered a particularly fine sermon to the Hankey congregation on the subject of the destruction of the world by the Great Flood. Using his own special blend of hell-fire preaching and gentle admonition, he exhorted the people to repent their sins that they might be saved from a destruction far more terrible than this. On the following Sunday he visited Kruisfontein, where Mr. Clark was in attendance, and delivered an equally stirring sermon to the people there.<sup>92</sup>

It was on the Tuesday morning after this address, the 1st of July 1845, after morning prayers, that William and Johny set out for the tunnel. They crossed the Gamtoos at a shallow ford two miles distant from the village,<sup>93</sup> spent two or three hours inspecting the diggings for the water channels and then set off for home at about one o'clock in the afternoon. The boy had often complained that it chilled him to wade through the ford, especially when the water was deep, so on this occasion a flat-bottomed boat was used by them. They never reached the other side. Nobody knew exactly what happened for there was no-one in sight to witness the tragic event. About an hour later a Hankey man came by in search of his cattle and noticed a

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91 "Biographical Sketch of the Reverend William Enowy Philip", by T.D. Philip. P. Philip Coll., p 117.

92 T.D. Philip to A. Tidman, 18th July 1845. LMS Archives, 21/2/A.

93 Two sources have been used for accounts of the drowning of William Enowy Philip, both by his brother T.D. Philip. The one was written soon after the drowning, the other some years later. Where they differ, the most likely version has been used: see T.D. Philip to A. Tidman, 18th July 1845. LMS Archives, 21/2/A, and "An Account of the Death of the Reverend William Enowy Philip and John Philip Fairbairn", P. Philip Coll., pp 119/120.

hat floating on the water which he recognised as belonging to his master. On closer inspection he spotted other items of clothing in the river as well, boots and socks. Finally he saw the boat itself, turning slowly in mid-stream, so full of water that only its rim was visible.

Hurrying to the tunnel he soon learnt that the missionary and his nephew had left there an hour before, but on making enquiries in the Hankey village he was informed that the party had not yet come home. A large crowd of people, including Alison and Mr. Kelly, hurried to the river then, but could find no trace of the missing two. Neither the weeping willows on the river bank, nor the dark waters of the river itself could tell them what had transpired. Attempts to recover the bodies proved fruitless. Later that same afternoon some relatives of Alison's arrived from Cape Town, and Robert Archibald, her uncle, who was a trained railway engineer, made proper drag-nets to facilitate the search. Towards morning the two bodies were discovered lying close to one another in a deeper pool. The manner of their drowning could at last, and with a measure of accuracy, be determined.

William's posture in death was curious, one arm being bent as if to enfold a child, the other stretched out to its fullest extent. From this it was deduced that the boy had slipped and fallen in attempting to jump ashore from the boat and that, in trying to save him, William had lost his own balance and had fallen too. Once in the water he had striven to support the boy with one arm whilst reaching for the bank with the other, but all to no avail. "The man who had probably steered his ship through the wildest commotions of ocean storms, drowned on a sunny day in a paltry African river" Durant wrote later,<sup>94</sup> and indeed William Philip's sudden death sent ripples of shock and lamentation throughout the missionary world. He and his nephew were buried in the missionary garden in what was to

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94 "An Account of the Drowning of the Reverend Enowy Philip. P. Philip Coll., p 120.

become a family burial ground, situated beneath the new manse which William had helped to build. Through the minds of those present and sorrowing at the funeral passed the question: "Who will now take over the reins and carry on the important work?"

Durant was the obvious choice, at least until the Directors could come to a final decision on the matter. He and his father had been informed of the drownings on the Saturday following the tragedy. They were at the Kat River Settlement when news of the drownings arrived. Charles Lennox Stretch, then diplomatic agent for the region, was asked by the Reads to inform them of the fatal accident. Only a day or two before they had learnt of the death of Sir William Fowell Buxton, the prominent philanthropist, advocate of the abolition of slavery and Dr. Philip's friend since their days together at Hoxton College.

Next had come word of the death of Johann George Messer, Hankey's first missionary, at 72 years of age.<sup>95</sup> Then came news of the untimely death of the superintendent's son and grandson and it was almost too much for the old man to bear.

For most of that day Durant remained with his father, offering what support he could. Towards nightfall he left for Hankey, a distance of 250 miles. He went on horseback, accompanied by James Read Junior and the two arrived in the Gamtoos valley three days later, weary and sorrowing, but ready to lend the people their help. Alison they found grieving, but not distraught, having found comfort in her Maker in whom she had laid her trust. The care of her sons John Lethem, aged three and a half years and William Patterson, then only eight months old, was reason enough

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95 James Read to A. Tidman, 25th July 1845. LMS Archives, 21/3/A.

for her to carry on living. Furthermore, she was expecting another child.

Alison's relatives, the Archibalds, remained with her to lend assistance and must have been a reassurance to the young widow in her distress. Robert Archibald had emigrated to South Africa with his family some years before and in 1843 had purchased Melvill Senior's farm near Kruisfontein on William Philip's advice.<sup>96</sup> The venture had been a failure and after eighteen months the family had sold up and moved back to Cape Town, disposing of the mill and threshing machine to William for the new Hankey irrigation project.<sup>97</sup> William invited them to live free of charge at Roodevlakte (Rautenbach's old farm) and suggested that Robert Archibald help plan and build the new Hankey church as a means of earning a living. The Archibalds were destitute and gladly travelled west again in May 1845. They would have arrived in Hankey sooner, had not their oxen got sick along the way.<sup>98</sup> They arrived on the day of the drowning and were thus unable to thank the man who had offered to save them from bankruptcy. The Archibalds lived at Hankey for several years, Miss Archibald, Robert's sister, took over the infant school and craft centre, teaching skills such as sewing, knitting and plaiting straw.

Alison elected to remain at Hankey and continue promoting the work with which she had for so long been closely connected. The people wanted her to stay.<sup>99</sup> Although only twenty two years of age at the time of her widowhood, Alison had already developed a resilience to hardship and setbacks and a dedication to duty quite remarkable in one so young. At 18 she had helped with the smallpox epidemic at Cambria, at 19 had given birth to her first child far

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96 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 10th Aug. 1845. P. Philip Coll., p 77.

97 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 7th Feb. 1845. P. Philip Coll., p 107.

98 Mrs. Philip to William Philip, 9th May, 1845. P. Philip Coll., p 111.

99 Mrs. Philip to A. Tidman, 15th Aug. 1845. LMS Archives, 21/3/A.

away from civilisation and without a qualified nurse or fellow White woman to help her.<sup>100</sup> Now she found herself faced with the loss of her husband after five short years of marriage. In England, before their union, William had had doubts about Alison's suitability for missionary work, coming as she did from a sheltered middle-class background. His fears turned out to be groundless, for in her hour of need, Alison proved to be a model missionary wife and mother.

How did the other members of the family react to the news of William's drowning? James Read Senior remained near Dr. Philip in the first stages of the latter's grief. Whenever Read approached the old man's room, he found the superintendent cowered over his bed in silent prayer.<sup>101</sup> Dr. Philip was 70 years old at the time of his eldest son's demise. The superintendent was a vigorous and healthy servant of the Society with a mental agility belying his advancing years. From this time onwards his health began to deteriorate and he never really recovered that dynamism and power which had characterised his performance over the previous twenty-six years. The effect upon Mrs. Philip was even worse. For months she fought her grief by working hard and concentrating her attention on the needs and problems of others. However, ultimately the loss of her son and grandson was to take its toll upon her own waning health and be a contributory factor in her own demise.<sup>102</sup>

##### 5 Thomas Durant Philip Steps In

When Thomas Durant Philip returned to Africa in September 1844, after completing his tertiary education, he planned on staying only for a while. It was his firm intention to proceed to India to begin a career as one of the Society's missionaries. Born in Cape Town on 25th November, 1819

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100 P. Philip, A Fifeshire Family, Vol 1. p 16.

101 James Read to A. Tidman, 25th July 1845. LMS Archives, 21/3/A.

102 "An Account of the Death of the Reverend William Enow Philip and John Philip Fairbairn", by T.D. Philip, unpublished. P. Philip Coll., p 120.

Durant received his education at Mill Hill School, near London, between 1828 and 1836. He afterwards joined his brother William at Glasgow University and obtained a Bachelor of Arts Degree.<sup>103</sup> From thence he went to Coward College in London to complete his training for the ministry and during this period he attended many missionary meetings which featured India as a preferred field of labour. The vastness of this continent, with its hordes of people ripe for conversion to Christianity (or so it was supposed) caught the imagination of many a young theological student in England and Durant was no exception. Africa does not seem to have held quite the same attraction. Perhaps it was for this reason that, whilst still in England, Durant wrote to William suggesting that the latter was wasting his time on farming pursuits in the Gamtoos valley and making no use at all of his talents and education!<sup>104</sup> William, for his part, was against the idea of his younger brother going to India. Durant's constitution was not strong, and it was feared that he would have to return home again, his health ruined, in under two years.<sup>105</sup> Dr. and Mrs. Philip were equally opposed to Durant's proceeding to India, though they assiduously avoided trying to dissuade him from his chosen course.<sup>106</sup>

Once in Cape Town, Durant underwent a change of heart. Here he met up with Dr. Newton Adams, an American missionary then in the mother city for his ordination. This man had laboured in Natal both before and after the massacre of Piet Retief and his party by Dingaan and described the fulfilling work he was doing among 80,000 to 100,000 Zulus.

Durant's recurring bouts of dyspepsia, which became severe

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103 P. Philip, A Fireshire Family, Vol 1, p 14, and p 48.

104 T.D. Philip to William Philip, 3rd May 1842. P. Philip Coll., p 59.

105 William Philip to Mrs Philip, 10th Aug. 1843. P. Philip Coll., p 77.

106 Dr. Philip to James Kitchingman, 15th Nov. 1844. Brenthurst Lib., 3447.

during his Cape Town sojourn, made him wonder whether the East was the right choice for him after all. The Directors were then looking for missionaries to send into Natal and it was arranged that Durant would spend a year with Dr. Adams to familiarise himself with the territory before establishing a station of his own.<sup>107</sup> Before embarking upon his new career, Durant accompanied his father on a tour of the Eastern Cape. Throughout 1845 he gave a number of sermons at the various stations they visited which delighted his audiences and greatly impressed his colleagues.<sup>108</sup>

At Hankey Durant made a particular impression. For this reason, after William's sudden and tragic death, the people sent a memorandum to the Directors begging that Durant be allowed to remain as their missionary on a permanent basis.<sup>109</sup> At first Dr. Philip was undecided as to whether this was the best plan and he delayed for three months before sending the Hankey memorandum through to London.<sup>110</sup> Durant had been offered a newly established chair in theology at the South African College in Cape Town, with special reference to the training of missionaries.<sup>111</sup> He did not accept this offer, though his father clearly would have liked him to do so, and a year later when the invitation was repeated, Durant finally turned it down. His reasons were threefold: he wanted to gain experience of mission work in the field; he wished to open a seminary at Hankey (the groundwork for which had been laid by Edward Williams). Most important of all, he was eager to continue his late brother's work and bring to fruition the plans which had

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107 T.D. Philip to A. Tidman, 30th May 1845, LMS Archives, 21/2/C.

108 John Patterson to William Philip, 6th June 1845. P. Philip Coll., p 114.

109 Memorandum from Hankey and Kruisfontein People to the Directors, 4th Aug., 1845, LMS Archives, 21/3/B.

110 Dr. Philip to Directors, 1st Oct. 1845. LMS Archives, 21/3/B.

111 Dr. James Adamson, to J.J. Freeman, 6th Oct. 1845. LMS Archives, 21/3/B.



been formulated before the latter's untimely death.<sup>112</sup> Now the boot was on the other foot: Durant wanted to work at Hankey. His own father had doubts as to whether Durant's talents would be fully utilised there. Durant gladly elected to stay there and carry on his late brother's work.

The two brothers were similar in intelligence, mannerisms and physical appearance, though Durant had a less volatile temperament. It was easy for the Hankey people to take the younger man to their hearts and accept his leadership. Work on the tunnel extensions under his direction proceeded apace and the spiritual climate at Hankey and Kruisfontein was all that could be desired. The schools at these two centres also flourished under Durant's supervision, assisted as he was by James Clark, William Kelly and Miss Archibald. Statistics for the first two years of Durant's term of office reflect this healthy trend:<sup>113</sup>

	1846	1847
<u>Population of Hankey and Kruisfontein</u>	1,000	1,000
Breakdown of population:		
Hankey:	650	
Kruisfontein	300	
Floating Population	50	
New Church Members	15	20
Suspended for Bad Conduct	2	-
Enquirers		30/40
Total Number of Church Members	151	156
<u>Secular and Spiritual Education</u>		
<u>Hankey</u>		
Day Schools for Juveniles	2	2
Scholars	130	130
Sabbath and Evening Adult Schools	4	4
Adult Students	250	250
<u>Kruisfontein</u>		
Schools for Juveniles	1	1
Scholars	50	50
Sabbath School	about 140	about 140

112 T.D. Philip to Dr. J. Adamson, 22nd Sept. 1846. LMS Archives, 22/2/D and T.D. Philip to A.Tidman, 8th Oct. 1846, LMS Archives, 22/2/B.

113 Reports of the Directors for 1847 and 1848, pp 96/97 and pp 98/99.

By the mid 1840's many of the older missionaries manning the stations were already retired or coming to the end of their service. The Society was hard pressed to replace them since few young men were volunteering for this work in England and the sons of missionaries in the colony had insufficient background and training for the work. Durant was consequently eager to establish a seminary and in October 1846 a meeting of the missionary brethren was held at Hankey with this objective in mind.<sup>114</sup> The reason these negotiations had not taken place sooner was the outbreak of war on the Eastern frontier, otherwise known as The War of the Axe. War was officially declared by the Government on 31st March 1846 and before long the largest military force ever to assemble in the Eastern Cape was encamped at various points inside Kaffraria.<sup>115</sup> Colonial troops were called out, a sizeable body of burgers, Khoi and ex-slaves levies called up and troops were brought out from England.<sup>116</sup> A total of seventy fighting men were called up from Hankey and more than that number again were required to serve as drivers and leaders for the Commissariat waggons.<sup>117</sup>

The mission station at Hankey institution was bound to be affected as a result of the war, though not as much as those stations situated nearer the war zone. Work on the new church came to a halt, but at least it wasn't burnt down, as was the case at the Kat River settlement.<sup>118</sup> The clearing and cultivating of Hankey's new lands below the tunnel were also neglected in 1846. The Khoi levies remained loyal throughout this war and no cases of insubordination were reported from the Hankey contingent as had been the case in 1835. Despite enduring hardships and temptations of various kinds, the behaviour of the Hankey

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114 Dr. Philip to A. Tidman, 25th Aug., 1846. LMS Archives, 23/2/B.

115 A.J. Smithers, The Kaffir Wars, 1779-1977, p 211.

116 G.M. Theal, A Compendium of History and Geography, pp 243/244.

117 Report of the Directors for 1846, p 97.

118 B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, pp 263/264.

men was exemplary. The families of soldiers on the border suffered the inevitable food shortages and Dr. Philip appealed to the Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, for rations for these people. Supplies were provided to the first wife and children of every man on duty.<sup>119</sup> Needy families at Hankey received supplies of clothing from the Cape Town Board of Relief and on the whole the people were better off than they had been during the previous period of unrest on the eastern frontier.

In December, 1846 Dr. and Mrs. Philip made an extended visit to Hankey and the Eastern Cape. The reason for the trip was Mrs. Philip's failing health which rendered her incapable of continuing her duties in Cape Town. She was suffering from recurring inflammation of the liver and attacks of the disease during May, June, July and August, induced her to take a sea voyage as a possible means to a cure. The couple set sail for Algoa Bay on 15th December, 1846, leaving Mr. Howson Edward Rutherford, a prosperous Cape Town merchant, shipping agent and friend of the family, to cope with the Society's affairs. The journey didn't help Mrs. Philip very much in view of the strong South Easterly winds which were blowing continuously throughout the entire duration of the voyage.<sup>120</sup> After spending some time at Bethelsdorp and in Port Elizabeth, the couple journeyed on to Hankey. In May, 1847 they received a visit from their old friend James Read, and journeyed there from the Kat River because Mrs. Philip was too weak to travel to that area.<sup>121</sup>

The superintendent's own health was not very good. Though he had been persuaded by the Directors in 1844 to withdraw his resignation, he was still eager that a suitable replacement should be found for him at the earliest opportunity. He was bitterly opposed to the committee system advocated by his old rival, Robert Moffat, and

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119 Letter, Colonial Office to Dr. Philip, 16th Oct. 1846. LMS Archives, 22/2/C.

120 Dr. Philip to A. Tidman, 28th Dec. 1846. LMS Archives, 22/2/D.

121 James Read to A. Tidman, 26th May, 1847. LMS Archives, 23/1/D.

supported by Henry Calderwood and others on the eastern frontier.<sup>122</sup> The 1846 War had temporarily put a halt to this movement, but Dr. Philip knew that it would start up again. He wanted his replacement to be strong enough to deal with disagreements of this kind. Arrangements were made to vest Mr. Rutherford with power of attorney to act in the superintendent's absence, for it was clear that Mrs. Philip's health was actually on the decline.<sup>123</sup>

Durant was married to Louisa Johanna Silberbauer, the daughter of a well-known South African family, in December 1846.<sup>124</sup> She had all the right qualities for a missionary's wife and must have been a great help to her husband in taking over some of his duties. Perhaps Durant's marriage was the reason that Alison began making plans to leave the institution. With her brother-in-law well provided for, she began to give attention to the education of her own children in Britain, something her late husband had always wanted. It was indeed fortunate that William had taken out insurance cover on his life, for now Alison had some funds to enable her to plan for the future. A house was purchased for her in Grahamstown with part of this money, for investment purposes (by arrangement with Mr. Rutherford) and the rest was deposited elsewhere.<sup>125</sup>

The Directors took a long while to decide on the amount of Alison's pension.<sup>126</sup> She had her own cattle at Hankey and it may have been these that her brother-in-law, Robert Archibald, advertised for sale in the Eastern Province

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122 B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers, pp 191/192.

123 H.E. Rutherford to Dr. Philip, 16th Sept. 1847, LMS Archives, 23/2/B and H.E. Rutherford to Ebenezer Smith, 4th Oct. 1847, LMS Archives, 23/2/C.

124 P. Philip, A Fifeshire Family, Vol 1, p 48.

125 Mrs. Philip to Alison Philip, 5th Dec. 1845, P. Philip Coll., p 125.

126 When Alison left the Colony in March 1848, her widow's pension had still not been finalised. See Dr. Philip to A. Tidman, 7th March, 1848. LMS Archives, 23/5/C.

Herald in June 1847.<sup>127</sup> In December of that year another advertisement appeared in the same newspaper, this time for the auction sale of William's sextant, surveying compass and library of over 500 books, on 12th January 1848.<sup>128</sup> Dr. Philip allowed Durant £20 from the Society's funds to purchase books from this collection for the seminary. It is unfortunate that money was not available to allow Durant to buy up the entire library, or for Alison to keep some of the books for her own sons' later use. Alison returned home in March 1848 and in due course was provided with a pension from the Society. Five months before she left Hankey was struck by disaster. It was an incident so frightening, whose implications were so far reaching that they became indelibly imprinted on the minds of those who survived to tell the tale.

#### 6. The Great Flood

The year 1847 began on a hopeful note with Durant planning his seminary and starting work on the construction of a new wing to his house to provide a dining room, reading room and dormitories for the boys.<sup>129</sup> He already had five European pupils: the two Kayser boys, Henry and Frederick, sons of Henry Gottlieb Kayser, James Kitchingman's son Joseph, James Read's son John, and Durant's younger brother Wilberforce.

The war on the border was by no means over and, with the Hankey men still doing duty, a restlessness grew up among those at the Institution accompanied by backsliding, which Durant noticed with alarm. He called a special meeting of the church in May when he earnestly appealed to the people to mend their ways. They should give more attention to private prayer, he told them, should participate in family worship, attend the prayer meetings and the adult school.

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127 Eastern Province Herald, 12th June, 1847.

128 Eastern Province Herald, 18th Dec. 1847.

129 T.D. Philip to A. Tidman, 8th Oct. 1846. LMS Archives, 22/2/B.

When next the people had a meeting Durant noticed a marked improvement in their attitude. A solemnity pervaded the gathering and his audience listened attentively to what he had to say.<sup>130</sup> The community needed all the spiritual strength it could muster for the terrible time that lay ahead.

In the last week of September 1847 heavy black clouds darkened the Eastern Cape skies, a gale force wind blew in from the sea and the rain came down in a constant stream.<sup>131</sup> Great waves washed inland, flooding the coastal settlements, but the devastation along the valleys in the interior was infinitely worse. The Gamtoos River, with two large catchment areas serving the Kouga and the Groot Rivers, was severely affected. At Hankey the rain fell incessantly from Wednesday the 29th September for three solid days.<sup>132</sup>

By noon on the third day the Klein River had turned from a docile stream into a raging torrent. Far away in the distance the water of the Gamtoos could be seen glistening in the sunlight almost level with the top of its steep-sided banks. Some of the people living below the confluence of the Gamtoos and Klein Rivers in the area known as "The Thorns" (the old Government outspan) gathered up their belongings and sought refuge in a small cottage on the hill behind the new manse. As the afternoon wore on others moved to the gardens at the foot of this hill and sought shelter with relatives and friends. About sixteen people remained behind.

Around 4.30 a.m. on the Saturday morning, the 2nd October, 1847 Durant was awakened by the terrible news that the river had burst its banks. It was flowing through The Thorns and into the gardens and was fast approaching his

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130 T.D. Philip to A. Tidman, 8th Oct. 1847. LMS Archives, 23/2/C.

131 E.P. Herald, 2nd Oct. 1847.

132 The account of the Gamtoos River flood of 1847 is taken from two sources unless otherwise stipulated: Article in Eastern Province Herald of 16th Oct 1847, probably written by T.D. Philip and Letter T.D. Philip to A.Tidman, 8th Oct. 1847, LMS Archives, 23/2/C.

own allotment which formed part of the highest valley land of all. He could hear in the darkness the shouts of men driving cattle and could see a small fire burning way down in The Thorns. Across the Klein River Robert Archibald's house was identified and by the light of one window Durant could see the water streaming in. This meant that the stores were threatened: and still the flood came on. The water crept up to within four feet of Mr. Kelly's house and still continued to rise. Only the mission house, set high on the hillside, could hope to escape such a deluge as this. The sixteen people huddled down in the valley drew the embers of their fire to a nearby knoll. This had been their place of refuge during the flood of 1832.

The names of those stranded read as follows: Adonis Bann, his wife, two daughters and son; Daniel Lucas and his wife; Kobus Ketteldas, his wife and old mother; the three Smit brothers and their half brother Philip Marais; a boy named Bosman; a visitor to Hankey known as Stuurman. The previous evening all these people had been warned by William Landman to vacate their lands, but for various reasons had decided to remain.

Ketteldas could not carry his mother (a heavy woman) through the rising waters and would not risk trying in the darkness and the rain. The three Smit brothers scoffed at those who were leaving and opposed the departure of their sisters and wives. Some people who stayed were frightened of moving in the darkness and by the first light of morning they found themselves cut off. As dawn broke over Hankey the observers at the manse saw a small knot of people on the knoll, firing their guns and crying piteously for help.

Durant decided to make a raft and attempt a rescue and for an hour and a half he and his helpers laboured in the pouring rain. By 9 a.m. the construction was ready but proved quite useless in the fast flowing stream. Now the water had reached the people's waists and continued to rise still higher. Ketteldas gave his wife a rolled-up mat

and told her to keep it tightly across her chest. He then took up his mother and held her until his strength ran out when she slipped away from him, the first to go. Then it was his wife's turn, rolling over and over in the water, for she held the mat under her arm instead of across her trunk. Then Lucas went under and, in a panic, the three Smit brothers swam off, each pushing a chest before him so as to stay afloat. A thatched roof came floating by; Ketteldas made for it and clambered aboard. Behind him swam young Carl and Sarah Bann and with the help of a plank which he quickly pulled loose he helped them to climb up too. The last to leave the "island", Lucas's wife, Lydia then came floating by on a mat, singing "Jesus neemt de zondaars aan". When she had finished, she laid her head upon the mat to which she was clinging, as if to sleep, and in a moment she was gone. The onlookers stood helplessly by, watching the tragedy unfold before their eyes.

It is curious that a proper boat was not readily available at Hankey. Perhaps all the craft had been swept downstream. The leaky boat which William and Johny Fairbairn had used two years previously with such disastrous consequences, is nowhere mentioned in subsequent reports. In 1815 when the farm Gamtoos River Waggon Drift lay along the main route to the east, a stipulation was inserted on the deed of grant signed by Lord Charles Somerset that a boat must be kept moored at the river at all times.<sup>133</sup>

With the failure of the raft, Durant decided to make a boat and a construction was designed one foot deep, 9 feet long and 3 feet broad in the middle. The joints were tarred and the whole covered with oxhide to keep it from shipping water. Drenched to the skin, Durant and his team worked without rest throughout the day. As they laboured they could hear the shrill cries from the floating roof which had drifted against a thorn tree, and occasionally there

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133 Deed of Grant for Gamtoos River Waggon Drift in favour of Frederick Korsten, No. 1-48A Uitenhage Quitrents, 1816.

was dull crashing as house after house plunged into the swirling waters. On board the roof Kelleldas made a rough shelter for the children to keep out the rain and covered himself with calf skin as best he could. Those stranded listened to the hammering, ate their store of oranges and in this way they passed the day. Towards 6 o'clock the boat was ready, a flare was lit on the hillside and Philip Bosman and Daniel Lucas (relatives of those who had perished) bravely set out to bring the three survivors ashore.

By the next day the waters had subsided and a scene of desolation met the villagers' eyes. The bodies of the three Smit brothers and nine other victims were recovered near the knoll and buried that same afternoon. Those people attending the funeral who lived across the river made use of Durant's new boat to attend the service. Many of those present owned nothing more now than the clothes they stood up in, all else having been taken by the flood. They prayed and sang and stifled their sobs and when the rain came on again they were forced to withdraw.

A thick layer of white sand covered the valley wherever the flood had been.<sup>134</sup> It was calculated that the Klein River had risen 50 feet and the Gamtoos 70 feet and that at the edges of the valley the flood water had reached a depth of over 9 feet.<sup>135</sup> The effects of such a deluge up and down the valley as reported in the local paper, were catastrophic.<sup>136</sup>

"Eighteen good houses have been destroyed, besides a great number that were not quite finished. On Monday morning the people recovered many of their things but had the thorn trees not been where they were, they would probably have lost everything. You can form no idea of the desolate appearance of the place. Ruin meets the eye on every side. The Thorns are filled with drowned snakes, rats, mice, goats, kids, jackals, birds and all sorts of creatures. Up the river we hear that there are two or three good houses washed away,

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134 J.J. Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, p 52.

135 Ibid., p 55.

136 Article on the Gamtoos River Flood of 1847, in Eastern Province Herald, 16th Oct. 1847.

and that a whole company of Fingoes have been lost. On Saturday night cries of people drifting down the Gamtoos were distinctly heard. The extent of damage along the banks of the river, when all comes to be known, must prove incalculably great."

Two houses of considerable value belonging to the Society were ruined. These were probably the ones occupied by Kitchingman and Melvill in 1832 where the water had previously reached the roof. After the last inundation Kitchingman had suggested re-siting the village, but Melvill had chosen not to follow his advice.<sup>137</sup> Between fifty and sixty families were rendered homeless and Durant set aside three rooms at the back of his house for some of these refugees. Others went into the new wing still under construction for the students, which was given a temporary roof. A few people slept in the stable.

As might be imagined, the garden plots were ruined, the ones near the river worse so than those on higher ground. This meant that the people had nothing to live on. Fortunately Durant's own crops had been harvested early and he was able to supply the people with sustenance for a while. Well-wishers in Cape Town sent six boxes of clothing and pledged £150 in donations for the Hankey victims. An appeal was placed in the Eastern Province Herald in the hopes that the inhabitants of Port Elizabeth would respond in the same way.

Backhouse Hoek was as badly affected as Blacklands and The Thorns. But the damage done to the tunnel was the saddest news of all. Although its mouth had long since been secured with a latticework of large beams and planks to protect it, the water had burst through this barrage and 5,000 cubic yards of superincumbent rock had fallen in. The bare rock face was now exposed up to a height of about 80 feet.<sup>138</sup>

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137 James Kitchingman to Thomas Merrington, 22nd Oct. 1847. Brenthurst Lib., 4061.

138 J.J. Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, p 53.

News of this disaster must have affected Mrs. Philip, already weakened from her long illness, for she went into a decline. Durant sent one of the Kayser boys to Port Elizabeth to fetch supplies, with instructions to bring back enough wood for two coffins.<sup>139</sup> If his mother were to die, Durant reasoned, then his father would not be far behind.

Jane Philip died at Hankey on 22nd October 1847 at the relatively early age of 55. The Hankey people referred to her affectionately as "Juffrouw"<sup>140</sup> and her going was sadly mourned. Her intelligence and managerial capability, spiritual strength and lack of personal ambition had endeared her to friends and colleagues alike. For 28 years she had attended to the financial affairs of the Society in the colony in the dual capacity of secretary and treasurer. In addition to this she had managed the affairs of the French and American Missionary Societies.<sup>141</sup> She had often accompanied her husband into the interior and had taken a deep interest in the affairs of the stations. Mrs Philip was truly a mother figure, someone whom all could turn to in times of need.<sup>142</sup> She and the superintendent made a formidable team.

Dr. Philip was stunned by his wife's death and two months later he had still not recovered from the shock. "I imagined beforehand I could realise what I should feel in the event of Mrs. P's removal, but I now find I was mistaken" he wrote to his friend James Kitchingman in a wavering hand. "I eat and drink and sleep tolerably well, but my nerves have received a shock from which they have not yet recovered."<sup>143</sup> He never quite got over Mrs.

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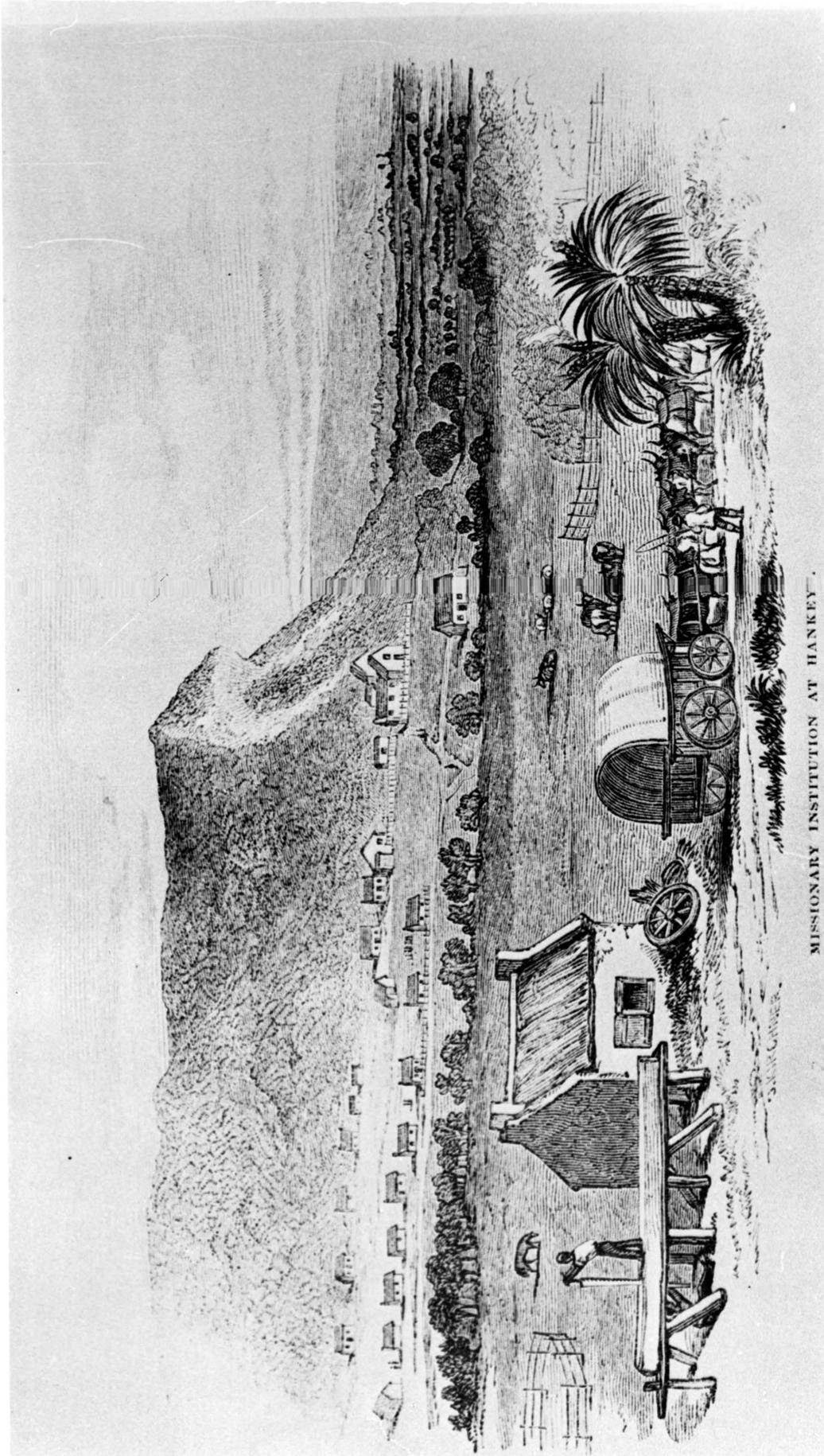
139 James Kitchingman to Thomas Merrington, 22nd Oct. 1847. Brenthurst Lib., 4061.

140 W.M. MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, p 97.

141 P. Philip, A Fifeshire Family, Vol 1, p 15.

142 Article in E.P. Herald in tribute to Mrs. John Philip, 30th Oct., 1847.

143 Dr. Philip to James Kitchingman, 27th Dec. 1847. Brenthurst Lib., 3347.



MISSIONARY INSTITUTION AT HANKEY.

Hankey after 1847, rebuilt on higher ground

Philip's death and died at Hankey three and a half years later.

The Xhosa war ended in December 1847 and the missionaries began returning to the Kat River Settlement in the hopes of rebuilding what remained of their villages. Sir Harry Smith took over the Governorship from Sir Henry Pottinger and sailed to Algoa Bay in "The Phoenix" to arrange a peace settlement after one and a half years of conflict.<sup>144</sup> Even a man of his genius could not bring lasting peace to the area and four years later the settlement was again in conflict. The Khoi rose in rebellion and after that war much of the land was taken over by Whites.

In the Gamtoos valley there were no pressures from either Xhosa or European settlers. The only enemy for the people of Hankey was the capriciousness of the river nearby. The old village having been destroyed a new one rose phoenix-like on higher ground behind the new manse. Rows of neat cottages went up which did the settlement credit.<sup>145</sup> Three years later a new church was built on the northern bank of the Klein River. Then a second manse was erected beside the first to house the seminary which was growing apace. To this house Dr. Philip retired and in this house passed away during August, 1851.

Under Durant's direction the people worked hard to clear the tunnel and within a year and a day reconstruction work was complete. This time weatherproof props were used at the upper entrance and stones and brickwork were built around it to prevent it from caving in. For a considerable distance inside the tunnel arches were inserted built of sturdy timber to ward off another collapse.<sup>146</sup> Contributions were received from both England and the colony for this task and the Hankey people pledged their support in money and

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144 Eastern Province Herald, 11th Dec. 1847.

145 Report of the Directors for 1848, p 99.

146 J.J. Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, p 56.

labour. The oldest irrigation tunnel in the country functioned successfully well into the 20th century when a new government irrigation project linked to dams on the Kouga and Loerie Rivers rendered its usefulness finally obsolete. By this time the tunnel had served its purpose for over 125 years.



View from Vergadering Kop showing the second village of Hankey and the flood plane on which the first village stood

## CHAPTER V11

## ASSESSMENT

The modern-day visitor to Hankey will find hardly any traces of the early village which has formed the subject of this study. He will nonetheless be able to pick out one or two features in Hankey and the surrounding area which date back to the early years. Let us join our imaginary visitor to the area and travel with him on his journey eastwards by road from Port Elizabeth, reminiscing and extrapolating as we go. He will turn in from the coastal road at Thornhill and will travel up hill and down dale until, having negotiated the steepest incline of all, he will see the village of Hankey set out below him. Rows of modern houses intermingle with the old; there are shops selling provisions, municipal offices, a bank and a school. This is the site of the new Hankey village, built in 1848 and lived in now by the European section of the population. A left turn into Philip Road will bring the visitor face to face with a grand old Georgian style house perched on a spur of land overlooking the valley. This is what the villagers call "The Manse", built in 1850 to accommodate Thomas Durant Philip's seminary and used by missionaries for many, many years. The older 1840 manse, designed by Edward Williams and William Philip, once stood alongside this double-storeyed Georgian house, but was destroyed by fire in about 1920.

In 1850 the Reverend George Christie arrived in Hankey to take up his new appointment in Durant's seminary, bringing with him his wife Mary, Durant's sister and Dr. Philip, then 75 years of age, who had chosen Hankey as a place of retirement. The party was housed in the new manse, an extra wing having been added especially for this purpose. During his last year at Hankey the old superintendent was only once well enough to attend a church service. However, he often took a slow walk along the verandah in front of the house, shaded as it then was by a wooden balcony. From



Wilberforce Buxton Philip

this superb vantage point he could see the acres of irrigated lands which thirty years before had been mostly virgin bush. Dr. Philip died on 27th August, 1851.<sup>1</sup> His funeral oration was conducted by George Christie from the verandah on which the old man had spent so much of his time at the last. He was buried in the Philip family graveyard at the foot of the hill, alongside his nephew Johnny Fairbairn, his eldest son William and his beloved wife Jane. The graveyard is accessible from the road which leads down into the valley from the manse. It is surrounded by neat iron railings and maintained by the Coloured Congregational Church.

The visitor who looks out from the wide verandah of the manse will notice below him and to the left a long double-storey building which locals know as "The School House". Its history goes back to the turn of the century when the Reverend J.H. Walton and his wife came to Hankey to found an institution for the training of Coloured teachers at the London Missionary Society's expense. By then the Reverend Durant Philip had long since left Hankey, having gone to serve at Graaff-Reinet in 1876 and thereafter taken up an appointment at Lovedale College in 1885. In his thirty year stay at Hankey Durant had built up a tradition of higher education which was perpetuated in the establishment of Walton's teacher training college known as "The Hankey Institution". By 1900 the whole structure for Coloured education in the colony was coming under drastic revision. It was resolved to concentrate on the training of Coloured teachers, whilst continuing to educate Coloureds for the ministry as well.<sup>2</sup> The first Coloured man to enter the ministry had been Arie van Rooyen who was ordained by J.J. Freeman in 1850.

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1 P. Philip, A Fifeshire Family, Vol 1, p 31.

2 G.P. Ferguson, CUSA, The-Story of the Churches of the Congregational Union of South Africa, p 241.

In July 1900 the college building at Hankey was begun. Due to a number of factors, not least of which was the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War which caused delays in the delivery of materials and a shortage of labour, it was only completed in January, 1902. In the meantime the Reverend Walton and his wife ran the college from their own home, the 1840 manse. The Reverend R. Howieson, Hankey's pastor, resided in the 1850 manse. He contracted typhoid fever and died in April 1901. This building then served as a headquarters for the local British command, for there were still a number of skirmishes taking place up and down the Gamtoos valley.

The Hankey Institution proved so successful that by 1910 it had 50 students and ten years later this number had risen again.<sup>3</sup> A decision was then taken to transfer it to Uitenhage, with the assistance of the Department of Education, where it became known as the Dower Memorial College. Later it moved to Bethelsdorp where it is situated today. The old Hankey schoolhouse became a college for Coloured female teachers and thereafter served as a school for the Hankey Coloured community. With the passing of the Group Areas Act in 1950 steps were taken to move the Coloured people to the northern bank of the Klein River. Since 1976 the old schoolhouse has stood empty whilst negotiations are presently underway for its restoration. With its broad dimensions and superior materials of construction, which include yellow-wood floors and ceilings, the schoolhouse is well worthy of repair. Steps are also being taken for the preservation of the 1850 manse which is one of Hankey's most important connections with its early history. The two old buildings are familiar landmarks in Hankey and can be seen from the valley for miles around.

Also prominent on the Hankey skyline, situated on the northern bank of the Klein River, is the old Hankey church.

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3 Ibid., p 242

Built at the same time as the 1850 manse, like the manse it used to have a thatched roof, but this has been replaced by a zinc roof and a little spire was added later. The church was built and partly financed by the Coloured community.<sup>4</sup>

The Hankey Congregational Church is the Coloured community's direct link with its past. The church now falls under the auspices of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (previously known as the Congregational Union of South Africa), which took over the supervision of the London Missionary Society's affairs in Southern Africa in 1883.<sup>5</sup> How did this radical change in the organisational structure of the London Missionary Society's stations come about? What were the reasons for the change and what were the results of bringing autonomy to the institution?

It must not be assumed that in the 1840's the fortunes of the London Missionary Society were on the wane. Indeed this organisation still had more missionaries in the field, spread over a wider area than any other mission society on the African continent.<sup>6</sup> By 1848 however - which is where our story ends - something of a watershed had been reached in the Society's history in the colony, for by this time its funds were so low that the Directors began urging upon the stations the concept of self-support. Dr. Philip had always opposed the committee system of administration, but now he was old and tired and somewhat broken by his double bereavement. It was impossible to find someone of his calibre to replace him and for this reason alone a new dispensation became imperative.

The Society's Foreign Secretary, J.J. Freeman, was sent to South Africa in 1848 to sound out the people on the stations on the idea of their becoming totally independent

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4 J.J. Freeman, A Tour in South Africa, pp 58/59.

5 J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p 283.

6 B. le Cordeur and C. Saunders, The Kitchingman Papers p 16.

of the parent body. Self-support meant that they would have to fund their missionary's salary and cover all expenses out of their own pockets. Finances which the Society still had at its disposal, the Directors felt, would be better spent in extending the word of the gospel to other parts of the world such as India, China and the African hinterland.

The dates on which the various churches and mission stations accepted the challenge of independence were as follows: Dysselsdorp, Oudtshoorn and George, in 1855; Kruisfontein, Union Dale and Ox Kraal in 1870; Philipton and Grahamstown in 1871; Zuurbraak in 1873; Port Elizabeth in 1874; Paarl and Cradock in 1876; Pacaltsdorp in 1878; Bethelsdorp in 1880; Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet in 1882. With the passage of the Missionary Institutions Act of 1873 the withdrawal of virtually all financial aid to the stations was accomplished.<sup>7</sup> Hankey alone, whose church became independent in 1876, failed in its obligations and was eventually awarded independence in 1910. A likely explanation for this lack of commitment will be dealt with later. If the Hankey people couldn't or wouldn't financially support their pastor, this didn't mean that they were lacking in respect for the man.

Throughout the past one and a half centuries the Coloured community of Hankey has loyally supported its church, which serves as a centre for most spiritual, cultural and social activities. On 29th October, 1972 the 150th anniversary of Hankey's founding was commemorated in day-long church celebrations which involved the entire Coloured population. In the morning a thanksgiving ceremony was held, conducted by the Reverend V.E.S. Hendricks from Cape Town. This was followed in the afternoon by a Commemorative Service led by the Secretary of the United Congregational Church of South Africa, the Reverend Joseph Wing, who had come down from Johannesburg especially for the occasion.

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7 J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions, p 283.

The highlight of the day then followed: it was an historical pageant entitled "A Highway for God" and featured, in dramatised tableaux form, important events in Hankey's history.<sup>8</sup> There was the arrival by oxwaggon in 1823 of Johann George Messer, the building of the Hankey irrigation tunnel between 1843 and 1844, the founding of the Hankey Seminary in 1847, the funeral of Dr. John Philip in 1851, the various achievements of later missionaries, the establishment of the Hankey Institution in 1900, community rehabilitation schemes following the floods of 1847, 1905, 1932 and 1971, and a tableau glorifying the church itself. These celebrations were supported with vigour and enthusiasm,

A short play performed on this occasion went under the title of "Die Dag Voor die Water Gespring Het" (The Day Before the Water Came Through). This work deals with the emotional and physical strains experienced by the men labouring at the tunnel face in 1844, one day before the breakthrough occurred. The work is fictitious, though many of the characters appearing in it bear the names of people who lived on the institution all those years ago. The characters appearing in the play are: Dail Antonie, Julie Philander, Hendrik Bruntjies, Flip and Tiet Hamman, Frans McCabe, children Sophie, Katrien Antonie, Tietie Plaatjies and Jane Volstruis. The name "Dail Antonie" is very close to "David Anton", the name of William Philip's chief foreman. The tunnel was built a hundred and forty years ago, yet this event still figures vividly in Hankey's oral tradition.

Reputedly, the very song which the men chanted at the rock face, as they laboured with their picks and shovels, has been passed down from generation to generation and is sung by the Hankey Coloured children to this day. The chorus

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<sup>8</sup> Programme of Pageant held at Hankey in 1972, supplied by the Reverend Margaret Constable, Coloured Congregational Church, Hankey.

lines in the play open and close the work and are said to be based upon the old ditty:<sup>9</sup>

"Die krantz van swoeg,  
Die krantz van sweet,  
Die krantz maak moeg,  
Die krantz is wreed.  
Maar hy moet deur -  
moet  
Duergedring word -  
Deurgepyl word -  
Deurgepik word -  
Deurgegraaf word -  
Dis  
Swoeg en sweet,  
Moeg en wreed,  
Dring en graaf,  
Pik en pyl,  
Moeg, swoeg .....(repeated until voices die out)  
Hul stap te swoeg te sweet  
Hul krag te meet  
Teen krantz so wreed ....  
Hul vrees geen leed ....  
want  
Dieselfde nag  
Sou waarheid meebring  
Klaarheid aanbring  
Dieselfde nag  
Sou al die jare se swoë en sweet laat geld  
As staal tot staal deurdring  
  
Hul het geglo ....  
Hul is beloof ....  
Die water het gespring!!!!"

Apart from any resemblance which might exist between these lines and the original song the play is entirely fictitious. The work portrays the miners in low spirits on the eve of the tunnel breakthrough, yet we know that they were in very high spirits during this last phase of the operation.<sup>10</sup>

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9 Typescript of unpublished play: "Die Dag Voor die Water Gespring Het" supplied by The Rev. Margaret Constable, Coloured Congregational Church, Hankey.

10 William Philip to Mrs. Philip, 10th July 1844. P. Philip Coll., p 99.

The labours of the tunnel workers can be appreciated by a visit to the tunnel which, though now very silted up and closed at its upper end, is easily accessible from Milton. The traveller will reach it by taking the main road through Hankey, crossing the Gamtoos River a little way upstream - near the spot where William Philip and his nephew lost their lives - and striking off from the road in a westerly direction along the bed of the old water furrow which once brought water from the tunnel to the mill. Though overgrown now and home of the bats, the tunnel is still an impressive sight.

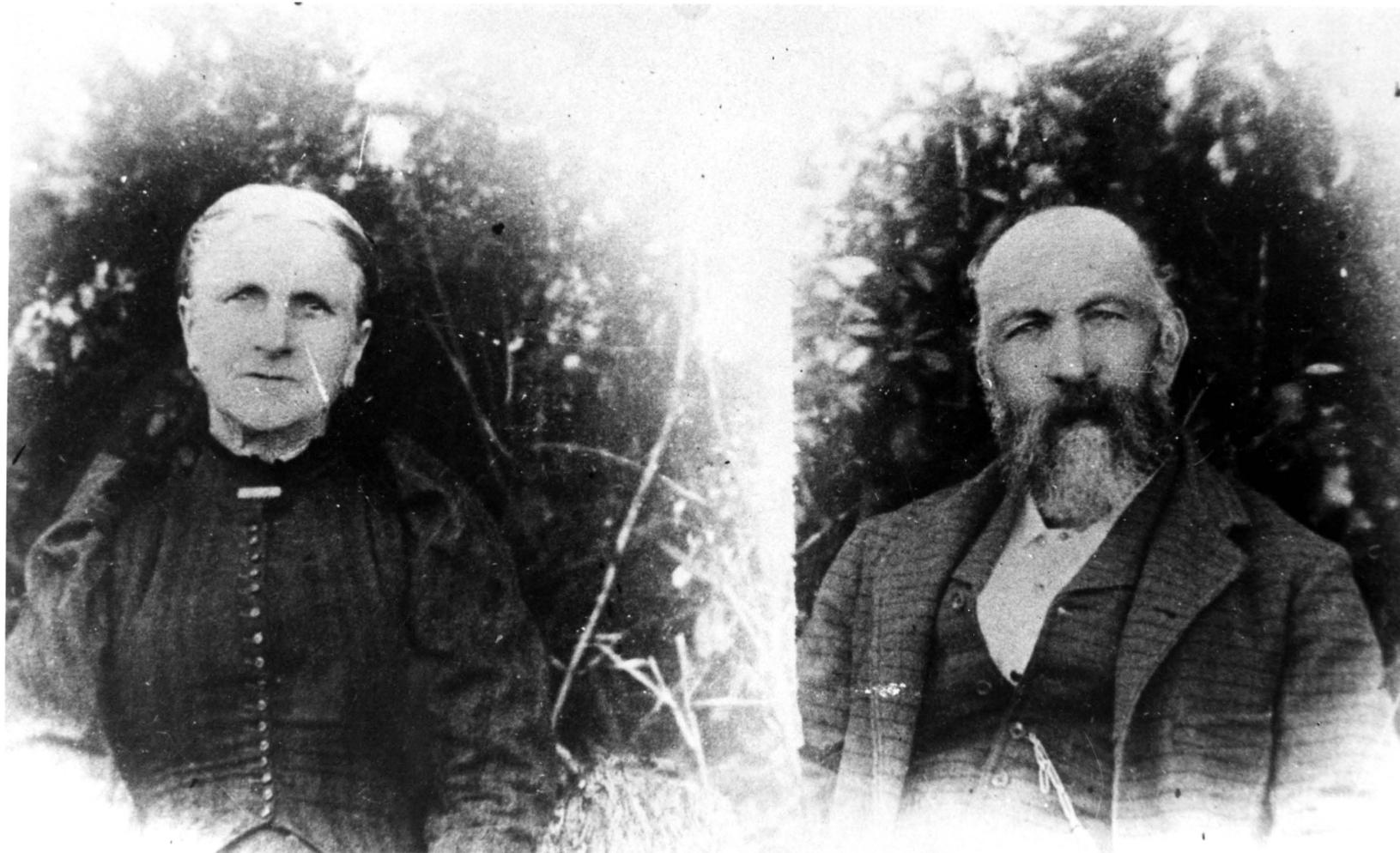
It had been William Philip's idea to have a mill and he had built one soon after the tunnel's completion with the help of funds and materials from James Backhouse. This had been destroyed in the great flood of 1847, and in 1858 Thomas Durant Philip built another one at his own expense which served the people in the valley for over 75 years. This was destroyed in the flood in 1932 and nothing remains of it but the mill wheel, which is now housed on a nearby farm. Only the foundations on the river bank indicate to the visitor where the mill once stood.

Today the tunnel is without a trace of water, the stream having been dammed at its upper end to prevent any serious collapse. When the Paul Sauer Dam on the Kouga River reached completion in 1970, the tunnel became obsolete and was closed. Due to the efforts of the Port Elizabeth Historical Society, it was declared a National Monument in that year.

The visitor to Hankey and its environs will find much to fascinate and amuse him. If he takes the trouble he may even find traces of that early settlement which was destroyed so suddenly in 1847. What he will not discover, unless he strikes up a conversation with a local resident who cares to tell him the tale, is that something of a



The Hankey mill



The miller, D.P. White and his wife

scandal over land rights flared up at Hankey after 1895 when a new district surgeon, Dr. J.J. Coulton, came to live in the village.

Dr Coulton claims that the Coloured people of Hankey were cheated out of their rightful inheritance by being made to pay twice over for the land they occupied. According to him, even before the 1844 tunnel had been completed, William Philip appealed to the people to forego all rights to the land and to hire their plots from the Society at the rate of 10/- per acre per year for a period of 19 years. The missionary allegedly explained to them that these funds were needed to finance the completion of the tunnel. When the 19 years were up, by which time Thomas Durant Philip had long since taken over the station, the people asked to be released from their undertaking and given back their land. Durant claimed to know nothing of the arrangement made between them and his brother and told them that they must go on paying rentals as before.<sup>11</sup>

In the course of our survey we have gone into the question of land rights at Hankey in some detail. It is therefore necessary to record that Coulton's version (gleaned from one of the older residents, a Mr. Henry Prinsloo, in 1912) differs considerably from the one which we have established.

Whilst the tunnel was still being constructed William Philip offered to sell the people one and a half acre plots of irrigated land subject to certain conditions. The most important of these was that if a buyer misbehaved himself or in any way transgressed the institution's rules, then the missionary had the right and the power to expel him from the settlement. The individual then automatically forewent all his privileges, including ownership of the land he had occupied.

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11 J.J. Coulton, A Short History of Hankey, pp 10/11.

In 1843 (except at the Kat River Settlement) the Khoi Coloureds were not permitted to own land in freehold. This privilege was to be withheld from the inhabitants of the missionary institutions for another thirty-two years. Notwithstanding this limitation, William Philip wanted his people to have a sense of ownership and to gain full benefit from the soil they worked. However, he also wished to avoid unnecessary complications, which is why he imposed certain conditions upon "ownership".

Some of the people who "bought" plots below the tunnel, and probably other Hankey inhabitants besides, also gave money to help pay for Rautenbach's farm. To these people William made it perfectly clear that their contributions in no way entitled them to part ownership of the property. This belonged to the Society being registered in the names of its trustees, as was the first Hankey farm.

The institutions revised funeral rules and regulations, as drawn up by William applied to everyone living on the station, no matter where they were settled. The people living at Blacklands, who included a few old Hankey contributors, and those occupying The Thorns, (the old Government outspan), were just as likely to be evicted for misconduct as the people residing at Backhouse Hoek, notwithstanding any land deals or occupancy rights which the former two groups had concluded with John Melvill or Edward Williams before William Philip's arrival. It is clear from the fact that many people helped to pay for the Vensterhoek property and took up options on the irrigated land below the tunnel, that everyone was satisfied with and willing to accept their missionary's new form of administration.

It was Thomas Durant Philip - and not William Philip, as Coulton claims - who introduced the land rental system at Hankey. In 1849 he asked that all claims to individual land rights be relinquished and leases on the land taken

out for a period of 15 or 19 years at an annual rental of 10/- per acre. This measure was taken to finance irrigation projects and improvements to the station as well as to pay in part for other incidental expenses.<sup>12</sup> The Society undertook to keep the tunnel and main water channels in working order whilst the people were themselves expected to maintain the smaller water furrows and the roads.<sup>13</sup>

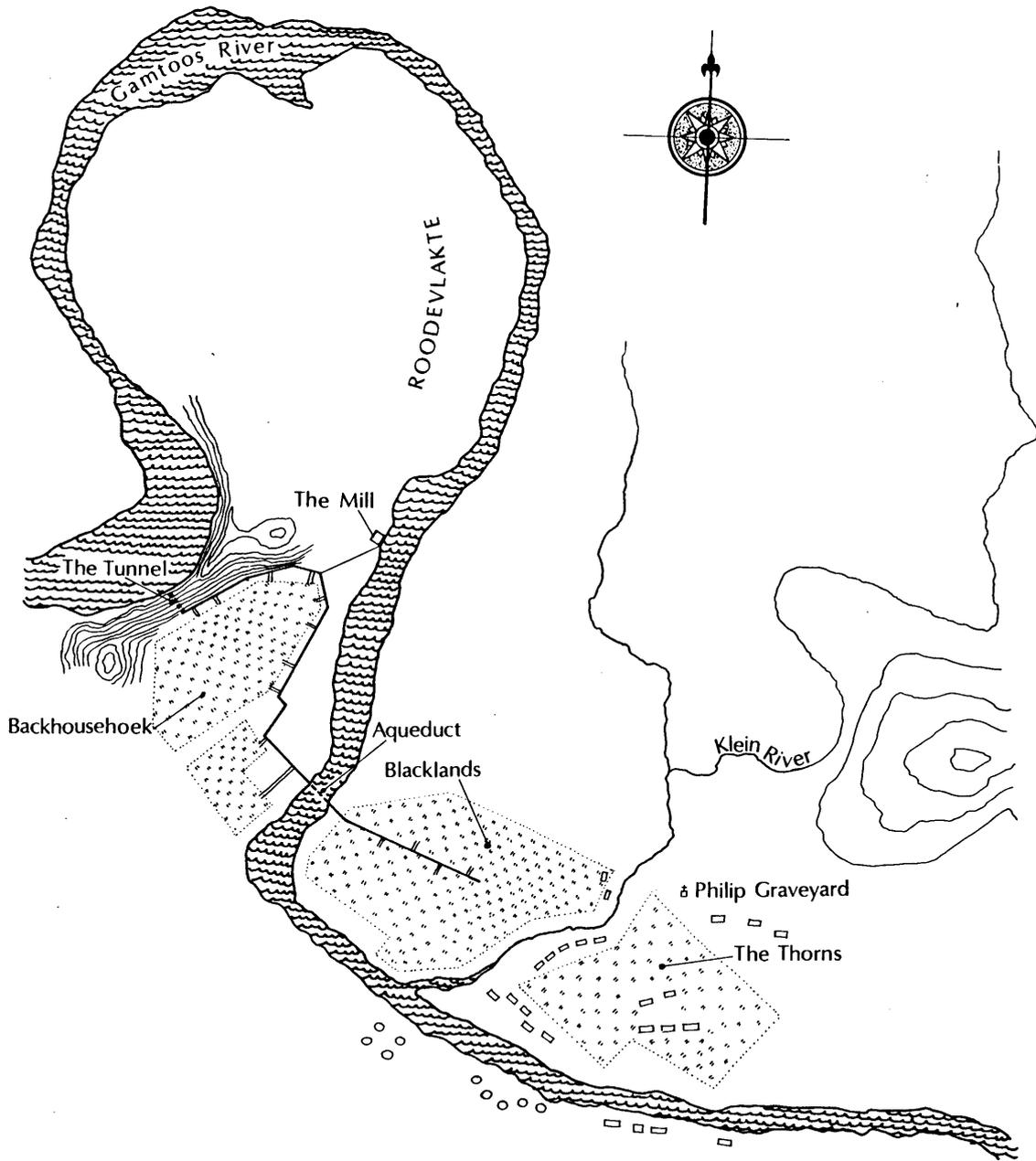
The reason for changing over from an "ownership" system to a leasehold arrangement was certainly not, as Coulton maintains, to pay for the construction of the tunnel. This work had been completed five years before a leasehold system was even contemplated. Funds to finance excavations had come from donations made by James Cropper's estate, James Backhouse, Dr. Philip, William Philip, William Alers Hankey, and others.

The reason Thomas Durant Philip introduced a rental or leasehold system in 1849 was to increase the potential of the station by further developing the irrigation system. When J.J. Freeman, the Society's Foreign Secretary, visited Hankey in 1849 he was told all about a project, originally mooted by William Philip, to lay pipes over or under the Gamtoos River below the tunnel so as to irrigate the extensive Blacklands area on the other side. Freeman approved the scheme and £200 was immediately set aside for this purpose. When the other directors got to hear of Freeman's grant, they ruled that the money should be regarded only as a loan. Since Durant had already commenced the work, he had to guarantee the loan and borrow money on account. Ultimately he appealed to the Hankey people to assist him. He asked them to relinquish all claims to the land and to hold their plots in leasehold instead.

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12 Report of the Directors for 1851, p 45.

13 Hankey Estate and Mission, Resumé of History Prepared for the Directors, Jan. 1903, p 6.



THE HANKEY IRRIGATION SYSTEM



The cost of the pipe irrigation system, according to accounts submitted by Durant to the Directors in 1853, was £1,188.1s.6d. Additional expenses brought the figure to over £1,500. Durant felt he should be allowed to recoup this enormous outstanding balance from the rentals accruing each year, once all the other expenses at the institution had been met.<sup>14</sup> He persuaded the people to give up their land rights in 1849, therefore, so that he could further develop the station's facilities and not so that he could cheat the people out of their inheritance.

Durant Philip always put the interests of the Hankey people first. Evidence to support this may be found in a report compiled by one of the Society's Directors, William Ellis, who visited Hankey in 1855. Like Freeman before him, Ellis came on a visit to the stations in Southern Africa to urge upon the people the concept of self-support. According to his interpretation of the rental system, only a percentage of the money obtained from the leasees was to be used for the pipe irrigation project, yet it was all being swallowed up for this purpose. If Ellis disapproved of the mounting costs of the irrigation system, the people expressed their dissatisfaction with the manner in which they held their land. They wanted to be bona fide owners, not mere tenants; and, as Ellis's report reveals, Thomas Durant Philip spoke up on their behalf:

"Mr. Philip suggested that the Society should forgo its claim, give the people their land and then they would go on well, but he was told there was no probability of that, as it was already felt or said that Hankey was a pet station with the Society and that assistance had been given to it which had been denied to other stations."

This was an outright request by the Hankey missionary that

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14 Ibid.

15 Report of Deputation by William Ellis, 1855, in J. Sales, Mission Stations, p 129.

the people be given the land. The request was summarily rejected, for the reason that far more money had been spent on Hankey already than on any other of the Society's institutions. Durant then put forward a second suggestion, which is also recorded in Ellis's report:

"He said the people wished to purchase and I replied that I believed the Directors had no wish to possess the land but for the peoples' benefit, and would be ready to enter into any equitable arrangement for its transfer, and would probably be satisfied with receiving back the amount they had actually paid, leaving to the people the benefit of all the improvements that had been effected." <sup>16</sup>

It was proposed that the people be allowed to purchase their plots and to this Ellis had no objection, in principle. He suggested that all the Society would probably want out of such an arrangement would be reimbursement of the money it had expended on the Hankey farm and not recompense for the improvements which it had financed at Hankey over the years.

It is doubtful whether Ellis knew exactly what the Society had paid out for the two Hankey farms in 1822 and 1854; it is certain that he knew even less about the various contributions and payments for plots at Hankey made over the previous 33 years which, if they could be calculated, should be set off against the total amount the Society had expended. Nothing was arranged along the lines of Ellis's suggestion and the people went on paying rental for their land for the next 20 years.

From the time of Ellis's refusal to grant the Hankey people the institution's land in perpetuity, Durant began working towards finding a means by which the people could legally buy their land. In 1856 the Cape House of Assembly appointed a Select Committee to report on the advisability

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16 Ibid.

of granting the institutions' lands to the people residing on them on the basis of freehold ownership. Two years later there was another Select Committee established, one of whose members was John Fairbairn. He advocated the abolition of the Coloured institutions as they then existed because their control seemed to him to smack of class legislation.<sup>17</sup>

Thomas Durant Philip returned to England on furlough in 1867. Whilst there he negotiated with the Directors on measures which would allow the Coloured communities living on the stations to own their land in freehold. Durant had materially reduced the debt incurred for the irrigation extension project, and it was agreed by the Directors that the £200 loan, originally granted by Freeman in 1849, should be written off. The balance then outstanding, as at the end of 1865, amounted to £589.18s.8d. This debt was also cancelled. The Society took over the irrigation works at Hankey which brought 450 acres under cultivation.<sup>18</sup>

In 1868 the London Missionary Society sent out budget despatches to all the stations in Southern Africa urging the creation of Coloured and Bantu pastorates to take the place of the missionaries as they retired. A commission was formed consisting of Thomas Durant Philip, Edward Solomon and William Thompson (the latter having taken over some of Dr. Philip's duties in 1850) whose task was to tour the institutions and devise a plan whereby their management could be gradually transferred to the people.

During the last quarter of 1868 the three-man delegation visited Bethelsdorp, Hankey, Kruisfontein, Dysselsdorp, Oudtshoorn, Pacaltsdorp and Zuurbraak. It was found that the vast majority of the institutions' inhabitants favoured independence, and plans along these lines went ahead accordingly.

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17 J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937, p 25.

18 Hankey Estate and Mission, p 7.



The second village of Hankey  
1840 Manse indicated

On 1st May, 1872 the Missionary Institutions Reform Bill came before Parliament for consideration. T.D. Philip, more than anyone else, was the chief architect for the laissez-faire principle upon which the bill was founded. He indicated that the London Missionary Society was in favour of any plan which allowed the granting of individual title to the inhabitants of the station.<sup>19</sup>

In 1873 the Missionary Institution Act was passed and the gradual transfer of freehold land at the mission stations to the residents was legally set in motion. In this way the missionaries were relieved of the arduous duties affecting all temporal matters. Title was issued to the new owners free of charge and could not be alienated from them for a period of at least ten years. For ten years also the sale of liquor on the settlements was curtailed.

Where did Hankey figure in all these new developments, given the fact that the two Hankey farms and Kruisfontein had been purchased by the Society, and not granted them by the Government, as was the case with the other institutions? The sub-division of Hankey was quite different from all the rest; it was a "purchase-type" arrangement. In 1875 Hankey was surveyed into building and agricultural plots, and offered on a freehold basis to any of the residents interested in buying.

A number of conditions were imposed upon the Hankey buyers to ensure the continued smooth running of the settlement. The financial stipulation was that payment for each plot should be made in regular annual instalments, stretching over seven years. If a buyer defaulted on payment, the sale was automatically cancelled and the contributions he had already made held as credit for any future transaction he might want to enter into.

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<sup>19</sup> W.M. MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, An Historical Survey, p 284.

Building plots carried no irrigation rights, whilst all the agricultural lands up for sale were well supplied with water. The Society undertook to pay one third of the cost of replacing the 12 inch iron pipes which carried water from Backhouse Hoek and the tunnel across the Gamtoos River to Blacklands on the other side, or to make a contribution of £500 towards the cost of this work. The Society also undertook to give £150 to the improvement of the approaches to the tunnel on the western side of the Vensterhoek Mountain where the tunnel water was diverted from the main stream.<sup>20</sup>

Agricultural plots had to be fenced in; no straw huts were allowed on the building plots and unsatisfactory existing structures had to be pulled down immediately a transaction had been concluded. In this way the neat appearance of the missionary village was maintained and improved upon. Except with a two-thirds vote to the contrary, the establishment of a canteen, hotel or other business selling alcohol was strictly forbidden. The abstemious nature of the Hankey community was hereby preserved for the foreseeable future.

One of the most interesting aspects of the newly independent village of Hankey was that it was henceforth run by a village management committee. The missionary now ministered only to the spiritual needs of his people. The board was responsible for the maintenance of the irrigation works and for collecting the dues of the people to pay for this service. It also had charge of the pound. Its most onerous task was keeping law and order in the community.<sup>21</sup>

Not all the people wanted or were able to buy their land. By 1876, a year after plots had been offered to residents,

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20 Hankey Estate and Mission, pp 31/32.

21 Ibid., pp 31/36.

a considerable portion of irrigated land remained unsold. A decision was then taken to put this up for public auction to any interested buyer. In this way much of the best land passed into the hands of Europeans. One Hundred and thirty-one plots were disposed of altogether in the sales of 1875 and 1876, purchased by European, Khoi and a few Bantu buyers. The Europeans and Bantu who bought land at the auction sale paid cash for their plots and in this way gained a firm foothold in the village. Many of the Khoi buyers failed to meet their commitments. Perhaps they were resentful that they had been ousted by an influx of people from land that had been occupied by Khoi for over 50 years. 1876 was the year in which the Church at Hankey voted to accept independence from the London Missionary Society and take on responsibility for financially supporting its pastor. Perhaps the reason that it later failed to meet this obligation is linked with the Khoi people's inability to pay for their plots.

Khoi families who bought plots in 1876 might have paid twice over for land at the institution. However, the problem is not nearly so simple as Dr. Coulton would have us believe.

The old Hankey contributors gave nearly Rds. 6,000 between 1822 and 1831 to the purchase of the first Hankey farm. The Society provided the remaining Rds. 9,000. Because the original lists of these people are no longer traceable, we do not know who these people were. During John Melvill's and Edward Williams' time new contracts were negotiated with people interested in buying plots, some of the purchasers being old residents and others newcomers to the station. The latter category would certainly have included ex-slaves and Mfengu. Since records of these people are not available either, it is impossible to ascertain the extent of the total contribution that they made to the first Hankey farm. The percentage contribution made by

these subscribers, as set against that provided by the Society, is therefore impossible to calculate.

The enterprising group of Bethelsdorp residents, headed by Paul Ketteldas, who negotiated to buy John Parkin's farm in the Gamtoos valley in 1825 would not have been able to hold the property in their own names. If the deal had gone through it would probably have been registered in the names of the Society's trustees acting on the peoples' behalf. Until the Missionary Institutions Act in 1873, the Khoi had to rely on arrangements of "mutual trust" when occupying land. The law failed to protect their rights and the Government ignored their needs.

The Hankey experiment in Khoi land ownership was therefore unique. Who was to blame for its failure? Successive land arrangements between the missionaries serving at Hankey and the people were based on the principle of "mutual trust". This can also be said of Thomas Durant Philip's arrangement in 1849 when ownership was removed and a leasehold system introduced. What began in 1822 as a novel system of Khoi land ownership without Government backing became, 27 years later, a rental or leasehold system and another 26 years on a system of freehold land ownership with legal recognition. The first stage of this threefold development of land acquisition at Hankey came about so that the people could help pay for the fertile corn farm which the Society was not prepared to finance. The second or leasehold stage was arranged so that an extension to the tunnel irrigation works could be built. The third or freehold stage came about due to the efforts of Thomas Durant Philip and others who felt that the people on the institution should be allowed to own their land.

The Society, which owned the two Hankey farms and Kruisfontein, had the legal right to sell the land to the residents. However, was it morally in the right to allow such sales to go through? Justification can be found

insofar as the Society used the money from the sales to maintain and improve the irrigation system. In 1867 the Society took over the irrigation works altogether. With the sale of land at Hankey in 1875, it guaranteed to make a sizeable contribution to the maintenance of the system. The aim of the London Missionary Society was the dissemination of Christianity, not the making of a quick profit at the expense of the people it served.

On the other hand, if money had been spent at Hankey and Kruisfontein over the years on the purchase and improvement of property, then it was reasonable to expect some return on these lands when they were sub-divided and sold. The Society was in financial straits in the second half of the 19th century and could not afford to give away all its assets.

Was the confusion over land rights which took place at Hankey the fault of Dr. John Philip? Here was a man who had arranged Hankey's purchase and taken a keen interest in the station throughout his 30 year term of office; he had played an important role in achieving rights for the Khoi population in 1828 and had campaigned endlessly for the abolition of slavery prior to 1834.

There is no doubt that Hankey always held a special place in the superintendent's heart. Two of Dr. Philip's sons and a son-in-law served there during his lifetime. After 1830, more funds and attention were given to the institution in the Gamtoos valley than to any other station in the colony or beyond its borders.

Dr. Philip was vitally involved in all the land arrangements made at Hankey during this period, as well as in the tunnel irrigation project. Was he at fault to have allowed the people to buy plots there during the 1820's, 1830's and 1840's?

It is proposed that Dr. Philip's opposition to the Society's stations in Southern Africa being divided into districts, each with its own committee of missionaries, and his inability to reconcile himself to the idea of the residents on the stations owning land in freehold, were somehow linked in his mind. There is no denying that the superintendent had an autocratic attitude towards those under his jurisdiction, be they White, Black or Brown, and this attitude manifested itself despite his philanthropic leanings.<sup>22</sup> He did not believe that the missionary brethren were able to take responsibility for their stations without the help of a superintendent. Neither did he believe the Khoi people sophisticated enough to have title to their land.

By definition the missionary institution was a "closed" society whose missionary administered and controlled the spiritual, secular and legal affairs of the people residing there. Anyone transgressing the rules of the settlement could be evicted without laying claim to the land. In turn the superintendent had control of the institutions and carte blanche over their destiny.

By contrast, the Kat River Settlement was an "open" society, subject to Government control and not that of a mission society. Missionaries from different denominations attended to the spiritual needs of the people. If a person was ordered to leave the community it was probably because he had defaulted on his land repayments.

The granting of land in freehold to the inhabitants of the institutions was a laudable objective but fraught with problems. Dr. Philip warned that freehold land ownership offered at the institution would be the death knell of the stations. He expressed his doubts in a letter to his son Durant written in October, 1848:

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22 Dictionary of South African Biography, p 620.

"..... a little reflection is sufficient to teach us that the scheme ... would be the ruin of our Institutions. Canteen keepers would in a short time be the chief proprietors of the villages, a Government Agent would be absolutely necessary, a Field Cornet or something of the kind; and a missionary and a Government of that kind would not go together."<sup>23</sup>

What the superintendent most feared was that the lack of missionary control over a station's secular affairs would lead to the abandonment of those Christian principles which had hitherto held sway. If the Society gave land to the residents, he reasoned, then in no time at all the recipients would be exposed to a number of vices or conned into selling land to White buyers at a fraction of its true value.

His words were prophetic: the latter alternative came to pass at Hankey after 1875. The first landowners defaulted on their payments and in due course Whites bought them out. In 1888 the Society's Foreign Secretary, Richard Wardlaw Thompson, made an appeal to the villagers to have legislation passed allowing for the formation of a new, larger and more efficient village management board to handle the land issue.<sup>24</sup> Gradually the Whites took over the running of the village. With their political dominance and financial superiority, coupled with the helplessness of the management board to handle the land issue, it was inevitable that both power and property would pass into the hands of Whites. Could Dr. Philip have prevented the confusion over Khoi land rights which typified Hankey's history after 1875?

Anecdotes blaming Dr. Philip for his part in the land

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23 W.M. MacMillan, The Cape Colour Question, p 276.

24 Circular Letter to Landholders at Hankey, from the Reverend R. Wardlaw Thompson, Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, in Hankey Estate and Mission, pp 47/51.

dispute have been handed down from generation to generation at Hankey. Some are convinced that the superintendent's ghost haunted the 1840 manse before it was destroyed by fire in 1920. Legend has it that this shadowy figure went nightly in search of the missing lists of Hankey contributors who had bought land at Hankey in the early years. Only when these lists were found - it was believed - would the old man be allowed to rest in peace.

Miss Georgina Townsend, a teacher at the Hankey training college in 1919, perpetuated this rumour by holding seances in her home, inspired, no doubt, by Dr. Coulton's verbal attacks upon the London Missionary Society. She claimed to have seen the ghostly doctor and afterwards wrote vivid accounts of her experiences to the Eastern Province Herald. The doctors, she maintained, spoke to her in a voice like "the rustle of dry autumn leaves".<sup>25</sup>

Distinguished visitors came to the manse to attend the seances and check the validity of Miss Townsend's story but saw nothing unusual at all.<sup>26</sup> The Reverend J.H. Walton, principal of the training college, wrote a short play about the legend entitled "The Lay of the Spook", in which Dr. Philip is exonerated from blame.<sup>27</sup>

Whether we can let the superintendent off so lightly is open to doubt. From our study of the first 25 years of Hankey's history we know that he was intimately involved both in the land arrangements obtaining there and in the tunnel project. Should Dr. Philip have given the buyers of land at Hankey in the 1820's, 1830's and 1840's the

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25 Reverend J.H. Walton to Mr. F.W. Cooper, 26th Feb., 1921. Port Elizabeth Public Lib. Hankey/Milton Box.

26 "Hankey Panky, or Spooks. Uitenhage Cleric Attends a Seance", Eastern Province Herald, Sept. 1919. Port Elizabeth Public Lib., Hankey/Milton Box.

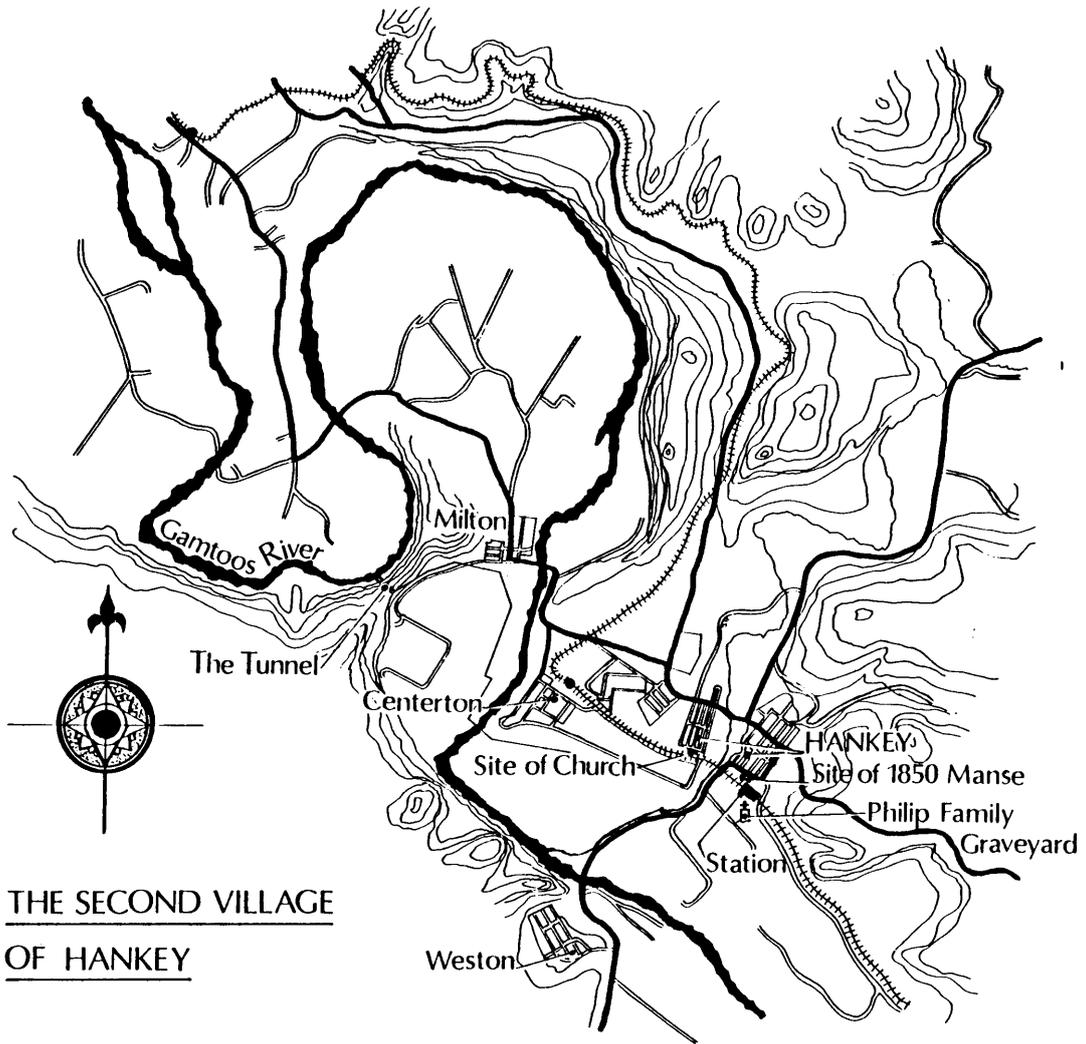
27 J.H. Walton, Play: "The Lay of the Spook", Unpublished play in letter J.H. Walton, to F.W. Cooper, Port Elizabeth Public Lib., Hankey/Milton Box.

impression that they were the true owners of the soil and not mere tenants occupying land which the Society held for them in trust? Perhaps he was wrong to do so. There is evidence to suggest that the superintendent later regretted having created such a misconception because of the misunderstanding that it caused. His motives for taking the action however, are entirely blameless.

Dr. Philip's plan that the people coming to live at Hankey should contribute to the cost of the land they occupied was prompted by a combination of philanthropic idealism and expediency. The superintendent wanted the Khoi to enjoy the rights to land, yet he did not want them exposed to dominance by the Whites. If the London Missionary Society was not prepared to foot the bill for a new farm in 1822 and the Government was un-willing to assist, then the only solution remaining was to ask the people to help pay for the land they occupied. Far from tricking them out of their inheritance, Dr. Philip was promoting their advancement in the only way open to him at the time.

The Coloured Church at Hankey is as strong and active today as it was when managed by the missionary brethren. Though empty now the old school house serves to remind the onlooker of the part it once played in Coloured higher education in this country. The Hankey tunnel remains a monument to the achievement of a small Christian community under the direction of a dedicated, imaginative and far-thinking man.

There are still a few Coloured landowners in Hankey today, some of whom could possibly trace their lineage back to the first contributors of the early days. Perhaps to the old contributors. A very few might even be descended from the ancient Gamtouer nation which lived and laboured in the Gamtoos valley until just over two hundred years ago.



THE SECOND VILLAGE  
OF HANKEY

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### 3 ORAL EVIDENCE

- Interview with Mr. Noel Jones, Hankey, July, 1980.
- Interview with Mr. P. le Roux, Hankey, July, 1980.
- Interview with Mr. W.T. Wait, descendant of James Wait, Honey Clough Farm, Klein River, July, 1980.
- Interview with Mrs. M. Druitt, descendant of D.P. White, the miller, Milton, July, 1980.
- Interview with Mrs. W. Engelbrecht, descendant of J.J. du Plessis; who purchased Philip Frost's Farm in 1837 and John Parkins' Farm sometime later, on View Excello, July, 1980.
- Interview with The Reverend Margaret Constable, minister of the Coloured Congregational Church at Hankey, July, 1980.
- Interview with Mr. P. Philip, descendant of Willian Enowy Philip, Cape Town, July, 1980.

## SUMMARY

Various issues emerge from a study of the first twenty-five years of the history of Hankey, which began as a station founded by the London Missionary Society in 1822. From the outset it constituted a unique experiment in Khoi land ownership, preceding the establishment of the Government inspired Kat River Settlement by seven years. Land acquisition in Hankey became a complex and disputed issue which was never satisfactorily resolved.

Hankey was the scene of several early irrigation schemes. The most important of these featured the excavation in 1844 of a tunnel 240 metres long through the Vensterhoek Mountain, the first of its kind in the country. The tunnel was designed by the missionary William Enowy Philip and executed with the help of a band of Khoi labourers. It functioned successfully for 125 years until superseded by a modern irrigation network in 1970.

Although far removed from the eastern colonial boundary, Hankey was affected by the Xhosa wars which erupted there during the 19th century, particularly those of 1835 and 1846. All able-bodied men on the station were called up for active service, which caused a severe manpower shortage on the settlement. During the 1835 war the men were kept on duty for nearly a year and came out in mutiny against their officers. They were truculent and embittered upon their return and found readjustment difficult. This adversely affected the harmony of the entire community and presented problems for the resident missionary, John Melvill.

In December 1838 when the ex-slaves were released from their apprenticeships, many of them had nowhere to go. Hankey played an important part in accommodating some of

these people by establishing two out stations for this purpose, Cambria and Kruisfontein. A number of the manumitted slaves also settled in Hankey.

In 1838 missionary Edward Williams established a wool industry at the institution and gave formal instruction in spinning, weaving and knitting. These crafts were taught for their educational value rather than their economic potential. After 1842 William Philip arranged for the young men on the station to learn carpentry, blacksmithery and waggon building.

In the field of higher education Hankey was a pioneer centre. Thomas Durant Philip founded a seminary there in 1847 for the sons of missionaries and suitable candidates from other racial groups who wanted to enter the ministry.

A study of this nature involves an examination of the characters of the missionaries serving there during the period under review. With one exception, they were men of an exceptionally high calibre. John Melvill gave up a life of comparative ease as a Government Surveyor in Cape Town to serve the missionary cause. Edward Williams was the first missionary at Hankey to make contact with the White farmers in the district and to minister to their spiritual needs. William Philip, his successor, being a qualified medical doctor, was able to provide them with a health service. Upon his death by drowning in the Gamtoos River, his brother Thomas Durant Philip took over the station and completed the Hankey irrigation system.

Dr. John Philip, the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society in Southern Africa, was responsible for the founding of Hankey. He chose it as his place of retirement in 1850 and died there on 27th August, 1851.

## SAMEVATTING

Verskeie punte spruit voort uit 'n studie van die eerste 25 jare van Hankey se geskiedenis, wat begin het as 'n sendingstasie gestig deur die Londonse Sendinggenootskap in 1822. Van die begin af was dit 'n unieke eksperiment in Khoi landbesit, wat die totstandkoming van die Staats geïnspireerde Kat Rivier Kolonie met 7 jaar voorafgegaan het. Die aanskaffing van land in Hankey het 'n ingewikkelde en betwisbare punt geword wat nooit bevredigend opgelos is nie.

Hankey was die toneel van verskeie vroeë besproëing skemas. Die belangrikste hiervan was die uitgraving in 1844, van 'n tunnel, 240 meter in lengte, deur die Vensterhoek Berg, die eerste van dié soort in die land. Die tunnel was ontwerp en uitgevoer deur die sendeling William Enow Philip, met die hulp van 'n span Khoi arbeiders. Vir 125 jaar het dit suksesvol gefunksioneer totdat dit in 1970 deur 'n moderne besproëingsnetwerk vervang is.

Alhoewel vër geleë van die oostelike koloniale grens, was Hankey tog ge-afekteer deur Xhosa oorloë wat gedurende die 19de eeu uitbreek het, vernaam dié van 1835 en 1846. Alle weerbare mans van die sendingstasie is opgeroep vir militêre diens wat 'n nypende tekort van mannekrag by die vestiging veroorsaak het. Gedurende die oorlog van 1835 was die mans vir ongeveer 'n jaar op diens en het later teen hul offisiere in opstand gekom. Met hulle terugkeer na Hankey was hulle wreed en verbitterd en was dit vir hulle moeilik om aan te pas. Die harmonie van die hele gemeenskap is daarvolgens benadeel en probleme is geskep vir die inwonende sendeling John Melvill.

Toe die oud-slawe in 1838 van hul vakleerlingskap vrygelaat is, het veel van hulle geen heenkome gehad nie. Hankey het 'n belangrike rol gespeel in die huisvesting van sommige

van diè mense deur die stigting van twee sendingposte, Cambria en Kruisfontein. Verskeie van die vrygemaakte slawe het hulle in Hankey gevestig.

In 1838 het die sendeling Edward Williams 'n wol industrie by die inrigting gestig en het daar onderrig gegee in weefkuns en breiwerk. Die ambagte is aan hulle geleer vir opvoedkundige waarde eerder as vir ekonomiese potensiaal. Na 1842 het William Philip gereël dat die jong mans onderrig kon word in verskeie ambagte soos timmerwerk, hoefsmid en wamakery.

In die opsig van hoër onderwys was Hankey 'n pioniersentrum. In 1847 het Thomas Durant Philip 'n kweekskool gestig vir die seuns van sendelinge en geskikte kandidate van ander rasse wat die Ministerie wou betree.

'n Studie van die vroeë geskiedenis van Hankey sluit 'n ondersoek in van die karakters van die sendelinge wat gedurende diè tydperk daar gedien het. Met een uitsondering was hulle van 'n besondere hoë gehalte. John Melvill het 'n lewe van gemak as Staatslandmeter opgesê om die sendingsaak te dien. Edward Williams was die eerste sendeling te Hankey wat kontak met die Blanke boere in die distrik gemaak het en wat aan hulle spirituele behoeftes voorsien het. William Philip, sy opvolger, 'n gekwalifiseerde mediese dokter, het hulle van mediese dienste voorsien. Na sy dood deur verdrinking in die Gamtoos Rivier, het sy broer Thomas Durant Philip hom opgevolg en die Hankey besproëings sisteem voltooi.

Dr. John Philip, die Superintendent van die Londonse Sendinggenootskap in Suid-Afrika, kan as verantwoordelik beskou word vir die stigting van Hankey. Daarvolgens het hy dit in 1850 as sy plek van aftrede gekies en op 27 Augustus 1851 is hy daar oorlede.